

## JASA: ASIA'S LONGEST AND MOST SUCCESSFUL ALLIANCE

### Organizing Questions

- Why was the Japan–America Security Alliance (JASA) developed, and what is its relevance today?
- What are some reasons behind JASA's longevity?
- How are personal and international security similar? How has JASA contributed to both personal and international security?
- What are some potential challenges to JASA?

### Introduction

On Day One, students answer initial questions regarding JASA and discuss the answers. Students view a lecture about JASA, take notes, and answer discussion questions about the lecture in class or as homework.

On Day Two, students form a conceptual framework for dealing with international insecurity and security by drawing comparisons with personal feelings of insecurity and security. Students are also introduced to several useful international security terms. Groups then prepare news broadcasts that incorporate these terms and delve into possible situations that could test or potentially put an end to JASA.

On Day Three, students present their news broadcasts. Students who are not presenting take notes while other groups present. To conclude the lesson, students engage in a class discussion pertaining to JASA.

### Objectives

In this lesson, students will

- learn how and why JASA was developed and its relevance today;
- compare and contrast JASA to other alliances;
- explore reasons behind JASA's resilience and longevity;
- learn the meanings of several important terms related to international security;
- identify potential destabilizing situations in contemporary East Asia; and
- creatively demonstrate (in news broadcast format) their understanding of challenges facing JASA.

### Connections to Curriculum Standards

This lesson has been designed to meet certain national history, social studies, and geography standards as defined by the National Center for History in the Schools, the National Council for the Social Studies, and the National Council for Geographic Education. The standards for this lesson are listed here.

**National History Standards (from the National Center for History in the Schools)**

Era 9, Standard 1A: The student understands major political and economic changes that accompanied post-war recovery.

- Grades 7–12: Explain how the Western European countries and Japan achieved rapid economic recovery after World War II. [Employ quantitative data]

Era 9, Standard 2B: The student understands how increasing economic interdependence has transformed human society.

Era 9, Standard 2C: The student understands how liberal democracy, market economies, and human rights movements have reshaped political and social life.

- Grades 9–12: Assess the strengths of democratic institutions and civic culture in countries such as Britain, France, Germany, Canada, the United States, Japan, India, and Mexico and analyze potential challenges to civil society in democratic states. [Interrogate historical data]

Era 9, Standard 2E: The student understands major worldwide scientific and technological trends of the second half of the 20th century.

- Grades 5–12: Describe worldwide implications of the revolution in nuclear, electronic, and computer technology. [Formulate historical questions]

Era 9, Standard 3A: The student understands major global trends since World War II.

- Grades 7–12: Analyze causes and consequences of the world's shift from bipolar to multipolar centers of economic, political, and military power. [Analyze cause-and-effect relationships]

**National Social Studies Standards (from the National Council for the Social Studies)**

- Culture; Thematic Strand I: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of culture and cultural diversity.
- Time, Continuity, and Change; Thematic Strand II: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of the ways human beings view themselves in and over time.
- People, Places, and Environments; Thematic Strand III: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of people, places, and environments.
- Individuals, Groups, and Institutions; Thematic Strand V: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of interactions among individuals, groups, and institutions.
- Power, Authority, and Governance; Thematic Strand VI: Social studies

programs should include experiences that provide for the study of how people create and change structures of power, authority, and governance.

- Thematic Strand VII; Production, Distribution, and Consumption: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of how people organize for the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services.
- Science, Technology, and Society; Thematic Strand VIII: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of relationships among science, technology, and society.
- Global Connections; Thematic Strand IX: Social studies programs should include experiences that provide for the study of global connections and interdependence.

**National Geography Standards (from the National Council for Geographic Education)**

The geographically informed person knows and understands:

- Standard 6: How culture and experience influence people’s perceptions of places and regions.
- Standard 11: The patterns and networks of economic interdependence on Earth’s surface.
- Standard 13: How the forces of cooperation and conflict among people influence the division and control of Earth’s surface.

**Materials**

- Handout 1, *Discussion Questions*, pp. 9–12, 30 copies
- Handout 2, *International Insecurity Factors*, p. 13, six copies
- Handout 3, *Definitions: Selected International Security Terms*, p. 14, six copies
- Handout 4, *Potential Destabilizing Regional Challenges*, pp. 15–16, six copies
- Handout 5, *News Broadcast Notes*, p. 17, 30 copies
- Projection, *Initial Questions*, p. 18
- Answer Key 1, *Initial Questions*, p. 19
- Answer Key 2, *Discussion Questions*, pp. 20–22
- Lecture 5, *JASA: Asia’s Longest and Most Successful Alliance*, on manaba course site
- PowerPoint Presentation, *JASA: Asia’s Longest and Most Successful Alliance*, on manaba course site, 30 copies
- Poster paper, one sheet

**Supplementary Materials**

- Handout S1, *JASA Background Information*, pp. 23–27, 30 copies
- Quiz, *JASA Background Information*, pp. 28–29, 30 copies
- Answer Key, *Quiz on JASA Background Information*, pp. 30–31

## lesson five

**Teacher Preparation** Instructions and materials are based on a class size of 30 students. Adjust accordingly for different class sizes.

1. View Lecture 5, *JASA: Asia's Longest and Most Successful Alliance*, and review all handouts, the projection, and answer keys.
2. Make appropriate number of copies of handouts and PowerPoint slides.
3. Determine whether your students need the supplementary background information on JASA. If so, assign supplementary Handout S1, *JASA Background Information*, as reading homework prior to Day One of the lesson, and administer the accompanying quiz.
4. Before Day Two, copy the table below onto poster paper, leaving plenty of room in the six empty boxes for writing responses. On Day Two, post this sheet on a wall where the entire class can see it.

	What creates a sense of insecurity?	What creates a sense of security?	What are the consequences of feeling insecure?
<b>Personal</b>			
<b>Countries</b>			

**Time** At least three 50-minute periods

**Equipment** Computers with Internet access  
Computer projector  
Classroom world map

**Procedures**  
**Day One** Students answer initial questions regarding JASA and discuss the answers. Students view a lecture about JASA, take notes, and answer discussion questions about the lecture in class or as homework.

1. Display the Projection, *Initial Questions*, and direct students to write their answers on a piece of scratch paper. Discuss students' answers to the questions using Answer Key 1, *Initial Questions*.
2. Inform students that they will view the fifth lecture about Japan by Professor Daniel Okimoto of Stanford University. This lecture is entitled "JASA: Asia's Longest and Most Successful Alliance."
3. View Lecture 5, *JASA: Asia's Longest and Most Successful Alliance*, located on the manaba course site. Distribute one copy of the PowerPoint Presentation, *JASA: Asia's Longest and Most Successful*

*Alliance*, to each student. Instruct students to take notes on the copy of the slides while viewing the lecture.

4. Distribute one copy of Handout 1, *Discussion Questions*, to each student. Instruct students to answer the questions on the handout in class or as homework. Collect handouts for assessment.

## Day Two

Students form a conceptual framework for dealing with international insecurity and security by drawing comparisons with personal feelings of insecurity and security. Students are also introduced to several useful international security terms. Groups then prepare news broadcasts that incorporate these terms and delve into possible situations that could test or potentially put an end to JASA.

1. Facilitate a class discussion about the lecture using Answer Key 2, *Discussion Questions*.
2. Inform students that they will now learn more about international security through the context of JASA.
3. Write the question “What makes you feel uneasy or at risk at home?” on the board and ask the class to brainstorm answers. Some examples are:

- Angry family members
- Continuing disputes with neighbors
- Violence in your neighborhood
- Lack of an alarm or security system
- Burglaries nearby
- Someone has threatened to hurt you
- Natural disasters
- Being at home alone
- Lack of family or friends
- Your house has been robbed or broken into before

Choose some answers to record on the sheet of poster paper under the question “What creates a sense of insecurity?” across from “Personal.”

4. Repeat this process for the question “What makes you feel secure at home?”

Some examples are:

- Alarm system
- Watchdog
- Police
- Neighborhood-watch program

Record these responses under the question “What creates a sense of security?” across from “Personal.” Inform students that they will now look at security in an international context.

5. Divide the class into six small groups. Distribute Handout 2, *International Insecurity Factors*, to each group. Instruct each group to cut out the cards and rank them from “most worrisome” to “least worrisome.” Inform students that they have just looked at factors that cause many countries to feel insecure. Record each group’s “most worrisome” factor on the poster paper under the question “What creates a sense of insecurity?” across from “Countries.”
6. Ask students what would make countries feel more secure. Some examples are:
  - A strong military
  - Alliances with other countries
  - Peaceful neighboring countries
  - Dependable food supply
  - Strong international influence
  - Strong economy
 Record these responses under the question “What creates a sense of security?” across from “Countries.”
7. Continue this process for the question “What are the consequences of feeling insecure?” for both “Personal” and “Countries.” Note physical as well as psychological consequences. The table on the poster paper should now be filled.
8. Ask students to brainstorm answers to the question “What are the differences between personal and international security?” (Note: Students may not find any difference, which is fine. This is simply a question designed to give students a basis for understanding international security by using personal security, to which they can relate, as a starting point.)
9. Distribute one copy of Handout 3, *Definitions: Selected International Security Terms*, to each group. Discuss these terms as a class and make sure everyone understands what the terms mean when used to describe international conflicts.
10. Distribute one copy of Handout 4, *Potential Destabilizing Regional Challenges*, to each group. Assign one regional challenge to each group and inform them that they will present these conflicts to the rest of the class by preparing news broadcasts. Review the requirements for the broadcast listed on Handout 4 as a class.
11. Allow groups time to prepare their broadcasts for the remainder of the class period and as homework. Students may wish to review segments of Lecture Five or conduct additional research on their assigned topic at the library or on the Internet.

### Day Three

Students present their news broadcasts. Students who are not presenting take notes while other groups present. To conclude the lesson, students engage in a class discussion pertaining to JASA.



1. Allow groups 5–10 minutes to rehearse their news broadcasts a final time before presenting to the class.
2. Distribute one copy of Handout 5, *News Broadcast Notes*, to each student. Instruct students to record their notes on this handout while each group presents.
3. Facilitate group presentations of news broadcasts. Broadcasts do not need to be in any particular order. After each presentation, collect the group’s script. Assess each group’s news broadcast using the criteria outlined on Handout 4, *Potential Destabilizing Regional Challenges*.
4. Collect Handout 5, *News Broadcast Notes*, for assessment. Conclude the lesson with a class discussion using the following prompts as a guide:
  - Why did the United States and Japan decide to ally after World War II? How have the reasons for remaining in an alliance changed?
  - In the lecture, Professor Okimoto discusses the two main transformations of the global security system that JASA has survived thus far: 1) the Cold War (1945–91), with the threat of nuclear war; and 2) the post-Cold War period (1991–present), with terrorism and the threat of terrorist attacks. Analyze each time period and discuss how the world was more secure or less secure than the other time period.
  - Discuss the benefits for both the United States and Japan that are a result of JASA.
  - Discuss any negative aspects of JASA for both the United States and Japan.
  - While the main purpose of JASA is to promote international security, in what ways, if any, do you think JASA promotes personal security?
  - What do you think Japan would decide to do in terms of its military spending if JASA were to end? How do you think neighboring countries would react?
5. Visit the manaba course site and post comments about the lesson, any modifications you made, or any other additional resources you would like to share with the community of teachers who are also teaching this course to their students.

**Assessment** The following are suggestions for assessing student work in this lesson:

1. Handout 1, *Discussion Questions*, using Answer Key 2, *Discussion Questions*, as a guide.
2. Groups’ news broadcasts based on the criteria outlined on Handout 4, *Potential Destabilizing Regional Challenges*, as a guide.
3. Handout 5, *News Broadcast Notes*, based on the quality of notes taken.
4. Student participation in group and class discussions, evaluating students’ ability to
  - clearly state their observations, opinions, and answers;

## lesson five

- exhibit sensitivity toward different cultures and ideas;
- respect and acknowledge other students' observations, opinions, and answers; and
- ask relevant and insightful questions.



## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What two major transformations of the global security system has JASA survived thus far?

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2. According to Professor Okimoto, what is the secret to JASA's longevity and robustness?

3. Describe at least three ways in which the United States and Japan are linked economically.

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4. Describe at least two individual/personal ways in which the United States and Japan are linked.

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## handout 1

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5. How have Japanese and American attitudes toward each other changed since the 1940s?
6. NATO is an enduring relationship that binds the commitments of Europe to the United States and vice versa. In what ways is JASA different from NATO?
7. Why do many people believe that the time period of 1950 to the present is “Asia’s Golden Age”?
8. Complete the following chart.

Area of conflict	Number of U.S. casualties	Outcome
Korea		
China	Not applicable	
Vietnam		

9. How did the wars in Asia during its post-Pacific War period compare with its wars during the first half of the 20th century?

10. What was the key element that enabled economic growth and political development in Asia in its post-Pacific War period?

11. In what ways was JASA significant in serving as a catalyst for Japan's reorientation and economic takeoff?

12. List at least three reasons behind JASA's resilience.

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13. List at least four of JASA's main roles and functions.

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14. What are some problems/long-term trends that might erode or limit the effectiveness of JASA in the 21st century?

## INTERNATIONAL INSECURITY FACTORS

With your group members, cut out the following cards and arrange them in order of most worrisome to least worrisome.

<b>Weak military</b>	<b>Enemies with many nations</b>
<b>Poor population</b>	<b>Little international influence</b>
<b>Membership in only a few or no international organizations</b>	<b>Some groups in your country wanting to separate and form a new country</b>
<b>Small size compared with neighboring countries</b>	<b>Sense of patriotism weak</b>
<b>Economic dependence on other countries</b>	<b>Dependence on other countries for military protection</b>
<b>History of violence with neighboring countries</b>	<b>Involvement in territorial disputes with other countries</b>
<b>Unstable government</b>	<b>Frequent domestic uprisings</b>
<b>Few treaties with other countries</b>	<b>Likelihood of invasion or attack</b>
<b>Enemy nations building up their military</b>	<b>Other:</b>

**DEFINITIONS: SELECTED INTERNATIONAL SECURITY TERMS**

Review the following terms as a class.

**bilateral**—“two-sided” or “two-country”; an adjective that refers to two countries acting jointly

**conflict (in an international context)**—an antagonistic situation (as of divergent ideas, interests, or goals) between countries or antagonistic actions taken by one country toward another country or countries

**conflict management**—an approach to conflict that emphasizes the need to control it and prevent it from escalating to higher levels

**conflict resolution**—a way of resolving a conflict so that it no longer exists

**constructive engagement**—the continuation of political and economic ties with regimes with which a state has severe disagreements in the expectation that the ties will eventually lead to changes in objectionable policies and practices

**containment**—the U.S. foreign and military policy of limiting the expansion of Communist influence, used principally against the Soviet Union from the end of World War II until 1990

**détente**—the lessening of tensions and improvement of relations between nations that were formerly foes, under which they agree to disagree peacefully

**deterrence**—a condition in which nations are discouraged from fighting nuclear or conventional war. Deterrence restrains an enemy from actions through fear of the consequences that are likely to follow.

**multilateral**—many-sided; an adjective that refers to actions or policies that are taken in cooperation with other nations as part of a concerted approach to challenges or problems in the international system

**nuclear nonproliferation**—measures designed to prevent the acquisition of nuclear weapons by nonnuclear countries

**nuclear proliferation**—the spread of nuclear weapons to nonnuclear states, which many experts agree poses a serious threat to international peace and stability

**security (in an international context)**—being safe; a condition that results from protective (usually military) measures that ensure a state’s inviolability from hostile acts

**transparency**—a term relating to military actions taken in an open way and subject to observation and monitoring, thereby providing reassurance to other states that there is no attempt to achieve strategic or tactical surprise

**unilateral**—one-sided; an adjective that refers to an action taken by a country acting singly, and not dependent on or conditional on any action by another country. For example, unilateral nuclear disarmament would occur if one state divested itself of its nuclear weapons while other states did not.

## POTENTIAL DESTABILIZING REGIONAL CHALLENGES

With your group members, read through the following regional challenges to JASA. Circle the challenge your teacher assigns to your group.

### Periodic economic crises:

**2007 Global Financial Crisis:** What began as a bursting of the U.S. housing market bubble and a rise in foreclosures ballooned into a global financial and economic crisis. Some of the largest banks, investment houses, and insurance companies either declared bankruptcy or had to be rescued financially. In October 2008, credit flows froze, lender confidence dropped, and, one after another, the economies of countries around the world dipped toward recession. The crisis exposed fundamental weaknesses in financial systems worldwide. Despite coordinated easing of monetary policy by governments, trillions of dollars in intervention by central banks and governments, and large fiscal stimulus packages, as of 2012 the crisis seemed far from over.<sup>1</sup>

**Eurozone Sovereign Debt Crisis:** As of 2011, the global economy had been experiencing a sovereign debt crisis that spread rapidly across the euro region and threatened several Western economies, including Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain. The roots of the euro crisis could be traced to certain European governments' inability to manage their debt. For instance, years of excessive government expenditure accompanied by low growth led to an unsustainable debt burden in Greece, with the risk of a possible domino effect throughout the euro area and beyond.<sup>2</sup>

**China's development of military technology:** In conjunction with its rapid economic growth, China has been increasing military spending as well. China's development and deployment of precision guided missiles could make U.S. bases in Okinawa vulnerable, and neutralize the United States' umbrella of power in the region.

**North Korea/Japan conflict:** A scenario in which North Korea shoots missiles over Japan, or sinks Japanese vessels like it did to a South Korean vessel in March 2010 (although North Korea has officially denied responsibility for the attack) could spark a larger conflict.

**North Korea/South Korea conflict:** North and South Korea have had a difficult and acrimonious relationship since the Korean War (1950–53). In recent years, North Korea has pursued a mixed policy—seeking to develop economic relations with South Korea and to win the support of the South Korean public for greater North–South engagement while at the same time continuing to denounce South Korea's security relationship with the United States and maintaining a threatening conventional force posture on the demilitarized zone (DMZ) and in adjacent waters.<sup>3</sup>

**China/Taiwan conflict:** After losing the Chinese Civil War, the Nationalists (ROC) fled to Taiwan in 1949. Since then, both the ROC and Communists on mainland China (PRC) have claimed they are true rulers of China. Over the years, the two have grown closer economically and socially. However, the situation remains tense. Under Taiwanese President Chen's administration (2000–08), Taiwan lobbied strongly for admission into the United Nations and other international organizations. Because the PRC considers Taiwan to be a part of its territory and not a separate sovereign state, it opposes Taiwan's membership in such organizations, most of which require statehood for membership. As of 2012, the Taiwanese administration has called for a "diplomatic truce" with the PRC, under which Taiwan would retain its existing diplomatic allies but not seek to win over countries that recognize the PRC.<sup>4</sup>



**U.S. military presence in Okinawa:** An island of south Japan, Okinawa has 20 percent of its land covered with U.S. military bases. In a 1996 vote, 89 percent of Okinawan residents wanted U.S. bases removed from their island because of crimes committed by U.S. service members, military accidents, noise pollution, and environmental problems. Although some plans have been made to move thousands of U.S. Marines to Guam<sup>5</sup> and to move Futenma Air Base (which is currently located in the middle of Ginowan City), as of 2012 these plans had yet to take effect.<sup>6</sup>

### **Directions for News Broadcast**

Develop a short news broadcast based on the regional challenge you have been assigned. To help create your broadcast, follow the steps outlined below.

1. Decide who will be the two coanchors of the news broadcast. The coanchors should introduce themselves, the date of the broadcast, and the topic that will be discussed at the beginning of the broadcast.
2. Determine how your group will incorporate your classroom's world map into your broadcast.
3. Include at least one interview in your news broadcast. Decide who will be interviewed and who will be the reporter(s).
4. Include one "live" scene. Decide where this scene will take place and who will be the reporter from this scene. You can combine the interview with the "live" scene.
5. Explain how your group's assigned challenge could affect JASA.
6. Use at least one of the new words listed on Handout 3, *Definitions: Selected International Security Terms*. Each group must also address the question "How could this situation be perceived as insecure?" during the course of its broadcast.
7. Write the script for your broadcast. The broadcast should include important events, issues, places, people, etc. Since everyone in your group will be participating in the broadcast, each person will need a copy of the script. Your teacher will collect one copy of the script for assessment at the end of your broadcast.
8. Your group will be assessed on the following criteria:
  - Your news broadcast is well rehearsed.
  - There is equal participation among group members.
  - You provide the news broadcast script to the teacher, and it is one to two typed pages or two to three neatly handwritten pages in length.
  - You incorporate your classroom's world map into your broadcast, and include at least one live scene and one interview.
  - Your broadcast is creative, informative, and provides a balanced perspective.

## NEWS BROADCAST NOTES

Record notes on your classmates' news broadcasts. You do not need to record notes for your own group's broadcast.

Regional challenge	Notes
Periodic economic crises	
China's development of military technology	
North Korea/Japan conflict	
North Korea/South Korea conflict	
China/Taiwan conflict	
U.S. military presence in Okinawa	

## INITIAL QUESTIONS

Answer the following questions on a sheet of scratch paper.

1. The Japan–America Security Alliance (JASA) has lasted \_\_\_\_\_ years and is the longest and most consequential alliance in Asian history.
2. Approximately what percentage of the Japanese do you think feel an affinity toward the United States?
3. True or False:  
Japan is the largest foreign holder of U.S. Treasuries.
4. True or False:  
JASA has stood not only the test of time, but also numerous operational tests and crises in Asia.

## INITIAL QUESTIONS

1. The Japan–America Security Alliance (JASA) has lasted \_\_\_\_\_ years and is the longest and most consequential alliance in Asian history.  
*JASA began in 1952 and celebrated its 60th anniversary (its kanreki) in 2012.*
2. Approximately what percentage of the Japanese do you think feel an affinity toward the United States?  
*According to public opinion polls conducted in 2011, 82 percent of Japanese felt an affinity toward the United States.*
3. True or False:  
Japan is the largest foreign holder of U.S. Treasuries.  
*False. While Japan is the largest allied holder of U.S. Treasuries (more than \$1 trillion in 2012), China holds more.*
4. True or False:  
JASA has stood not only the test of time, but also numerous operational tests and crises in Asia.  
*False. Actually, one of the reasons behind JASA's resilience is the fact that it has not had to face any operational tests or major crises in Asia.*

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What two major transformations of the global security system has JASA survived thus far?
  - *Cold War (1945–91): Threat of nuclear war*
  - *Post–Cold War (1991–present): Terrorism, threat of terrorist attacks*
  
2. According to Professor Okimoto, what is the secret to JASA’s longevity and robustness?
 

*Multidimensionality—it does not focus on just military issues; it also serves as the framework for deep and enduring political, diplomatic, economic, technological, and sociocultural ties between the United States and Japan.*
  
3. Describe at least three ways in which the United States and Japan are linked economically.
  - *U.S.–Japan trade is one of the largest in the world.*
  - *Technology and capital flows; the United States and Japan invest in each other’s stock markets, and Japan invests in manufacturing plants and facilities in the United States.*
  - *Japan is the largest allied holder of U.S. Treasuries (more than \$1 trillion, thereby helping support U.S. economic development).*
  
4. Describe at least two individual/personal ways in which the United States and Japan are linked.
 

*Possible answers include the following:*

  - *Japanese students studying in the United States*
  - *Travel—business, personal*
  - *Number of Japanese restaurants in the United States*
  
5. How have Japanese and American attitudes toward each other changed since the 1940s?
 

*In the early 1940s, the United States and Japan were bitter enemies. After the end of World War II, they became strong allies. According to a public opinion poll conducted in 2011, 82 percent of Japanese feel an affinity toward the United States, and 84 percent of Americans think of Japan as a trustworthy partner.*
  
6. NATO is an enduring relationship that binds the commitments of Europe to the United States and vice versa. In what ways is JASA different from NATO?
 

*NATO is an enduring relationship that binds together the commitments of Europe to the United States and vice versa. JASA is different from NATO in that it is a cross-cultural multidimensional alliance.*
  
7. Why do many people believe that the time period of 1950 to the present is “Asia’s Golden Age”?
 

*It is relatively the most prosperous, peaceful, stable, and developmental period of Asia’s 4,000-year history.*

8. Complete the following chart.

Area of conflict	Number of U.S. casualties	Outcome
Korea	37,000	Helped stabilize a divided Korea
China	Not applicable	Communists triumphed over the Guomindang (GMD)
Vietnam	58,000	United States withdrew, Communist government took over

9. How did the wars in Asia during its post–Pacific War period compare with its wars during the first half of the 20th century?

*Compared with the Pacific War, the wars in Asia during the post–Pacific War period were relatively few in number and short in duration.*

10. What was the key element that enabled economic growth and political development in Asia in its post–Pacific War period?

*Stable security environment; peace*

11. In what ways was JASA significant in serving as a catalyst for Japan’s reorientation and economic takeoff?

*JASA allowed the United States and Japan to bury the hatchet virtually overnight. It also allowed the United States to establish military bases in Japan, thereby allowing Japan to decouple military power from its economic power.*

12. List at least three reasons behind JASA’s resilience.

- *Preponderance of U.S. power in Asia; United States as relatively benign hegemon compared with other colonial powers*
- *Reliance on voluntary cooperation*
- *No operational test of JASA (has not had to face a crisis that threatened Japanese security)*

13. List at least four of JASA’s main roles and functions.

*Possible answers include the following:*

- *Served as a shield for the United States in a global network of alliances*
- *Limited influence of Soviet Union and China; served as a security bastion against the development of Chinese and North Korean power*
- *Helped to set up institutions of economic systems throughout Asia (Asia Development Bank, World Bank)*

- *Allowed Japan to reassure countries in Asia that there was a cap on Japan's military armament*
- *Allowed the United States to maintain a favorable balance of power and the status quo (to the United States' and Japan's advantage)*

14. What are some problems/long-term trends that might erode or limit the effectiveness of JASA in the 21st century?

- *The global system is moving from hegemony to multipolarity; the rise of China is a direct challenge to JASA*
- *Malfunctioning of market capitalism; financial crises; massive global imbalance in trade and capital flows*
- *Development of military technology and its implications; development of precision guided weapons meaning a vulnerability to preemptive attack of U.S. bases and troops overseas*
- *Economic and military growth of China*



## JASA BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Adapted from Daniel I. Okimoto's "The Japan–America Security Alliance: Prospects for the Twenty-First Century," January 1998, <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/10106/Okimoto.PM.pdf> [Accessed 1 June 2012].

### The Japan–America Security Alliance in Historical Perspective

By almost any criterion of success—be it cost-effectiveness, risk-reward ratio, or sheer longevity, the Japan America Security Alliance (JASA) stands out as one of the most successful alliances in 20th-century history.<sup>7</sup> For the United States, chief architect of a global network of military relationships, JASA is arguably the most important of its many bilateral alliances. In terms of historic impact, JASA is comparable to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a multilateral alliance that restructured the European security landscape in 1949. For nearly a half century, JASA and NATO have functioned as the bedrock on which the Cold War security systems of Asia and Europe had been constructed.

**bilateral**—"two-sided" or "two-country"; an adjective that refers to two countries acting jointly

JASA was signed in 1951 and went into effect in 1952, as the Cold War began casting long shadows over Asia.<sup>8</sup> Together with KASA, the Korea America Security Alliance, JASA has served as the main Asian pillar for America's global alliance network. Both JASA and KASA have lasted for more than a half century despite far-reaching changes in the political economies of these nations as well as in the external environment. Never before in the chronicles of Asian history has there been an alliance of comparable staying power and effectiveness. JASA's longevity is especially noteworthy given the absence of other enduring alliances in the region's history.

**balance of power**—a distribution and opposition of forces among nations such that no single nation is strong enough to assert its will or dominate all the others

In contrast to Europe, where nation-states fought endlessly over territory and engaged in balance-of-power diplomacy,<sup>9</sup> Asia as a region has seen comparatively few alliances develop over the past 500 years. For whatever reasons, the big powers in Northeast Asia—China, Japan, Russia—have refrained from building alliance structures. In those infrequent instances in which Asian states have established formal military ties, the alliances have proven to be unsatisfactory. Security alliances appear to be institutions primarily of Western origin.<sup>10</sup> They have not played much of a role in Asia.

**nation-building**—the political process of convincing people to unite under a certain government and identify with the country as a whole

Stark as it is, the contrast between Europe and Asia is easy enough to understand. Asia stretches across a much broader and more diverse geographic landscape than the European continent. Instead of sharing contiguous borders, key countries, like Japan and Korea, are separated by ocean straits or by vast stretches of the Pacific. Asia's biggest continental power, China, has never conquered Asia nor ruled over a sprawling empire, as Rome once did.<sup>11</sup> And Asian countries have not undergone the same formative experience of nation-building that European nations experienced from the mid-15th century to the early 19th century.<sup>12</sup> East

Asia's incorporation into a colonial world dominated by the Western powers also took place comparatively late—later than that of Africa, North and South America, South Asia (the Indian subcontinent), and even Southeast Asia. It is not surprising, therefore, that East Asian states have not had to be as preoccupied with power balances and alliance diplomacy. Owing to basic differences in geography and regional dynamics, the Asia Pacific region has not witnessed the bewildering array of shifting military alliances that Europe has.

Of the handful of alliances that have been forged in Asia, most have appeared in the 20th century. Nearly all have been short-lived. The Axis alliance (Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan; 1939–45) and the Sino-Soviet Alliance (1950–80) were two abortive attempts by Asian nations to band together against rival powers in the West.

In 1954, Taiwan signed a security treaty with the United States, but that treaty was allowed to lapse after the United States opened formal diplomatic ties with China. In 1961, both the Soviet Union and China signed Treaties of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with North Korea; but both treaties have become moribund since the end of the Cold War, and they no longer constitute binding alliance commitments. Similarly, America's security ties with New Zealand under ANZUS (Australia–New Zealand–United States treaty) have been terminated.

In 1954, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), NATO's counterpart in Asia, was inaugurated, consisting of the United States, France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, and the Philippines. The eight nations agreed to consult with each other to contain the spread of Communism and to cooperate in the defense of Indochina, which was beset at the time by guerrilla insurgencies. But SEATO was unable to develop a joint strategy for intervention in Indochina and, not surprisingly, failed to stem the tide of Communism in Vietnam. SEATO thus failed to survive. No NATO-like organization has been able to sink roots in Asia, nor is one likely to.

**guerrilla**—a type of warfare that is irregular, aggressive, and characterized by sabotage and unconventional methods

In 1967, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was set up, comprising five local states, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines. ASEAN was not established as a military organization to mobilize for collective security or to promote military cooperation. Rather, ASEAN set out to facilitate economic development and encourage social and cultural contact, and in so doing, to improve interstate relations and preserve the peace. For the past three decades, ASEAN has not only survived but has doubled in size and flourished more than any other multilateral organization in Asia. It has created a forum, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), where security issues are discussed. But neither ASEAN nor ARF can be defined as a security alliance.

Perhaps the only significant example of an alliance in Asia (besides those created by the United States during the Cold War) was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–24).<sup>13</sup> This alliance, the first formal collaboration

**neutralize**—to put out of action or make incapable of action

**Manchuria**—a historic region of Northeast China

**eschew**—avoid; keep away from

**propensity**—a natural inclination or tendency

of its kind between an Asian nation and a Western power, was a minimalist agreement aimed at insulating British territories in Asia from possible Japanese expansion and at containing Russian expansion into Korea and other parts of Asia. While counteracting Russian advances, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance did nothing to constrain Japan's own expansion into Korea. Indeed, by neutralizing the threat of Western intervention, the alliance facilitated Japan's colonization of Korea, providing the Japanese military with a pivotal foothold on the Asian continent from which to sweep down into Manchuria and subsequently into the heartland of China.<sup>14</sup> The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, based on the "lowest common denominator," failed to survive the shift to a multilateral arms control regime following the conclusion of the Washington Conference (1921).<sup>15</sup>

For a variety of reasons, including historical relationships, geostrategic factors, and perhaps cultural considerations, China has eschewed security alliances over the course of its 4,000-year history. The two alliances that China has entered, with the Soviet Union and North Korea, have failed to work smoothly or to hold together over time. In striking contrast to the United States, China has shown no propensity to enter into, or successfully manage, bilateral alliances, much less preside over a global network of security treaties. Thus, JASA, KASA, and AASA (Australia American Security Alliance)—handiworks of America's Cold War strategy—constitute rare exceptions to the historic pattern of nonalignment in East Asia.

### North and South Korea

Over the postwar period, major changes have taken place on the Korean peninsula, in South Korea, and in the relationship between KASA and JASA. These changes have altered the priority placed on Korea in the scheme of American strategy. South Korea is no longer the poor, unstable, authoritarian state that it used to be. It has become an industrial economy, a democracy, a valued military partner, and a middle-size power implementing a constructive foreign policy. It has risen to a place of prominence in the structure of American relationships in the Asia Pacific.

**derivative**—secondary

**buffer**—a usually neutral state lying between two larger potentially rival powers

Consider the evolution in America's assessment of Korea. Recall that Korea used to be deemed of derivative importance in the sense that Korea merely represented a buffer for Japan. That has changed. South Korea's vigorous industrial development has made it a valuable economic partner for the United States and a medium-size engine of growth for the rest of Asia. Through a process of arduous struggle, South Korea has finally turned itself into a democracy. Its value as a showcase of democratic development (under American tutelage) is substantial. Diplomatically, Korea has taken an active role in such regional organizations as APEC, ARI, and the Asian Development Bank. Korea's contributions to the region are greater than its size would lead one to expect. And strategically, China's growing power and South Korea's development of a world-class industrial infrastructure have had the effect of elevating the strategic

**armistice**—a temporary suspension of hostilities by agreement of the warring parties; truce

position of the Korean peninsula. Clearly, America’s commitment to South Korea is now direct, formal, and strong.

The balance of power on the Korean peninsula has also tilted decisively in favor of the ROK (South Korea). The DPRK (North Korea) held a commanding edge in 1953, the year of the Armistice, thanks in part to the extant infrastructure left behind by Japanese colonial rule. If U.S. forces had not intervened in the Korean conflict, the DPRK would have routed the ROK and taken control of the entire peninsula. For decades, the only obstacles standing in the way of the DPRK’s domination of the peninsula were U.S. bases, American troops, and KASA.

For the United States, the costs of involvement in another Korean conflict would have been high, given the imbalance between the North and South that existed from 1953 to 1980. The United States would have had to compensate for a huge gap. But by 1980, the ROK had closed the gap. While the North Korean economy stumbled along, following the dead-end philosophy of *juche* (self-reliance), the South Korean economy grew by leaps and bounds. Since 1980, the ROK has gained a lead of insurmountable dimensions over the DPRK.

### JASA and KASA

JASA and KASA have evolved as interlinked, complementary institutions within the framework of America’s global alliance network. Although the two treaties serve a common goal—peace and stability in Northeast Asia—they operate in contrasting national security environments. Japan and Korea stand at opposite ends of the spectrum. JASA and KASA also utilize a different mix of forces designed to fulfill different missions. KASA is geared solely for the defense of Korea; its role in regional or global security is limited. JASA, on the other hand, is geared to maintain regional peace and stability.

The essential difference between JASA and KASA is captured in the main service linkages with the United States. The U.S. Navy is the primary service link for JASA, but for KASA it is the U.S. Army. The U.S. Navy roams all over the Pacific Ocean and well beyond. It serves a regional and global mission. By contrast, the U.S. Army is land-bound in Korea; its sole purpose is to deter attack and repel invasion of the South. It is not trained as a mobile unit to be transported to fight in other Asian areas. By contrast, the U.S. Marines in Okinawa are a mobile fighting unit, trained to arrive quickly on the scene, whether in Korea or elsewhere in Asia. The U.S. Air Force is present in both countries, but U.S. bases in Kadena, Misawa, and Yokota are designed to conduct combat missions throughout the region.

**tacit**—understood without being openly expressed

There is thus a tacit division of labor between JASA and KASA. But the connection between JASA and KASA is strongly reinforced by ties of strategic interdependence. Japan needs KASA because stability and a friendly regime in Korea are essential to Japan’s sense of security. KASA

needs JASA because U.S. bases in Japan are essential for the defense of Korea and because JASA functions as “cork in the Japanese bottle.” From both strategic and operational points of view, therefore, JASA and KASA have become tightly interlinked within America’s regional and global military network. The nature of interdependence is such that if one leg is broken (e.g., KASA), the other leg (e.g., JASA) will require immediate medical attention.

### Conclusion

JASA is the longest-lived and most successful alliance that Asia has ever known. It is a watershed institution in a region historically inhospitable to the creation and maintenance of alliances. In organizing JASA, American and Japanese policymakers had no idea that the alliance would last as long or play as seminal a role as it has.

Thus, it can be said that the United States, skillfully utilizing its military alliances, has succeeded in pulling Japan and Korea into its sphere of influence. It has molded the two states in America’s own likeness. JASA and KASA have functioned as extensions of U.S. power and influence in Asia. Both Japan and Korea have developed into subordinate partners, compliant allies, democratic states, and big-time economic clients and competitors. It is doubtful that European colonialism ever penetrated as widely or deeply into the soul of indigenous countries or left so large and lasting an imprint. Even if JASA and KASA were to disappear overnight, their legacies would persist.

**watershed**—an important point of division or transition between two phases, conditions, etc.

**seminal**—highly original and influencing the development of future events

**sphere of influence**—an area of power, control, or influence; domain

QUIZ, JASA BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Match the following alliances and organizations with the appropriate description:

<p><b>The Axis alliance</b></p>		<p>Set up in 1967, this alliance comprises five local states (Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines). It was not a military organization; rather, it set out to facilitate economic development and encourage social and cultural contact, and in so doing, to improve interstate relations and preserve the peace. This alliance has not only survived but has doubled in size and flourished.</p>
<p><b>Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)</b></p>		<p>Attempt by Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan (1939–45) to band together against rival powers in the West</p>
<p><b>Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)</b></p>		<p>This alliance (1902–24) was the first formal collaboration of its kind between an Asian nation and a Western power. It aimed to insulate British territories in Asia from possible Japanese expansion and to contain Russian expansion into Korea and other parts of Asia.</p>
<p><b>Anglo-Japanese Alliance</b></p>		<p>Inaugurated in 1954, this alliance comprised eight nations (United States, France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, and the Philippines). The purpose of this alliance was to contain the spread of communism. However, it failed to do so in Vietnam. Thus, this alliance did not survive.</p>
<p><b>North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)</b></p>		<p>A multilateral alliance that restructured the European security landscape in 1949</p>



2. There are several reasons why few alliances formed in Asia (compared with Europe). Which of the following is NOT a reason?
- A) Asia stretches across a much broader and more diverse geographic landscape than the European continent.
  - B) Asia's biggest continental power, China, has neither conquered Asia nor ruled over a sprawling empire, as Rome once did.
  - C) Asian countries underwent the formative experience of nation-building (from the sixth century to the 10th century) much earlier than European nations experienced (from the mid-15th century to the early 19th century).
  - D) East Asia's incorporation into a colonial world dominated by the Western powers took place comparatively late—later than that of Africa, North and South America, South Asia (the Indian subcontinent), and even Southeast Asia.
3. Label the following functions as describing JASA, KASA, or both.
- Goal of peace and stability in Northeast Asia
  - Geared solely for the defense of Korea; its role in regional or global security is limited.
  - The U.S. Navy is the primary service link.
  - The U.S. Army is the primary service link.



QUIZ ON JASA BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Match the following alliances and organizations with the appropriate description:

<p><b>The Axis alliance</b></p>		<p>Set up in 1967, this alliance comprises five local states (Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines). It was not a military organization; rather, it set out to facilitate economic development and encourage social and cultural contact, and in so doing, to improve interstate relations and preserve the peace. This alliance has not only survived but has doubled in size and flourished.</p>
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2. There are several reasons why few alliances formed in Asia (compared with Europe). Which of the following is NOT a reason?

*Answer: C. Asian countries have not undergone the same formative experience of nation-building that European nations experienced from the mid-15th century to the early 19th century.*

A) Asia stretches across a much broader and more diverse geographic landscape than the European continent.

- B) Asia's biggest continental power, China, has neither conquered Asia nor ruled over a sprawling empire, as Rome once did.
- C) Asian countries underwent the formative experience of nation-building (from the sixth century to the 10th century) much earlier than European nations experienced (from the mid-15th century to the early 19th century).**
- D) East Asia's incorporation into a colonial world dominated by the Western powers took place comparatively late—later than that of Africa, North and South America, South Asia (the Indian subcontinent), and even Southeast Asia.
3. Label the following functions as describing JASA, KASA, or both.
- Goal of peace and stability in Northeast Asia *Both JASA and KASA*
  - Geared solely for the defense of Korea; its role in regional or global security is limited. *KASA*
  - The U.S. Navy is the primary service link. *JASA—the U.S. Navy roams all over the Pacific Ocean and well beyond, thereby serving a more regional and global mission.*
  - The U.S. Army is the primary service link. *KASA—the U.S. Army is land-bound in Korea; its sole purpose is to deter attack and repel invasion of the South.*

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