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POLICY CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE IN AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN: Assessing Identity Shift within the Bilateral Relationship

Edited by Michael Heazle and Andrew O'Neil

GRIFFITH ASIA INSTITUTE

The 5th Annual Australia-Japan Dialogue

Policy Convergence and Divergence in Australia and Japan: Assessing Identity Shift within the Bilateral Relationship

Griffith Asia Institute

(in partnership with Ritsumeikan University)

Brisbane, December 10, 2015

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Griffith Asia Institute

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The 5th Annual Australia-Japan Dialogue - Policy Convergence and Divergence in Australia and Japan: Assessing Identity Shift within the Bilateral Relationship

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Michael Heazle & Andrew O'Neil
March 31, 2016
Brisbane, Australia

Contents

Editors Introduction

❖

Michael Heazle and Andrew O'Neil

The Australia-Japan Dialogues are focused on the bilateral relationship of two sovereign states and are conducted, therefore, within the disciplinary domains of Foreign Policy Analysis and International Relations. But while theoretical approaches operating only at the international or system level can generate general conclusions about the behaviour of states in an anarchical international environment, analysing the foreign policy behaviour of *individual* states requires analysis at *both* the international and domestic levels if we are to appreciate how structural and ideational influences combine to influence foreign policy.

The annual Australia-Japan Dialogues provide a valuable opportunity for collaboration between political scientists, international relations specialists, and policy experts. Indeed, the theme of the 2015 Dialogues was squarely focused on promoting interdisciplinary and institutional cooperation in Australia-Japan related research, and brought together experts from various fields

to analyse and compare Japanese and Australian perceptions and policy making, an analysis that yielded valuable insights into the drivers of Japan's identity shift, current trends in Australian and Japanese politics, and the types of challenges and opportunities a "more normal" Japan is likely to present.

Debate over the meaning and desirability of a more "normal" Japan has raged since the early 1990s when leading Japanese political figure Ichiro Ozawa announced his *Blueprint for a New Japan* in response to what he saw as the new realities of the post-Cold War era. Indeed, some of the reforms called for by Ozawa have either been achieved, or are still in progress. These include: the shelving of the post-war Yoshida Doctrine, the strengthening of executive authority in decision-making, and incremental moves towards freeing up legal restrictions on Japan's use of its military. One of Ozawa's main objectives — the development of a more conventional strategic identity for Japan — has progressed rapidly under current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Abe's Cabinet announced a major "re-interpretation" of Article 9 in 2014 among several reforms aimed at increasing Japan's security contribution to the US alliance and the region more broadly. Criticised by some as an ultra-nationalist keen on glorifying Japan's military past, and applauded by others for navigating Japan's escape from the uncertainty of the

"lost decades", Prime Minister Abe's policies are controversial and their ultimate fate remains unclear.

What is clear, however, is that Japan's identity in the Asia-Pacific is changing, and the meaning of the various changes underpinning Japan's collective makeover as a nation state remains disputed at home and abroad. Indeed, even Ozawa opposes Abe's vision of a more normal Japan, indicating the highly contested nature of the Abe Government's reforms. When examined only through the lenses of Japan's "peace constitution" and its past occupation of Korea, China, and Southeast Asia, domestic and regional concern over any departure from the formal renunciation of military force that has characterised Japan's foreign policy for more than six decades is understandable. But when also viewed in the context of Asia's increasingly fluid strategic environment, a broader perspective on the Abe Government's policies becomes possible. How Japan redefines its own role in Asia and beyond will impact on the future of the Australia-Japan relationship, so it is critical to grasp the various dynamics shaping that redefinition.

Dialogue Objectives and Approach

The 2015 Australia-Japan Dialogue located Japan's political and security reforms within this context by

examining convergence and divergence between Australian and Japanese policy responses to contemporary international pressures. The Dialogue focused in particular on identifying how Japan's emerging identity as a more active international actor is being driven by changes in the global order as distinct from the influence of domestic political factors. Australia and Japan's shared democratic governance, overlapping strategic alignments, and similar foreign policy priorities provide a strong basis for gauging the level of external influence on domestic policy development in both countries. Indeed, comparing the Japanese experience with the Australian experience is significant because both are US allies confronting similar challenges in Asia with respect to geopolitical shifts, triggered largely by China's rise.

Therefore a broader, more nuanced, analysis of the drivers behind Japan's current shift away from its traditional pacifist identity towards that of a more engaged state actor acting beyond narrow economic considerations is important for better understanding: 1) the drivers of Japan's identity shift; and 2) the kinds of policy interests that are likely to evolve from this shift and their likely effects on the Australia-Japan bilateral relationship.

Themes and Perspectives

Each of the Dialogue's five sessions featured the presentation of two written discussion papers, followed by plenary discussion — the revised papers are included in this volume. Each paper addressed the 2015 Dialogue's targeted areas of comparison between Japan and Australia, with one session paper focusing on Japan and the other on Australia in response to the session topic:

1) The Regional Security Environment: Overview of Issues, Actors, and Trends
2) Legislative Action on Security
3) Executive Influence and Accountability in Security Policy Making and Implementation
4) Government Perceptions of the Contemporary Regional and International Environment
5) Changes in Australian and Japanese Party Politics — Electoral Issues and Political Trends

China's aggressive pursuit of its territorial claims in the East and South China Seas has raised concerns among a number of states — in particular Japan, the US, and some ASEAN members — leading to what appears to be a return to zero-sum balancing behaviour in the region. Are we, for

example, seeing evidence of the multilateral cooperation, which emerged in part in response to various transnational issues over the last decade or more, being eroded by bilateral tensions? Underpinning such concerns is the broader question of what China actually wants and persistent uncertainty over the type of regional role China intends to play in future. Are China's national interest ambitions likely to be compatible with other states in the region? Or should China be seen as a revisionist great power with zero-sum designs on reshaping the Asia-Pacific region's post-war order? Miwa Hirono and Andrew O'Neil in their responses to these questions raised the problem of our inability to predict the future including how conditions within the regional order will evolve, but also the risks associated with misreading China's intentions.

Hirono argues that while China's more assertive behaviour has been interpreted by many observers as evidence of its revisionist intent, significant doubt remains over whether China's leaders are planning any major revision of the Asia-Pacific order. Hirono supports this view by maintaining that China's actions need to be understood within the context of its core national interest, which remains ongoing economic growth and development. According to Hirono, given China's need for a stable regional environment in order to continue growing its economic gains, there is little likelihood that China's

leaders would intentionally jeopardise the country's all important economic growth by risking regional conflict, particularly with the US. This interpretation of China as a rational actor is supported by one of the two scenarios presented by O'Neil as being the most likely for the region.

Like Hirono, O'Neil does not believe Beijing's intentions can confidently be labelled revisionist just yet. China's continued engagement with regional institutions and signs that its leaders are willing to provide international public goods, like the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank, demonstrate from O'Neil's perspective that it is premature to dismiss China's willingness to work within existing institutions and norms. However, O'Neil also points to a second scenario as being equally likely. That is, one in which China pursues a revisionist agenda aimed at replacing US primacy and the liberal order it has helped create over the last six decades with a Chinese led order recalibrated to Chinese values and interests. The important point though is that the likelihood of either of these scenarios, or quite likely something in between, is still very unclear, and the policies of other states cannot assume too much about where China is headed.

But while the future is by definition unknowable, the risks of wrongly assuming that China is revisionist are balanced by the dangers of wrongly assuming China is a

status quo rising power. For Australia and Japan, the risks of misreading China's intentions are shared in important ways due to their analogous alliances with the US and deep economic interdependence with China. Indeed, while Japan and Australia have parallel alliances and important economic relations with the US, they also have deepening trade and investment ties with China, in addition to a major stake in promoting strategic stability in Asia and shoring up the region's liberal based order.

So despite the challenges involved with accurately reading the region's likely future, as outlined by Hirono and O'Neil, strategic policy requires that assumptions, albeit tentative ones, be made by governments. Against this background, Yuki Tatsumi and Michael Heazle switch focus from the pitfalls of attempting to divine the reality of the regional security landscape to asking about the perceptions policy makers in Australia and Japan appear to be forming. Indeed, exploring perceptions of the external security environment inside and outside of government in Tokyo and Canberra is central to appreciating the calculations driving both countries' strategic policy. Tatsumi and Heazle both note the broad array of interests shared by Australia and Japan as key drivers of the closer security relationship between the two countries. In addition to common concern over China's challenge to freedom of navigation, both countries seek to limit North Korea's

nuclear program, deepen cooperation on counter-terrorism, and maintain the US-led regional order in the Asia-Pacific.

The range of common interests and shared threat perceptions is, as Tatsumi and Heazle both argue, a major driver of increased security cooperation in the Australia-Japan relationship, not only in relation to the security challenges posed by China, on which Japanese and Australian perceptions have occasionally diverged. In contrast to the more direct threat to Japanese interests posed by China, particularly in the East China Sea, Australian threat perceptions regarding China's behaviour have been more ambivalent. This is unsurprising given the very different "balance of threat" concerns China's more belligerent policies generate in Tokyo.

Nevertheless, and despite the ongoing Australian ambivalence over China noted by Heazle, security cooperation between Canberra and Tokyo has proceeded apace with bipartisan political support in both countries. Closely linked to these concerns is a level of greater awareness in Japan and Australia (and elsewhere in the region) of the importance of the security alliances with the US, and the need for burden sharing if US security guarantees are to continue. This bipartisan prioritisation of the US alliance relationship is generally long standing, but its increased relevance in the current environment has

further motivated policy elites to increase Australia-Japan security cooperation.

Exploring the greater attention Canberra and Tokyo have devoted to bilateral security cooperation over recent years provides useful insights into the drivers of domestic security reform in both countries. One of the key questions here, in the context of Japan's so-called security "normalisation", is the extent to which the impetus for Japan's reforms — including the creation of a National Security Council, the introduction of a state secrets law, and the constitutional reinterpretation of Article 9 — can be explained by external factors and changing public attitudes rather than only ideological/nationalist reform ambitions. Are we seeing similar reforms in Australia? If so, what are the drivers of Australian security reform legislation, and to what extent is the reform being driven by perceptions of the external security environment rather than exclusively domestic partisan political interests, as some critics contend?

While the shared interests between Australia and Japan are underwritten by shared perceptions of the regional and international environment, they are also subject to scrutiny when these interests link to domestic issues in high profile policy areas such as security, trade and investment, foreign aid, and the environment. Critics of the security legislation

and reforms adopted in Japan, and also Australia, argue policy makers are exaggerating threats and exploiting public fears for political and ideological ends. Masaki Ina, for example, argues that Abe's reforms are unconstitutional and are the product of his government's vision of a more "normal" Japan. They also illustrate how, for many in Japan, Abe is exploiting security concerns for ideological ends. Like many claims in this area of debate, such an argument is contestable.

Indeed, Tracey Arklay and Go Murakami's papers indicate that the types of security reforms underway in Japan and Australia are the product of more than only elite driven preferences. Both papers cite public opinion polls and trends to show that government is not a major influence on public attitudes towards threat perceptions, indicating that voter thinking is being shaped by other factors. Murakami, for example, shows that while the economy remains the biggest concern for the public in Japan, security related concerns have increased in spite of political elites continuing to lack influence over public opinion on policy issues. In Australia, as Arklay explains, the trend towards tougher security legislation has been even stronger than in Japan, with the public tending to accept civil liberty impositions despite broader voter dissatisfaction with the major parties. To a significant degree, then, voters in both countries are making up their

own minds on the pros and cons of stronger security laws and national defence policies.

John Kane argues that the increased security powers of Australian governments and agencies is a direct result of threat perceptions, including terrorism, border security, and a more fluid regional environment, resonating with voters thereby requiring Coalition and Labor governments to develop stronger security related legislation and closer cooperation with the US and security partners such as Japan. According to Kane, the strong similarities that exist between the types of security concerns and policies adopted in Japan and Australia are best explained by the priority parties must give to "home defence", and the huge political costs incurred if governments are seen to have failed to respond to threats. While there are times when politicians and others will use the "politics of fear" to their advantage, as Kane notes, governments can never be seen to be under prepared for potential threats against their citizens, even when the measures adopted can be seen in some cases as unwarranted government intrusion on civil rights.

But despite the lack of influence among policy elites over public attitudes, executives in both countries have been the key sources of security related reform. In Japan, the adoption of a National Security Council and stricter state secret laws, and more recently the Abe Cabinet's

reinterpretation of Article 9 to permit some capacity for collective self-defence, have, as Ina demonstrates, been criticised as proof of the Abe Government operating beyond the limits of electoral legitimacy and accountability. In Australia, similar criticisms have been made of a number of important security policy decisions including tough anti-terrorism legislation and more recently data retention laws. However, decisive executive influence over policy, particularly in the realm of security affairs, is nothing new.

Thus, as Patrick Weller's discussion of prime ministerial policy influence suggests, the relatively higher level of executive control being exerted over policy by the Abe Cabinet is perhaps evidence that policy making in Japan is becoming more like other parliamentary based systems. Masahiro Kobori's discussion of how the "blueprint" for Japan's "normalisation" has evolved over the last 25 years shows first the level of policy elite influence in driving Japan's security reforms, and second how these reforms have been driven primarily by external events and pressures, in particular pressure from various US administrations for Japan to contribute more to regional and international security. The Abe Government, as Kobori explains, has promoted a reform model focused on Japan as a sovereign state as distinct from the Ozawa vision of Japan's reforms being guided primarily by the interests and

obligations of international institutions. However, it is very likely that while Abe's nationalist vision for Japan has certainly shaped his government's policies, the realist elements underpinning these policies merely reflect genuine concern over the new types of international security challenges Japan is now facing, in addition to the paramount obligation of governments to protect the national security of their citizens.

Conclusions

Given the executive power wielded by prime ministers and their cabinets, the types of pressures governments are under to protect their own citizens at home and abroad, and a fluid international environment, it is unsurprising that Japan's identity is changing. It is unlikely this change can be solely attributed to the conservative political agenda of one or more political elites, either in government or elsewhere. On the basis of the papers presented at the 2015 Australia-Japan Dialogue, it seems that Australia and Japan are indeed converging in the area of security. This can in large part be explained by political actors and publics within very similar political systems reacting in analogous ways to similar perceptions of the external environment. In so far that Japan is normalising under Abe's reforms, it is increasingly emulating other states in defence priorities and

capabilities and behaving more like other liberal democracies in relation to the types of influence the executive is able to exert in shaping perceptions of the national interest and how this is best pursued. Only time will tell how far and how fast Japan and Australia's security relationship will develop. But if the past is any guide, ongoing convergence is more likely to feature than divergence.

Is China a Revisionist State? The Case of the South China Sea

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***Miwa Hirono*[1]**

Ritsumeikan University

Many media and scholarly analyses point to China's foreign policy as being "assertive" and "aggressive," with reference to a wide range of China's diplomatic and military actions in Asia. Does this mean that China is a revisionist state in Asia? This paper first discusses how one can assess a state's revisionist stance by using Alastair I. Johnston's indicators of a revisionist state. It then assesses whether China is a revisionist state by examining its foreign policy preference and behaviours with particular attention paid to the South China Sea issue. This paper argues that China's preference and behaviours show contradiction — the former showing a tendency towards the "status quo" while the latter a tendency towards "revisionism." This suggests that Australia and Japan should make efforts to prepare an international environment in which China can bring its behaviours back into line with the "status quo" so that China's foreign policy preference and behaviours align with each other.

[1] Associate Professor, College of International Relations, Ritsumeikan University, Japan; and Visiting Fellow, Department of International Relations, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University. Email: hirono-1@fc.ritsumei.ac.jp.

Introduction

Many media and scholarly analyses point to China's foreign policy as "assertive" and "aggressive" with reference to a wide range of diplomatic and military actions. Examples include those in the South China Sea, Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, and the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, to name but a few. Usually the argument goes that with rising economic power, and Xi Jinping's strong leadership, China's foreign policy is now designed to revise the international order, which has been dominated by the US and other Western powers since the end of World War II. For example, in his testimony at the US Senate Armed Serviced Committee in October 2015, Walter Russell Mead claimed that "our three principal conventional challenges are China, Russia, and Iran. All aim to revise the current global geopolitical order to some extent. In the years to come, we must expect that revisionist powers will continue to challenge the existing status quo in various ways".[2] China's behaviours in the South China Sea often attract similar assessment. For example, a commentary in the *Wall Street Journal* claims that Beijing's behaviour in the South China Sea "only

[2] Walter Russell Mead, "Testimony of Walter Russell Mead, United States Senate Committee on Armed Services," October 22, 2015. Available at: http://www.armed-services.senate.gov/download/mead_10-22-15.

underscores the importance of deterring further such revisionism."[3]

This paper, however, demonstrates that the evidence concerning China's revisionist goals in Asia is more problematic than one might expect. China's foreign policy preference and behaviours in the South China Sea are showing contradiction — the former showing a tendency towards the "status quo" while the latter a tendency towards "revisionism." Our observation of China's "assertive" behaviours, particularly since 2010, is not necessarily an indication of China's quest for revision of the current international order. A more nuanced and accurate assessment of the rationale for China's foreign policy approaches will carry important policy implications for Australia and Japan, as their bilateral relations today can be defined largely by the ways in which the nature of China's rise is understood. This paper suggests that Australia and Japan should make an effort to prepare an international environment in which China can bring its behaviours back into line with the "status quo," so that its foreign policy preference and behaviours align with each other.

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[3] David Feith, "What Lies in the South China Sea," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 13, 2015. Available at: http://www.wsj.com/articles/what-lies-in-the-south-china-sea-1444756962.

Revisionist State Indicators

In his paper entitled "Is China a Status Quo Power?" Alastair I. Johnston proposed a set of indicators by which one can assess whether a particular actor is revisionist. Amongst five indicators he put forward, particularly relevant to this paper are the following three:

1) "The actor has internalized a clear *preference* for a radical redistribution of material power in the international system."[4]

2) "The actor's behavior is aimed in the main at realizing such redistribution of power and to this end military power is considered to be a critical tool."

3) "The actor may participate in [international] institutions and may abide by their rules and norms temporarily, but if given a chance, it will try to change these rules and norms in ways that defeat the original purposes of the institution and the community."[5]

[4] Author's italics.

[5] Alastair I. Johnston, "Is China a Status Quo Power?" *International Security* 27, no. 4 (Spring 2003): 11.

Below I assess China's preference and behaviours in relation to its activities in the South China Sea against each of these indicators.

A Clear Preference for a Radical Redistribution of Material Power?

Does China have such a preference? Before answering this question, it is important to distinguish *preference* from *behaviours*.[6] As Randall L. Schweller notes, "revisionist states are not always actively engaged in overturning the status quo; they may be temporarily passive because they lack the relative economic, military, and/or political capabilities needed to challenge the protector(s) of the status quo."[7] And the same can be said of status quo states — they may be temporarily proactive to respond to an immediate international environment. Further, the level of material power does not correspond with the level of revisionism.[8] China had a revisionist foreign policy in the 1960s; for example, China had a preference for revolutionalised international relations, aiming to revolutionalise the United Nations and to assist Communist

[6] Sten Rynning and Jens Ringsmose, "Why are Revisionist States Revisionist? Revising Classical Realism as an Approach to Understanding International Change," *International Politics* 45, no. 1 (2008): 36.

[7] Randall L. Schweller, "Tripolarity and the Second World War," *International Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (March 1993): 76.

[8] Jeffrey W. Legro, "What China Will Want: The Future Intentions of a Rising Power," *Perspectives on Politics* issue 3 (September 2007): 519.

revolutions in the "Third World". This happened when China's economic and military capabilities were insignificant. The current image of China being a revisionist state derives largely from China's rising economic power, as well as China's assertive foreign policy behaviours. However, material powers and behaviours themselves do not meet the revisionist state criteria. Rather than powers and behaviours, state *preferences* are more directly linked to revisionism. Preferences are not "strategies," "tactics," or "policies," but "the fundamental social purposes underlying the strategic calculations of governments".[9] As explained by Andrew Moravcsik:

> Preferences are by definition causally independent of the strategies of other actors and, therefore, prior to specific interstate political interactions, including external threats, incentives, manipulation of information, or other tactics. By contrast, strategies and tactics […] are policy options defined across intermediate political aims, as when governments declare an 'interest' in 'maintaining the balance of power,' 'containing'

[9] Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously," *International Organization* 51, no. 4 (1997): 513.

> consequences for state behavior of shifts in fundamental preferences, not shifts in the strategic circumstances under which states pursue them.[10]

How do we know a state's preferences, then? To unpack a state's preferences it is important to look at whose interests the state represents within its domestic society. Moravcsik further explains that:

> States represent some subset of domestic society, on the basis of whose interests state officials define state preferences and act purposively in world politics…. Representative institutions and practices constitute the critical 'transmission belt' by which the preferences and social power of individuals and groups are translated into state policy.[11]

What does this mean to our analysis of China's approach to the South China Sea? Focusing on state "preferences" that determine the overall and long-term direction of its foreign policy, rather than "behaviours" in the South China Sea that change so often depending on a particular international environment and on bilateral relations that China

[10] Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously," 519.

[11] Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously," 518.

encounters at a given time, helps us understand the fundamentals taken into consideration by Chinese leaders when making foreign policy.

The Chinese Communist Party is the key foreign policy maker.[12] For the party, the most important consideration in its foreign policy is not so much China's international image, but maintaining party legitimacy.[13] As Susan Shirk argues, China's foreign policy is driven by the Chinese leaders' "sense of insecurity, threat and fear".[14] And "the more developed and prosperous the country becomes, the more insecure and threatened they feel".[15] The Chinese leaders' sense of insecurity derives from the fragility of economic growth — the cornerstone of the Communist Party's legitimacy. China's economic growth slowed to 6.9 percent in 2015. Successfully addressing the questions of whether China's economic growth is sustainable, and whether the government can successfully address rising domestic discontent, is the most challenging task for the

[12] There is an emerging field of study that argues for a pluralised process in China's foreign policy making, but the key policy maker remains the Chinese Communist Party. See Linda Jacobson and Dean Knox, "New Foreign Policy Actors in China," SIPRI Policy Paper 26 (September 2010).

[13] Susan Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[14] Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, 5.

[15] Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower*, 5.

Chinese leaders. Their "sense of insecurity," in turn, forces China to be a cautious foreign policy actor.

The only time it can present itself as having a "resolute" stance in foreign policy behaviour is when the US, Taiwan or Japan are involved. The Communist Party must gain support from domestic audiences who have a strong nationalist sense in relation to those actors. However, even when it needs to demonstrate strong "behaviour," China's state "preference" remains the same — to continue satisfactory growth in its GDP. In such circumstances, "a radical redistribution of material power in the international system" is unfavourable to China, because it will create so many unknown factors that might impinge upon China's economic performance. The discussion of China's state preferences suggests that China *cannot afford* to internalise revisionism as a state *preference*, even when the US, Taiwan or Japan become involved in matters like the South China Sea.

Behaviour to Realise a Radical Redistribution of Power by Military Means?

If China cannot afford to take a revisionist stance as its foreign policy *preference*, can we see any sign of a revisionist tendency in terms of its behaviours? There are, in fact, a lot of examples of muscular behaviour by the

Chinese: China's seizing control of the Scarborough Shoal in 2012; its land reclamation and military facilities build-up in the Spratly Islands; and establishing an oil rig off the disputed Paracel Islands. Does China meet Johnston's revisionist criteria that it has "aimed at realising such redistribution of power, and to this end military power is considered to be a critical tool"?[16]

The answer is yes and no. First of all, by such muscular behaviour, China has not realised a redistribution of power. Rather, much of its muscular behaviour in territorial disputes represents an escalating response to the equally escalating behaviour of other claimant states in territorial disputes since "China switched to an escalation strategy in the mid-1980s".[17] As Taylor Fravel points out, for example, Scarborough Shoal was China's response to the Philippines' attempt to arrest a group of Chinese fishermen.[18]

Second, land reclamation and military facilities build-up in the Spratly Islands also bring about speculation that

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[16] Author's italics.

[17] M. Taylor Fravel, "China's Strategy in the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 33, no. 3 (2011): 298.

[18] International Crisis Group, "Stirring up the South China Sea (III): A Fleeting Opportunity for China," Asia Report no. 267, May 7, 2015. For a more detailed discussion of how China responded to the Philippines' and Vietnam's approaches until 2012, see Michael D. Swaine and M. Taylor Fravel, "China's Assertive Behavior Part Two: The Maritime Periphery," *China Leadership Monitor* 35 (2010): 5.

China intends to achieve a redistribution of power in the South China Sea to its favour. As the reason for military facilities build-up, Chinese Admiral Wu Shengli explains that it will be used "to fulfil international duties to protect international maritime security".[19] It will also "welcome international organisations', the United States' and other relevant states' use of these facilities in the future when conditions have matured, and exercise international maritime humanitarian operations such as anti-piracy operations".[20] However, some officials and analysts in the West are concerned "about the potential for China to introduce long-range radar and anti-aircraft guns on these islands," which would cast significant doubt over the decency of China's explanation.[21]

However, the extent to which these militarised islands change the distribution of power is questioned by a number of specialists. For sure, "these new islands will give China additional military presence in the region, and reinforce

[19] Mo Xiaoliang, "Wu Shengli yu meiguo haijun zuozhan buzhan yonghua tanji meijian jidi jinzhencha deng [Wu Shengli Phoned the Head of Operations in the US Navy, Discussed Close Surveillance by the US Fleet and Planes etc.]," Renmin Wang, May 1, 2015. Available at: http://military.people.com.cn/n/2015/0501/c1011-26935771.html.

[20] Mo Xiaoliang, "Wu Shengli yu meiguo haijun zuozhan buzhan yonghua tanji meijian jidi jinzhencha deng."

[21] Peter Terlato, "Report: China is Putting Weapons on its Artificial Islands in the South China Sea," *Business Insider Australia*, May 28, 2015. Available at: http://www.businessinsider.com.au/report-china-is-putting-weapons-on-its-artificial-islands-in-the-south-china-sea-2015-5.

Beijing's claims on a region rich in fisheries and potentially wealthy in natural gas".[22] Those bases allow China to "infringe" the freedom of navigation (from the perspectives of those who consider that the Exclusive Economic Zone is the open sea).[23] Australia's Air Marshal Leo Davies claims that "because the Chinese have done the reclamation, there is a greater Chinese presence," and that "nearly all" flights have met with Chinese radio broadcast warnings to move away from "Chinese territory".[24] Further, those islands can work as a "'kill chain,' the web of sensors on manned and unmanned aircraft, spy satellites, surface ships, and submarines stretching all the way back to Beijing".[25] However, in the event of an actual shooting war, these islands are very vulnerable, as each is a "stationary aircraft

[22] Kyle Mizokami, "How China Stealthily Built 'Kill Chain' in the South China Sea," The Week, May 21, 2015. Available at: http://theweek.com/articles/553700/how-china-stealthily-built-kill-chain-south-china-sea.

[23] In contrast, "China and many developing countries believe that the right to conduct military activities in an EEZ is not included within the scope of freedom of navigation." See Xue Li and Liu Mingyi, "Explaining China's New 'Commitments' on the South China Sea," *The Diplomat*, September 11, 2015. Available at: http://thediplomat.com/2015/09/explaining-chinas-new-commitments-on-the-south-china-sea/.

[24] David Wroe, "RAAF Now Being Routinely Challenged by Beijing in South China Sea," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 3, 2016. Available at: http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/raaf-now-being-routinely-challenged-by-beijing-in-south-china-sea-20160203-gmkvkb.html.

[25] Mizokami, "How China Stealthily Built 'Kill Chain' in the South China Sea."

carrier".[26] Kyle Mizokami comments that "these tiny island outposts wouldn't likely survive for more than a few hours. They're permanent and quite useful in peacetime, and temporarily dangerous — and extremely short-lived — in wartime".[27] In short, China's land reclamation could be interpreted as a redistribution of power in peacetime, giving China more military presence in the region, while it would not actually be so in a shooting war.

Trying to Change International Rules and Norms?

International rules and norms relevant to this case would be the ASEAN Declaration of Conduct (DoC) and the UN Commission on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), to both of which China is a party. China's current activity of land reclamation and its claim based on that activity show that the country does not abide by the "rules and norms in ways that defeat the original purposes of the institutions and the community", if not trying to *change* the rules and norms themselves.

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[26] Nikkei Asian Review, "Joseph Nye Interview: China's Artificial Isles Are Vulnerable, Fixed Targets," October 29, 2015. Available at: http://asia.nikkei.com/Politics-Economy/International-Relations/China-s-artificial-isles-are-vulnerable-fixed-targets.

[27] Mizokami, "How China Stealthily Built 'Kill Chain' in the South China Sea."

As most recently emphasised in the meeting between Xi Jinping and Vietnam's Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung in November 2015, the ASEAN-China Joint Working Group on the Implementation of the ASEAN DoC of Parties in the South China Sea has continued its efforts to draft a binding Code of Conduct in the South China Sea since 2010. However, China's land reclamation at the current level of 2000 acres (in comparison to Vietnam's 60 acres and Taiwan's five acres) is a violation of the DoC, which states all parties must "undertake to exercise self-restraint in the conduct of activities that would complicate or escalate disputes and affect peace and stability including, among others, refraining from action of inhabiting on the presently uninhabited islands, reefs, shoals, cays, and other features."[28]

In terms of the international legal system, China claims that it abides by the UNCLOS definition of maritime claims, at least as far as its definition of sovereign status of islands and territorial waters in the South China Sea is

[28] Association of Southeast Asian Nations, "Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea," October 17, 2012. Available at: http://www.asean.org/?static_post=declaration-on-the-conduct-of-parties-in-the-south-china-sea-2. This view is also presented in Jess M. Smith, "Let's Be Real: The South China Sea *Is* a US-China Issue," *The Diplomat*, June 24, 2015. Available at: http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/lets-be-real-the-south-china-sea-is-a-us-china-issue/.

concerned.[29] However, analysts argue that what China claims by its land reclamation is a violation of UNCLOS. Many of the islands China is building are based upon features underwater at high tide, which are entitled only to a 500 metre "safety zone". However, full-fledged islands created by land reclamation enjoy a 12 nautical mile (nm) territorial sea and 200 nm Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).[30] The UNCLOS' definition of an island is "a naturally formed area of land, surrounded by water, which is above water at high tide",[31] so even though China's artificial islands are made of natural materials, they should not qualify as full-fledged "islands". Therefore, the Chinese navy's call for international fleets not to interfere with what they claim as Chinese waters is not legal. While we should not forget the United States has not even ratified the UNCLOS, US foreign policy does not make the Chinese one right. Current Chinese behaviour does show a revisionist tendency in its interpretation of international law.

In summary, the above assessment suggests that there is a mixed record of China's preference and behaviours in

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[29] Swaine and Fravel, "China's Assertive Behavior Part Two: The Maritime Periphery," 5.

[30] Smith, "Let's Be Real: The South China Sea *Is* a US-China Issue."

[31] United Nations, "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea," Article 121, date unknown, 66. Available at: http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf.

terms of a revisionist tendency, based on a set of four observations. First, China's preference in policy making still lies in continuous economic growth rather than in seeking to redistribute power in the region, because the former is the source of the Communist Party's legitimacy. Second, the South China Sea case demonstrates that what seems to be China's "assertive behaviours" often amounts to escalated responses to other claimants' escalated behaviours. Third, the military facilities that China is building in the Spratly Islands can be interpreted as a redistribution of power in peacetime, but not so in a shooting war. Fourth, it seems China is taking a revisionist stance in its approach to international rules and norms.

Concluding Remarks: Policy Implications for Australia and Japan

This paper has argued that China's preference and behaviours show contradiction — the former showing a tendency towards the "status quo" and the latter showing a tendency towards "revisionism." While China's *preference* remains the "status quo," devising policies based on the assumption of a Chinese revisionist intention would only make matters worse. Australia and Japan should make efforts to help China align its foreign policy *behaviours* and the elements of a revisionist tendency, with its foreign

policy *preference*. To do so requires engaging with China as well as the US, and making the effort to prepare an international environment in which China can return with relative ease to more "status quo" behaviour. In this context, the current "freedom of navigation" operations need to be a little cautious lest they open a door to the escalation of conflict. At the same time, Australia and Japan should take seriously China's stated commitment to "negotiation and consultation", and assist the process of implementing the ASEAN Code of Conduct for the South China Sea.[32]

Last, of course, we should be mindful that the South China Sea is the hardest case on which to assess whether China is moving towards a more revisionist tendency. With the myriad issues that exist elsewhere in the Asia Pacific region, China tends to take a more modest "status quo" approach than in relation to its maritime territorial claims, discussion of which is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. However, Australia and Japan should continue their efforts to enhance confidence building with the Chinese military by tackling together a variety of common non-traditional security issues in the region such as natural

[32] "Peacefully resolving disputes through negotiations and consultations" were reemphasised by China's foreign minister Wang Yi, prior to the 48th ASEAN Ministerial Meetings in August 2015. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "Wang Yi on the South China Sea Issue at the ASEAN Regional Forum," August 6, 2015. Available at: http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1287277.shtml.

disasters and people smuggling, so that confidence can become the basis of future cooperation on more difficult issues such as the South China Sea issue.

China's Rise and Asian Security: The Perils of Prediction

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Andrew O'Neil

Griffith University[1]

The track record of international relations scholarship in forecasting change remains patchy at best. This inevitably raises questions about how effective IR theory will be in divining China's future strategic behaviour as it assumes a more salient role as Asia's newest (and oldest) great power. Regional states themselves are increasingly hedging against China's rise and Beijing has exhibited defensive as well as domineering traits in its interactions with small and middle powers in Asia. It's evident that these latter states are seeking to exploit their intimate economic relationships with China while simultaneously strengthening their security ties with the United States. The paper uses John Ikenberry's 'dual hierarchy' concept as a framework to further investigate recent empirical developments with respect to regional hedging against China's rise.

[1] Professor O'Neil is the Dean of Research, Griffith Business School, Grifffith University.

Introduction: Prediction and International Relations

A recurring theme in international relations is the tendency for observers to exaggerate the impact of change. Recall the predictions that globalisation would rapidly derogate the currency of sovereignty in international relations and that supranational and transnational forces (including terrorism) would render states marginal actors in world politics. It's true that globalisation has had a pervasive impact on international relations, and that non-state actors have been empowered by the technological pluralism of globalisation. But states remain by far the most influential actors in world politics. Dramatic predictions of change make good copy for media outlets and blog sites, and journal editors and publishers like bold forays that are often equated with impact, but overstating the significance of change can damage rather than enhance our ability to make sense of it.

The tendency to exaggerate change is not just confined to op-ed and blog pundits. Part of the problem is that international relations experts have a very poor record in forecasting change and its effects. Liberals seriously underestimated the resilience of authoritarianism in forecasting that democracy would follow closely on the heels of market economic reforms. Anti-democratic regimes have learned they can indeed have their cake and

eat it too when it comes to market economic reform and retaining political control.

As a Realist, it pains me to say our paradigm's record has been just as patchy when it comes to prediction in international relations. The default assumption after the Cold War that great powers would continue to dominate international relations has proven to be wide of the mark. Small and middle powers have managed to confound the major powers on a range of issues; America's disastrous post-9/11 decade in the Middle East and China's experience with concerted pushback in parts of Asia attest to the fact that great powers often struggle to get their own way when dealing with less powerful entities in world politics, something that is anathema to most Realists.

Putting aside the fact that no international relations scholar came close to predicting the end of the Cold War, as a guide to understanding how states will behave, international relations theory has frequently failed to deliver. As Muthiah Alagappa reminds us, predictions in the 1990s that Asia would replicate the nineteenth century European experience and be engulfed by armed conflict have been spectacularly off base: reaching as far back as

the 1970s, Asia has "witnessed a substantial reduction in the number of major and minor inter-state wars".[2]

Some would contend that theories are merely intended to explain the world around us, not predict how it will evolve. But this cuts against the grain of the broader purpose of theory in social sciences, which is to pinpoint "the causal mechanisms that produce the expected outcomes".[3] If theorists claim they are not in the game of forecasting future patterns of behaviour and outcomes in international relations, their work becomes little more than post-hoc rationalisations of the empirical world around them. As Karl Popper recognised, "the principle of causality is the assertion that any event whatsoever can be causally explained — that it can be deductively predicted".[4]

Forecasting China? Hedge and Keep Hedging

[2] Muthiah Alagappa, "International Peace in Asia: Will it Endure?" *The Asan Forum*, December 19, 2014. Available at: http://www.theasanforum.org/international-peace-in-asia-will-it-endure/.

[3] John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "Leaving Theory Behind: Why Simplistic Hypothesis Testing is Bad for International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 19, no. 3 (2013): 432.

[4] Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (London: Routledge, 2002), 39.

Given our poor track record in predicting change, how can we be the least bit confident in forecasting China's future behaviour? In his excruciatingly detailed analysis of IR theory's failure to predict the Cold War's demise, the great historian John Lewis Gaddis outlined that it wasn't just that we fell short of specifying that the Cold War would end; none of IR's theoretical approaches foresaw any of the *causal factors* that precipitated the tectonic shift of 1990–1991 (e.g., the peaceful collapse of Soviet authority, the advent of German reunification, the ascendancy of the US). Indeed, as Gaddis noted, "one might as well have relied on stargazers, readers of entrails, and other pre-scientific methods for all the good our 'scientific' methods did".[5] It seems that many analysts have sought to compensate for this previous lack of foresight by predicting (albeit without timeframes attached) China's internal collapse via the demise of the Communist Party, while others who are equally qualified have argued the CPC's internal authority will be strengthened further over time.[6]

Forecasting China's strategic behaviour has become a veritable cottage industry among apparent and self-

[5] John Lewis Gaddis, "International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War," *International Security* 17, no. 3 (1992/1993): 18.

[6] For a recent expression of these views see David Shambaugh, "The Coming Chinese Crackup," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 6, 2015; Geoff Raby, "For China, the Party is a Long Way from Over," *The Australian Financial Review*, March 10, 2015.

appointed experts. Oceans of ink have been spilt in an attempt to forecast Beijing's modus operandi since its rapid rise gained traction in the 1990s. What does China want? And when does it want it? It is hard to think of two questions that have been posed more often in the contemporary literature on international relations. Yet, while the quality of the best recent scholarship is outstanding[7], we are no closer to achieving consensus among specialists in the field than we were a decade ago. This is no mere ivory tower debate; it has real policy implications. As former US Treasury Secretary, Lawrence Summers, wrote recently, a key issue requiring clarity "is whether it is the objective of the US and the global community to see China succeed economically as a support for global prosperity and a driver of positive social and political change, or whether it is to contain and weaken the country economically, so it has less capacity to mount global threats".[8]

Stripped to the bare essentials, there are two alternative scenarios for how China's rise will impact on Asian

[7] In particular, see Thomas Christensen, *The China Challenge: Shaping the Choices of a Rising Power* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2015); David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Andrew Nathan and Andrew Scobell, *China's Search for Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Denny Roy, *Return of the Dragon: Rising China and Regional Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).

[8] Lawrence Summers, "Grasp the Reality of China's Rise," *The Financial Times*, November 8, 2015.

regional security. The first is that China will be a defensive great power concerned with safeguarding its core national interests and not interested in seeking domination of other countries. In this world, China will establish a modus vivendi with the United States, become more engaged in multilateral forums in Asia, and possibly broaden its willingness to underwrite public goods for other states in the region, as it has done with the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB). The second, more pessimistic scenario is one where China increasingly seeks to dominate other countries as it becomes more powerful. In this world, Sino-American relations remain acutely vulnerable to confrontation, Beijing uses coercion and/or the threat of coercion to achieve its territorial claims, and Chinese policy makers refuse to brook opposition to their vision of regional order.

The reality is that we do not know which of these alternative worlds, if either, we are likely to end up in. If the past is any guide, it's likely to be somewhere in between. Hence it should come as no surprise that the favoured strategy for regional states is to hedge. Put simply, hedging can be defined as a classic 'goldilocks formula' that states adopt during periods of power transition that combines aspects of balancing and

bandwagoning.[9] With the exception of Japan and the Philippines (at least until the 2016 national elections), US allies are hedging in their behaviour, in large part because they are uncertain about whether China will be a defensive or dominating great power.

In recent times, Beijing has been emulating defensive and dominating behaviour in its dealings with regional states, which in turn has reinforced the logic of hedging among Asia's small and middle powers. The preference for hedging is further reinforced by a popular view among most regional states that China provides the economic goodies in the form of trade and investment while the US furnishes security protection that provides the insurance should things turn bad with Beijing. In a recent article, John Ikenberry has argued convincingly that Asia is experiencing the emergence of a "dual hierarchy": a security hierarchy, with the United States at the apex and an economic hierarchy dominated by China. According to Ikenberry, "Allies across the region continue to rely on the hub and spokes system for security, and for many countries these ties are deepening…but China is the economic center of Asia — and it will be more so in the future'.[10]

[9] For the classic statement on balancing and bandwagoning see Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1979).

Australia and China: Challenge But no "Choice"

Many Australians reading the previous paragraph will recognise their own country's behaviour in this description. Australia has continued to strengthen the fundamentals of its alliance with Washington in the form of deeper intelligence and military cooperation, as well as increasingly intimate expressions of ideological solidarity, to paraphrase Stephen Walt.[11] Indeed, across the spectrum of material and non-material indicators, the alliance between Australia and the US is closer than it has ever been.[12] Significantly, the alliance relationship has deepened as Australia's two-way trade with China since 2009 has approximately doubled (while trade with the US and Japan has remained relatively steady) and as Chinese inward investment in a range of sectors of the Australian economy continues to climb steadily.[13]

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[10] G. John Ikenberry, "Between the Eagle and the Dragon: America, China and Middle State Strategies in East Asia," *Political Science Quarterly* (early view article for 2016). Available at: http://www.psqonline.org/earlyview.cfm. Thanks to my colleague Huiyun Feng for bringing this piece to my attention.

[11] See Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), Chapter 2.

[12] For discussion on this point, see Nick Bisley, "An Ally for All the Years to Come: Why Australia is Not a Conflicted US Ally," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 67, no. 4 (2013): 403–418.

[13] On two-way trade flows, see Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Trade at a Glance: 2014," Australian Government. Available at:

Moreover, the same month as Xi Jinping's landmark speech to the Australian Parliament, the Abbott Government agreed in November 2014 to upgrade the existing Australia-China 'Strategic Partnership' to a 'Comprehensive Strategic Partnership' (CSP) to coincide with the signing of the bilateral FTA between Beijing and Canberra.[14] Intriguingly difficult to track down on the website of Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the 2014 CSP builds on the 2013 agreement, which itself included annual foreign and strategic dialogue, direct annual meetings between the two countries' heads of government, and defence cooperation between the two militaries.[15] In June 2015, the then Treasurer, Joe Hockey, confirmed Australia would join the China led AIIB in spite of very strong concerns in Washington and Tokyo the AIIB would promote Beijing's influence in the region by creating a serious rival to the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.[16]

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http://dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/trade-investment/trade-at-a-glance/trade-at-a-glance-2014/Pages/trade-at-a-glance-2014.aspx.

[14] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "Xi Jinping Holds Talks with Prime Minister Tony Abbott of Australia Deciding Unanimously to Establish China-Australia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership and Announcing the Substantive Completion of the China-Australia FTA Negotiation," November 17, 2014. Available at: http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1212620.shtml.

[15] Sid Maher, "China Deal the Cornerstone of Julia Gillard's Asian Century," *The Australian*, April 10, 2013.

[16] Phillip Coorey, "Australia to Join Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Says Joe Hockey," *The Australian Financial Review*, June 24, 2015.

Despite all of this, however, Australia has continued to issue fairly tough public statements about China's strategic behaviour in the region, most notably in respect to freedom of navigation. Following on from the Abbott Government's spirited public condemnation in 2013 of Beijing's declaration of an Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea, Australia was the only regional country besides Japan and the Philippines to issue a public statement of support in October this year for the US Navy's patrol inside the 12 nautical mile limit declared by China around Subi Reef in the South China Sea.[17] Reports that the Turnbull Government was actively considering the option of an Australian 'sail through' in the wake of the USS *Larsen* reinforced the point that, while Australia has no direct territorial stake in the South China Sea, over half its trade flows traverse this maritime area which means it has strong national interest motives — irrespective of the US alliance — to uphold freedom of navigation.[18]

The point to be made here is that Australia's hedging is analogous to that being practised by many other countries in its region, including most of ASEAN, New Zealand, and

[17] Tim Huxley and Benjamin Schreer, "Standing Up to China," *Survival* 57, no. 6 (2015/2016): 131.

[18] Rob Taylor, "Australia Prepares Option of Sail-Through to Test China," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 28, 2015.

South Korea.[19] This tends to undermine strident claims that Australia and other middle and small powers somehow confront a Manichean 'choice' between China and the US — claims made, incidentally, not just by Hugh White but also by some of his pro-American alliance critics as well. Of course, it stretches credibility to argue that US alliance partners could say no to Washington, and subsequently retain the alliance intact, if a major crisis erupted between the US and China involving the use of military force. Yet, uncertainty over China's future strategic behaviour and the increasing economic dependence many states have on Chinese trade and investment means that even US allies and "security partners" will probably resist for as long as they can a more muscular stance against Beijing over its assertive maritime territorial claims.

Tokyo, Manila, and Canberra were the only national capitals that issued public messages of support for the recent US sail-through in the South China Sea, but there is little real appetite among Australian and Japanese policy makers to follow Washington's lead by sailing their own vessels inside China's declared 12 nautical mile limit. Talk is actually pretty cheap in alliances, and both Australia and Japan seem content to continue to free ride on America's

[19] For discussion of individual cases, see Bruce Gilley and Andrew O'Neil (eds), *Middle Powers and the Rise of China* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014).

willingness to physically challenge China's nine-dash line in maritime Southeast Asia. For as long as the extreme scenario of a US-China military confrontation does not materialise, there are few grounds to assume that most middle and small powers in Asia will change their current behaviour as it exists within the parameters of Ikenberry's dual security/economic hierarchy. Having said that, given the less than stellar record of international relations analysts in forecasting change, it might pay to be a bit sceptical about this claim.

Abe's Politics: Past, Present and Future

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Masaki Ina

International Christian University[1]

This paper seeks to follow the evolution of the Japanese Government's policy of proactive pacifism and to analyse the LDP's draft of the constitutional amendment. It is argued that the new legal developments — especially the security-related laws of 2015 — cannot coexist with the pacifism of Japanese Constitution.

The First Abe Government

During the first Abe Government (September 26, 2006–August 27, 2007) two events occurred, both closely related to this regime's idea of Japan's future course. I summarise these two events below.

[1] Masaki Ina is a Guest Professor of Law, College of Liberal Arts, and Guest Professor of Public Law, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, International Christian University.

Change of the Basic Act on Education

The *Basic Act on Education* was established on March 31, 1947, reflecting the spirit of post-war reforms. The *Basic Act on Education* and the Constitution of Japan were in fact simultaneously established and promulgated; they are called "twin fundamental laws". The Abe Government completely changed the main provisions of the old Act on December 22, 2006. In the old Act's Preamble, we can find the following statements:

> We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavour to bring up people who love truth and peace while education which aims at the creation of culture general and rich in individuality shall be disseminated far and wide. We at this moment enact this Act, following the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, intending to clarify the aims of education and establishing the foundation of education for the new Japan.[2]

However, these statements were changed as follows:

> We shall esteem individual dignity, and endeavor to bring up people who long for truth

[2] http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm. The translation has been slightly modified. The following citations are quoted from the same site.

> and justice, honor the public spirit, and are rich in humanity and creativity while promoting an education which transmits tradition and aims at the creation of a new culture. We at this moment enact this Act, following the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, to establish the foundations of education and promote an education that opens the way to our country's future.

Here we can see the confident belief that an education must not stand on universality but should transmit tradition. It sounds like a school *not for* the people, *but for* the state. This kind of fundamental change is even clearer in another article. In the old Act, Article 2 provided that "the aims of education shall be realized on all occasions and in all places. To achieve the objectives, we shall endeavor to contribute to the creation and development of culture by mutual esteem and cooperation, respecting academic freedom, having regard for actual life and cultivating a free spirit". Instead of this provision, the new Act provides five objectives of education in Article 2. As one of five goals, it stipulates that education shall be carried out in such a way as "to foster an attitude of respect for our traditions and culture, love of country and region that nurtured them." The new Act orders students to foster an attitude that

respects tradition and culture and inspires love of one's country and region. However, this patriotism must not be forced by someone; it should grow naturally. To foster an attitude of respect towards something is a robust educational objective and it might nurture hypocrisy among girls and boys[3].

Third, the old Act provided that "education shall not be subject to improper control, but it shall be directly accountable to the people. (2) Education administration shall, by this realization, aim at the adjustment and establishment of the various conditions required for the pursuit of the aims of education"[4]. Instead of this article, the new Act provides as follows. "Education shall not subject to improper control and shall be carried out following this and other acts; education administration shall be conducted in a fair and proper manner through appropriate role sharing and cooperation between the national and local governments".[5]

The dominant interpretation of the old Act was that the prohibition of improper control means mainly the ban on

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[3] See generally Hirokazu Ouchi and Tetsuya Takahashi, *Questioning "the Amendment" of the Basic Act on Education* [*Kyoikukihonho "Kaisei" wo Tou*] (Tokyo: Hakutakusha, 2006).

[4] http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm, Art. 10 Education Administration.

[5] http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm, Art. 16 Education Administration.

legal education control by permanent and institutional education administration as in the pre-war days. The meaning of "direct responsibility" is the teachers' direct responsibility as a group to respond to the nation's educational demands. The prohibition of "improper control" and direct responsibility guarantee teachers' educational freedom. However, the insertion of a new provision of education administration combines education and education policy which should be distinguished: the latter gains the right to intervene in the educational content[6].

Referendum Act on Constitutional Amendment

Second, on May 14, 2007, the first Abe Government succeeded in passing the *Referendum Act on Constitutional Amendment*. The primary rationale was the urgent response needed to address long-time legislative inaction, but the real motivation was to prepare the first step towards a would-be constitutional amendment. Article 96 of the Constitution provides that "amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people

[6] Japan Education Law Association, Basic Act on Education Research Special Committee (ed.), *State Control Act on Education towards Constitutional Amendment* [*Kenpokaisei no Mich wo Hiraku Kyoiku no Kokkatoseiho*] (Tokyo: Hahatokosha, 2006),143–145.

for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify".[7]

Therefore, the *Referendum Act on Constitutional Amendment* is one essential step towards the realisation of the constitutional amendment. There are two ways that the amendment can be achieved. The first way is the formal amendment process based on Article 96. However, until relatively recently, the government and the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) have resorted to taking a detour route because of the uncertainty of the referendum result; that is, constitutional amendment by interpretation. Since the end of occupation by the United States in 1952, the LDP has persistently tried to adopt both avenues of constitutional amendment[8]. So, the *Referendum Act* is a sine qua non of a formal constitutional amendment.

There are five problems in the Act judging from the perspective of substantiating the peoples' active

[7] Japanese Law Translation, "The Constitution of Japan," November 3, 1946. Available at : http://www.japaneselawtranslation.go.jp/law/detail/?ft=2&re=01&dn=1&yo=&ia=03&kn[]=%E3%81%AB&_x=12&_y=24&ky=&page=3.

[8] Yasuo Sugihara explains both avenues as politics of constitutional amendment by interpretation and politics seeking constitutional amendment by overt statement. See Yasuo Sugihara, *The Constitution Reader*, 4th ed. [*Kenpo Dokuhon Dai 4han*] (Tokyo, 2014), 229–270.

participation in a referendum[9]. First, the Act adopts the way of dividing related matters. This means that since there is no definite standard of division, if the proposal of insertion of the right to environment and the abolition of peace clause become one set, the voter faces the difficulty of whether to support or reject this set.

Second, from the initiative by the Diet until the holding of the referendum, the Act provides only for a period of 60 to 180 days. The average citizen cannot understand all contents of the elaborate proposal in a maximum of three months.

Third, the Act provides that the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast for the Diet's proposal means a sum of support votes plus opposition votes, excluding invalid votes such as blank votes. There is no stipulation on the minimum vote rate. These provisions would mean that relatively less engaged voters could determine the referendum result.

Fourth, the Act regulates the referendum campaign strictly; it prohibits using the position of civil servants and

[9] See generally Iguchi Shusaku, Ichiro Urata, Masahito Tadano and Takashi Miwa (eds), *Why Now Referendum Act on Constitutional Amendment* [*Ima Naze Kenpokaiseikokumintohyoho Nanoka*] (Tokyo: Sotenshashuppan, 2006).

educators, it criminalises the organisational bribery of many persons, and the provision of profit from crime.

Fifth, the reporting function of mass media works in favour of pro-amendment groups. The Public Relation Council in each chamber could exert substantial discretion in deciding the context of broadcasting PR programs and newspaper opinion advertisements. The members of Public Relations Council are allotted proportionally, according to the numbers of parliamentary group members in both chambers.

In sum, from the standpoint of full exertion of people's sovereignty, this Act cannot be held in high regard.

The LDP's Constitutional Amendment Draft

In April 2012, when the LDP was the opposition party, it announced a constitutional amendment draft. Toshihiro Yamauchi points out five characteristics of the LDP's draft in his book:[10] 1) a disregard of constitutionalism; 2) a state which crowns the Emperor as a head of state and turns people's sovereignty into a mere façade; 3) an amendment of Article 9 which aims at "military power to war", turning fundamental human rights into a superficial exercise; 4) an

[10] Toshihiro Yamauchi, *Questioning Constitution Amendment and "Security" Laws ["Anzenhosho" Hosei to Kaiken wo Tou*] (Kyoto: Horitsubunkasha, 2015), 169–216.

inclusion of state emergency clause; and 5) a revision of the constitutional amendment clause. The primary target of the constitutional amendment is the revision of Article 9 of the present Constitution. This is a well-known and obvious fact. So, by trying to drastically amend Article 9, it pursues the establishment of the National Defence Force, in order to enable the exercise of the right to collective self-defence, and to convert Japan into "a country that can go to war."[11]

The present Constitution provides the renunciation of war in Clause 1 of Article 9, no holding of military forces and the denial of the right of belligerency in Clause 2 of Article 9. In the preamble, there is the following provision. "We the Japanese people recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want." However, the draft deleted Clause 2 of Article 9 and the provision of the right to live in peace. Instead of that, the draft provides the exercise of the right to self-defence, including the collective self-defence right in Clause 2. Moreover, it adds a new Article 9 (2) which authorises the presence of the National Defence Force. The title of Chapter 2 of the present Constitution, "The Renunciation of War" was changed to the new title of "National Security".

[11] The draft still claims that it adopts pacifism, but Koichi Yokota denies it. See Koichi Yokota, *Reading the LDP's Constitution Amendment Draft* [*Jiminto Kaikensouan wo Yomu*] (Tokyo: Shinkyoshupansha, 2014), 63.

In relation to the point of a merely superficial exercise of fundamental human rights, the most severe damage is the deletion of Article 97 in Chapter 10, "Supreme Law" Clause. Article 97 provides as follows: "The fundamental human rights by this Constitution guaranteed to the people of Japan are fruits of the age-old struggle of man to be free; they have survived the many exacting tests for durability and are conferred upon this and future generations in trust, to be held for all time inviolate." The reason for deletion is an overlap with Article 11, providing that "the people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights. These fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the population of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights[12]". However, the real reason for the deletion of Article 96 may be inferred from the following explanation in the Q&A section attached to the LDP's Constitution Amendment Draft[13]. "Human rights provisions must be based on our country's history, tradition, and culture. Some of them are provided by the Western theory of heavenly given human rights, so this kind of provision should be revised."

[12] Japanese Law Translation, "The Constitution of Japan."

[13] https://www.jimin.jp/policy/pamphlet/pdf/kenpou_qa.pdf at p.13.

However, the above reasoning comes from a misunderstanding of the meaning of the protection of fundamental human rights. Sufficient definition is provided separately in Article 97 and Article 11. Also, the additional explanation reminds us that the Meiji Government suppressed the theory of heavenly given human rights of "Freedom and People's Rights Movement" in the 1880s.

Another point of the draft acknowledges the restriction of the protection of fundamental human rights by public good and public order instead of public welfare. However, with the development of case law and academic theory, presently "public welfare" means the coordinating principle of each human right. The introduction of the concepts of "public good" and "public order" instead of "public welfare" enables a full range of restriction to human rights. For example, the following new provision is proposed. "Freedom of assembly and association as well as speech, press and all other forms of expression are guaranteed. Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding paragraph, activities intended to harm *the public good and public order*, and associations for such purposes shall not be permitted" (Article 21). This proposal is a forerunner of the establishment of the Specific Secrets Protection Law in 2013.

The 2014 Cabinet Decision and 2015 Security Related Laws

The 2014 Cabinet Decision

After brief periods of three Democratic Party's governments (Prime Minister Hatoyama, Prime Minister Kan and Prime Minister Noda), Abe came back. From December 26, 2012, Abe's second administration has done much to change Japanese politics. In February 2013, Abe reopened the Council on Reconstruction of the Legal Foundation of Security. In August, he replaced the Director-General of Cabinet Legislation Bureau Secretary to push for the advancement of the cabinet's constitutional law interpretation change. In December 2013, the new National Security Bureau and the National Security Strategy started, the Specific Secrets Protection Law was passed, the SDF (Security Defence Forces) were transformed into overseas dispatch forces by the revision of the National Defense Program Outline, and Abe visited and worshipped at Yasukuni Shrine. In January 2014, Katsuo Momii became the President of the national broadcasting corporation NHK. He spoke publicly in his first press interview, stating that the comfort women problem is not unusual in other countries. In April 2014, the Abe administration set out "the Three Principles of Transfer of

Defense Equipment and Technology" as a new set of principles on the overseas transfer of defence equipment and technology, which replaced "the Three Principles on Arms Exports and Their Related Policy Guidelines". The old principles established in 1967 prohibited arms exports to communist countries, countries subject to arms embargoes under the UN Security Council resolutions, and countries involved in or likely to participate in international conflicts. The new principles substantially abolished arms export prohibition and gave the green light to the military-industrial-academic complex. Last, in July 2014, the Abe Cabinet decided to change the Constitution's interpretation to authorise the use of collective self-defence right.

The name of the new interpretation is "Cabinet Decision on Development of Seamless Security Legislation to Ensure Japan's Survival and to Protect its People". The following is the outcome of this decision:

> Under such recognition and as a result of careful examination in light of the current security environment, the Government has reached a conclusion that not only when an armed attack against Japan occurs but also when an armed attack against a foreign country that is in a close relationship with Japan occurs and, as result threatens Japan's survival and poses a clear

> danger to overturn people's right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness fundamentally, and when there are no other appropriate means available to repel the attack and ensure Japan's survival and protect its people, the use of force to the minimum extent necessary should be interpreted to be permitted under the Constitution as measures of self-defense in accordance with the underlying logic of the Government's view to date[14].

However, as has been clearly announced by the Japan Federation of Bar Association, the right of collective self-defence is, according to the government's interpretation, "the right of a state to use armed strength to stop an armed attack on another country with which it has close relations, even if the state itself is not under direct attack." Up until July 2014, the government's interpretation of "the self-defense capability to be possessed and maintained by Japan under Article 9 of the Constitution" has been "limited to the minimum necessary for self-defense." So, "it is not permissible to use the right to stop an armed attack on another country with armed strength when Japan is not

[14] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Cabinet Decision on Development of Seamless Security Legislation to Ensure Japan's Survival and Protect its People," Japan's Security Policy. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/nsp/page23e_000273.html.

under direct attack since this exceeds the limit of use of armed force as permitted under Article 9 of the Constitution."[15]

Security Related Laws

On September 19, 2015, security-related bills were passed by the National Diet after a 95 days extension of the Diet's session. These bills are a composition of the new International Peace Support Bill and the Omnibus Bill for Development of Legislation for Peace and Security which purports to amend 10 war-related laws.

The main points of these security-related laws are the following: first, the authorisation of the use of the right to collective defence by the revision of the *Self-Defence Forces Act* and the Legislation for Responses to Armed Attack Situations. The second point is the use of weapons to protect the weapons of military units of the US and other countries' forces. The third point is the shift from the Law Concerning the Measures for the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan (*Shuhenjitaiho*) to the Law Concerning the Measures for

[15] Japan Federation of Bar Associations, "64th JFBA General Meeting - Resolution Opposing the Approval of Exercising the Right to Collective Self-Defense," May 31, 2013. Available at: http://www.nichibenren.or.jp/en/document/statements/year/2013/130531.html.

the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations That Will Have an Important Influence on Japan's Peace and Security (*Jyuyojitaiho)*. By this revision, the SDF can expand the scope of support activities to the US Forces and armed forces of other countries without geographic limitation. The fourth point is the new law establishment (International Peace Support Law) as the permanent law to support war. The fifth point is the amendment to the *International Peace Cooperation Act* (PKO Act). The amendment adds new tasks, increases the use of weapons and proposes participation to the internationally coordinated operations for peace and security.

Scholars,[16] universities, the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, lawyers,[17] former Director-Generals of Cabinet Legislation Bureau,[18] students (SEALDs: Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy[19]) and ordinary citizens opposed the passing of these security-related bills. "The ballot is stronger than the bullet" were Abraham Lincoln's famous words. So, at the time of incoming

[16] Association of Scholars Opposed to the Security-Related Laws, "Appeal by the Association of Scholars Opposed to the Security-Related Bills," June 15, 2015. Available at: http://anti-security-related-bill.jp/index.html.

[17] http://www.asuno-jiyuu.com/.

[18] Masahiro Sakata, *"The Guardian of the Law": A Pride of Cabinet Legislation Bureau* [*"Ho no Bannin": Naikakuhoseikyoku no Kyoji*] (Tokyo: Otsukishoten, 2014).

[19] http://www.sealds.com/.

periodic election of members of House of Councillors in July 2016, I wonder whether democratic participation and people's will are going to prevail. It is the greatest challenge for the future of Japan.

In this context, I would like to introduce an appeal by concerned members of ICU to retract the National Security Bills:[20]

> We protest the Abe Administration for its Railroading:
>
> Post-war Japan has sought national security under non-war provisions of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. According to the established understanding of Article 9, in the extreme and exceptional cases of invasive attack against the country alone, can "purely defensive and protective" measures (based on the right of individual self-defense) be adopted. The non-war policy under the Peace Constitution continues to be the fundamental stance of the great majority of the Japanese people. It was based on their sorrow and remorse for the deaths of 3.1 million Japanese as well as of 15 to 20 million soldiers and civilians (the number

[20] ICU PRI Peace Report, 10, no. 2 (2014): 3–4.

not yet established) in the Asia/Pacific region during the fifteen-year Japanese military aggression between 1931 and 1945. Article 9 was also understood as an act of contrition, a war apology, and acceptance of war responsibility, promising the peoples in the Asia/Pacific Region and international society that Japan would never again become a military power.

If the security bills pass, we fear that Japan's promise to remain a "peace nation" may evaporate. The national security bills harbor in themselves the risk that the Self-Defense Force may be dispatched to every corner of the world beyond the territorial limit. At the same time, the war-engaging policy of the proposed national security bills adheres to the idea of countering military threat with military force, and is not only outdated but also bound to add to political tensions in East Asia and the world. These bills may well destroy worldwide confidence in Japan as a "non-war nation," a reputation that has thus far been built up.

Foster Peace rather than strengthen the US-Japan Alliance:

Under the Peace Constitution, Japan has consistently trod a path of peace-fostering and contributed to strengthening "human security" in various regions of the world. Since 1992 Japan has also participated in the UN-led peacekeeping activities mainly in non-military areas.

Under the present administration, some of the government policies became increasingly high-handed and right-winged, so that there is growing anxiety about the likely military tension and conflict in East Asia. The relations between the neighboring countries have worsened, and the likelihood of cooperation with China, South Korea, and Japan for the future peace and stability in the region may well attenuate.

Japan's useful contribution to world peace has been evaluated highly in the world and Japan may be expected to make further contributions in this field. We urge the Japanese government to continue non-military related peace-fostering activities, to cooperate with the UN, to promote common interests with the neighboring countries, and finally to seek earnestly for

security cooperation based on confidence-building measures, preventive measures and peace diplomacy as well.

Moreover, it is important to activate peacemaking and peacebuilding activities premised on "human security" and "cooperative security" that Japan has launched since 1998. These activities may be rightly regarded as a new vision for Japan as a "peace-fostering nation." We urge the Japanese government to engage actively in a campaign for the abolition of nuclear weapons, arms reduction, and all other peace-fostering activities grounded in the global public policy of the UN in cooperation with national and local governments, parliaments, civil society, and corporate concerns. It would be Japan's authentic and positive peace initiative to generate the dividends of peace and to distribute them to such vital tasks as conflict prevention, peace-building, the reduction of foreign military bases in Okinawa and elsewhere in the world, the resolution of extreme poverty, and spread of children's education. Moreover, this active peace initiative will include the realization of gender equality, corrective measures for the

widening gap in the distribution of wealth, and "sustainable development goals".

Concluding Remarks: The Abe Administration and Beyond

Osamu Watanabe explains why the Abe Government is supported by the dominant regime[21]. The Abe Government has two faces. One face is that this government is mindful of achieving two reforms which the dominant conservative government has been persistently pursuing since the end of the Cold War in 1990s. One reform is to convert post-war Japan security policy from supplying military bases to the US, to dispatching SDF overseas by responding to a US request to contribute positively to the maintenance of world order under the US leadership. Also, it focuses on constitutional law change, because of the Constitution's blockage of reform. The change aims to convert a militarily small state to a "military giant state". Another reform is to strengthen the competing power of the country's multinational enterprises in a time of global competition, and change the political and economic regime to favour big enterprises, in short, a neo-liberal reform. The conservative

[21] Osamu Watanabe, " What is the Abe Administration," in *An Obsession Towards a "Big Country": Abe Administration and the Crisis of Japan* [*"Taikoku" eno Shunen: Abe Seiken to Nihon no Kiki*], ed. Osamu Watanabe et al. (Tokyo: Otsuki Shoten, 2014), Chapter 1.

regime raises its eyebrows against the government's behaviour, for instance, the Yasukuni Shrine worship matter and the persistent move towards historical revisionism.

Why does the Abe administration have these two faces? Watanabe's hypothesis is that it is because this administration has the ambition of turning Japan into a big country, a giant military state confronting China. This ambition exceeds the expectations of the business community and the US. The orientation of Abe's administration seeks to change the framework of post-war Japanese politics fundamentally.

For an alternative future course, Seiji Endo emphasises that Japan should take the initiative to build a stable East Asia security system by combining the exclusive defensive security policy, nuclear disarmament, Okinawa's burden reduction, the coordination of historical reconciliation, and cooperation with the US. This proposal takes a different direction in response to the Japanese Government's current policy of proactive contribution to peace[22].

Especially on the topic of historical reconciliation, I learned the importance of creating a regional public sphere

[22] Seiji Endo,"Security Initiative in Power Shift Age [Pawashifutojidai no Anzenhoshokoso]" in *The Japan-US Alliance under the Power Shift* [*Nichibeianpo to Jieitai*], ed. Do (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 2015), 301–326.

from Jae-Jung Suh[23]. He persuasively argues that a regional public sphere emerges when speakers and listeners, regardless of their national backgrounds, recognise each other as legitimate participants in an ordinary discourse that frames particular issues as common regional concerns. Northeast Asia should be held together by forces that facilitate regional dialogue about their shared past and shared future. Moreover, security related laws cannot coexist with the pacifism of Japanese Constitution.

[23] Jae-Jung Suh, "Epilogue: Caught between Contentions and Dialogues: Historical Memories in Northeast Asia," in *Northeast Asia's Difficult Past: Essays in Collective Memory*, ed. Mikyoung Kim and Barry Schwartz (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 253–254.

Legislative Action on Security

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John Kane

Griffith University[1]

This paper examines legislative actions but also policy actions not specifically tied to new legislative measures, focusing specifically on Australia but with some useful comparisons and contrasts to Japan. Of the many security issues that exist, I have chosen three prominent ones: foreign aid (seen by Japan as important to establishing global security); terrorism (of concern to both countries); and traditional national security concerns. I find that, while Japan places perhaps exaggerated emphasis on aid as a security policy, Australia seems at first glance to place little, but a closer look at its aid to the Pacific region tells a somewhat different story. As for terrorism and national security more broadly, I find that the major Australian parties are basically in fundamental alignment on both counts and that their policies (for example, on metadata legislation or the rotation of US troops in Darwin) are driven not by party differences or desire for political advantage but by common perceptions of the dangers facing Australia and governmental responsibilities in managing them. In the case of defence, the economic relationship with China combined with the alliance

[1] John Kane is a Professor of politics in the School of Government and International Relations.

relationship with the US creates ambivalences and uncertainties which neither major party can quite dispel, and to which they can at present conceive no alternative.

Introduction

I have interpreted my brief broadly to include legislative action but also, beyond that, policy actions and responses not specifically tied to new legislative measures. I am focusing specifically on Australia but with some comparison and contrast to Japanese actions. One immediate issue is precisely what areas of security concern to examine. The idea of security has been extended in modern times beyond its traditional conception to include a host of issues — thus, energy security, health security, environmental security and so on — all of which cannot be addressed within this brief compass. I have chosen therefore to look at three prominent areas that afford interesting comparison with the Japanese case: foreign aid (which is seen by Japan as important to establishing global security); terrorism (of concern to both); and the more traditional concern with national security (and the thorny issue for both countries of China). I shall address each in turn.

Foreign Aid

On September 19, 2015, the Japanese parliament passed legislation that allowed Japan's Self-Defence Forces to expand their scope of cooperation in international peace initiatives. However, when PM Shinzo Abe, on the eve of a speech to the UN General Assembly on September 26, contributed a CNN piece on Japan's 'Proactive Contribution to Peace,' his emphasis was not on military contributions but on Japan's traditional official development assistance (ODA), in other words non-military foreign aid. His message reiterated the aims of the new ODA Charter adopted in February 2015 which extended assistance to the developing world based on three elements: human security (focused on health strategies for the most vulnerable), support for self-help (focused on education and training), and sustainable growth (focused on eliminating global poverty). "The lesson of recent decades," he wrote, "is that each country's security is threatened in a world where instability and poverty still exists somewhere else. We hope that by sharing our experience, we can help tackle these challenges and usher in a new chapter in development cooperation".[2]

[2] Shinzo Abe, "Lessons Learned for a Better World," CNN, September 25, 2015. Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/25/opinions/abe-development-lessons.

Insofar as security is interpreted in these very broad terms, it is interesting to contrast the Japanese attitude with Australia's recent adjustments to foreign aid. In December 2014 the Coalition Government led by Tony Abbott announced, through Treasurer Joe Hockey, significant cuts over four years to Australia's foreign aid as part of a general budget savings program.[3] Calculations made by the Development Policy Centre of ANU showed that these were the largest ever multi-year aid cuts (33 percent) as well as the largest single year cut (20 percent). This move put Australia at odds with other developed countries which have been increasing their aid budgets to try to reach the OECD's recommended target of 0.7% of Gross National Income, causing Australia to fall from 13th to 19th in generosity stakes among OECD nations.[4] Moreover it seemed that, far from seeing aid as fundamental to security, the government saw it as distinct or perhaps opposed, for Hockey noted that the anticipated savings of some AU$3.7 billion would offset new commitments in defence and national security.

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[3] Joe Hockey, "Release of 2014-15 Mid-Year Economic and Fiscal Outlook," media release, December 15, 2014. Available at: http://www.joehockey.com/media/media-releases/details.aspx?r=438.

[4] Stephen Howes and Jonathon Pryke, "Biggest Aid Cuts Ever Produce Our Least Generous Aid Budget Ever," DevPolicy Blog, Development Policy Centre, December 15, 2014. Available at: http://devpolicy.org/biggest-aid-cuts-ever-produce-our-least-generous-aid-budget-ever-20141215-2/.

One can, however, overstate this contrast. Japan has been an exceptionally generous aid donor since it commenced ODA in 1955, but its long-lingering economic malaise has seen its contributions steadily decline after peaking in 1997. Japan has dropped from second largest donor (after the US) to fourth largest (after the US, UK and Germany) and its new ODA Charter can be seen as an attempt to prioritise goals funds to achieve maximum impact with shrinking funds. Furthermore, Abe's heavy emphasis on ODA in Japan's proactive contribution to peace would seem unduly to diminish the role of an active military in securing the conditions of stability and safety without which sustained development can hardly be expected to occur.[5]

As for Australia, its cuts to foreign aid for the sake of increased spending on defence and security does not mean that it sees aid as wholly divorced from the latter. It was notable that the Abbott Government, soon after coming to power in September 2013, announced the integration of AusAID (Australia's aid agency) with the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade with the explicit intention of more closely aligning the aid and diplomatic arms of Australia's international policy. Also notable was the fact

[5] Yukio Tatsumi, "Japan's 'Proactive Contribution to Peace': Beyond Development Aid," *The Diplomat*, September 29, 2015. Available at: http://thediplomat.com/2015/09/japans-proactive-contribution-to-peace-beyond-development-aid/.

that Papua New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific were, at the insistence of Foreign Minister Julie Bishop, quarantined from the proposed cuts. Australia is by far the largest Pacific donor and has no intention of giving up its head role. Indeed, the region's importance was underlined by the new Malcolm Turnbull Government when it appointed the first ever Minister for International Development and the Pacific, Steven Ciobo who, speaking to the ABC, said: "This new position really reflects and really does underscore the Government's renewed focus on the Pacific, the importance of the Pacific, the value that we place on our international development, and of course our very strong desire to continue building a strong relationship with our near South Pacific neighbours".[6] Part of this has to do, no doubt, with a sense of historical responsibility for the hard-pressed region, but it is surely not negligible that China, though still well behind Australia's level of investment, is steadily emerging as a prominent donor. Julie Bishop, in a 2013 pre-election debate, said she wanted to make Australia the 'partner of choice' for Pacific Island countries, arguing that Australia's international standing was highest when its influence in the region was strongest,

[6] ABC, "Stephen Ciobo Appointed Australia's New Minister for International Development and the Pacific," *Pacific Beat*, September 21, 2015. Available at: http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-21/steven-ciobo-appointed-australias-new-minister-for/6792634.

but she feared, she said, that its place in the Pacific was being taken by 'others'.[7]

Terrorism

The rise and rise of Islamist terrorism internationally has inevitably provoked tightened security policies in all nations which feel more or less vulnerable. Japanese experts claimed that Japan's "proactive pacifism" made it, ironically, a likelier target for terrorists. Masanori Naito noted that the Islamic State (IS) group had already identified Japan as part of the "coalition of the willing", and argued that the September enactment of security laws allowing the SDF (Self-Defence Forces) to come to the aid of an ally under armed attack could make it a more direct target of IS. While Japan's strict immigration protocols seemed to make attacks at home — such as those that have occurred at Mumbai, Turkey and Paris — unlikely, the reality of the threat abroad was shown by the murder of two Japanese citizens in Syria in January 2015, and the killing

[7] Jenny Hayward-Jones, "The Pacific in the Foreign Policy Debate," *The Interpreter,* August 8, 2013. Available at: http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/08/08/The-Pacific-in-the-foreign-policy-debate.aspx0. Interestingly, a Lowy Institute poll of 2014 found that 75 percent of Australians thought "helping reduce poverty in poor countries" was the most important objective of Australia's foreign aid program and only 20 percent thought "promoting Australia's foreign policy objectives" most important. See Alex Oliver, "Lowy Institute Poll 2014," Lowy Institute, June 2, 2014. Available at: http://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/lowy-institute-poll-2014.

of farmer Kunio Hoshi by gunmen in Pakistan in October. With several big international events scheduled in Japan over coming years, analysts worry that Japan's intelligence on terrorists, largely reliant on the US, is far from adequate to detect plots.[8]

Australia too has had significant Islamist incidents — the Martin Place siege in Sydney in December 2014, the murder of a police accountant in Parramatta by a 15 year old jihadist in October 2015 — to dramatise the reality of the threat to ordinary Australians. But long before those events Australian governments had worried about their ability to detect and interdict terrorist plots and had suggested legislative reforms to strengthen security. At issue, just as in Japan, was whether being part of the "coalition of the willing" from the time of George W. Bush's incursion into Iraq had raised Australia's profile as a potential target for terrorists. John Howard's Government, which first committed Australia to support for the US in the Middle East, always sought to play down this possibility, though the Bali bombings of 2002 seemed to indicate otherwise and some respectable military and political figures argued that there would be "generations of

[8] Tomoko Otake and Shusuke Murai, "'Proactive Pacifism' Makes Japan a Target for Islamic Terrorists: Experts," *The Japan Times*, November 16, 2015. Available at: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/11/16/national/proactive-pacifism-makes-japan-target-islamic-terrorists-experts/#.VlvMZHYrI-U.

hate directed towards the US and its partners in this [Iraq] undertaking". [9]

Since support for the US in Iraq was (and remains in the fight against IS today) a decidedly bipartisan affair, governmental concern to counter possibly enhanced threats to local security has been a constant whatever party was in power. Emblematic of this are the controversial "metadata laws" introduced by the Abbott Government that came into force on October 13, 2015,[10] but which were actually first devised by Julia Gillard's Labor Government in 2012. The idea of this law is to allow the government to track and retain (for two years) every incidence of every citizen's phone call, text message and email (though without probing the content of the transmissions, thus the 'metadata' label). Gillard's Attorney-General, Nicola Roxon, argued, in the face of protests that such sweeping expansion of surveillance powers was a threat to privacy, that "The loss of this capability would be a major blow to our law enforcement agencies and to Australia's national

[9] Deborah Snow, "Defence Disquiet Runs Deep," *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 15, 2003. Available at http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/03/14/1047583704259.html.

[10] Called the Telecommunications (Interception and Access) Amendment (Data Retention) Bill 2015, in fact an amendment of the *Telecommunications (Interception and Access) Act 1979* (TIA Act) and the *Telecommunications Act 1997* (The Telecommunications Act).

security".[11] Malcolm Turnbull, who was then opposition spokesman for communications, sternly opposed the scheme, but was ironically tasked with implementing it when Abbott's Attorney-General, George Brandis, reintroduced it after 2013 as a measure to protect the country from terror threats in the light of the increase of Australian jihadists fighting overseas and plotting local attacks.

These laws were, over a considerable period, the subject of fierce debate.[12] Public opinion was divided and skewed somewhat by partisanship, though with an apparent majority disapproving the measure, according to polls even as late as 2014. There was however a shift toward majority support as time went on, and a Lowy poll showed 63 percent of Australians supported the scheme by the time of passage of the bill in parliament on March 27.[13] There remained questions of the viability, utility and cost of the

[11] Quoted in Harry Tucker, "New Data Retention Laws Begin Today, This Is What You Need to Know," news.com.au, October 13, 2015. Available at: http://www.news.com.au/technology/online/new-data-retention-laws-begin-today-this-is-what-you-need-to-know/news-story/28ea2dc1b01d15e53f474e21b6d68501.

[12] See Peter Leonard, "The Metadata Retention Debate Rages On," *Internet Law Bulletin*, February/March 2015. Available at http://www.gtlaw.com.au/wp-content/uploads/The-Metadata-Retention-Debate-rages-on.pdf.

[13] Alex Oliver, "Data Retention Scheme Has Majority Support from Australians," *The Interpreter*, March 27, 2015. Available at: http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2015/03/27/Data-retention-scheme-has-majority-support-from-Australians.aspx .

scheme, but the law came into force with very little show of public agitation, perhaps as a consequence of intervening terrorist incidents which may have convinced people that safety required them to put trust in government in this matter.

Whatever the long-run efficacy of the measure may be, suggestions that the laws were a cover for sinister governmental intrusion into the private lives of citizens seemed highly implausible. The possibility of a terrorist attack on Australian soil is inevitably a nightmare for any government of whatever party as a severe incident would surely leave it open to charges of inadequate preparation and failed intelligence. And whatever politicians may say publicly, privately they can hardly but admit that the foreign policy choices of both major parties in the Middle East must, given the global reach and perverse appeal of IS propaganda, produce domestic dangers that require the utmost vigilance. Whatever the historical and continuing reasons for those commitments, they are inevitably trapped by them on the issue of home defence. This does not mean, of course, that politicians are above using security threats for political advantage, as did Tony Abbott who was revealed to have asked his cabinet to provide him with a security issue per week to display to the public. But this was a measure of his political weakness more than anything. After so many mis-steps, poor judgments and

faltering policies, he was trying desperately to play to his one apparent strength — security (anti-terrorism, stopping the boats etc.). The metadata measure was an ongoing issue for both parties and could not be explained by Abbott's wish to shore up failing power.

National Security

Bipartisanship is also a feature when we turn to the oldest conception of national security, foreign policy including military preparedness. In this realm the focus shifts decidedly from a problem perceived as threatening the interests of all existing states — Islamist terrorism — to more traditional concerns with relative state power, conflicting interests, mutual mistrust, and the perceived insecurities flowing from these. And the great issue, already encountered in the section on foreign aid, is the rising power of China. Here Japan and Australia, though formerly bitter enemies, willy-nilly find common cause. They are two nations whose principal ally and final assurance of security since the close of World War II has been the United States, a fact that has acquired particular salience for their mutual relations (notwithstanding the Basic Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Australia and Japan of 1976) only since the economic and military rise of China.

Relations after 1976 were defined largely in economic terms, but trilateral strategic dialogue between senior officials of the US, Japan and Australia began in 2002 and was elevated to the level of foreign ministers on March 18, 2006 in the late stages of the Howard Government. While welcoming the 'constructive engagement' of China in the region, a joint statement stressed the determination to protect shared strategic interests in promoting peace and stability but also, pointedly, in "supporting the emergence and consolidation of democracies" in the Asia-Pacific region.[14] In March 2007 Japan and Australia signed an historic security pact that established direct connections between the two countries and installed annual strategic meetings of defence and foreign ministers. But of course the US remained central to the relationship, and a joint statement of defence ministers at a trilateral meeting in Singapore in June 2012 promised cooperation on a host of regional security challenges including terrorism, piracy, natural disasters, trafficking in arms, narcotics and people, cyber threats, and security and freedom of navigation. "Together," the statement declared, "we seek positive and proactive trilateral defense relations based on a common set of democratic values, established habits of cooperation,

[14] Alexander Downer, "Joint Statement Australia-Japan-United States," March 18, 2006. Available at: http://foreignminister.gov.au/releases/2006/joint_statement-aus-japan_usa_180306.html.

similar strategic perspectives and a common goal of promoting security and stability in a rules-based international order".[15] This implicitly excluded, and could be interpreted as directed at, China.

The challenge of China for all three nations, and to differential degrees many nations in the region, is how to accommodate and adjust to China's burgeoning economic and military power and whatever ambitions may be driving it. China tantalisingly presents itself as both a massive economic opportunity and a somewhat inscrutable threat. As the Deng era has passed and China has become more confidently assertive, the rhetoric of "peaceful rise" has been replaced by that of the "China dream" (defying exact definition) accompanied by provocative and sometimes aggressive actions in the South and East China Seas. Increasingly deep and entangling economic ties between China and many countries — including the US, Japan and Australia — thus fail to allay mistrust of, and uncertainty about, China's long-term intentions. The issue has of course been most pointed for Japan with the dispute over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, but Australia hardly feels immune from this sensitive security issue which is why the

[15] Embassy of Japan in Australia, "Japan-Australia-United States Defense Leaders' Joint Statement," Singapore, June 2, 2012. Available at: http://www.au.emb-japan.go.jp/pdf/Japan_Australia_US_Defense_Leaders_Joint%20Statement_02062012_eng.pdf).

Japan-Australia pact and the trilateral strategic dialogue have been important to it.

The problem for Australia and its regional friends is how to hedge successfully against China without unduly provoking that country into the very enmity they seek to avoid. In 2007 a first meeting of a so-called Quadrilateral Initiative between Australia, the US, Japan and India was held in secret so as not to raise Chinese hackles, though the secret leaked and China sent angry formal protests to all four countries before it even occurred.[16] Then when ships, aircraft and submarines from the four countries began week-long war games in the Bay of Bengal in September of the same year, China had no doubt that 'encirclement' and checking its own future military expansion were the principal objectives. A 2009 Australian defence planning document, *Defending Australia in the Asia-Pacific Century*, further signalled the acute Australian ambivalence on China. It foreshadowed the acquisition of a hundred F-35 fighters, several powerful new surface ships and the assembly over three decades of twelve new, long-range Future Submarines, marking it as "Australia's largest ever

[16] Brendan Nicholson, "China Warns Canberra on Security Pact," *The Age*, June 15, 2007. Available at: http://www.theage.com.au/news/national/china-warns-canberra-on-pact/2007/06/14/1181414466861.html?s_cid=rss_age.

defence project".[17] This again required significant American input and again it was clear that the principal potential adversary was China. According to the report, by 2030 China will be the strongest Asian military power "by a considerable margin … But the pace, scope and structure of China's military modernisation have the potential to give its neighbours cause for concern if not carefully explained".[18] In 2011, as part a proposed US 'pivot' to Asia (by implication away from the travails of the Middle East), then Prime Minister Julia Gillard and President Barack Obama announced enhanced Australia-US Defence cooperation in the form of 'rotations' of limited numbers of American troops in Darwin (which continue to this day). Former Liberal PM Malcolm Fraser denounced this measure as a "major and significant mistake", part of a containment of China strategy being conducted by the US that Australia should abandon if it wished to avoid possibly very damaging consequences in the long run.[19]

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[17] Defence White Paper, *Defending Australia in the Asia-Pacific Century: Force 2030* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia Publishers, 2009), 70. Available at: http://www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/docs/defence_white_paper_2009.pdf.

[18] Defence White Paper, *Defending Australia in the Asia-Pacific Century: Force 2030*, 34.

[19] Quoted in Bernard Lane, "China Will 'Take Us as a Prize': Fraser," *The Australian*, April 21, 2012. Available at: http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/china-will-take-us-as-a-prize-fraser/story-fn59niix-1226334814698.

Fraser, until his death, remained a rather lonely voice protesting the dangers of Australia's continued subservience to its singular, powerful ally, even writing a book on the matter called *Dangerous Allies*.[20] His views were impatiently dismissed by the defence and political establishments, but they did serve to dramatise the reality (or unreality) of Australia's geographical and political situation: China is now its largest trading partner and yet is not quite trusted, forcing Australia ever deeper into the security embrace of its great ally (Australia avoided recession after 2008 largely because of China's massive fiscal and monetary stimulus). Economic dependency on one side is matched by and in tension with political dependency on the other. And there is a minimum of serious debate in Australia about this continuing trajectory and whatever dangers it might court or possible alternative strategies. Both major parties, here as elsewhere on foreign policy, are in lockstep. Thus the aforementioned submarines, foreshadowed but unbuilt by Labor, are again on the agenda of the present Coalition Government. True, the question of who will build them and where has become a significant domestic issue as Australian ship manufacturers seek to ensure Australian employment (a

[20] Malcolm Fraser, *Dangerous Allies* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2014).

story in which Japan figures as one of the lead tenderers for the project, but one with no experience of building vessels outside of Japan). Nevertheless the domestic issue is not a cause but a consequence of a decision to spend many billions on war machines which, realistically, can have only one serious potential enemy against which to defend.

The Difference Between "Normal Countries" in the 1990s and the 2010s: "Civic" Ozawa and "Ethnic" Abe?

❖

Masahiro Kobori

Ritsumeikan University[1]

Ichiro Ozawa and Shinzo Abe are prominent politicians in contemporary Japan; they both have been powerful enough to set up security policies agendas. Previous research sometimes describes both as advocators of Japan as a "Normal Country". However, when we look at their history, we see that they have been pursuing different directions. Ozawa was a pioneer in the 1990s if we talk about his security policies, whilst Abe has been a pioneer mainly from 2000 onward. So when we look at each trajectory, we might understand the difference between the 1990s and the 2010s. The security in Japan was mainly "civic" obligation for international society in the 1990s, whereas in the 2010s it has been mainly defence against neighbouring countries; therefore agendas and sentiments in the 2010s have been rather nationalistic or "ethnic".

[1] Masahiro Kobori is a Professor in the College of Law at Ritsumeikan University, Japan. His research explores comparative British and Japanese politics. E-mail: mkt04690@law.ritsumei.ac.jp.

Introduction

Ichiro Ozawa is a politician who was enormously influential in Japanese politics, including its security policies, in the 1990s. He advocated the revision of Article 9 of the Constitution so that Japan would become a "normal country" in relation to its security policies. However, when in 2015 the Abe Government introduced security bills in the Diet allowing the Self Defence Forces to use force in overseas countries, he claimed that these bills would breach the provisions of Article 9 of the Constitution, and he joined political rallies to block them.

Compared with Ozawa, Shinzo Abe has been far more consistent regarding security policies; he advocated his belief in "the break away from the post-war regime" in his first government (2006–2007), and enacted the security bills which allowed exercise of the collective self-defence right in 2015 during his second government. Although the two constitutional revisionists no longer have the same attitudes towards security issues, comparing them is still meaningful in order to understand security debate in modern Japan. This paper describes the difference between "Normal Countries" of 1990s and 2010s by comparing these two leading politicians.

Takeshi Oka, a journalist, ex-staff member of the Ozawa office, and a researcher, describes Ichiro Ozawa as

a policy entrepreneur, using John Kingdon's theory.[2] Aurelia George Mulgan, Professor of the University of New South Wales, successfully distinguishes the "new" reformer Ozawa from the "old" power hungry politician Ozawa.[3]

There has been quite a bit of research about Shinzo Abe. Richard J. Samuels describes Abe as a revisionist,[4] while Nilsson-Wright and Fujiwara write "there is no conclusive evidence that he is a historical revisionist".[5]

Most leading researchers on Japanese security policies agree that Japanese security identity has never changed and has been balancing many camps and visions.[6] So far these researchers have never paid much attention to the difference between them.

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[2] Takeshi Oka, *Policy Entrepreneurship and Elections in Japan: A Political Biography of Ozawa Ichiro* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

[3] Aurelia George Mulgan, *Ozawa Ichiro and Japanese Politics: Old Versus New* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

[4] Richard J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 4740.

[5] John Nilsson-Wright and Kiichi Fujiwara, "Japan's Abe Administration Steering a Course between Pragmatism and Extremism," research paper, Chatham House, September 2015. Available at: https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150914JapanAbeAdministrationNilssonWrightFujiwara.pdf .

[6] Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*; Andrew L. Oros, *Normalizing Japan: Politics and Identitiy and the Evolution of Security Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Yoshihide Soeya, Masayuki Tadokoro and David A. Welch, *Japan As a 'Normal Country'?: A Nation in Search of its Place in the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

Ozawa's Views on Security Policies and History

Ichiro Ozawa was born in Tokyo in 1942 as the first son of Saeki Ozawa who was a member of the Tokyo metropolitan assembly, and later a cabinet minister. Ichiro became a Member of the Diet in 1969; later, in 1989, he became the Secretary General of the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party). When Sadam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, Ichiro Ozawa attempted to persuade the then Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu to send the SDF (Self-Defence Forces) to an expectable war. This effort failed due to contention from some LDP politicians, senior public servants, and opposition parties. The PKO (Peace Keeping Operations) bill was finally passed by the Diet in 1992 at Ozawa's insistence.

In 1993, Ozawa and his allies left the LDP, and they won the election. Their government replaced the one led by the LDP. However, this government had only a short life. Ozawa set up several parties and dismantled them. Afterwards, in 2003, his party was incorporated into the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ). Ozawa was the leader of the DPJ from April 2006 to June 2009. He was also the Secretary General of the DPJ from September 2009 to May 2010, when his ex-secretary was arrested. Soon after this he left the DPJ, and repeated the patterns of dismantling and

building of parties. At present he is one of the leaders of the People's Life Party.

During the anti-security bill campaign in 2015, Ozawa participated in a political rally which was held in front of the Diet building. He stated, "I am standing before you in order to stop the security bills and force the Abe government to collapse".[7] DPJ Leader Katsuya Okada, Communist Party Leader Kazuo Shii, and several opposition party leaders attended this rally.

International Security Policies

According to Ozawa's memoir, his original ideas included some military activity. In 2006 he stated, "[w]hen the UN decided the resolution which allowed the use of force against Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, I claimed that Japan had to send the SDF to assist the allied forces in order to protect world peace"[8].

Ozawa published a book called *Nihon Kaizou Keikaku* where he discussed not just security policies but also a total reform plan including electoral reform and public sectors reform where necessary. This book attracted a lot of controversy in Japan and he subsequently published its

[7] *Asahi Shinbun*, August 30, 2015.

[8] Ichiro Ozawa, *Ozawashugi* [*Ozawa-ism*] (Tokyo: Shueisha International, 2006), 155.

English translated version called *Blueprint for a New Japan* (1993). Here he argued that the use of force by Japan would be still constitutional provided it is not the action of Japan as a sovereign nation. He wrote that activities authorised by the UN "would not constitute action taken as a sovereign right of the nation".[9]

However, according to Ozawa, sending the SDF overseas without constitutional revision would be a situation which may puzzle people; so he proposed a formal revision of the Constitution. Ozawa, therefore, first understood that Japan was able to use its force for the UN without any formal revision of the Constitution. On the other hand, he wrote in his article of March 2003 — which was included in his book *Gowan Ishin* — "I oppose the invasion of Iraq without any international agreement or UN resolution". He also wrote, "any military action by specific countries without UN resolution is a *lynch* (*crime without legal sanction)*"[10].

Exercise of the Right of Collective Self-Defence

In 1991, the LDP Committee "Special Inquiry about Japanese Role in International Society", over which Ozawa

[9] Ichiro Ozawa, *Blueprint for A New Japan: The Rethinking of a Nation* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993), 109–110.

[10] Ichiro Ozawa, *Gowan Ishin* [*Robust Restoration*] (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2006), 26.

presided, produced a report which stated that SDF commitment to a formal UN army would be constitutional while commitment to the Gulf War type of allied force would be unconstitutional if we presuppose the conventional interpretation of Article 9 which bans the exercise of the collective self-defence.[11]

Ozawa mentioned the conventional interpretation several times; for example, he wrote:

> If Japan participates in the war on terror with the United States, the Japanese government should change the conventional interpretation, and then should decide a new interpretation of the Constitution which allows the government to send the SDF at incidences with no immediate relations with Japan.[12]

However, Ozawa's position changed. In 2014, among the widely expected change of governmental interpretation of collective self-defence, he stated a change of the conventional interpretation would not be enough in sanctioning the dispatch of SDF as an exercise of collective self-defence:

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[11] *Asahi Shinbun*, December 19, 1991.

[12] Ozawa, *Ozawashugi*, 149.

> I heard that Abe would approve of an exercise of collective self-defense by a governmental interpretation, but, if he wishes to do this kind of thing, he should instead propose the revision of Article 9 fairly and squarely.[13]

Despite the fact that he had previously told the government they had to change the conventional interpretation of Article 9 into a new one which allowed the exercise of collective self-defence, this time he told the Abe Government that they would have to revise the Constitution itself if they wished to send the SDF for collective self-defence.

Furthermore, when the Abe Government tried to pass the security bills in the Diet, Ozawa made it clear that his party would oppose them because the bills provided no safeguards against the excessive exercise of self-defence[14]. In the end, he joined a political rally with other opposition parties, but he did not mention the self-defence issue,

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[13] Ichiro Ozawa, "Anzenhosyou oyobi Jieiken no arikatanitsuite [About Security and Exercise of Self-Defense: Ichiro Ozawa's Speech]," in *Seikatsu-no-Toh* [*The People's Life Party and Yamamoto Tarou and Friends*, 2014]. Available at: http://blogos.com/article/86092/.

[14] Ichiro Ozawa, "Over the Passing of the Security Bills in the House of Representatives: Statement on July 16th 2015," in *Seikatsu-no-Toh* [*The People's Life Party and Yamamoto Tarou and Friends*, 2015]. Available at: http://www.seikatsu1.jp/activity/declaration/20150716.html.

instead only talked about the alternative to the Abe government.[15]

Historical Recognition

When Ichiro Ozawa was the Secretary General of the LDP, he said "[i]s it still necessary to apologize more?"[16] His remark sparked a controversy, in particular in Korea. However, since then Ozawa has been keeping his mouth shut on this issue. Except for this, he has had good relationship with politicians in overseas countries, in particular Chinese politicians; for example in 2009 he went to China with several politicians and journalists and met a lot of Chinese senior politicians.

He clearly recognises Japanese aggressions and war crimes in World War II; he has also admitted that the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Yasukuni Shrine was a problem not just because Class A war criminals were enshrined in it, but also because those people who were not "war dead" should not be enshrined in it, according to the reason for the creation of the Yasukuni Shrine.[17] However, it is also necessary to point out that his attitudes have never

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[15] Ichiro Ozawa, "Ozawa Ichiro Seikatsu-no-toh to Yamamoto Tarou to Nakamatachi Daihyou Speech Zenbun [Full text: Ichiro Ozawa's Speech]," *IWJ Independent Web Journal*. Available at: http://iwj.co.jp/wj/open/archives/260795.

[16] *Asahi Shinbun*, May 16, 1991.

[17] Ozawa, *Ozawashugi*, 152; Ozawa, *Gowan Ishin*, 208–209.

been completely consistent because he, as a Minister of Home Affairs, told the local government committee of the Diet that he had some desire to visit the Yasukuni Shrine and he still wished to do so during his ministerial position. He then also added that it was no problem that war criminals (including A, B, and C ranks) were enshrined at that Shrine.[18]

On the other hand, he tends to avoid saying anything about other issues; for example, he did not mention anything about comfort women. Also, despite the fact that Ozawa had a strong relationship with China, in 2010 when anti-Japanese public demonstration erupted in China he did not say anything about it, although we can imagine that he might have abstained because he was forced to resign only three month earlier due to his involvement in his ex-secretary's arrest.

Abe's Views on Security Policies and History

Shinzo Abe was born in Tokyo to a politically prominent family in 1954. His father is Shintaro Abe, a member of the House of Representatives (1958–1991) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs (1982–1986). Shinzo's maternal

[18] The Diet Proceedings, April 2, 1986.

grandfather was Nobusuke Kishi who struggled to amend the Japan-US Security Treaty in 1960 as then Prime Minister, and also a Class A war criminal although in the end he was not indicted and was subsequently released. These facts have been very influential over the formation of Shinzo's political character.[19]

Shinzo took over Shintaro's seat after his death in 1993. Later he became the Secretary General of the LDP under the Koizumi Government in 2003. After Koizumi left his premiership, Shinzo was inaugurated Prime Minister. He advocated a slogan of the so-called "break away from the post-war regime" which meant the total revision of the 1946 Constitution. However, he lost a massive number of seats in the election of the House of Councillors in 2007, and subsequently resigned as PM.

In 2012 Shinzo Abe stood for the LDP leadership election, and won it. He subsequently also won the election of the House of Representatives: he was inaugurated PM once again. His second premiership has been very successful. The LDP-Komei coalition won the election of the House of Councillors in 2013; as a result of this election the coalition government succeeded in ruling both

[19] Shinichiro Kurimoto, Shinzo Abe and Seiichi Eto, *Hoshu-Kakumei Sengen: Anti-Liberal no Sentaku* [*The Conservative Revolution Manifesto: Anti-Liberal Choice*] (Tokyo: Gendai-shorin, 1996), 44; Shinzo Abe, *Utsukushii Kuni he* [*To a Beautiful Contry*] (Tokyo: Bushun-shinsho, 2006), 179.

chambers. He also held a snap election of the House of Representatives in December 2014, and won it.

The Abe Government changed the conventional interpretation which banned the exercise of collective self-defence; the new interpretation allows the exercise of collective self-defence. On this basis, the Abe Government introduced the security bill in the Diet in May 2015; the bill was passed in September.

International Security Policy

Of course, Shinzo Abe has been very positive about international security policy; so he advocated the so-called "positive pacifism"[20] when he visited various countries. However, there is a distinctive difference to Ozawa's ideas on this matter. While Ozawa had been consistent in his UN centrism, this point has never been part of Abe's ideas; on the contrary, Shinzo Abe put a lot of emphasis on the limitation of the UN role. For example, Abe talked frankly about this limitation as follows:

> This time when we look at the Iraq issue, in particular the process from the inspection to the war, and further to the recovery, we face the

[20] Shinzo Abe, *Nihon no Ketsui* [*Japan's Determination*] (Tokyo: Shincho-sha, 2014), 27.

> question of "whether the UN really works in security".[21]

Subsequently, he pointed out that any formal UN army had never been formed. Finally he concluded, "We should not idolize the UN. Japan has to look at the real situation, and seek its national interests in the UN."[22]

Collective Self-Defence

When Shinzo Abe talked about Article 5 of the Japan-US Security Treaty which provided for reciprocal defence, he was saying "even if we tell the US that Article 5 says this, it would not be effective."[23] So, according to Abe, any military alliance is a "blood alliance"; therefore Japan would be never an equal partner without being prepared for bloodshed. Shinzo Abe finally concluded:

> In order for the Japan-US alliance to be more sustainable and more equal, the exercise of collective self-defense would be necessary. Complaining to the US without this would not

[21] Shinzo Abe and Hisahiko Okazaki, *Konokuni wo Mamoru Ketsui* [*Determination to Defend This Country*] (Japan: Fuso-sha, 2004), 44.

[22] Abe and Okazaki, *Konokuni wo Mamoru Ketsui*, 49.

[23] Abe and Okazaki, *Konokuni wo Mamoru Ketsui*, 62.

> be effective or profitable for Japanese security.[24]

Shinzo Abe has long been advocating the revision of the 1946 Constitution, however in 2014 he chose not to revise Article 9, but rather to change its conventional interpretation. Japan is able to use its force in the new interpretation: "when an armed attack against a foreign country that is in a close relationship with Japan occurs and as a result threatens Japan's survival and poses a clear danger to fundamentally overturn people's right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness".[25] Following this view, in 2015 the security bills which allow the exercise of collective self-defence were passed in the Diet.

Abe and the Pacific War

Shinzo Abe repeated his view on whether Japanese action in World War II was "aggression"; for example, in April 23, 2013 he stated that, "the definition of aggression has yet to be established in academia or in the international community"[26] The recognition of Japanese aggression in the World War II and its apology to Asian countries were

[24] Abe and Okazaki, *Konokuni wo Mamoru Ketsui*, 63.

[25] Abe Government, "Cabinet Decision on Development of Seamless Security Legislation to Ensure Japan's Survival and Protect its People," Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014.

[26] The Diet Proceedings, April 23, 2013.

already expressed in the statement which the then Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama launched in 1995, but Abe hinted at changing the wording of the 1995 Murayama statement in January 2015.

In the end, in August 14, 2015, PM Abe issued the 70th anniversary statement of the end of World War II. He said "[i]ncident, aggression, war — we shall never again resort to any form of the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes", and he also said "we shall abandon colonial rule forever". However, verdicts are mixed, particularly over the issue of the language used by Abe. In fact, there is a subtle difference between the Japanese and the English version, although the Abe Government issued both. In the English version, "We" was written, but in the Japanese version the equivalent was not. So if you read the Japanese version, you would get the feeling that any "incident, aggression, war" in every country should not be repeated and every country must "abandon colonial rule forever".

Also, his recognition of the PM's visit to Yasukuni Shrine stands out, compared with Ozawa's. Abe, citing the Panel's conclusion under the Nakasone Government, insisted that the PM's visit would be constitutional unless

the PM followed the religious way of Shinto.[27] Also Abe defended the enshrinement because both death by war and death by war courts were counted as "deaths under public service". His first visit to Yasukuni as PM on December 26, 2013 sparked a lot of resentment among Korean and Chinese politicians.

Furthermore, his view of the comfort women issue has also been controversial. He stated in 2007 that "there is no evidence to back up that there was coercion as defined initially" in the role of "the Japanese military or government" in recruiting comfort women[28]. However, it is also true that he has been eager to have good relations with Korea and China. After his visit to Yasukuni, Abe met Xi Jinping on November 10, 2014. Abe also met Korean President Park with Obama in March 2014, and tried to talk with her in the Korean language although Park did not say anything to him. Furthermore, recently Abe, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang and Korean President Park met on November 1, 2015 for their first trilateral meeting in three years.

[27] Abe and Okazaki, *Konokuni wo Mamoru Ketsui*, 144.

[28] Cabinet Decision, 166, no. 110 (March 16, 2007).

Analysis

Differences Between Ozawa and Abe

An obvious difference between Ozawa and Abe is their attitude towards the UN and Japanese defence. Ozawa's preference for the UN and against "war as a sovereign right" is obvious and Abe's preference for national defence and his dissatisfaction at the UN's inability is equally obvious. Ozawa takes it for granted that the SDF defends Japan, but he never talked much about it while discussing Japan's contribution to the world.

Ozawa emphasises that Japan should fulfill its obligation to international society, arguing that Japan should be a good world citizen. Ozawa also prefers the FPTP (first past the post) system and the two-party system. He does not hide the fact that his ideal political model is the British one.[29] Also, he puts great emphasis on individualism: he wrote in *Blueprint* that "Japan must become a society in which individuals can act freely, based on their own judgement".[30] Hence Takeshi Oka argued that Ozawa's aim "was closer to individualistic Western society

[29] Ichiro Ozawa, "Gekido no Kyujyunendai wo Ikinuku Seiji [The Politics to Survive in Turbulent Times]," in *Sisyunki wo Mukaeta Nihon no Seiji* [*The Japanese Politics Reaching the Adolescence*], ed. Kouji Yasuoka (Japan: Tohto-shobou, 1990).

[30] Ozawa, *Blueprint for A New Japan: The Rethinking of a Nation*, 157.

than to the Buddhist, Confucian, and Shintoist roots of modern Japanese society".[31]

Compared with Ozawa, Abe places a lot of emphasis on national defence. Certainly the Abe Government enacted the security acts, but Abe frequently made it clear in debates of Diet committees or press conferences that Japan would not send the SDF to fight in conflicts like the Vietnam War, Iraq War, or the Gulf War.[32] According to his understanding, these kinds of wars are still outside the response to "a clear danger to fundamentally overturn people's right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness".[33] In 1991, Ozawa originally thought that Japan had to participate in the Gulf War, and that this kind of war was not included in the "war as a sovereign right of the nation"; therefore the security bills the Abe Government enacted can exercise collective self-defence, other than the kind of war Ozawa once supported.

Ozawa observes international obligation, but Abe does not. However, there is something that Abe believes in, that is, another meaning of "Normal Nation" that reveals that

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[31] Oka, *Policy Entrepreneurship and Elections in Japan: A Political Biography of Ozawa Ichiro*, 8.

[32] Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, "Prime Minister Abe Highlights Need for the Peace and Security Legislation," LDP, July 6, 2015. Available at: https://www.jimin.jp/english/news/128388.html.

[33] For example, his answer in a committee in the Diet on July 3, 2014, the Diet Proceedings.

Japan's history of aggression and colonisation is the same as other countries like the UK or France. Hence, on this basis, Abe tries to defend Japanese history, including the times of conflict. Also, we should notice that in the 70th anniversary statement Abe remarked, "the Japan-Russia War gave encouragement to many people under colonial rule from Asia to Africa".[34] So there is a threshold in his thought on the commonalities between Japan and Western countries. Ozawa adores Western values, while Abe remains at some distance from them.

Why Are They Different?

First, the security environment around Japan has changed. In the 1990s, North Korea was an obvious threat to Japan, but China was not. The Senkaku Islands issue was not outstanding. From 2010, however, Japan has had to cope with this issue. So Ozawa's way, Japanese contribution to the world but not defence, has not been an option in recent years. Keyword analysis on the Diet Proceedings and a Japanese newspaper clearly shows that the focus of the security debate in the 1990s and since 2010 is totally different: "Japanese contribution to the world" was used more frequently in the 1990s than more recently, but

[34] Cabinet Decision, "Statement by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe," Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet, August 14, 2015. Available at: http://japan.kantei.go.jp/97_abe/statement/201508/0814statement.html.

"collective self-defence" has been mentioned more frequently since 2010 than in the 1990s (see Tables 1 and 2).

Second, there was not a strong right wing movement in the 1990s, but we have seen some growth of right wing groups and opinions since 2010. Although xenophobic movements have never been successful in Japan, some new political parties like *Ishin-no-toh* [Restoration Party] have gained a considerable number of seats in the Diet. There has also been a group the membership of which is shared by the establishment: "Nippon Kaigi" which simply means "Japan Conference". The views of its members are is quite similar to Shinzo Abe's in that they have two aims: revision of the Constitution and historical recognition. In fact, Shinzo Abe himself is a special advisor of this group, according to an article in *the Economist*.[35] In this article, Yoshiko Sakurai, senior member of this group, stated that, "education must water down imported notions of Western rights and stress duties to the state and the emperor". Also, Michiko Hasegawa, its senior member and Abe's ally, has written in her book that Western human rights are not real.[36] Furthermore, there have been a lot of journalists' works on the strong link between Abe and Shinto groups

[35] *The Economist*, "Right Side Up," June 6, 2015.

[36] Michiko Hasegawa, *Minshushugi toha Nanika* [*What Is Democracy?*] (Tokyo: Bunshun-shinsho, 2001).

which advocate the total revision of the Constitution because it is too western.[37] In addition, we have scarcely seen any analysis on Ozawa's link to religion.

These combined forces push politics towards the right. Of course, defence itself is not a right wing issue. In post-war Japan, however, there has been strong resistance against any defence policy reform; so any such development has never been accomplished without right wing support. If we presuppose that Japanese security policy has worked on a balance between different political forces, it is no wonder that this new force may have some impact on security policies.

[37] David McNeill, "Back to the Future: Shinto, Ise and Japan's New Moral Education," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 11, issue 50, no. 1. (December 16, 2013).

Conclusion

As we have seen, these two politicians' ideas are clearly different, but how can we explain such differences? We need to return to Hans Kohn's traditional dichotomy: "civic" and "ethnic" nationalisms.[38] Of course we know there is criticism of it: the categorisation between Western "civic" nationalism and Eastern "ethnic" nationalism is too simple.[39] However, these two factors, not the categorisation itself, have been used in some recent work on nationalism.[40]

The two elements of "civic" and "ethnic" can also be useful in the Japanese context. If we define the attitude supporting democracy and human rights as civic, both Ozawa and Abe are civic, as Wright and Fujiwara point out in their analysis of Abe's discourse. Also, Doak argues that

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[38] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background* (London: Macmillan, 1944).

[39] Taras Kuzio, "The Myth of the Civic State: A Critical Survey of Hans Kohn's Framework for Understanding Nationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25, no. 1 (January 2002): 20–39.

[40] Rogers Brubaker, "The Manichean Myth: Rethinking the Distinction Between 'Civic' and 'Ethnic' Nationalism," in *Nation and National Identity*: *The European Experience in Perspective*, ed. Hanspeter Kriesi et al. (Zurich: Veriag Rüegger, 1999); Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou, "Towards a 'Civic' Narrative: British National Identity and the Transformation of the British National Party," *Political Quarterly* 81, no. 4 (October/December 2010): 583–592; Andrew Mycock, "SNP, Identity and Citizenship: Re-Imagining State and Nation," *National Identities* 14, no. 1 (March 2012): 53–69.

Abe's nationalism is civic,[41] and that would be right if you look at only his discourses. However, we must explore this issue more deeply. Some of Abe's allies have concerns about democracy and human rights; they cherish, instead, the traditional values of Japan. Considering Abe's statement of August 14, 2015, we can see that he obviously reveres Japanese victory in the war against Russia, whereas we cannot find many ethnic elements in the remarks of Ozawa and his allies.

[41] Kevin M. Doak, *A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan: Placing the People* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 72.

Table 1: Newspapers' Agenda Difference 1990s –2010s

From	To	Number of newspaper articles mentioning "contribution to the world" and "the SDF"	Number of newspaper articles mentioning "collective defence" and "the SDF"
1990/08	1991/07	225	108
1991/08	1992/07	584	35
1992/08	1993/07	300	11
2013/10	2014/09	34	917
2014/10	2015/09	62	909

Source: *Asahi Shinbun.*

Table 2: Agenda Difference in Diet Proceedings1990s –2010s

From	To	Number of newspaper articles mentioning "contribution to the world" and "the SDF"	Number of newspaper articles mentioning "collective defence" and "the SDF"
1990/08	1991/07	48	24
1991/08	1992/07	104	22
1992/08	1993/07	65	6
2013/10	2014/09	18	102
2014/10	2015/09	33	129

Source: The Diet Proceedings.

Executive Accountability in Security Policy Making: Australia

❖

Patrick Weller

Griffith University[1]

This paper considers the traditional role of prime ministers as the key figures in determining foreign and security policy in Australia. As summits become more central to international negotiations, as technology enables constant involvement and as procedures have become more institutionalised, the predominant position of the prime ministers has been confirmed.

Introduction

Foreign and security policy in Australia have always been the prerogative of prime ministers. In the distant past the king personified the state and spoke on its behalf. That royal power was transferred to the first minister, assisted by a foreign minister. The latter is always the prime minister's proxy. On big issues prime ministers take the lead, even if

[1] Patrick Weller is Emeritus Professor, School of Government and International Relations; and adjunct Professor, Centre for Governance and Public Policy, Griffith University.

one foreign minister did commit Australia to military action without telling his boss.

Cabinet is often peripheral, occasionally nominally consulted, sometimes informed, usually to ensure political support for the leader. Parliament is a bystander, a forum in which the prime ministers may explain their actions, but not one in which they will be seriously debated and certainly not one in which approval can be sought or denied for some foreign policy action. The calculations will often be domestic, asking what local conditions will be, not international, asking whether this or that action should be undertaken.

For a long time indeed, even the concept of an independent foreign policy for Australia was regarded with suspicion. Australian foreign policy was seen as an extension of British policy, with the country living under the protective shield of the British fleet.[2] The only overseas representation was in London where the High Commissioner acted as the channel to the British Government. From its establishment in 1910 to1945, four of the five high commissioners were former prime ministers. It was an appropriate level for an intermediary.

[2] Peter Edwards, *Prime Ministers and Diplomats: The Making of Australian Foreign Policy 1901–1949* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982).

What was established by tradition became accepted practice; the architecture now reflects those prerogative traditions, mediated by a number of organisational initiatives. Let me provide a number of examples over the past century:

- In August 1914 the prime minister committed Australia's support to Britain 'to the last man and the last shilling'.
- In 1939 the prime minister announced that "it is my melancholy duty to inform you that Britain is at war, and therefore Australia is at war".

In neither case did they see the need to consult their colleagues, nor the cabinet, and certainly not the parliament. Even in the 1950s cabinet ministers were arguing that Australia's priorities should not be in Asia but in those places where British interests were at risk.

Between 1973 and 1975 Prime Minister Whitlam did not take any foreign affairs issues to cabinet. For the first 18 months he was both prime minister and foreign minister, but even after he had relinquished the former post he still regarded all decisions as his prerogative.

When Malcolm Fraser attended the Lusaka Commonwealth Conference in 1979, he discovered that

there was no Australian high commission office there. He promised President Kaunda that one would be created. After the promise was made he asked his departmental secretary to ring the ministers who were members of the foreign and defence committee to gain their endorsement. Of course they agreed, even if not without grumbling about due process; they accepted his right to make such a commitment.[3]

In 2003 John Howard gave his commitment to President Bush that Australia would be part of the coalition of the willing in the invasion of Iraq. Howard had been in Washington on September 11, 2001; Bush called him "a man of steel". Howard took the proposal to cabinet for its endorsement. It was never in doubt, not only because his colleagues agreed with him, but also not to agree would have made his position untenable. Cabinet cannot renege on a commitment made by the national leader.

Prime ministers enjoy the international arena. They interact with the only colleagues who understand the pressures on heads of governments, but the interaction is more amenable because they are not rivals. They can commit their countries without consultation and expect their commitments will be honoured. As summitry

[3] Patrick Weller, *Malcolm Fraser PM* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1989), 315–335.

increases, as prime ministers rush from G20 to ASEAN to CHOGRM to a climate change summit, all held within a few weeks, they meet the same people and can gradually build up a personal relationship with their counterparts. But they have to remember that, however good the chemistry may seem to be, it is in their prime ministerial capacity that it is maintained. Once the authority is gone, so often are the connections. Further, Australian prime ministers have to be aware of the limited weight they can carry as head of a middle power; in the final count, however hard they try, however good they believe their arguments may be, they don't count that much. They should not muddle bonhomie with friendship, politeness with influence.

The Institutional Supports for Leaders

The ability of prime ministers to dominate foreign and security policy is determined by a number of factors.

Technology Can Empower

Prime ministers control whatever they can and wherever they can; for most of them it is in their DNA. In the past the lack of communications allowed them to make individual decisions, especially when overseas. William Hughes, prime minister 1915–1922, attended the Versailles Conference and made commitments without much

consultation with the cabinet in Australia; often his colleagues were presented with a *fait accompli*. But then consultation was difficult; telegrams had to be coded and dispatched; then decoded and considered before the process was undertaken in reverse. Travel to Europe took weeks.[4] Prime ministers at sea could not be contacted at all; when they were in Europe communications were rickety. So foreign policy was a combination of personal decision and isolation.

That has now changed; prime ministers are in contact all the time. Until recently, during a flight overseas, however limited, prime ministers were out of touch. Now communications, both by phone and email, can be constant. Data can be sent to them instantaneously. Discussions with colleagues can be as regular (or irregular) as prime ministers want them to be. An aircraft can carry the prime minister rapidly over a weekend to any location. Turnbull's recent peripatetic peregrinations would have been impossible as few decades ago. But the expectations that government leaders will attend summits, the increasing regularity with which they are held, the belief that they need presidents or prime ministers to finalise any commitments all structure the international discussion in a way that makes the presence of leaders almost mandatory.

[4] Patrick Weller, *Cabinet Government in Australia, 1901–2006* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007), 39–46.

And they mostly like it that way. The globalised diplomacy increases the speed and expectations. It may not increase dramatically the influence of leaders; it does increase the demands for their presence and their personal touch. The harder the issue, the more urgent the crisis, the more tense the relations, the more important the prime minister's presence becomes.

Managing the Processes

Prime ministers determine how and where foreign policy and security decisions are made. As mentioned, Whitlam chose not to take any foreign policy issues to cabinet. No one objected at the time; since prime ministers have all controlled the agendas of cabinet meetings, items can only be discussed in cabinet with their approval. Fraser would often limit discussion to the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee (FAD) of cabinet. For example, when the issue of the Australian position on items coming to the 1976 CHOGM meeting was considered, Fraser decided to send it to FAD with limited notice. The paper included Australia's position to apartheid and the rebel regime in Rhodesia. Fraser opposed both, a stance that had limited support among his colleagues. Once FAD had endorsed the CHOGM paper, Fraser decided that its decision was final; there was no need for further cabinet discussion. Whenever thereafter the issue of South Africa was raised, he simply

said that the government's decision had been taken and it would not be revisited. Here was the use of the prime minister's prerogative to shape and settle a policy in defiance of the majority opinion in his government. He was not challenged. Control of process allowed him to make policy.

John Howard, prime minister 1996–2007, established a National Security Committee (NSC) to decide defence and security issues. As with most cabinet committees, its membership was limited to a small number of ministers; some were there as a consequence of seniority, others through their tenure in relevant portfolios such as attorney general and defence. The selection was the prime minister's; there was no precise definition of who should be there. If other ministers' interests were touched they could be called for the items. Attendees at NSC include all the key officials, the departmental secretaries who serve the ministerial members and the heads of the security agencies. They will sit at the table opposite the ministers and fully participate in discussions; it is understood that, after debate ends, ministers make the decisions. NSC will meet as often

as required, so in 2002/03 it met 36 times but in 2004/05, when the tensions were lesser, only 10 times. [5]

The NSC considers whatever the prime minister wants it to consider. So Prime Minister Rudd held a meeting in the last few days before his defeat. Australia had to consider its response to proposals for a military strike against Syria in the absence of the Security Council resolution. As the foreign secretary wrote in his diary; "It was as serious a discussion as I've ever seen at cabinet level"; although he noted the strangeness of the occasion as defeat loomed.[6] But it was an issue to which there had to be a national response.

On other occasions the NSC met in conjunction with the Expenditure Committee of Cabinet (ERC) to discuss the defence and security budgets. There was an overlap between the memberships, but it crucially allowed these budgets to be discussed among limited ministers, both reducing the danger of leaks (low under Howard, much higher in other cabinets) and potentially quarantining defence and security budgets from the demands for cuts. Whatever the two committees determined was to be the

[5] Anne Tiernan, "The Learner: John Howard's System of National Security Advice," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 61, no. 4 (2007): 48–505.

[6] Bob Carr, *Diary of a Foreign Minister* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2014), 447, 449, 456.

final decision. It was a convenient forum for the prime minister.

Before the NSC considers items, they will usually be discussed at a meeting of the Secretaries Committee on National Security (SCNS), chaired by the Secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (PM&C). The committee will act as a filter and ensure all the necessary information is available for an informed decision.

Increasing the Support

In these debates the prime minister's foreign affairs adviser will act as a significant link between officials and the leader. Sometimes the adviser will be the sherpa for the G20 or other international meetings, speaking on behalf of the leader and always in very close contact. The sherpas are responsible for melding the different ideas into draft communiqués. The prime minister's adviser is invariably a senior official from the department of foreign affairs and trade; usually a former or future ambassador who has the experience in terms of both substance and protocol to assist prime ministers in their international relations. For instance, Rudd's first foreign affairs adviser became the ambassador to the United Nations while Turnbull's new adviser will come from her position as ambassador to

China. Sometimes the adviser may act as a personal emissary, in cases where prime ministers want to undertake personal diplomacy. The position has become institutionalised as a powerful voice in the Prime Minister's Office, enabling prime ministers to participate as they want in any business. The secretary of the prime minister's department plays a role, as does the National Security Adviser, appointed for the first time in 2009, who holds a substantive position as a deputy secretary in the PM&C and who has the responsibility to coordinate the security advice to the prime minister and to ameliorate the consequences of inevitably competing agencies.

The last 50 years have seen a gradual bureaucratisation of procedures at the centre of government. The cabinet rules, the whole-of-government perspectives and the requirements to consult are all part of this evolution and they are reflected in the architecture of the foreign affairs and security apparatus. They allow officials and advisers to provide a regular stream of information and advice to their prime ministers. That was necessary. But it is worth remembering that the rules of procedure at the centre are the prime ministers' rules. They are the ones whose authority enforces them. At the same time, if they choose, they can bypass and ignore them in those circumstances where they feel it is necessary. What the changes have done is provide prime ministers with the support they need,

giving them options and information to work with as they choose.

Scrutiny and Accountability

There is little immediate scrutiny on the decisions that prime ministers make on foreign affairs or security, if indeed parliament or anyone else is even aware of them. Prime ministers may be selective about what they choose to tell the House of Representatives, arguing for selectivity on both security and confidentiality grounds. Some prime ministers have used the need to report to parliament as a mechanism to avoid making commitments while they are overseas. It gives them time to consult, or perhaps just reflect.

Governments have issued defence white papers to identify their priorities and strategies, even if the reception has been lukewarm, with suspicion that too often key issues are only marginally analysed. The publications of white papers are deliberately public events; in the long run they may be important because they provide an opportunity, however limited, for debate.

There is little real scrutiny of current government actions. The most significant parliamentary committee is the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. Its activities are the most effective when they

are bipartisan. If the committee starts to divide on party lines, or undertake inquiries that will embarrass the government, then little progress is made. Rather, it seeks to investigate issues of national interest that cut across party lines and yet are seen as important by both sides. Thus its current inquiries include:

- Australia's advocacy for the abolition of the death penalty.
- Human rights issues confronting women and girls in the Indian Ocean-Asia Pacific region.
- Australia's trade and investment relationships with countries of the Middle East.
- Government support of Australian defence industry exports.
- Role of development partnerships in agriculture and agribusiness in promoting prosperity, reducing poverty and enhancing stability in the Indo-Pacific region.
- Review of Defence Annual Report 2013–2014.[7]

[7] Parliament of Australia website, JSCFADT, consulted December 1, 2015.

These are all significant issues, asking how effective government programs are. Only the review of the Defence Annual Report might bring immediate embarrassment, but by the time the committee reports, the events covered will be one or two ministers ago. If there is blame, it will easily be shifted to the has-beens. Parliamentary procedures and practices are not designed to challenge the prime ministerial prerogatives in foreign and security policy overseas. There is not, and probably never will be, the equivalent of the US Senate committees that, sometimes rigorously, sometimes as partisans, cross-question secretaries of defence or of state and their officials.

Even if there were such committees, debate would be limited as the two sides agree on the core elements of foreign and security policy: the centrality of the US alliance, the importance of Asia for Australia's future, the necessity to counter the threats from terrorism, and the need to protect the borders. There may be disputes about tactics, whether Australian troops should be used on the ground, or whether bilateral or multilateral forums are the most profitable to pursue those aims. Often oppositions are loathe to undermine international initiatives; they need at the very least to support those members of the armed services whose lives might be put at risk by government decisions to commit them to combat or other perils: how to

support the troops but not a commitment (as occurred in 2003) is a challenge.

Where disputes do occur is where security policy intersects with national policy: the collection of metadata (even while ministers cannot explain what they need to collect), and the revocation of the Australian citizenship of terrorists. These were essentially domestic issues raised by the need to fight terrorism. Here disputes revert to political battles on traditional lines: government versus opposition. Where the critics sit is more significant than the party they belong to.

Do Prime Ministers Ever Lose?

The answer is rarely, but it can happen. When Julia Gillard argued that any decision about Australia's vote in an international forum was a "captain's call", her foreign minister, Bob Carr, organised the opposition in cabinet and the parliamentary caucus so that, facing defeat, she reversed her position.[8] The event was remarkable because it was so unusual. Only a prime minister unsure of support would have acquiesced. Then it referred just to taking a position, a vote in an international forum, rather than a policy commitment. More generally prime ministers will have problems only when local political numbers see

[8] Carr, *Diary of a Foreign Minister*.

political benefit in opposition. In other words, the more domestic implications there are, the more prime ministers have to take account of what others think. When they speak for their country overseas, they have great freedom of choice.

Normally the policy circles are confined. Prime ministers, their offices and sometimes their departments at the centre, ministers for foreign affairs and trade and their department at their elbow, treasurers and other party heavies in the room if essential. The NSC, with its mix of politicians and officials, will be the forum for discussion if one is needed. All others will be informed when they need to know, which may be never.

And the public…?

Japan's Perception of its Security Environment: How Deeply Is the Consensus Shared?

❖

Yuki Tatsumi

Stimson Centre[1]

Japan's post-Cold War security policy has consistently pursued two major objectives: 1) an aspiration to play a greater international role; and 2) a desire to be recognised as the United States' most reliable ally in Asia. As Japan has steadily made changes to its security policy to move toward these goals, additional imperatives have emerged in recent years — the rise of China, lessons learned from the Great Eastern Japan Earthquake (GEJE) on March 11, 2011, and a concern regarding US decline and disengagement from the Asia-Pacific region. These additional imperatives have encouraged Japan, particularly under the Abe Government, to not only build on the incremental changes to its security policy to date, but also to accelerate the domestic changes that have been ongoing incrementally for the last 20–25 years. Among these developments, what is most noticeable about the efforts by the Abe Government so far is its strategic

[1] Yuki Tatsumi is a Senior Associate, East Asia Program, The Stimson Centre.

reaching out primarily to those countries that are also US allies. In particular, security relations with Australia have gained strategic value for Japan under Abe's watch. Now that the institutionalisation of security relations between Tokyo and Canberra has reached the level that it has today, the next challenge is how the two countries can leverage these frameworks to achieve and bring about concrete policy results.

Introduction

On November 22, the Sixth Japan-Australia 2+2 Foreign and Defence Ministerial Consultation took place in Sydney. The Joint Communique, issued following the meeting, endorsed a growing closeness in the bilateral relationship between Tokyo and Canberra. The Communique emphasised the relationship as a "special strategic partnership" that is "based on common values and strategic interests including democracy, human rights, the rule of law, open markets and fair trade." The four ministers also agreed that stronger defence ties between the two countries is a high priority, endorsing further the institutionalisation of the security relationship between Tokyo and Canberra, including an agreement that reciprocally facilitates joint operations, training and exercises. Furthermore, the Joint Communique addresses a list of security concerns that are shared between the two countries — South China Sea, North Korea, and terrorism, to name a few — as well as

mutual interest in further cooperation in supporting regional and global multinational institutions of which they are both members. [2]

This Joint Communique is one of the many signs that Japan increasingly sees its relationship with Australia as one of its closest bilateral relationships outside of its relations with the United States, its only treaty ally. Japan's inclination to forge closer ties with Australia is not new. In fact, the first tangible effort by the two countries' governments to move forward toward a closer relationship can be traced back to the period when Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi was in office. When he met with his Australian counterpart John Howard when he visited Australia in May 2002, the two leaders issued a joint press statement entitled "Australia-Japan Creative Partnership", in which the relationship between Japan and Australia was already being described as a relationship based on "shared values of democracy, freedom, the rule of law and market-based economies".[3]

[2] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Joint Communique: Sixth Japan-Australia 2+2 Foreign and Defense Ministerial Consultations," November 22, 2015. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/000112906.pdf.

[3] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Joint Press Statement by Prime Minister John Howard and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi: Australia-Japan Creative Partnership," May 1, 2002. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0204/joint.html.

When Shinzo Abe succeeded Koizumi as the prime minister in the fall of 2006, he moved quickly to accelerate Japan's relationship with Australia. In the "Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation", signed by Abe and his then Australian counterpart Prime Minister John Howard in March 2007 following their summit meeting in Tokyo, one sees greater articulation by the two governments about the nature of their relationship, clearly positioning each other as an important partner in their countries' respective security policy.[4] Indeed, the first bilateral 2+2 Foreign and Defence Minister Ministerial Consultation followed less than three months after the Joint Declaration. In the first 2+2 Joint Statement, Japan and Australia were described as each other's "indispensable partner" in the Asia-Pacific region.[5]

Japan's prioritisation of its relations with Australia was sustained even after the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) replaced the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as Japan's ruling party in 2009. In fact, the two critical elements toward institutionalising security cooperation between the two countries — the signing of the Acquisition and Cross-

[4] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation," March 13, 2006. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/australia/joint0703.html.

[5] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Japan-Australia Joint Foreign and Defense Ministerial Consultation Joint Statement," December 18, 2008. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/australia/2plus2joint08.html.

Service Agreement (ACSA) and the Information Security Agreement (ISA) — went through while the DPJ was in power.[6] In other words, one can clearly see the bipartisan continuity in Japan's policy towards Australia. Mr. Abe has clearly tried to leverage the changes he has been endeavouring to make to Japan's security policy, from boosting it with his close personal relationship with former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott, to accelerating the deepening of the relationship between the two countries. However, the current trendline was set almost 15 years ago, as Japan and Australia each looked at the United States, their ally, trying to grapple with the implications of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, and exploring ways to position themselves as reliable allies for Washington.

Is consideration for its alliance with the United States the only driving force behind Japan's post-9/11 security policy? If not, what are the other elements that have been influencing Japan's security policy making? How did the position that Japan-Australia relations occupy in Japan's policy priority evolve and why? This paper attempts to respond to these questions.

[6] ACSA was signed on May 19, 2010, and ISA was signed on May 17, 2012.

Japan's Post-Cold War Quests: Becoming a Bigger International Presence and a More Reliable US Ally

Japan's first *National Security Strategy* (NSS) offers "proactive contribution to peace based on international cooperation [*kokusai kyouchou ni motoduku sekkyokuteki heiwa shugi*]" as a key organising principle of Japan's national security policy.[7] Based on this principle, the *National Security Strategy* defined the goals for Japan's national security policy as 1) defence of homeland by maintaining necessary deterrence; 2) improvement of the security environment in the Asia-Pacific region through the alliance with the United States as well as partnerships and cooperation with other friendly nations; and 3) work to improve global security environment through upholding efforts to enhance international order and leading efforts in conflict resolution.[8]

The NSS attracted a great deal of attention, as it was Japan's first ever official document that integrated foreign and defence policy goals. However, it does not reveal anything new or groundbreaking about Japan's strategic thinking. While the term "proactive contribution to peace [*sekkyoku-teki heiwa shugi*]" sounds new, what is

[7] National Security Strategy of Japan, December 17, 2014. Available at: http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryou/131217anzenhoshou/nss-j.pdf

[8] National Security Strategy of Japan, December 17, 2014.

articulated in the NSS is the description of the two strong elements that have run consistently in Japan's post-Cold War security policy: 1) an aspiration to play a greater international role; and 2) a desire to be recognised as US's most reliable ally in Asia.

Japan's aspiration to play a bigger international role is based on its bitter experience in the 1990–1991 Gulf War. At that time, Japan was criticised for its "checkbook diplomacy" because the JSDF (Japan Self-Defence Forces) could not participate in the multinational military operation to liberate Kuwait. By the time Japan's Maritime Self-Defence Force (JMSDF) was dispatched for minesweeping after the hostilities ended, JSDF's participation was considered "too little, too late." Since this experience, the perceived need for Japan to do more in "international contribution [*kokusai kouken*]" has driven Japanese policy makers — both bureaucrats and politicians — to explore ways to dispatch the JSDF to the missions overseas. Their effort culminated in the approval of Peacekeeping Operation (PKO) Law by the Diet, the revision of the International Disaster Relief Law, and in 1992, approval for the JSDF to participate in international disaster relief operations in the Asia-Pacific region and to take part in several UN PKOs.

When the 9/11 terrorist attack happened in 2001, consensus quickly emerged among Japanese policy makers, including then Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, that they would not repeat the mistakes of the Gulf War: they would somehow find a way to dispatch the JSDF to participate in the multinational efforts against the so-called war on terror. Their effort resulted in two special measures laws — one to support Operation Enduring Freedom, and the other to support post-conflict Iraq reconstruction. It was also around this time that the term "proactive [*shutaiteki*]" began to be used to justify the policy makers' policy decisions. For instance, during the press conference on September 19, 2001, Koizumi insisted that his government would explore ways in which Japan could play a "proactive role [*shutaiteki na yakuwari*]".[9] Koizumi also emphasised the importance of Japan's "proactive" engagement in the reconstruction efforts in Iraq through the debate on whether the JSDF dispatch to Iraq would be appropriate.[10]

During this period, Japan embarked on parallel efforts to enhance its alliance with the United States. Immediately after the Cold War, there was a growing voice in Japan

[9] Koizumi Souri Daijin Kishakaiken roku [Prime Minister Koizumi Press Conference Transcript], September 19, 2001. Available at: http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/koizumispeech/2001/0919sourikaiken.html.

[10] See, for example, Koizumi Souri Daijin Intabyu "Iraq Mondai ni Tsuite" [Interview with Prime Minister Koizumi: Regarding Iraq Issues], May 18, 2003. Available at: http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/koizumispeech/2003/03/18interview.html.

urging the government to rethink its alliance with the United States, demanding the "peace dividend". Although the 1993–1994 North Korean crisis forced officials in both countries to acknowledge the frightening reality that the Guidelines for the US-Japan Defense Cooperation, agreed in 1978, were inadequate for cooperation between the US forces and the JSDF in case of emergencies, the 1995 rape of an Okinawan schoolgirl by three US marines triggered nationwide criticism of US military presence in Japan. Tokyo faced a need to provide a renewed *raison d'être* for the US-Japan alliance. These series of events brought the two governments together to make three important changes to the alliance: 1) redefine the alliance as "the cornerstone" of peace and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region[11]; 2) update the US-Japan Guidelines for Defense Cooperation to clarify the division of roles between the United States and Japan in peacetime[12] situation in the areas surrounding Japan (SIASJ) and in wartime; and 3) agree on the relocation of Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Futenma in Okinawa, which had become a symbol of undue burden

[11] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security: Alliance for the 21st Century," April 17, 1996. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/security.html.

[12] The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, September 23, 1997. Available at: http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/anpo/pdf/19970923.pdf.

as a host to the US military in Japan.[13] In the wake of 9/11, the two countries expanded the scope of US-Japan security cooperation from regional to global and strategic under the initiative called Defense Policy Review Initiative (DPRI). They agreed on deepening defence cooperation between the two militaries to reflect the changed nature of the security threats, and to adjust the MCAS Futenma reallocation plan to look more equitable in the sense that the Futenma relocation resulted in a reduced number of US Marines and their dependents, as well as the return of the land occupied by US forces to Okinawan landowners.[14]

These external developments drove Japan to change its defence position. The 1995 National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG) and successive NDPGs all focused on the need for the JSDF to become more flexible, agile and responsive to the two types of national security challenges — conventional challenges presented by North Korea in its vicinity on one hand, and the increasingly transnational nature of security challenges elsewhere. They were also formed with a premise that there will be a continuing expectation for the JSDF to actively engage in overseas

[13] Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "The Special Action Committee on Okinawa for Futenma Air Station," December 2, 1996. Available at: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/security/96saco2.html.

[14] Ministry of Defence (Japan), "Security Consultative Committee Document: US-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future," October 29, 2005. Available at: http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/us/dp11.html.

missions from humanitarian assistance/disaster relief (HA/DR) to multinational operations around the world. Japan also created a legal framework to facilitate JSDF's support for US forces in case of regional contingencies and to provide greater flexibility in case of mobilisation for homeland defence operations.[15]

Additional Imperatives

As Japan steadily made changes to its security policy with the goal of becoming a more "proactive" actor in the area of international security and a more reliable ally for the United States since the end of Cold War, additional imperative presented itself.

One was the rise of China, particularly its military modernisation and the growing assertiveness that came with this rise. In 2010 China surpassed Japan in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), trading its place with Japan as the world's second largest economic power.[16] China has also outpaced Japan on its defence spending: while Japanese defence spending has remained relatively flat in the last decade, Chinese defence spending has continued to

[15] These laws were respectively referred to as *Shuhen Jitai ho* [SIASJ legislation] and *Yuji Hosei* [Contingency legislation].

[16] *Wall Street Journal*, "GDP Gyakuten: Akirama no Nihon to Fukuzatsu na Chuugoku [GDP Trading Places: Acquiescent Japan and Complicated China]," February 14, 2011.

rise by approximately 10 percent every year.[17] From growing investment to enhance People's Liberation Army (PLA)'s anti-access/area denial (A2AD) capability, to the promotion of joint operational capability, and power-projection capability, Chinese behaviour in the East China Sea where the two countries have a disagreement over the sovereignty issue of the Senkaku Islands (and more recently the South China Sea) is growing more assertive than ever before.[18]

Indeed, since a Chinese fishing vessel collided with Japan Coast Guard vessel in September 2010, Chinese assertiveness has been on the rise in both East and South China Sea. China's more aggressive behaviour then intensified after the Japanese Government announced its intention to purchase three islands in Senkaku. In addition to the increased level of maritime activities by Chinese fishing boats, China Coast Guard and PLA have increased their activities in East China Sea area. Major incidents include:

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[17] *Heisei 27-nendo Nihon no Bouei* [2015 Defence of Japan], 2015, 375. Available at: http://www.mod.go.jp/j/publication/wp/wp2015/pdf/27shiryo03.pdf.

[18] *Heisei 27-nendo Nihon no Bouei* [2015 Defence of Japan], 2015, 33–35. Available at: http://www.mod.go.jp/j/publication/wp/wp2015/pdf/27010103.pdf.

- China Coast Guard's Y-12 aircraft violated Japanese airspace over Senkaku (December 2012).
- PLA Navy (PLAN) painted JMSDF destroyer and P3C aircraft with fire control radar in two separate incidents (January 2013).
- PLA Air Force (PLAAF) approached dangerously close to JASDF aircraft in the airspace over Senkakus (May 2014).
- PLAN's surveillance vessels appeared in south Senkakus (November 2015).
- 11 PLAAF fighters flew in the airspace around Okinawa (November 27, 2015).

China also unilaterally announced the designation of Air-Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ), part of which overlaps with Japanese ADIZ in November 2013. Japanese governments have criticised these Chinese measures, and filed official protests to the Chinese Government in response to the incidents, but China so far has not changed its behaviour. As China's behaviour became more aggressive, Japanese defence officials began to seriously consider the defence build-up that would allow Japan to respond to Chinese provocation on its own in order to control escalation.

Second, the Great Eastern Japan Earthquake (GEJE) on March 11, 2011 challenged Japan's own capacity to manage a crisis. This experience of struggling to manage a triple disaster of earthquake, tsunami and nuclear accident exposed a number of vulnerabilities in Japan's crisis management capacity, including the JSDF's capabilities. From lack of coordination to insufficient logistical support capacity to sustain a large-scale operation, the GEJE experience taught a significant lesson as the Japanese Ministry of Defence (JMOD) considers how it needs to equip itself for the future. Also, bilaterally the GEJE exposed a weak link between the US forces and the JSDF at a time of crisis. Although "Operation Tomodachi" has often been praised as a success story of US-Japan defence cooperation at a time of crisis, its success was due to hard work by those who were tasked with bilateral coordination on the ground in Ichigaya, Yokota and Sendai, not because the two militaries were well prepared to respond to a large-scale crisis in Japan. This situation revealed shortcomings in the alliance coordination at a time of crisis. In particular, failure to set up a framework for bilateral operational coordination in a timely manner — it took roughly seven days to do so despite the 1997 Guidelines directing the two governments to establish such coordination mechanism — as well as the miscommunication and confusion in responding to the nuclear accident was a critical "lesson

learnt". The experience culminated in Tokyo and Washington agreeing to establish the Alliance Coordination Mechanism (ACM) in the revised US-Japan Guidelines for Defense Cooperation announced on April 27, 2015.[19]

Finally, there has been a concern in Japan (and in much of Asia, for that matter) regarding the US decline and disengagement from the Asia-Pacific region. As it becomes clear that US defence spending will be constrained for the foreseeable future, serious questions have been raised about the ability of the US to sustain its strategic focus and material efforts to continue to implement its strategy of Asia-Pacific rebalance.[20] This is particularly the case as the Obama administration continues to be bogged down in the developments in the Middle East even after most of the US troops withdrew from both Afghanistan and Iraq. Former JSDF senior officers and other outside experts persistently expressed their concerns about the Obama administration's commitment to a leadership role in the Asia-Pacific region.[21]

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[19] The Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation, April 27, 2015. Available at: http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/anpo/pdf/shishin_20150427e.pdf.

[20] See, for instance, National Institute of Defense Studies, *East Asia Strategic Review 2014*, 233–260. Available at: http://www.nids.go.jp/publication/east-asian/pdf/eastasian2014/j07.pdf.

[21] See, for example, Korekazu Watanabe, "Beikoku no Ajia Taiheiyou heno Ribaransu to Nichi-Bei Doumei heno Kadai [US Asia-Pacific Rebalance and Challenges for the US-Japan Alliance]," Japan Forum for Strategic Studies, October 2014. Available at:

Implications of Japan's Security Policy and its Relations with Australia

These additional imperatives encouraged Japan, particularly under the Abe Government, to not only build on the incremental changes to its security policy to date, but also accelerate these changes. Externally, Tokyo's effort manifests itself in the articulation of Japan's role in the international community as a "guardian of the commons"[22]. Tokyo also positions its alliance with the United States as "the central pillar"[23] of its security policy, and frames cooperation with other US partners, particularly those in the Asia-Pacific region, as essential for stability in the region.

Domestically, Japan has set out to revise some of the principles that defined its post-war security policy. Its first such step was the establishment of the new Three Principles of Defense Equipment Transfer to replace the Three Principles of Arms Export, effectively lifting the ban on arms export by Japanese industry. In July 2014 it

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http://jfss.gr.jp/news/jfssreport/18/JFSS%83%8C%83%7C%81%5B%83g9%8C%8E.docx.

[22] "Japan is Back," Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), February 22, 2013. Available at: http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/statement/201302/22speech_e.html.

[23] "Toward an Alliance of Hope,"Address to a Joint Meeting of US Congress by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, April 29, 2015. Available at: http://japan.kantei.go.jp/97_abe/statement/201504/uscongress.html.

revised its interpretation of Article 9 of its Constitution to allow the Japanese Government to exercise the right of collective self-defence when certain conditions are met. Finally, in September 2015, the Japanese Government passed the so-called "peace and security legislation [*heiwa anzen housei*]" that would allow the JSDF a bit more flexibility.

Among these developments, what is more noticeable about the efforts by the Abe Government so far is its strategic outreach primarily to the countries that are also US allies. In particular, security relations with Australia have gained strategic value for Japan under Abe's watch for several reasons. First and foremost, the two governments share interests in preserving an international order in which a certain set of international norms — such as freedom of navigation, "no use of coercive measures" to settle disputes among states — are respected. As fellow US allies, they also share an interest in ensuring that the United States, despite its diplomatic challenges in the Middle East and fiscal challenge at home, will stay strategically engaged in a meaningful way in the Asia-Pacific region. Third, as discussed in the beginning of this paper, close Japan-Australia relations have enjoyed bipartisan support in Japan. And finally, as Japan's relations with South Korea remain constrained due to tension over their historical issue, it has been more practical for Japan to deepen its

security ties with Australia by institutionalising its security partnership. To the Abe administration, in particular, promotion of security cooperation with Australia has also been more consistent with its "proactive contribution to peace" principle, as the scope of cooperation that the two governments are pursuing spans across the Asia-Pacific region and beyond, while the immediate purpose of security cooperation with South Korea has always been to counter the North Korean threat.

Now that the institutionalisation of security relations between Tokyo and Canberra has reached the level that it has today, the next challenge is how the two countries can leverage these frameworks to achieve and bring about concrete policy results. For instance, the results of the Competitive Evaluation Process of Australia's SEA 1000 program — in which there is a heightened expectation within Japan that Tokyo's increasingly close security relationship with Canberra *should* work in its favour — can facilitate or dampen the incentive for more substantive bilateral defence cooperation. In this sense, the next few years could be a critical period for Japan-Australia security relations. What can be accomplished either at the policy level or in practical defence cooperation between the JSDF and the Australia Defence Force will likely determine whether the Japan-Australia relationship will have enduring significance in Japan's security policy priorities, or whether

it will be considered as one among many of the trilateral cooperation partners.

Does the China Gap Matter? Australia—Japan Security Cooperation and "the Interests that Bind Us"

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Michael Heazle

Griffith University[1]

The coexistence within the Australia-Japan relationship of very different threat perceptions of China alongside rapid growth in security relations over the last decade sits awkwardly with external threat-based explanations for security cooperation. Increased security cooperation between the two countries also cannot be attributed only to the political and economic benefits closer security relations may bring to the bilateral relationship, given current Australian angst over relations with China. The answer to this puzzle, as I argue here, lies instead with the generally unchallenged importance of both US engagement in Asia and the bilateral relationship with Japan to Australia's fundamental national interests, in addition to the perennial fears of abandonment that reliance on US extended deterrence and support has always involved.

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[1] Michael Heazle is an Associate Professor in the Griffith Asia Institute and the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University.

Introduction

The so-called "normalization" of Japan's security capabilities allows for the scope of the Australia-Japan relationship to be further expanded beyond the 2007 Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation, which formally committed Australian and Japanese governments to a deepening of security cooperation both bilaterally and trilaterally with the US. So far, closer security cooperation has been embraced by both countries; to date this includes several landmark agreements on joint military exercises, research and development exchanges, military servicing and support, weapons technology exports, and intelligence sharing.[2]

Indeed, the prospect of Japan playing a more proactive security role in the region has introduced a new dynamic to the bilateral narrative, opening up many new opportunities for expanding the relationship. However, opponents of building closer bilateral security relations with Japan, and even the US in some cases, counter that deepening security engagement with Japan, either bilaterally or trilaterally

[2] Following the signing of the Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between the Howard and Abe governments in 2007 there were several additional security agreements and initiatives, including the 2+2 annual ministerial meetings; the 2010 Acquisition and Cross Servicing Agreement; the 2013 Security of Information Agreement; and the 2014 Japan-Australia Economic Partnership Agreement, which was accompanied by an Agreement Concerning the Transfer of Defence Equipment and Technology.

with the US, is very likely to create problems for Australia's trade and political relations with China, contribute to security tensions in the region, and possibly even draw Australia into military conflict with its largest trading partner at some point.

Hugh White's 2012 book, *The China Choice*,[3] for example, warns of a looming great power conflict between China and the US if the US and others in the region, including Australia, fail to accommodate China's interests in a reformed regional order. The arguments made by White[4] and others[5] advocating a more conciliatory or neutral role for Australia towards China help illustrate the

[3] Hugh White, *The China Choice: Why America Should Share Power* (Collingwood: Black Ink Books, 2012).

[4] Hugh White, "Right Now We Don't Need an Alliance with Japan," *The Age*, December 11, 2012. Available at: http://www.theage.com.au/it-pro/right-now-we-dont-need-an-alliance-with-japan-20121210-2b5hj.html; Hugh White, "China Will Inflict Pain if Abbott Blunders on," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, December 24, 2013. Available at: http://www.smh.com.au/comment/china-will-inflict-pain-if-abbott-blunders-on-20131223-2zueu.html; Hugh White, "The Strategic Risks of Option J," *The Strategist*, April 7, 2015. Available at: http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/the-strategic-risks-of-option-j/.

[5] Robert Ayson, "Japan-China: Why Australia Should Embrace Ambiguity," *The Interpreter*, October 17, 2013. Available at: http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2013/10/17/Japan-China-Why-Australia-should-embrace-ambiguity.aspx**;** Bob Carr, "Pragmatism Rules in China Relations," *Australian Financial Review*, March 22, 2015. Available at http://www.afr.com/news/pragmatism-rules-in-china-relations-20150322-1m4tdf; Paul Keating, "Speech at Launch of 'The China Choice'," Lowy Institute Speech, August 6, 2012. Available at: http://australianpolitics.com/2012/08/06/keating-on-china.html.

emergence of what some Japanese security policy experts[6] are now describing as a "China gap" in Australian and Japanese security thinking, a difference in policy thinking towards China that reflects the very different balance of threat (BOT)[7] perceptions held in Australia and Japan.

The coexistence of the China gap and rapid growth in Australia-Japan security relations over the last decade, thus, creates something of a puzzle since it is inconsistent with external threat-based explanations for security cooperation, and cannot only be explained in terms of the additional political and economic benefits closer security relations may bring to the bilateral relationship, given the current Australian angst over relations with China. The answer to this puzzle, as I argue here, lies instead with the generally unchallenged importance of the ANZUS alliance and the bilateral relationship with Japan to Australia's fundamental national interests, and also the perennial fears of

[6] Yusuke Ishihara, "The Case for Australia-Japan Defence Cooperation Guidelines," *The Strategist*, May 6, 2015. Available at: http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/the-case-for-japan-australia-defence-cooperation-guidelines/; Tomohiko Satake, "Beyond the 'China Gap': The Japan-Australia Contribution to a Liberal and Inclusive Regional Order," research paper presented at the Fourth Annual Australia-Japan Dialogue hosted by the Griffith Asia Institute, Tokyo, November 28, 2014. Dialogue Summary available at: https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/668291/Australia-Japan-Dialogue-2014-Program_final.pdf.

[7] Stephen Walt, "Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia," *International Organization* 42, no. 2 (1988): 275–316.

abandonment and entrapment that reliance on US extended deterrence and support has always involved.

The China Gap

The BOT currently posed by China clearly is of a different order for Japan, and now arguably also the US, than Australia for a variety of reasons including Japan and China's geographic proximity, China's pursuit of territorial claims in the East China Sea, and the sharp deterioration of political relations between the two countries since 2005. This difference in threat perceptions underpins Australia's primary dilemma in its security relations with Japan[8] and is illustrated by both Japan's much earlier and more explicitly expressed concerns over China's strategic intentions, as set out in Japan's 2004 National Defence Program Guidelines,[9] and also the now commonly accepted position among Japanese policy elites — and increasingly also in the US — that China has abandoned the earlier rhetoric of its "peaceful rise" to emerge as a revisionist rather than *status*

[8] Glenn Snyder, "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics," *World Politics* 36, no. 4 (1984): 461–495.

[9] Japan's December 2004 National Defence Program Guidelines for the first time grouped China together with Russia, and North Korea as a possible military threat to Japanese and regional security based on China's rapidly growing military expenditure and capability. See National Defence Program Guideline, FY 2005-, December 10, 2004. Available at: http://japan.kantei.go.jp/policy/2004/1210taikou_e.html.

quo power.[10] Indeed, Japan's concerns over Chinese intentions in the region stretch back more than a decade and have been made explicit in numerous policy statements and defence strategy documents.[11]

Australian policy thinking, in contrast, so far has remained much more ambivalent than in Japan, or the US,[12] over China's regional ambitions and future role, as

[10] By 2008, 76 percent of Japanese policy elites polled did "not trust China to act responsibly in the world". The 2008 Japan Defence White Paper was similarly apprehensive. See Brad Glosserman and Scott Snyder, "Confidence and Confusion: National Identity and Security Alliances in Northeast Asia," *Issues & Insights* 8, no. 16 (September 2008). Available at: http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/issuesinsights_v08n16.pdf. A 2009 CSIS poll of Japanese elites found that 51 percent believed China was a threat compared with only 24 percent with the same view of North Korea. See Bates Gill, Michael Green, Kiyoto Tsuji and William Watts, *Strategic Views on Asian Regionalism: Survey Results and Analysis* (Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies Press, 2009). Available at: http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/090217_gill_stratviews_web.pdf.

[11] Japan's 2015 Defence White Paper, for example, states that "China, particularly over conflicting maritime issues, continues to act in an assertive manner, including coercive attempts to change the status quo, and is poised to fulfil its unilateral demands high-handedly without compromise" See Associated Press (Tokyo), "Japan Defence Paper Warns on China and Pushes for Stronger Military Role," *The Guardian*, July 21, 2015. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/21/japan-defence-paper-warns-on-china-and-pushes-for-stronger-military-role.

[12] There are now growing indications that policy thinking in the Obama administration and Washington more broadly no longer considers China as a status quo rising power but increasingly as a revisionist power that poses an existential threat to the current order and US interests in the region. These indications include recent remarks on China's island building in the South China Sea by US Secretary of Defence Ashton Carter; the resignations of senior CIA and White House advisors known to be "pro-China"; the 2015 US National Military Strategy's listing of China as a state "attempting to revise key aspects of the international order … acting in a manner that threatens [US] national security interests"; in addition to recent papers and commentaries by foreign policy and China specialists calling for the Obama administration to take a more assertive posture

indicated by the different tone on China in the 2009 and 2013 Australian Defence White Papers[13] and recent debate and polling on China in Australia.[14] Moreover, the China

against China. See Bill Gertz, "Ashton Carter's Remarks Suggest an Obama Policy Shift on China," *The Washington Post*, June 10, 2015. Available at: http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jun/10/inside-the-ring-ashton-carters-china-remarks-signa/; *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America* 2015, June 2015. Available at: http://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Publications/2015_National_Military_Strategy.pdf; David Shambaugh, "In a Fundamental Shift, China and the US are Now Engaged in All Out Competition," *South China Morning Post*, June 11, 2015. Available at: http://www.scmp.com/print/comment/insight-opinion/article/1819980/fundamental-shift-china-and-us-are-now-engaged-all-out?page=all; Robert Blackwill and Ashley Tellis, *Revising US Grand Strategy Toward China*, Council on Foreign Relations, Special Report no. 72, March 2015. Available at: http://carnegieendowment.org/files/Tellis_Blackwill.pdf.

[13] The Rudd Government's 2009 Defence White Paper highlighted the potential dangers of China's rapid military growth and prescribed an increase in military spending over the next two decades. The 2009 White Paper was perceived as "anti-Chinese", both in China and in the Australian media, and generally took a very cautious view of the regional security environment and China's future direction as a great power. Following Rudd's departure as prime minister in June 2010, the Gillard Government produced another far more optimistic Defence White Paper, one year early, in 2013. The Gillard White Paper largely contradicted the 2009 White Paper by not only echoing the positive outlook of the largely economy focused 2012 Asian Century White Paper and the 2013 National Security Strategy's description of the international environment as "relatively benign", but also by cutting defence spending. See Peter Jennings, "The Politics of Defence White Papers," *Security Challenges* 9, no. 2 (2013): 1–14.

[14] The 2015 Lowy Institute Poll reported "mixed feelings" in Australian attitudes towards China. According to the Executive Summary, "A solid majority (77%) of Australians see China as 'more of an economic partner to Australia' than a 'military threat', while only 15% see it as 'more of a military threat'. In a 9-point drop since 2014, 39% of the population think it 'likely' that 'China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20 years'. In the event of a 'military conflict between China and Japan', 84% say Australia should remain neutral, 11% say Australia should support Japan, and 3% say we should support China." Lowy Institute Poll 2015, available at http://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/lowy-institute-poll-2015.

threat argument is a more recent feature of policy debate in Australia than in Japan and remains strongly contested, particularly by those who believe high levels of economic interdependency to be an effective deterrent to inter-state conflict,[15] or alternatively by those who — while accepting the China threat thesis — nevertheless disagree on how it should be managed. Australia's policy disagreements and ambivalence over how to manage China's territorial claims is further demonstrated by differences between the current Liberal led government and the Labor opposition. The Abbott Government, while stopping short of "taking sides", echoed earlier criticisms by US, Japanese, and Australian Defence Ministers at a 2015 meeting[16] by later stating its opposition to the use of force or coercion to change the status quo and criticising China's land reclamation

[15] Shiro Armstrong, "The China-Japan Relationship and Core Australian Economic Interests," *East Asia Forum*, May 27, 2012. Available at: http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/05/27/the-china-japan-relationship-and-core-australian-economic-interests/; Shiro Armstrong, "The New Australia-Japan Relationship," *East Asia Forum*, July 6, 2014. Available at: http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2014/07/06/the-new-australia-japan-relationship/; Carr, "Pragmatism Rules in China Relations"; Peter Jennings, "Wrong Turn on the White Road," *The Strategist*, July 16, 2014. Available at: http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/wrong-turn-on-the-white-road/; Mark Thomson, "We Don't Have to Choose between the US and China", *The Strategist*, May 2, 2013. Available at: http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/we-dont-have-to-choose-between-the-us-and-china/.

[16] Department of Defence, "Joint Statement: Japan-US-Australia Defence Ministers Meeting," May 30, 2015. Available at: http://www.minister.defence.gov.au/2015/05/30/minister-for-defence-japan-us-australia-defense-ministers-meeting-joint-statement/.

activities in the South China.[17] Australian Government support for US and Japanese criticism of China's more assertive policies in the region, moreover, appears unlikely to change under Malcolm Turnbull with Turnbull, in one of his first interviews as prime minister, calling for a more restrained Chinese foreign policy approach and appearing to endorse Japanese and US efforts to balance against China's growing military capabilities and territorial ambitions.[18] The Labor opposition, in contrast to both the Abbot and Turnbull Government statements, has remained far more guarded in its response to China's territorial claims, citing the need for a "calming" response to China's controversial reclamation activities in the Spratley Islands.[19] The extent to which Labor's more conciliatory

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[17] Reissa Su, "Australia 'Takes no Sides' in South China Sea Dispute Says Tony Abbott," *International Business Times*, June 5, 2015. Available at: http://www.ibtimes.com.au/australia-takes-no-sides-south-china-sea-dispute-says-tony-abbott-1451253.

[18] Malcolm Turnbull, *7:30 Report* Interview, ABC Television, September 21, 2015. Available at: http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2015/s4316975.htm.

[19] Associated Press (Tokyo), "Japan Defence Paper Warns on China and Pushes for Stronger Military Role," *The Guardian*, July 21, 2015. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/21/japan-defence-paper-warns-on-china-and-pushes-for-stronger-military-role. See also Sam Roggeveen's observations on *The Interpreter* website, following the Australian Labor Party's (ALP) 2015 National Conference, in which he notes changes in the wording of ALP policy on Japan related issues and Japan's prominence as a strategic partner, in addition to comments by senior Labor figures warning against elevating Japan's importance over China's in Australian foreign policy. Sam Roggeveen, "Is the ALP Going Cold on Japan?" *The Interpreter*, July 16, 2015. Available at: http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2015/07/16/Is-the-ALP-going-cold-on-Japan.aspx.

attitude toward China would continue if elected to government, however, remains unclear.

At the core of the ongoing Australian policy debate thrown up by China's unexpected (for some) departure from the liberal script in terms of its behaviour as an emerging great power is ongoing uncertainty and disagreement in Australian policy circles over China's strategic character and intentions; and thus also the wisdom of acting in ways that may unnecessarily provoke conflict with the world's second largest economy and Australia's largest trade partner. Among the possible futures under debate in Australia is the increasingly forlorn hope that both US primacy and trade with China will continue mostly unchanged under the existing regional order (liberal interdependence and some defensive realists); the fear that the region will, as the current trend indicates, shift to a balance of power stand off between China and a coalition of US led allies, thereby making great power conflict more, rather than less, likely (offensive realists); a precautionary accommodation of China's interests through the successful negotiation of a Concert of Powers (defensive realist/liberal institutionalist); or ultimately Chinese primacy in the region should the US and its allies fail either to deter or accommodate an expansionist China (defensive and offensive realists).

In Australian policy circles, all would prefer the current US led regional order, no doubt; but given China's recent behaviour and capability as a rising great power, continuing US primacy cannot be taken for granted. That said, China's ability to continue challenging US leadership in Asia and become a regional hegemon in its own right is, despite assumptions to the contrary, also unclear, adding further to ongoing disagreement and debate in Australian policy and commentary circles on China's future course. China's current growth trajectory is by no means assured into the future — as indicated by both China's 2015 economic and financial downturns and its currency devaluations — given the region's post-war development experience with recession and external shocks, and also the many domestic challenges the Chinese Communist Party faces.[20]

[20] Paul Dibb and John Lee, "Why China Will Not Become the Dominant Power in Asia," *Security Challenges* 10, no. 3 (2014): 1–21; David Shambaugh, "The Coming Chinese Crack Up," *The Wall Street Journal*, March 16, 2015. Available at: http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-coming-chinese-crack-up-1425659198. Adding to these concerns is the broadly held view that the CCP's domestic legitimacy has become reliant on both the Party's ability to deliver continued economic growth, and maintain the support it derives from nationalist sentiment created out of the promise of a strong and prosperous China. Reliable access to energy resources, therefore, is critical not only for China's continued development but also, in effect, for the CCP's survival, which arguably is the main priority of its leaders. Given these circumstances, and in particular the heavy consequences of underestimating the potential threat to regional order and security posed by an offensive rather than defensive China, it is logical for governments in the region to err on the side of caution and assume that China is a rising, and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, most likely also a non-status quo, revisionist power.

Does the China Gap Matter? Australia-Japan Security Cooperation and the Regional Environment

But while Australian and Japanese perceptions of China have markedly diverged over the last decade, creating a "China Gap", this divergence over China is contradicted by increasing convergence on several, more fundamental, strategic premises that, to some degree, is being driven by China's more assertive policies in East Asia. These include long-standing Australian and Japanese support for existing regional institutions, freedom of navigation and trade, and diplomatic resolution of regional disagreements within a rules-based regional order.[21] The foundation of the post-war Asia-Pacific order has been US military and economic

[21] Euan Graham, "Maritime Security and Capacity Building: The Australia-Japan Dimension," in *Beyond the Hub and Spokes: Australia-Japan Security Cooperation*, ed. William Tow and Tomonori Ishizake (Tokyo: The National Institute for Defence Studies, 2014), 43–57. Available at http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/joint_research/series10/series10.html; Andrew Davies and Benjamin Shreer, "The Strategic Dimension of 'Option J': Australia's Submarine Choice and its Security Relations with Japan," Executive Summary, *ASPI Strategic Insights*, March 2015. Available at: https://www.aspi.org.au/publications/the-strategic-dimension-of-option-j-australias-submarine-choice-and-its-security-relations-with-japan/SI85_Submarines_option_J.pdf; Ishihara, "The Case for Australia-Japan Defence Cooperation Guidelines"; Tomohiko Satake, "Why a Strong Australia-Japan Relationship Matters," *Australia and Japan in the Region*, May, 2015. Available at: https://crawford.anu.edu.au/distribution/newsletter/ajrc/ajrc14.html.

power in the region, in addition to confidence in the US continuing to underwrite the post-war order.[22]

Much of the cooperation between Australia and Japan, which ranges over the creation of APEC, Australia's inclusion in the East Asia Summit (despite China's support for an "Asia only" grouping[23]), the creation of a Free Trade Agreement, and several decades of high volume trade and investment in addition to growing levels of cultural exchange, has been made possible by the common values, notions of identity, and political systems that have informed both their national interest perceptions and also the kind of international environment that best serves those

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[22] John Lee, *Why America Will Lead the 'Asian Century'*, The Centre for Independent Studies, August 19, 2009. Available at: https://www.cis.org.au/publications/foreign-policy-analysis/why-america-will-lead-the-asian-century; John Lee, "Emerging Regional Threats and Outlooks: The Australian Perspective," in *Beyond the Hub and Spokes: Australia-Japan Security Cooperation*, ed. William Tow and Tomonori Ishizake (Tokyo: The National Institute for Defence Studies, 2014), 13–28. Available at http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/joint_research/series10/series10.html.

[23] James Manicom, for example, describes "competitive regionalism" as a by-product of China's growing strategic rivalry with the US and Japan. The US and Japan have unambiguously demonstrated their preference for the current post-war order to remain as the region's strategic framework, while opting for the development of a Pan-Pacific approach regional institutions and initiatives within that framework. China instead advocates a narrower, more exclusionary, and more development focused approach that ultimately would limit rather than engage Western involvement. See James Manicom, "Sources of Tension in the Asia Pacific: Strategic Competition, Divided Regionalism and Non-Traditional Security Challenges," ASPI paper no.1, August 14, 2013. Available at: http://www.aspi.org.au/publications/publication_details.aspx?ContentID=373&pubtype=-1.

interests. Indeed, as Graham, Ishihara, Satake, Lyon, and Jennings each have argued,[24] the reasons for closer Australia-Japan security cooperation are varied and extend far beyond only the challenges posed by China's territorial claims and revisionist ambitions.

Australia and Japan's trade interests also rely heavily on maritime security guarantees, particularly freedom of navigation in the South China Sea, which require strategic planning and thinking to go beyond only territorial borders to cover contingencies in the waters surrounding the Indonesian archipelago, the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. The further development of bilateral security cooperation on maritime issues of concern to Australia and Japan, and trilaterally with the US, moreover, is made more important by political obstacles, maritime disputes, and capability limitations to maritime security cooperation

[24] Graham, "Maritime Security and Capacity Building: The Australia-Japan Dimension," 43–57; Satake, "Why a Strong Australia-Japan Relationship Matters"; Ishihara, "The Case for Australia-Japan Defence Cooperation Guidelines"; Yusuke Ishihara, "Australia-Japan Defence Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region," in *Beyond the Hub and Spokes: Australia-Japan Security Cooperation*, ed. William Tow and Tomonori Ishizake (Tokyo: The National Institute for Defence Studies, 2014), 93–122. Available at http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/joint_research/series10/series10.html; Rod Lyon, "Australia, Japan and the Future of Strategic Relationships in Asia," *The Strategist*, July 10, 2014. Available at: http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/australia-japan-and-the-future-of-strategic-relationships-in-asia/; Peter Jennings, "Wrong Turn on the White Road," *The Strategist*, July 16, 2014. Available at: http://www.aspistrategist.org.au/wrong-turn-on-the-white-road/.

within ASEAN.[25] Indeed, China's territorial claims in the South China Sea have stressed ASEAN unity to the point where precisely the kinds of inclusive, regional security mechanisms Australia and Japan share common interests in supporting, including the ASEAN Regional Forum and the East Asian Summit, are becoming less relevant as some states increasingly seek to balance against China with US support.[26]

Finally, as mature liberal democracies, Australia and Japan share common identities and political values from which stem the various overlaps in interests that have made cooperation on a range of regional and domestic policy

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[25] Graham, "Maritime Security and Capacity Building: The Australia-Japan Dimension," 43–57; Carl Thayer, "Flight MH370 Shows Limits of ASEAN's Maritime Cooperation," *The Diplomat*, March 18, 2014. Available at: http://thediplomat.com/2014/03/flight-mh370-shows-limits-of-aseans-maritime-cooperation/; Amitav Acharya, "ASEAN 2030: Challenges of Building a Mature Political and Security Community," Asian Development Bank Institute, no. 441, October 2013. Available at http://asean-community.tumblr.com/post/66195323116/asean-2030-challenges-of-building-a-maturey.

[26] China's more aggressive approach to its territorial claims is creating divisions among the ASEAN states that have begun to affect regional forums, such as the ASEAN summit and APEC. At the 2012 ASEAN meeting hosted by Cambodia, Chinese officials unsuccessfully attempted to push through an agreement that its territorial disputes with ASEAN states in the South China Sea would only be discussed on a bilateral basis outside of ASEAN forums. The Philippines was especially outraged by the announcement, which it condemned as false, saying no such deal had been brokered. Arguments over how the territorial disputes should be managed had marred the earlier breakdown of the Foreign Ministers meeting in July, and prevented the issuing of a joint communiqué from the meeting for the first time in 45 years, see *South China Morning Post*, November 22, 2012. Indeed, the rancour surrounding the controversy is very unusual for ASEAN meetings, which normally go to great lengths to promote consensus over disagreement.

issues possible over the last four decades.[27] These common interests during the first two decades of the relationship were largely motivated by the instrumental advantages of increased trade and investment between the two countries, but were followed from the 1980s onwards by increased levels of political and economic cooperation at both the regional and bilateral level, resulting in the creation of APEC, the rapid development of trade relations, cultural exchange, and high levels of Japanese investment in Australia. Moreover, the close political affinity between Australia and Japan, in addition to their shared status as key US alliance partners in the region, has made cooperation possible in sensitive areas of security and investment that are off limits to other regional partners such as China.

An ongoing US commitment to the region, therefore, is of primary concern to both countries, causing them to prioritise fears of possible abandonment by the US over the kinds of entanglement or entrapment concerns that have complicated their alliance relationships with the US in the past, or may in the future given the increasingly tense nature of US-China relations. In this respect, China has, through its more assertive behaviour, helped to resolve the abandonment versus entrapment dilemma of many of the

[27] Satake, "Beyond the 'China Gap': The Japan-Australia Contribution to a Liberal and Inclusive Regional Order"; Satake, "Why a Strong Australia-Japan Relationship Matters."

region's US alliance partners by underlining the importance of the US as a security guarantor against any regional hegemony ambitions the Chinese Government may be pursuing. Moreover, and in addition to numerous multilateral issues of regional concern, including trans-national, non-traditional type threats and disaster management, Australia and Japan's domestic defence burdens are significantly lightened by US extended deterrence. As in the US, the fiscal pressures currently being experienced by both countries make any major increase in defence spending in the event of a US draw down of its forces and commitment highly problematic both economically and politically. Cooperating to lighten the US defence burden and keep the US commitment strong, therefore, is likely to be far less costly to either country than the alternative of attempting to compensate for the diminution of US extended deterrence in the event of a future US administration advocating disengagement under economic and political duress at home.

Former Prime Minister John Howard's invocation of the US alliance, and its importance to Australia, rather than the threat posed by Saddam Hussein's regime, as the rationale for sending Australian troops to Iraq in 2003, for example, illustrates both the centrality of the ANZUS alliance to Australian security policy thinking and also its significance among Australian voters. The level of bi-

partisan support for the alliance in Australia, moreover, was reaffirmed in 2011 by the then Labor Prime Minister Julia Gillard's speech to the US congress[28] and also the 2011 bilateral AUSMIN declaration, and President Obama's statements on the importance of the ANZUS alliance during his visit to Australia later that year. Moreover, Australia, unlike Japan, has long been a consistent supporter of US policy *both* politically and militarily despite its relatively secure geographical location and the domestic political costs governments occasionally have faced as a consequence of supporting the US in conflicts, especially when connections to Australia's national interests have been tenuous or unclear. Indeed, Australia's interests in supporting the existing post-war regional order and the US role in maintaining it are long standing and largely unchallenged in Australian policy circles and by the Australian public.[29]

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[28] During her speech to the US Congress in March 2011, then Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard told her audience that: "You have an ally in Australia. An ally for war and peace. An ally for hardship and prosperity. An ally for the sixty years past and Australia is an ally for all the years to come." See "Transcript of Julia Gillard's Speech to Congress," March 11, 2011. Available at: http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2011/03/10/transcript-julia-gillards-speech-congress.

[29] According to Kim Beasley, current Australian Ambassador to the US and former Labor Defence Minister and leader, "Where the American alliance was useful in the 80s, it is now critical for us." Quoted in Simon Benson, "Kim Beazley: Australia's Alliance with the US has Never Been More Critical for Our Own National Security," *dailytelegraph.com.au*, June 11, 2014. Available at:

Japan also has remained steadfast in its alliance commitments despite the many political challenges the US alliance has raised domestically, including the ongoing controversy surrounding US bases in Okinawa and mounting US pressure during the post-Cold War period for Japan to allow its military to make a more active commitment to the alliance in spite of the limits imposed on the Self Defence Forces by Japan's Constitution. Concern over the US alliance commitment increased in Japan during the post-Cold War period, leading to greater "host nation" support for US forces in Japan, the redefinition of the alliance in 1996, and revision of the US-Japan guidelines for defence cooperation in 1997. This trend has continued, as demonstrated by the latest revision to the US-Japan defence guidelines in 2015, and despite the failed attempt of the DPJ (Democratic Party of Japan) to lessen Japan's reliance on the alliance under Prime

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http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/kim-beazley-australias-alliance-with-the-us-has-never-been-more-critical-for-our-own-national-security/story-fni0cx12-1226949963644. See also Paul Dibb, "Australia's Alliance with America," Melbourne Asia Policy Papers, 1. No. 1 (March 2003). Available at: http://asialink.unimelb.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/414941/mapp1.pdf; Nick Bisley, "'An Ally for All the Years to Come': Why Australia is Not a Conflicted US Ally," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 67, no. 4 (2013): 403–418; Michael Cohen and Andrew O'Neil, "Doubts Down Under: American Extended Deterrence, Australia, and the 1999 East Timor Crisis," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 15 (2015): 27–52; Peter Jennings et al., "Guarding Against Uncertainty: Australian Attitudes to Defence," report on community consultations, Department of Defence, Australian Government, March 2015. Available at: http://www.defence.gov.au/Whitepaper/docs/GuardingUncertainty.pdf.

Minister Hatoyama. This indicates its entrenched nature in Japanese policy thinking; according to Hughes[30], the structural drivers of Japan's alliance dependency are so strong that DPJ policy on Japan's security soon resembled that of the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party).

The key current concern for Australia, Japan and other US alliance partners in the region like the Philippines is the strength of US resolve to balance against a rising China and to continue to provide the kinds of public goods in the region that have underwritten East Asia's post war stability and prosperity. That is, abandonment fears remain and are amplified by both the region's fluid security landscape and the clear expectation of the US for its alliance partners to share more of the alliance burden. Indeed, unprecedented levels of US fiscal debt and periods of political uncertainty over the US public's tolerance of further military involvement in far flung conflicts following the "blood and treasure" so far spent by the Bush and Obama administrations post-9/11 juxtaposed with fears of the current order being supplanted by a revisionist China have led both Australian and Japanese governments to increase their respective burden sharing roles in their alliances with the US. To date this has involved both external and internal

[30] Christopher Hughes, "The Democratic Party of Japan's New (but Failing) Grand Security Strategy: From 'Reluctant Realism' to 'Resentful Realism'," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 38, no. 1 (2012): 109–140.

balancing, especially in the case of Japan, and also the formalising and deepening of their "sub-alliance" security relations with each other. [31]

Conclusion

In short, Australian governments have invariably prioritised the security, economic, and prestige benefits of the US alliance over the not insignificant material and political costs, both domestically and regionally, doing so has often incurred. When entrapment concerns have been raised in domestic political debate it has only been in the context of Australian forces becoming involved in distant conflicts with relatively weak states with whom Australia has had no major bilateral interests. Helping to further blunt entrapment concerns has been the strategy among Australian governments of making small, symbolic contributions to US military missions that are not open ended as occurred with Australian military contributions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The current tensions with China,

[31] Rikki Kersten, "The Scope for Increased Bilateral and Multilateral Security Cooperation: The Emergence of the Australia-Japan Co-operative Coalition," research paper presented at the Fourth Annual Australia-Japan Dialogue hosted by the Griffith Asia Institute, Tokyo, November 28, 2014. See also Tomohiko Satake, "The Japan-Australia Contribution to a Liberal and Inclusive Regional Order: Beyond the 'China Gap'," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70, no. 1 (2016): 24–36; Rikki Kersten, "Contextualising Australia-Japan Security Cooperation: The Normative Framing of Japanese Security Policy," *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70, no. 1 (2016): 6–23.

however, present a very different set of risks, introducing the possibility of Australia becoming directly involved in a conflict with not only a regional power for the first time since the Korean War, but also its largest trade partner.

By actively balancing against China, Japan, the US, and other states (e.g., the Philippines, Vietnam) in the region already have decided to "defect" in what Snyder describes as the adversarial and armament sub-games of the security dilemma concept.[32] Australian policy thinking, however, remains inhibited by both adversarial and alliance dilemmas produced by a level of uncertainty in Australia over China's intentions that is no longer shared by its two closest partners. For the US and Japan, uncertainty over China's revisionist intentions has diminished to a point where more overt deterrence and balancing is deemed necessary. How Australian policy makers eventually resolve their dilemma over China, therefore, is central to understanding how Australia's alliance dilemmas with Japan, and the US, will play out since managing the adversarial dilemma requires making important choices about Australia's relationships with the region's three major powers. The central choice for policy makers concerns whether Australia should continue to try and avoid "taking sides" and hedge against damaging its

[32] See Snyder, "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics."

relations with China by attempting to keep all three powers on side, or "take a stand" on the principles and regional institutions Australian governments have long regarded as central to Australia's national interests. The "China gap" between Australia and Japan, thus, reflects the differences in how Australia and Japan so far have responded to China's claims within the US alliance framework, while also raising the question of why security relations between the two countries nevertheless have flourished *despite* the very different perceptions of China held by Australia and its two most important strategic partners.

Australian perceptions of the US alliance and the significance of the current regional order, however, will ultimately tell us more about the future of Australian foreign policy toward China than perceptions of China tell us about Australian foreign policy toward the US and Japan. Indeed, it is "China's choice" rather than a "China choice" that Australian policy thinking should be focused on. That is, does the Chinese leadership want to continue to participate in, help lead, and further *develop* rather than *fundamentally change*, the existing rules-based order that has facilitated China's prosperity over the last three decades? Or do China's leaders instead want to risk the stability that order has provided by striving for greater power and influence in the region? The current signs are that China's choice already has been made; and, as a

consequence, the “China gap” in Australian and Japanese perceptions will narrow rather than widen.

A Wide Preference Gap? Public Opinion and Political Parties' Preferences on National Security in Japan, 1981–2015

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***Go Murakami*[1]**

Ritsumeikan University[2]

Well before the Abe Government made recent important changes to Japan's security policies, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) made fervent efforts to persuade Japanese electorates to strengthen national security for a long time to come. This fact leads to several questions about the interplay of external and domestic factors in security policy making: perhaps due to the rapidly changing international environment, did Japanese voters significantly change their opinions on national security, which made the policy shift possible? Or did the Abe Government successfully persuade the Japanese public to

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[2] Go Murakami is an Associate Professor in the College of Law, Ritsumeikan University.

allow them to implement its preferred policies? In general, how do voters react to external and internal factors and translate them into their policy preferences? How well do political parties respond to the electorates' security concerns, and how successfully can they lead public opinion to form a consensus? As a step in answering these questions, this paper focuses on the relationship between public opinion and political parties, and comparatively examines the temporal changes in their security policy preferences in Japan in the last three decades. There are three findings: 1) the public preference on national security looks reasonably responsive to key external factors; 2) until recently, political parties have been unsuccessful in leading public opinion or even their supporters; but 3) recently voters have started to align their positions on the security issue alongside the partisan line, especially after the recent LDP's "move to the right" on national security policy.

Introduction

Japan's national security policies have undergone significant changes, including the Abe Government's decision to reinterpret Article 9 of the Constitution. Although in broad terms external factors such as the tension related to the rise of China well explain this shift, it is ultimately the internal political process that has brought it forward. In general, how important are domestic factors in shaping security policies? Perhaps this question is too broad to handle, but to get an idea of the importance of

domestic forces this paper focuses on the relationship between public opinion and parties' positions on national security policy. Before the security policy changes, did significant value shifts occur among the Japanese electorates? If so, how did they react to external and internal forces? More concretely, how susceptible were they to the government's and parties' positions? In other words, how successful (or unsuccessful) were parties in shaping their supporters' security policy preferences?

In answering these questions by analysing Japanese public opinion and political elite surveys over time, this paper reveals that a particular domestic process occurred before the security policy changes. Three major findings are reported: 1) public preference on national security looks reasonably responsive to key external factors; 2) until recently, political parties have been unsuccessful in leading public opinion or even their supporters; but 3) recently voters have started to align their positions on security issues alongside partisan lines, especially after the LDP's recent "move to the right" on national security policy.

Literature Review

The political science literature has found it difficult to disentangle various political forces, external or internal, that influence security policy outcomes. Because relevant

players and events are highly interdependent, the effects are naturally endogenous: one systematic review shows that public opinion can influence the mass media and political elites' behaviours in some cases, while the mass media and political elites can shape public preferences in other cases, leaving out the effects of external events on all of them.[3] Yet the same literature reveals important insights about the nature of the public opinion. Contrary to popular views, studies suggest that public opinion on security policies is often stable and consistent *in aggregate*, and reacts "rationally" to external events,[4] which can influence countries' foreign policies.[5]

Indeed, several studies suggest this possibility in Japan, too.[6] For example, the Japanese public's consistent anti-

[3] Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 39–41.

[4] Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), Chapter 6; Benjamin I. Page and Marshall M. Bouton, *The Foreign Policy Disconnect: What Americans Want from Our Leaders but Don't Get* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 40–58; and in Japan, Paul Midford, *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 7.

[5] Baum and Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," 44; Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page, "Who Influences U.S. Foreign Policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99 (2005), no. 1: 113–117.

[6] Midford, *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?* 20–27; Paul Midford and Paul D. Scott, "Japanese Political Parties Face Public Opinion: Leading, Responding, or Ignoring?"

militarism arguably prevented hawkish political leaders from veering security policies towards a more militant direction during and after the Cold War.[7] This sounds true, as neglecting the voters' concerns can produce large electoral costs for major parties.[8] Indeed, Ohmura's study on representation dynamics in post-war Japan shows that the parties which responded reasonably to the popular policy demands were most successful in gaining votes in elections, and the security policy dimension was not an exception to this rule.[9]

These findings in the literature point to two predictions about Japanese public opinion on security policies in the long run: first, they should exhibit some "reasonable" reactions to the external factors, meaning that certain international environments can induce opinion changes. Second, the public might be relatively resistant to politicians' manipulations, which can slow down the decision-making process. To test this latter prediction, this

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in *Japanese Public and the War on Terrorism*, ed. Robert D. Eldridge and Paul Midford (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 126–130.

[7] Midford, *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?* 3, 63–67, 127–145.

[8] Most recently, the first Abe Cabinet completely failed selling his constitutional revision agenda, and lost the 2007 election. See Midford, *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?* 156–161.

[9] Hanako Ohmura, "Sengo nihon no seitō no komittomento to yoron [Parties' Policy Commitments and Public Opinion in Postwar Japan]," *Senkyo Kenkyū* [*Japanese Journal of Electoral Studies*] 26, no. 2 (2010): 104, 110–112.

study first examines the long-term fluctuations of security preferences of electorates in Japan. Then, by dividing it amongst several partisan groups and comparing them to the fluctuations of the political candidates' opinions, I aim to grasp the degree to which the political elites can lead public opinion, or vice versa.[10]

Analysis of the Public and Politicians' Preferences on Security Policies

To examine public opinion on national security security over time, changes in the support for the constitutional revision (lines a-1 and a-2) and for increasing the SDF's defence capacity (lines b-1 and b-2) between 1981 and 2015 are shown in Figure 1. Because the debate over the constitutional revision, especially the Peace Clause in Article 9, has dominated the debate on Japanese security,[11]

[10] Of course, changes in public preferences cannot be solely attributed to the politicians' leadership, simply because they are congruent. There are always other possibilities (voters' sorting, elites pandering to the public, both reacting the same way to the external forces, etc.). See Baum and Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," 41.

[11] This issue has been the major policy dimension that divided the major parties during and after the 1955 system in Japan. See Shiro Sakaiya, "2010 nen Sangiin senkyo ni okeru seisakuteki tairitsujiku [Policy Positions of Japanese Politicians at the 2010 Upper House Election]," *Senkyo Kenkyū* [*Japanese Journal of Electoral Studies*] 27, no. 2 (2011): 22–25; Hiroshi Hirano, *Yūkensha no sentaku: Nihon ni okeru seitō seiji to daihyōsei minshushugi no yukue* [*The Electorates' Choice: The Future of Party Politics and Representative Democracy in Japan*] (Tokyo: Bokutakusha, 2015), 185–189.

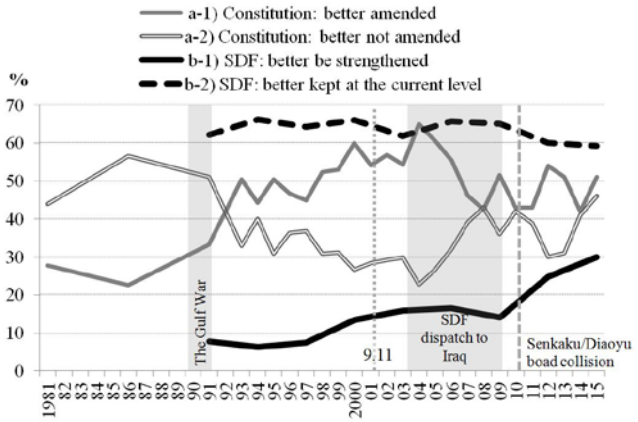
fluctuation in public support for the revision should capture at least partly their security concerns.

First, the trend of the solid grey line (a-1) corresponds reasonably well to the timing of external pressures on Japan's security policies. Support for the revision started increasing in the early 1990s, which coincides with the rising debate over the SDF's role in conflict areas or peacekeeping operations. Obviously, this was triggered by international pressure to provide more contribution to international security during and after the Gulf War.[12] A similar debate was revisited after 9/11, when Japan was again requested to "show the flag" for the "war on terrorism" by the US Government.[13] Thus, support for the constitutional revision reached its peak (65%) in 2004, but it lost the momentum after the SDF was dispatched to Iraq. After 2005 public opinion oscillates, split almost in half for and against the revision.

[12] Yomiuri Shimbun, *Nihon no seron* [*The Japanese Public*] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 2002), 48–51.

[13] "Dōji tahatsu tero deno bei kōhōshien, kyō kara yotō kyōgi." *Yomiuri Shimbun*, September 18, 2001, 4.

Figure 1: Public Opinion on Constitutional Revision and the SDF's Defence Capability, 1981–2015[14]



[14] Lines (a-1) and (a-2) are percentages of two mutually exclusive answers to the same question, "do you think the current Constitution should better be amended, or should not be amended?" in the Yomiuri Shimbun public opinion polls, conducted in 1981, 1986, 1991 and every year after 1993. Similarly, lines (a-1) and (a-2) are the percentages of two mutually exclusive answers to the same question, "in general, do you think the Japanese SDF should better be strengthened, kept at its current level, or cut down?" in the Naikakufu polls, asked every three year since 1991. There are three answer options for this question, "better be strengthened", "better kept at the current level", and "better cut down", and the figure for the last option is omitted for space considerations. For lines (a-1) and (b-2) see Naikakufu daijinkanbō seifu kōhōshitsu, "Jieitai bōei mondai ni kansuru yoronchōsa," March 2015, accessed November 15, 2015 available at: http://survey.gov-online.go.jp/h26/h26-bouei/index.html. For lines (b-1) and (b-2) see *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 20, 1981; April 14, 1986; May 2, 1991; April 8, 1993; March 31, 1994; April 6, 1995; April 5, 1996; April 6, 1997; April 8, 1998; April 9, 1999; April 15, 2000; April 5, 2001; April 5, 2002; April 2, 2003; April 2, 2004; April 8, 2005; April 4, 2006; April 6, 2007; April 8, 2008; April 3, 2009; April 9, 2010; September 14, 2011; March 19, 2012; April 20, 2013; March 15, 2014; March 23, 2015, all morning editions, Yomidasu Rekishikan [newspaper database].

Another indicator that captures the level of security concerns is public opinion on the preferred level of the SDF, represented by the thick solid black line (b-1) and the dashed black line (b-2) in the same figure.[15] We first notice that the demands for a stronger SDF have recently increased rapidly from 14% in 2009 to 30% in 2015. Given that such increase was not observed in the 1990s, and that this increase does not seem to relate to the difference of the government parties in the 2000s and 2010s, specific external factors are considered to have triggered this change. A usual suspect would be the collusion incident between a Chinese boat and the Japanese Coast Guard ship in 2010,[16] but a series of following events regarding the (is)land disputes with China, Russia and Korea may also have contributed to this shift.

While demand for more security is clearly growing, the absolute majority (typically more than 60 percent) of the

[15] It doesn't correlate well with the fluctuation of the demands for the Constitutional revision (a-1 or a-2), but note that the surveys on the constitutional revision were conducted every year after 1993, while the surveys on the preferred level of the SDF were conducted only every three years.

[16] In 2010, a Chinese boat and the Japan's Coast Guard ship collided around the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, when the latter was "patrolling" around it. The Japanese public reacted fiercely to this incident and criticised the "weak" stand of the DPJ Government. See Paul Midford, "Foreign Policy as an Election Issue," in *Japan Decides 2012: The Japanese General Election*, ed. Robert Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed and Ethan Scheiner (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 184–186; Keisuke Iida, Masaru Kohno and Shiro Sakaiya, "Takeshima, Senkaku: Seifu no taiou wo kokumin wa dō hyōka shiteiruka," *Chūōkōron* 127, no. 16 (2012): 140–141.

public have preferred keeping the current level of SDF's defence capacity for more than 25 years (b-2).[17] This implies a reasonable limit on the public's "drifting to the right." Overall, the trend of Japanese public opinion in aggregate seems to correspond reasonably to external factors, yet the public also seems reluctant to expand the role of the SDF or to adopt an aggressive measure.

The Constitutional Revision

Did political elites induce this shift? The first step to check such effects is to examine the degree of congruence of their policy preferences. Yet it is too naïve to assume that a party or the government can uniformly shape public opinion, when multiple parties compete for seats with different policy claims in the elections. Especially on the issue of national security in Japan, many LDP Diet members have longed for the constitutional revision, while the Social Democratic Party's (SDP) pet agenda has been to "protect" Article 9 of the Constitution for decades.[18] In March 1997, for example, when *Yomiuri Shimbun* conducted a survey

[17] Some readers may wonder why the increase of the d-1 line does not correspond to the decrease of the d-2 line. Another percentage for "cut down," omitted in the figure for space consideration, gradually declined from 20 percent in 1991 to 5 percent in 2015.

[18] Yomiuri Shimbun seijibu, *Kiso kara wakaru kempō kaisei ronsō* (Tokyo: Chuōkōronshinsha, 2013), 188–196, 215–217;

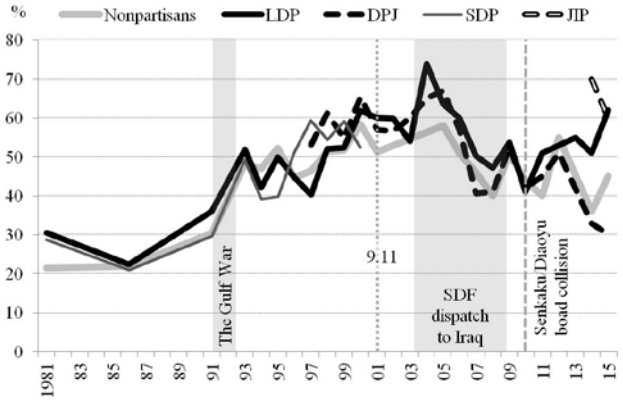
"Shakaitō no jieitai kempō kaishaku hensen," *Yomiuri Shimbun*, July 21, 1994, 2.

for the Diet members, 76 percent of the LDP Diet members answered that they were for the revision, while 15 out of 16 SDP Diet members (94 percent) were against.[19] Accordingly, if parties can lead public opinion, they should most likely be able to do so among their co-partisans, thus shifts in public preference should occur along the partisan line.[20] To examine this possibility, changes in public support for the constitutional revision (a-1 in Figure 1) are divided by partisans, when such data is available in Figure 2.

[19] "Kempō kaisei 60% ga sansei: Kokkai giin no Yomiuri shimbunsha ankēto ni 465 nin ga kaitō," *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 21, 1997, sec. 1, 1.

[20] To be sure, even if such a shift is observed, it is almost impossible to distinguish among persuasion, pandering, and voters' alignment (changing party support without changing opinions).

Figure 2: Public Opinion Support for Constitutional Revision by Partisanship, 1981–2015.[21]



The figure suggests that elite leading, if any, should have been overall ineffective, because the trajectories of the most partisan preferences are surprisingly similar for most years despite the differences in parties' official positions. Most notably, the SDP's clear opposition to the constitutional revision did not have much effect on their partisans (the thin solid grey line), which moved towards favouring the revision in the 1990s. Even before the SDP formed a "surprising" coalition with the LDP and

[21] *Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 5, 2002; April 2, 2003; April 2, 2004; April 8, 2005; April 4, 2006; April 6, 2007; April 8, 2008; April 3, 2009; April 9, 2010; September 14, 2011; March 19, 2012; April 20, 2013; March 15, 2014; March 23, 2015, all morning editions, Yomidasu Rekishikan [newspaper database]; Yomiuri Shimbun, *Nihon no seron*, 52.

Sakigae,[22] about 50 percent of its partisans were for the revision in 1993. In 1997, 60 percent of the SDP partisans favoured this idea, which was a higher support rate than that of LDP partisans, Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) partisans or nonpartisans.

LDP leaders have been unsuccessful in persuading their own partisans, too.[23] The solid black line in Figure 2 suggests that only about 30 percent of the LDP partisans supported the revision in the 1980s, and about 50 percent at best in the 1990s. One may argue that the LDP was successful in shaping its partisans' opinions gradually up to 2004, when 74 percent of their partisans supported the revision. Its support level significantly dropped to 41 percent in 2010 however, despite Abe's (first) great efforts to put the constitutional revision on the election agenda between 2006 and 2007.[24]

The only exception to this trend is the partisan division among LDP, DPJ, and nonpartisans after the 2012 poll. The difference in support for the revision between the LDP and

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[22] It is important to note that the SDP abandoned its long-term view that regarded the SDF unconstitutional in order to maintain the SDP-LDP coalition in 1994. "Shatō ga 'Jieitai iken' minaoshi e Seiken kakutoku de tankan 9 gatsu taikai de teian mo," *Yomiuri Shimbun*, July 15, 1994, 1.

[23] *Yomiuri Shimbun* lists interesting comments of eight LDP Prime Ministers who implicitly lamented that they had been unable to put the constitutional revision agenda onto the table since 1960s. See Yomiuri Shimbun seijibu, *Kiso kara wakaru kempō kaisei ronsō*, 192–194.

[24] Midford, *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?* 156–161.

DPJ partisans increased from 2 points in 2012 to 32 points in 2015.[25] Considering that Abe has been keen to revise the Constitution again since the beginning of his second cabinet in 2012,[26] this could be interpreted as the result of the elite-driven opinion alignment. Note, however, that the total percentage of support for the revision has not increased in the past three years from 54 percent in March 2012 to 51 percent in 2015 in Figure 1. This means that the elite leading of public opinion, if any, did not work for everyone in the same direction. Perhaps the most likely process is voters "sorting" themselves: those who were predisposed to favour the constitutional revision came to support Abe, which pushed them to be LDP partisans for the moment, whereas those who did not support the revision became other partisans, most likely of DPJ.

In a nutshell, analysis of the changes in partisan security preferences over time suggests that elite influence has been modest. But recently, there are signs that voters are aligning their preferences along partisan lines. Did the political parties induce this change? To examine this possibility, in the final section I comparatively examine the

[25] This could be partly because the DPJ lost significant support after their first election to power in 2009, as only 9 percent supported it in the Yomiuri poll in March 2015. See "Naikakushiji yaya teika 55% honshi zenkoku yoronchōsa kekka," *Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 9, 2015, Section Seikatsu B, 14.

[26] "Abe sōsai kishakaiken no yōshi," *Yomiuri Shimbun*, December 12, 2012, 4.

changes in the public's and politicians' national security preferences using the UTokyo-Asahi Survey (UTAS).[27]

Strengthening Defence and the Right to Collective Self-Defence

Figure 3 represents candidates' and voters' average positions on two security issues, strengthening defence (left) and the right to collective self-defence (right), grouped by their party affiliation or partisanship, as well as the House difference for candidates between 2003 and 2014.[28] The top four subfigures represent the average party

[27] A series of public opinion surveys and elite surveys were conducted jointly by the University of Tokyo survey team and *Asahi Shimbun* on every election after 2003. They ask various questions and both randomly sampled voters nationwide in Japan and most of the candidates running in each election. Because the candidates' answer is reported individually on the Asahi Shimbun website during the election campaign, the data is considered reliable in representing their views, and could function as their policy pledge. The response rates for the elite surveys were 95.3 percent in 2003 (the House of Representatives, or HOR), 76.7 percent in 2004 (House of Councillors, HOC), 93.6 percent in 2005 (HOR), 81.2 percent in 2007 (HOC), 97.6 percent in 2009 (HOR), 86.3 percent in 2010 (HOC), 93.4 percent in 2012 (HOR), 90.4 percent in 2013 (HOC), and 95.1 percent in 2014 (HOR). See Ikuo Kabashima and Masaki Taniguchi, "The UTokyo-Asahi Survey (UTAS) conducted by Masaki Taniguchi of the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, the University of Tokyo and the Asahi Shimbun," Dataset (2003–2004–2005, 2007, 2009–2010, 2012–2013), University of Tokyo. Available at: http://www.masaki.j.u-tokyo.ac.jp/utas/utasindex.html.

[28] Japan's bicameral system currently holds 475 members in the HOR (lower house), who can serve for a maximum of four years, and 242 members in the HOC (upper house) with a fixed term of six years. For the HOC, half of its members are elected every three years alternatively. See the HOR, "Kokkai no kōsei," The House of Representatives, 2015. Available at:

candidates' positions, whereas the bottom two are the voters' average preferences on the same issues. For all the subfigures, the vertical scale ranges from the hawkish preference (or traditionally right) of "1" at the lower position to the dovish preference (or left) of "5" at the upper position. Overall, lines in Figure 3 show that voters' (partisans') average preferences on security policies are rather moderate, and change relatively in a similar manner, whereas party candidates take much clearer positions with some more dynamic changes over time.

Figure 3: Candidates' and Voters' Average Positions on Two Security Issues by Partisanship and the House, 2003–2014.[29]

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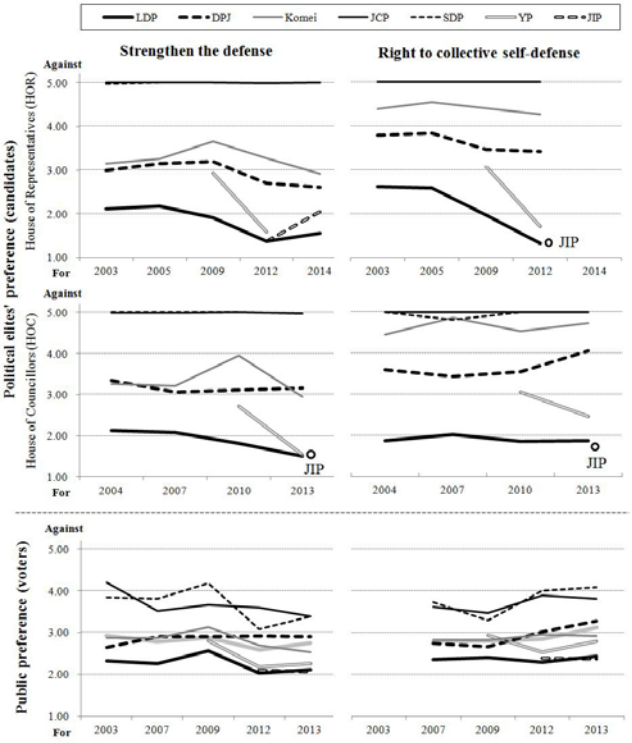
http://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_annai.nsf/html/statics/kokkai/kokkai_kousei.htm.

[29] Ikuo Kabashima and Masaki Taniguchi, "The UTokyo-Asahi Survey (UTAS)." All the lines represent the change in the average scores of the candidates' (top two) or voters' (bottom) answers to each statement by their party affiliation or partisanship, asked in the same format individually in the political elite and public opinion surveys (UTAS, see above). The question and answer formats of the two questions are exactly the same in the two types of surveys. The leading question asks, "do you agree or disagree with the following opinion?, then the statements follow: "we should strengthen Japan's current defense capability" (on the top left), "when foreign attacks are anticipated, we should not hesitate to conduct a preemptive strike" (top right), "we should be allowed to use the right of collective self-defense by amending or re-interpreting the Constitution" (bottom left), and "the Constitution should be amended" (amend the Constitution, bottom left). The answer point was calculated by averaging individual answers by points, 1 "agree", 2 "somewhat agree", 3 "neither agree nor disagree", 4 "somewhat disagree", and 5 "disagree." The partisanship is measured by the self-reported support or "leaning" towards the party, typically asked by the following question: "which party do you usually support?"



First, LDP candidates and LDP partisans (thick solid black lines) have the most hawkish security preferences compared to other party candidates or partisans. Dynamic shifts towards a hawkish direction are observed among LDP candidates, especially in the House of Representatives (HOR), who changed their position on average by 0.7 (strengthening the defence) or by 1.2 (right to collective self-defence) from 2005 to 2012. Part of the reason for

these changes is that Abe was reelected as the party president in September 2012 before the general election in December.[30] Compared to this clear move from the political elites, however, LDP partisans' security preferences show a much more moderate shift to the right (-0.53) on strengthening defence capacity (bottom right), and virtually none on collective self-defence (bottom left) from 2009 to 2012. Thus, even when the politicians' influence on the public preference is assumed, its effect could be rather limited in size.

Second, DPJ candidates' average preferences (dashed thick black lines) are more moderate or leaning towards the left, but their trend fluctuated in a similar manner as the LDP candidates' preferences except on the collective self-defence issue for the House of Councillors (HOC) candidates. In the 2013 HOC election, the DPJ candidates clearly opposed the Abe Government's policy to allow the right to collective self-defence, which is captured by the change from 3.55 in 2010 to 4.06 in 2013 (by +0.51) in the middle right subfigure. The DPJ partisans followed this move, when their average preference changed by +0.52 from 2.74 in 2009 to 3.27 in 2013. This can be another

[30] For details see Christian G. Winkler, "Right Rising? Ideology and the 2012 House of Representatives Election," in *Japan Decides 2012: The Japanese General Election*, ed. Robert Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed and Ethan Scheiner (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 206–210.

piece of evidence for the partisan alignment or the result of the DPJ's leading of their partisans.

Third, the position taking of the now defunct Your Party (YP) candidates and its partisans looks like a prima facie case for partisan alignment in an opposite direction.[31] YP candidates had the largest shift on the security position from moderate to hawkish, as all the hollowed lines dropped from the central area to the bottom, followed by their partisans' similar moves. We should be cautions to take this as evidence for YP's successful opinion building, though, when YP did not sell its party for its security policies, but focused more on government spending cuts.[32] Before YP committed to a hawkish stance, its defence policy had been more moderate, a lot closer to the DPJ's in 2009. The YP candidates' move after 2010 probably reflects their negative campaign against the DPJ

[31] YP started in 2009 on a small scale with a former LDP Diet member, Yoshimi Watanabe, who defected the LDP. After having limited success in the subsequent election, the YP collapsed in November 2014 due to internal conflict and Watanabe's money scandal. For details see Steven R. Reed, "Challenging the Two-Party System: Third Force Parties in the 2012 Election," in *Japan Decides 2012: The Japanese General Election*, ed. Robert Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed and Ethan Scheiner (London: Palgrave Macmilan, 2013), 73–74; Robert J. Pekkanen and Steven R. Reed, "From Third Force to Third Party: Duverger's Revenge?" in *Japan Decides 2014*, ed. Robert Pekkanen, Steven R. Reed, and Ethan Scheiner (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 62–66.

[32] My ancillary analyses of the candidates' positions on government spending and service dimension suggest that the YP candidates were mostly against public works to create jobs. The figure is not shown here, but it is available upon request.

Government on the territorial dispute with China (the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands) in 2010.[33]

Analyses of other parties suggest partial support for candidates leading the partisans' opinions. While JCP (Japanese Communist Party, solid thick black lines) and SDP (dashed thin black lines) candidates clearly and consistently held the most dovish positions on both security issues, their partisans' preferences are rather moderate, and changed rather similarly to other partisans. The trajectory of Komei candidates' preferences coincides with that of partisans (the solid thin, light grey line) on strengthening the defence issue (left), but their patterns don't match well on the collective self-defence issue. Lastly, the now collapsed Japan Innovation Party (JIP, or *Ishin no tō*, dashed hollowed lines)[34] candidates took hawkish positions as the LDP candidates. Indeed, the JIP carried one of the most hawkish defence policy proposals in the 2012

[33] There is no clear reference to the right to collective self-defence, for example, but it implied abolishing the "sympathy budget", the government's spending for the defence to keep the US military to maintain bases in Japan. See Midford, "Foreign Policy as an Election Issue," 190–192.

[34] The JIP was originally founded by Toru Hashimoto, the then popular governor of the Osaka prefecture; it successfully won 54 seats in its first national election in 2012, but failed to manage its internal coherence or maintain its popularity, and lost in the 2014 election with 31 seats. The party then collapsed due to the internal conflict. See Reed, "Challenging the Two-Party System: Third Force Parties in the 2012 Election," 74–76; and Pekkanen and Reed, "From Third Force to Third Party: Duverger's Revenge?" 69–70.

election.[35] On the voters' side, the average JIP partisans also take a similar hawkish position on the two security issues, which can be perceived as the evidence for the charismatic Hashimoto leading public opinion. Yet it is important to note that the national security issues are not the top priority for the JIP.[36]

To summarise, partisan alignment of voters' security policy preferences is observed to a certain degree, especially around 2012, when partisans' preferences fluctuated in the same manner as the average party candidates' positions.

Conclusion

The analysis of the Japanese public opinion and its comparison to candidates' opinions on the national security issues revealed several interesting results. First, Japanese voters in aggregate responded to some external factors reasonably, when they changed the level of support for the constitutional revision as a response to external pressure, or

[35] Their party platform includes abolishing the practice of capping defence spending at the "1% of the GDP" level, seeking nuclear weapons technology, and allowing the use of the right to collective self-defence. See Midford, "Foreign Policy as an Election Issue," 190.

[36] It is well known that Hashimoto's goal has been to create the "metropolitan Osaka," merging several Osaka municipal governments under the control of the Osaka prefectural government, like Tokyo. See Pekkanen and Reed, "From Third Force to Third Party: Duverger's Revenge?" 67.

their demands for strengthening the defence capacity in response to heightened tension with other countries. Second, little evidence was found for political elites' successful persuasion of public opinion in the long run, when public preference fluctuates irrespective of the parties' clear and consistent position taken for most of the period. Third, however, the Japanese electorate has recently started aligning its security preferences along the partisan line, which started with the LDP's clear move to strengthen the defence policy. Importantly, different parties took divergent policy preferences, while voters (partisans) followed their trend but only moderately. While this highlights the potential roles of political parties in shaping the security debate in the decision-making process, it is still too early to regard it as a successful case of leading public opinion by politicians: from the observed data, it is hard to disregard other possibilities (candidates' pandering to core partisan preferences, for example), and for many political parties, a significant gap still exists between the average partisans' and candidates' security preferences. Future studies should address and examine some conditions in which the government and parties might successfully shape the security debate, and persuade their voters to implement policies.

Political and Electoral Trends in the Australian Polity

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***Tracey Arklay*[1]**

Griffith University

A thesis running through recent commentary about Australian politics suggests a system in crisis. Leadership challenges, declining support for the major parties and the entry of independents and minor parties in greater numbers than ever before are used to highlight how Australians are disconnecting from their governments. This paper counters this dispiriting analysis by asserting that Australian politics has always been eventful and that there is an inherent stability in the system. At the same time, a paradox does seem apparent. The electorate is better educated than ever before and while cynicism about politics has increased, Australians appear more trusting of their governments in some important respects. Acceptance of harsh new security policies is contrasted to public reaction over earlier efforts to restrict personal choice as exemplified by attempts to ban the Communist Party during the 1950s. Is this lack of concern a trend that can be linked to the strategic use of fear by governments or is it just based on a realistic assumption by voters of impending danger? More broadly what are the implications for Australian politics?

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[1] Dr Tracey Arklay is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Government and International Relations, Griffith University.

Introduction

A perusal of recently published books on Australian politics reveals some common themes. From *Australia's Second Chance: What Our History Tells Us About Our Future* to *Great Expectations: Government, Entitlement and an Angry Nation* and *Triumph and Demise*,[2] the authors refer to the challenges faced in twenty-first century Australia: climate change, the global financial crisis, unemployment, border security concerns to name just a few. In doing so, they examine how these challenges manifest in the polity through policy fatigue, voter malaise, increasing cynicism and xenophobia. For Megalogenis,[3] Australia's wealth is intrinsically linked to immigration and the cultural and economic benefits of multiculturalism that managed to thrive despite successive policies of exclusion and protectionism. Laura Tingle[4] attributes the disillusionment and hostility of Australians towards the political elite to a misguided sense of entitlement and a belief that the political class has let them down. Attitudes

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[2] George Megalogenis, *Australia's Second Chance: What Our History Tells Us About Our Future* (Australia: Penguin Random House, 2015); Laura Tingle, "Great Expectations: Government, Entitlement and an Angry Nation," *Quarterly Essay* 46 (2009); Paul Kelly, *Triumph and Demise: The Broken Promise of a Labor Generation* (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2015).

[3] Megalogenis, *Australia's Second Chance: What Our History Tells Us About Our Future*, xi.

[4] Tingle, "Great Expectations: Government, Entitlement and an Angry Nation," 4.

about governments are further diminished by the policy gridlock in federal and state parliaments and the assumption that politics has been captured by vested interests.[5] Paul Kelly argues that the "crisis in the system" is due to Australia's political system "failing to deliver the results needed… The business of politics is too de-coupled from the interests of Australia and its citizens".[6]

International scholarly literature attests to increasing levels of distrust many voters have in their political systems across the Western world.[7] In countries with voluntary voting, this is associated with lowered voter turnout. Australia counters this trend because of its electoral arrangements which include compulsory voting and an electoral system that buffers the major parties. Nevertheless increasing cynicism is evident here too. Papadopoulous

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[5] Murray Goot, "Distrustful, Disenchanted and Disengaged? Polled Opinion on Politics, Politicians, and the Parties: An Historical Perspective,' Papers on Parliament, no. 38 (April 2002): 17. Available at: http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Senate/Research_and_Education/pops/pop38/~/link.aspx?_id=AC6C7A66BBC149AC9C675C57939B5591&_z=z.

[6] Kelly, *Triump and Demise: The Broken Promise of a Labor Generation*, 497.

[7] Paul Fawcett, "Can't Live With Them, Can't Live Without Them: Why Politicians Matter," *Democratic Theory* 1, no. 2 (winter 2014): 67–75; Gerry Stoker, "Explaining Political Disenchantment: Finding Pathways to Democratic Renewal," *The Political Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (2006): 184–194; Russell Dalton, *Democratic Choices, Democratic Challenges: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

argues that 'destructive cynicism has replaced what was once a healthy scepticism'.[8]

In 2010 Australians witnessed the first hung parliament since 1940. A minority Australian Labor Party (ALP) government was ultimately successful, winning the support of the Australian Greens and several conservative independents. This alliance was subsequently portrayed by the Liberal National Party (LNP) coalition in opposition as both a convenient and ruthless compromise by the ALP to seize power. Paul Kelly suggests that the pact with the Greens weakened the ALP fatally. ALP elder, now retired Senator John Falkner, had warned of the danger confronting Australia's oldest political party in 2011 saying: "We are facing our first electoral challenge in history from the Left, in the Greens. And we are a declining political force".[9] As ideological issues dividing the two major parties lessen, left-aligned voters are seeking new alternatives outside traditional parties. Some engaged citizens, dispirited by the trade-offs and compromises of

[8] Yannis Papadopoulous, *Democracy in Crisis? Politics, Governance and Policy* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2013).

[9] Phil Coorey 2001 quoted in Kelly, *Triumph and Demise:The Broken Promise of a Labor Generation*, 38.

the major parties, are turning instead to activist groups such as GetUP![10] and ChangeOrg.com.[11]

This paper examines some recent Australian political and electoral trends. While historically Australia has enjoyed long periods of stable government, the recent bout of leadership challenges has signalled to some that there is a deep, underlying structural problem.[12] Yet frequent changes in leadership are not an entirely new phenomenon. One such example occurred in 1966 after the retirement of Sir Robert Menzies. After 17 years of Menzies led conservative government, there was a quick succession of three Liberal prime ministers spanning a five year period, followed by a short stint in office by the ALP's Gough Whitlam. The circumstance behind the leadership changes were different but still illustrate that Australian politics has always been eventful and, at times, chaotic.

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[10] In terms of political relevance, GetUP! lodged a successful High Court (HC) challenge in 2010 and claimed a victory for overturning a decision of the Howard Government regarding early closure of the electoral roll which potentially disenfranchised 10,000 Australians. In 2010 the HC agreed that this was an unreasonable restriction of the universal franchise. This is in contrast to the stalemate of the political parties, with skin in the game, to gain bipartisan support to alter this legislation. See Lanai Vasek, "GetUp! Wins High Court Challenge to Electoral Roll Cut-Off," *The Australian*, August 6, 2010. Available at: http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/getup-wins-high-court-challenge-to-electoral-roll-cut-off/story-fn59niix-1225902071456.

[11] John Faulkner, "Wran Lecture," June 9, 2011. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LckAyUEYklc.

[12] Nick Bryant, "Australia's Coup Culture," *BBC News*, March 20, 2013. Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-21863630.

Considering factors such as levels of education, new technologies and generational change, this paper examines the role of the two-party system, and whether the increase in independents and minor parties across Australian parliaments, that has escalated in recent years, symbolises a fundamental shift in Australian core values. In order to organise the discussion, this paper uses the 2013 federal election and events immediately before and after it to highlight key electoral and party trends.

The Australian Party System

The major party groupings of the ALP and the LNP have been an enduring feature of Australian politics. To quote Jaensch, Australian '[g]overnment is party government. Elections are essentially party contests…politics in Australia… is party politics'.[13] Despite this structural importance of the major parties there has also been, over several decades, an "enduring low-level trend" in support of independents and minor parties[14]. Political participation through parties is declining, with recent estimates suggesting that party membership is now around one

[13] Dean Jaensch, *The Liberals* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1994), 1–2.

[14] Jennifer Curtin and Brian Costar, "The Contest for Rural Representation," in *Abbott's Gambit: The 2013 Australian Federal Election*, ed. Carol Johnson and John Wanna (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2015), 275.

percent of the electorate.[15] According to Crikey there are more would-be members of the Melbourne Cricket Club than rank and file members of all Australia's political parties combined.[16] Crikey is cited because Australian political organisations are notoriously secretive about membership numbers and party records.[17] Put another way, while community activist organisations such as GetUp! (which is free to join) claims 632,000 members, the Liberal Party has an estimated 40–50,000 and its coalition partner, the Nationals, claim a non-specific "tens of thousands" members which it is believed derive mostly from Queensland. Membership for the minor parties is also low with Katter's Australian Party (KAP) and the Palmer United Party (PUP) each claiming less than 2000. Australia's third largest party, the Greens, have a membership of around 9,500 people, although since 2010 their membership has declined.[18]

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[15] Marion Sawer, Norman Abjorensen and Philip Larkin, *Australia: The State of Democracy* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2009), 134–135.

[16] Cathy Alexandra, "The Party's Over: Which Clubs Have the Most Members?" Crikey, July 18, 2013. Available at: http://www.crikey.com.au/2013/07/18/the-partys-over-which-clubs-have-the-most-members/.

[17] See also Anika Gauja, "Participation and Representation Through Political Parties," in *Contemporary Politics in Australia, Theories, Practices and Issues,* ed. Rodney Smith, Ariadne Vromen and Ian Cook (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 169.

[18] Alexandra "The Party's Over: Which Clubs Have the Most Members?"

Despite this drop in their membership base and a declining share of the vote, the Australian electoral system operates in such a way that it is unlikely to produce a government that is not led by either the LNP or ALP (see Table 1).

An upsurge in electoral volatility has nonetheless corresponded with an increase in support for minor parties and independents.[19] While a new generation of younger voters have shown a preparedness to shift their vote and party support as opinions and issues change[20], this trend should not be viewed as inexorable — as the number of minor parties who have won seats and subsequently disappeared infers. However, it is clear that the major parties have to work hard to restore the confidence of voters whose allegiance can no longer be taken for granted. The 2013 election result is indicative of the challenges ahead.

[19] Aaron Martin and Juliet Pietsch, "Future Shock or Future Stability? Generational Change and the Australian Party System," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 59, no. 2 (2013): 212–221.

[20] Martin and Pietsch, "Future Shock or Future Stability? Generational Change and the Australian Party System," 217–218.

Table 1: House of Representatives Primary Vote by Party and Results

Election date	Primary Vote ALP	LNP	Other	Seats won ALP	LNP	Other	Party in Govt
Sept 7, 2013	33.4	45.6	21.1	55	90	5	LNP Govt.
Aug 21, 2010	38.0	43.3	18.8	72	72	6	ALP Minority Govt.
Nov 24, 2007	43.4	42.1	14.5	83	65	2	ALP Govt.
Oct 9, 2004	37.6	46.7	15.7	60	87	3	LNP Govt.
Nov 10, 2001	37.8	43.0	19.2	65	82	3	LNP Govt.

Source: AEC, available at:
http://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/Federal_Elections/

Election 2013

In January 2013 Australians were informed by then Prime Minister Julia Gillard that the federal election would be held in September. This unprecedented lead-in time provided an ideal opportunity for new entrants to contest the election and 19 new parties were registered in the intervening period. As Table 2 highlights, 2013 had the highest number of new parties contesting a federal election.

Table 2: Number of Registered Parties at Australian Elections 2001-2013

Election	Number registered	Contesting HoR	Contesting Senate
2001	38	22	29
2004	34	26	30
2007	27	19	26
2010	25	22	25
2013	54	34	51

Source: Green, 2013. These results also available at: http://blogs.abc.net.au/antonygreen/2013/12/the-growth-in-the-number-of-registered-political-parties.html.

The Senate — Still an Unrepresentative Swill?

A record number of candidates, across every state, contested the Senate in 2013. In NSW the 110 candidates seeking election made the ballot paper stretch to one metre wide. There were 45 columns with a font size of six, which necessitated the importation of magnifying sheets from China to ensure voters could read their ballots.[21] As the

[21] Antony Green, "Explaining the Results," in *Abbott's Gambit: The 2013 Australian Federal Election,* ed. Carol Johnson and John Wanna (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2013), 395.

ballot papers have become larger, increasing numbers of Australian electors choose to vote above the line. In doing so, they risk their preferences being distributed in unintended ways. In 2013 minor parties and independents received 32.2 percent support. Proportional representation in the Senate and preference deals struck between new entrants that saw them preference themselves before the ALP, LNP and Greens ensured that a low primary vote did not exclude them from winning a seat. As a result, Ricky Muir achieved his 14.4 percent quota and a Victorian Senate seat with a mere 479 first preference votes or 0.51 percent.[22]

In 2013 electors punished the ALP which had been wracked with leadership instability. Its vote share declined from the 43.4 percent of first preference votes in 2007, when Kevin Rudd led the ALP back into government, to 33.4 percent. The LNP's vote rose in 2013 (receiving 45.6 percent of the primary vote) up from 42.1 percent in 2007 when it lost government. The LNP did not receive all the ALP's vote share — with close to two-thirds drifting to minor parties and independents.[23] John Faulkner's

[22] Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) 2013, available at: http://results.aec.gov.au/17496/Website/SenateStateFirstPrefs-17496-VIC.htm.

[23] Green, "Explaining the Results," 393.

prediction about the threat of losing the left seems to have played out.

Events, Issues and Emerging Trends

The reasons for the current level of disenchantment with the political process are complex. There is a well established international body of literature on the diminishing levels of trust from citizens in their political institutions.[24] Explanations include the increasing influence of business and privileged interests[25] and the pressure exerted by a ubiquitous media. In Australia, the failure of political leadership, adversarial politics, and social media which allows a platform for alternative views, have placed pressure on the system. In 2013, fact checking of claims by politicians was provided by the Australian Broadcasting Commission and *The Conversation*. With the electorate better informed, political parties need to find new ways to engage voters. As Australia's newest PM recently noted, what is required is "[a] style of leadership that respects the people's intelligence, that explains these complex issues

[24] Fawcett, "Can't Live With Them, Can't Live Without Them Why Politicians Matter"; Stoker, "Explaining Political Disenchantment: Finding Pathways to Democratic Renewal"; Dalton, *Democratic Choices, Democratic Challenges: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*.

[25] Beetham cited in David Marsh, "What Is the Nature of the Crisis of Democracy and What Can We Do About It?" *Democratic Theory* 1, no. 2 (Winter 2014): 37–46.

and then sets out the course of action we believe we should take and makes a case for it. We need advocacy, not slogans".[26] To date the electorate seem pleased with this message.

In one significant respect, however, Australians have confounded their suspicion of government. To put the following discussion in context, in the 1980s the Hawke Government attempted to introduce a form of universal identification. It was overwhelmingly rejected by Australians who considered a universal ID card as an invasion of privacy. The proposal was dropped. Since 2013, Australians' concern over security threats has seen the removal of many rights to privacy that would have been unthinkable decades earlier. Perhaps generational aspects have to be considered here, as the Facebook, cloud-using computing generation, used to sharing information about their lives online, have altered perceptions about personal privacy.

Security Concerns and Voters

Since 2001 Australia has been on heightened security alert. While geographically isolated and facing a less direct threat

[26] Sid Maher, "Abbott v Turnbull: We Need Advocacy Not Slogans, Says Malcolm," *The Australian,* September 15, 2015. Available at: http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/abbott-v-turnbull-we-need-advocacy-not-slogans-says-malcolm/story-fn59niix-1227527387040?sv=424ccd1bb6f3a55a5bec9039255d0d0b.

than other Western democracies, there has been a steady ratchetting of domestic security measures in Australia. Perhaps due to this geographical distance, the debate here has focused more on the problems created in the aftermath of war — refugee and asylum seeker policies — and the possibility of terrorist attacks. Political debate has been broadly focused upon the threat of terrorism, the rise of ISIS, and an at times vociferous, if not irrational fear of new migrants, especially Muslims. As a consequence many freedoms have been eroded by successive Australian governments, packaged up as a "necessary" part of the fight against terror. Since the attack on the World Trade Centre, but especially since 2010, security measures introduced have been largely accepted by the Australian public. Data retention laws, the right for ASIO to spy on Australians living overseas and the capacity of the Australian Federal Police to enter premises without warning or warrant have now all been legislated. Currently there are additional proposals to allow the states to detain suspects without charge for 28 days, in addition to stricter laws to control children over 14 years. Metadata laws provide government security agencies access to every Australian's personal data for a period of up to two years. Interestingly, the chief criticism arising from these legislative changes has revolved around the burden on businesses having to store this data. The civil rights of

Australians has been relatively unremarked upon.[27] The exception was the considerable public reaction and protests over 'Operation Fortitude'[28] in Melbourne. Border Force cancelled the operation as a result.

More broadly there has been a remarkable level of acceptance by Australians of these new security measures. This is quite a contrast to historical reactions of Australians when previous governments attempted to introduce "security" measures — i.e., the successive attempts to ban the Communist Party during the Cold War. Michael Fullilove, from the Lowy Institute notes that Australians are relatively unconcerned about infringements on their personal freedoms.[29] Two polls, one in 2013 and a more recent one suggest that "most Australians believed the

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[27] Human rights organisations have protested against the laws and journalists have expressed their concern in relation to how data-retention laws will jeopardise their sources. See Australian Human Rights Commission, "A Human Rights Guide to Australia's Counter-Terrorism Laws" 2008. Available at https://www.humanrights.gov.au/human-rights-guide-australias-counter-terrorism-laws.

[28] During Senate Estimates, Australian Border Force (ABF) chief Mike Pezzullo noted that the media release announcing a crackdown on visa fraud was "badly worded" giving the impression that the ABF "has general powers of questioning people in the street". See Francis Keany and Jane Norman, "Operation Fortitude: Immigration, Australian Border Force Apologise for Media Release That Triggered Melbourne Protests," *ABC News*, October 19, 2015. Available at http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-10-19/immigration-border-force-chiefs-apologise-operation-fortitude/6864982.

[29] Shalailah Medhora, "Two-Thirds of Australians Think Security Justifies Data Retention, Poll Shows," *The Guardian*, March 27, 2015. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/mar/27/two-thirds-of-australians-think-security-justifies-data-retention-poll-shows.

government had struck the right balance between protecting the rights of citizens and fighting terrorism".[30]

What this says about the values of Australians is interesting. While the trend seems to suggest increasing cynicism in relation to politics, the capacity of political leaders to use wedge politics and fear has provided governments with sufficient scope to enact laws that inhibit freedom.

Conclusion

Australian politics has had no shortage of colour and drama in recent years. Three successive governments have been decried by many commentators as being poll driven and reactive. In his speech after being ousted Tony Abbott argued opinion polls had produced "a revolving-door prime ministership which can't be good for our country".[31] The end result of years of destabilising politics and leadership

[30] An Essential Poll in October 2015 found that Australians were evenly divided between those that believe their rights have been impugned, and those that believe the government have acted in their best interests. See Cassidy Knowlton, "Essential: We Trust Police, But Not With Our Data," Crikey, October 20, 2015. Available at: http://www.crikey.com.au/2015/10/20/essential-we-trust-police-but-not-with-our-data/

[31] Tony Abbott, "Tony Abbott Has Spoken One Last Time as He Prepares to Give Up His Position as Prime Minister," News.com.au, September 16, 2015. Available at: http://www.news.com.au/national/politics/tony-abbott-has-spoken-one-last-time-as-he-prepares-to-give-up-his-position-as-prime-minister/news-story/b8d39b01bf988cb0cb3f6db2f674d5f6.

challenges has arguably seen "public respect for the political process … at a perilous low".[32]

So are we witnessing a fundamental shift in Australian values? Political instability is not a new phenomenon. All the other factors mentioned in this paper have challenged the system — and political parties need to adjust to a new environment in which they can no longer assume a guaranteed support base. The five prime ministers in five years chant has become a short-hand way of complaining about public and political institutions and the influence of the media. The electoral system has now been coopted by clever operators who have seen ways to legally manipulate the system for minor party advantage. The Senate, for most of its existence, has at times challenged legislation, but the new senators, often with varied and idiosyncratic views, provide additional challenges for governments. The ubiquitous media, in all its forms, and opinion polls also place pressure on the system. Throughout their history, Australian political parties have adapted to changed circumstances. One trend unlikely to change is that they will need to get faster and smarter in doing it.

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[32] Lenore Taylor, "Balancing the Party and the Public Will Be Turnbull's Biggest Challenge," *The Guardian*, September 14, 2015. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/14/balancing-the-party-and-the-public-will-be-turnbulls-biggest-challenge-yet.