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Japan's Maritime Security for "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity"

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Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

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This paper shows Japanese sense on the maritime security of today and tomorrow. It might give an implication not only for Japanese and also the related countries to organize and participate in the international maritime security system and accomplish participants' roles in order to maintain the stable condition of the Sea Lines of Communication. Additionally, of course, every country should unite this collective coalition security system and each country should pay necessary sacrifice for the reciprocity. It also gives brief history of Japanese maritime security tradition from 1853 up to present. The globalization teaches both of the new world order and the new type of threats that means both of the collaboration within the independent nationalism and the difficulty of the efficient countermeasures against threats, it should be the pronto project to organize the international maritime security system for "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" especially for such maritime countries. Unless Japan can transform her characteristic and attitude soon, it may be possible to become a leading bearer of this valuable idea to realize.

Forward: For the creative idea on the security

This paper shows Japanese sense on the maritime security of today and tomorrow. It might give an implication not only for Japanese and also the related countries to organize and participate in the international maritime security system and accomplish participants' roles in order to maintain the stable condition of the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC)¹. Additionally, of course, every country should unite this collective coalition security system and each country should pay necessary sacrifice for the reciprocity. This image of the SLOC is named "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity"². This arc is spreading from the North Europe region in the Atlantic Ocean to the Japanese Archipelago in the Pacific Ocean via the South Horn in South Africa and the Suez Canal including New Zealand and Australia.

This merit given from the combined or united organization will be able to bring excellent collaboration of progress altogether among Military + Academy + Industry relationship afterwards. In the case of Japan's future the present prohibition on the export of

¹ Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC): A term describing the primary maritime routes between ports, used for trade, logistics and naval forces. It is generally used in reference to naval operations to ensure that SLOCs are open, or in times of war, to close them. In another term "Sea Lane".

² November 30, 2006, Speech by Mr. Taro Aso (born September 20, 1940, the Secretary General of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, Aug. 2008. Previously, Minister for Foreign Affairs under Prime Ministers Shinzo Abe and Junichiro Koizumi.), Minister for Foreign Affairs on the Occasion of the Japan Institute of International Affairs Seminar "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity: Japan's Expanding Diplomatic Horizons".

weapon trade might be lifted, and also the globalization of multilateral military industrialization will contribute for the national interests of the related countries.

As a matter of fact, Japanese has been obviously showing her negative attitude on the employment of Japan Self Defense Force (JSDF) to abroad for the international relief missions. Japan has hesitated at sending JSDF and participating in PKO for the settlement of any international conflict during the past half century after WWII. Japanese surrender had changed her attitude toward JSDF military campaign and weapon use into extremely sensitive and negative.

For instance, in the case of the Korean War (1950~), that was a neighbor crisis, Japanese Diet resolved her exclusion from Korean refugees at the border on the sea³. Many Korean people criticized Japanese attitude. "Japanese concern on the Korean War. That was Japanese profit from selling and repairing combat materials of the US Forces. And additionally Japan caught a munitions business chance to recover from the ashes of WWII to the world economic power today."

In the current case of the Gulf War (1990~1991), Japan didn't send any troop to the Middle East war area. Japan paid 13 billion US\$ to the coalition forces in stead of JSDF entry into the war. This attitude was criticized worldwide. In addition to this blunder Japanese name could never be found on the newspaper which Kuwait had expressed her gratitude toward every 30 countries participating in Gulf War. This event became Japanese trauma⁴.

Japanese Constitution prohibits JSDF engagement into the battle in order to settle any international military conflict with armament. However the current RMA (Revolution in Military Affairs) has extraordinarily changed the nature of war from the traditional war to the new concept on war such as asymmetric, humanitarian, cyber warfare and war on terrorism since the collapse of the Cold War structure. It indicates a couple of implications of an obligation to accomplish Japanese role as an actor within the international system and an amendment of Japanese Constitution to fit the current international situation.

Japanese behavior on war leadership was awakened by the 9.11th terrorism in New York and Washington. Before this huge terror the terrorism had been recognized as one of crimes primarily handled by the constabulary forces. It could be seen the case of England constabulary forces against IRA extremist terrorism as a "CRIME" under Prime Minister M. Thatcher's leadership (1979-1990). On the other hand the US President G. Bush had declared the countermeasure against the 9.11 terrors as a war in order to secure the freedom, the international order and the people's society.

³ Diet Record Archives: 27 March 1951 The House of Representatives "The Special Committee of Administrative Inspection" Repatriation of Korean War refugees (smuggled Korean people) to the home land (Korea).

⁴ The Japan Times Friday, Aug. 24 2001, "Security alliance redefined after end of Cold War- Changing security ties spur Japan to stand more on its own-" by T. Asakura, Quote: "However, as Japan's economic power surged and the Cold War came to an end, regional conflicts erupted worldwide, and the nation could no longer shy away from taking on an international security role. The Gulf War became the first event to push Japan to take concrete action. The nation's alliance on oil from the Middle East meant Japan had a vital interest in the region's stability. While pressure mounted at home and abroad for Japan to do something more than throw money at the problem, strong domestic opposition prevented the government from dispatching JSDF troops to the Gulf for logistic support. The feeling in the US about Japan's financial contribution, which totaled \$ 13 billion, was that it was too little, too late. When Kuwait ran at advertisement in major US newspapers (The New York Times & The Washington Post) to express its gratitude to the countries that came to its aid, Japan was not mentioned. This experience led to major changes in Japan's security policy".

Before this President Bush's proclamation, generally speaking, the terrorism was the crime standing on injustice disabable to legitimate. Once the terrorism was declared as a war classified from the crime by the world leadership of the US president, terrorists became able to insist their legitimacy of the terrorism. According to the nature of warfare the legitimacy is always standing on the both sides for the battle of war.

In the context of the phenomena on war this evolution should be recognized a phenomenon on RMA in the 21st Century. Here the clear evolution on war can be seen. The nature of war and the role of armed forces had dramatically and quickly changed into the fog of war by K. V. Clausewitz in comparison with the traditional war since "The Napoleonic War" until "The Total War of WWII". Nevertheless Japanese could understand very few on this phenomenon.

Japanese allergy on military issues, and extreme sensitivity on war have brought up Japanese repelling mind from military actions. The Japan's trauma after the Gulf War was indignity and regret that Kuwait had excluded Japanese name from the list of the coalition forces countries that Kuwait would have minded to express her gratitude to. The reason why Japanese 13 billion US\$ money to help for the coalition forces was not appreciated was found at nonparticipation of JSDF in the battlefield. The most valuable common sense of the international contribution such as this is to shed blood and to sweat for the victims at the scene of war by the participants. Japan had not only understood the world standard, but also Japan had not known how to behave the best in such a case.

Japan's negative or hesitated behavior is always based upon playing domestic partisan politics without thinking for any national interest. Japanese sense on the national security has never been matured because of the historic background additionally based on the archipelago country.

It was too short period to mature the modern nation state involving all people in 150-years from the Meiji restoration. The human factor must be never neglected. To say about the leadership of the second generation after the Meiji restoration, on the one hand the war leadership had led into the total war and fallen into Japan's surrender. On the other hand Japan's reconstruction leadership from the ruin of WWII succeeded in the economic prosperity with the US patronage especially on the national security under the one-sided allied relation⁵. Regrettably, there is not any strategic sense or long term idea in the two types of leaderships. Both leaders had lost Japanese position in the world within the strategy.

⁵ The Japan Times (26 May 2001: By BRAD GLOSSERMAN Staff writer): "U.S.–JAPAN ALLIANCE–Charting a course as wide as the region" (Extract).

"There are a number of potential confrontation spots throughout the Pacific," explained Maj. Gen. Paul Hester, head of the U.S. Forces in Japan, in an interview last week. "While we have no reasons to believe that any of them would begin a war tomorrow, they are a clear reason why the United States has to have a strong presence in Asia." Despite the many uncertainties – which at this point include the specifics of the U.S. Forces review currently under way – one thing is clear: Japan will play a critical role in any American strategy. "Japan is the center of our engagement and our security and economic alliance in the Pacific," Hester said.

The Bush administration is filled with Japan hands who are ready to offer Tokyo more responsibility in alliance affairs. The question now is whether Japan really wants it. Some Japanese have complained that the Japan-U.S. alliance pays little attention to Japanese concerns, that the alliance is too one-sided and that more burden-sharing is in order. The chief danger now is that Japan will not live up to heightened U.S. expectations. The Japanese seem to be doing everything they can to ensure that does not happen. There is more talk about security matters and the responsibilities they entail. Japanese lawmakers are openly discussing the limits

In the context of "Ally", "Coalition", or "UN Operation", Japan's negative attitude was encouraged by the US with using well known phrases "Show the flag", or "Boots on the ground"⁶. In the new period of the RMA today the coward behavior must never be permitted. Additionally the reciprocal aid and responsibility must never be escaped. This sense and attitude might prove Japanese isolation and self-righteousness for the international relation with mutual reciprocity.

Generally speaking the nationalism which has been rooted on every nation's long history cannot be easily improved or changed its nature in a moment to adapt to the new trend on age's spirit. On the other hand a contingency management matter must accidentally need the nation's decision in a moment. It should be hurried in order to settle or avoid from ruin or casualties. Unless the readiness for the contingency management might be on time, prevention or preemption could not accomplish at all.

Extraordinary the current threats on SLOC are serious and severe to counter. Though there is not any effective preparedness against the new threats of war or disaster today, it is remarkable that the threats are reappearing up like mushrooms. Those threats are unnatural disasters such as piracy, illegal trade of WMD (Weapon of Mass Destruction), traffic in drug, terrorism, poaching, illegal refugee, pollution and natural disasters such as earthquake, tsunami, typhoon and abnormal phenomena. Especially intentional unnatural disasters should be eradicated. The stability and its security should be relied upon how to counter the challenge against the international order by the rogue states or non-state actors.

The SLOC security is an urgent scheme in the context of maritime security. The argument should be propounded with two schemes. One is "The territorial authentication", the second is "Free or easy ride on the SLOC". So this paper can give several references for the understanding and present an implication on the maritime security from Japanese view point. The following contexts explain Japanese sense on "National security through the review of Japanese history", "Maritime security", and "Necessity of a new structure for the maritime security".

imposed on military cooperation by the Constitution. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi has broached the subject of a constitutional amendment that would allow Japan to play a broader role in U.N. peacekeeping organizations and participate more fully in its alliance with the U.S. "Americans are here to support whatever the Japanese want to do," stressed Hester. "Assistant Secretary of State Richard Armitage offered the strongest U.S. support to Japan as it faces those questions and makes those decisions at its own pace."

Foreign critics of Japan's performance need to understand the vast gulf between Japan's military culture and their own. U.S. critics in particular have to recognize their own unique perspective: Article 9 of Japan's Constitution creates a gap between Tokyo's security posture and that of any other nation; when compared to that of the U.S., Japan's ally and the world's only remaining superpower, the distance seems unbridgeable.

⁶ When the US had demand Japan as an ally for Japanese cooperation to send JSDF troops to the Middle East and contribution for the war, Japan provided financial assistance and donated military hardware instead of direct military assistance, which was later to be known as a "checkbook diplomacy". At this time, Japanese news paper wrote the articles that the Vice Secretary of State R. Armitage had encouraged Japanese participation in Gulf War with the words "Show the flag" and "Boots on the ground".

Japanese sense on National Security. Review of Japanese history

It is not a long history. “Japan’s Maritime Security” started at the time of Commodore Perry’s gunboat diplomacy in 1853⁷. It also became a trigger to Japan’s Restoration⁸. The decision of Japanese new regime put a target to govern and build a modern nation state as “A Constitutional Monarchy” toward an advanced maritime country.

In this mid 1800 the world situation was significantly competitive among super powers such as Britain, French, German, Russia and the US. Japan was facing threats of such super powers’ imperialism and colonialism to expand their sovereignty and national interests. Japan had been not only a looker-on, but also as a challenger or an actor Japan had put herself into the competitive survival race with the super powers. Thus Japanese highest priority had set on “Enrich the country, strengthen the military” in accordance with the model of England Navy and French or German Army especially in the case of the armed forces.

Japanese leadership had led Japan toward a modern nation state with rapid strengthening of military forces and industrialization. On the other hand more than 80% Japanese population was rice crop farmers of the typical agricultural caste at that period of the Meiji Restoration. Farmers were very far from the age’s spirit of the nation state consciousness. They had been no more people of feudal characteristics under the province regime governed by the traditional province lord. That “SAMURAI” caste of the province lords had retained since the first “SHOGUN” regime called “Shogunate¹⁰ Regime” of 1192.

⁷ Matthew Calbraith^[1] Perry (April 10, 1794 – March 4, 1858) was the Commodore of the U.S. Navy who compelled the opening of Japan to the West with the Convention of Kanagawa in 1854. Aboard a black-hulled steam frigate, he ported Mississippi, Plymouth, Saratoga, and Susquehanna at Uraga Harbor near Edo (modern Tokyo bay) on July 8, 1853. His actions at this crucial juncture were informed by a careful study of Japan’s previous contacts with Western ships and what could be known about the Japanese hierarchical culture. He was met by representatives of the Tokugawa Shogunate who told him to proceed to Nagasaki, where there was limited trade with the Netherlands and which was the only Japanese port open to foreigners at that time (see Sakoku). Perry refused to leave and demanded permission to present a letter from President Millard Fillmore, threatening force if he was denied. The Japanese military forces could not resist Perry’s modern weaponry; the “Black Ships” would then become, in Japan, a threatening symbol of Western technology. The Japanese government were forced to let Perry come ashore to avoid a dangerous naval bombardment. Perry landed at Kurihama (in modern-day Yokosuka) on July 14, 1853 presented the letter to delegates present, and left for the Chinese coast, promising to return for a reply. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matthew_C._Perry).

⁸ The Japanese Restoration (Meiji Restoration), also known as the Meiji Ishin, Revolution, or Renewal, was a chain of events that led to enormous changes in Japan’s political and social structure. It occurred in the latter half of the 19th century, a period that spans both the late Edo period (often called Tokugawa shogunate) and the beginning of the Meiji Era. The restoration was a direct response to the opening of Japan by the arrival of the Black Ships of Commodore Matthew Perry and made Imperial Japan a great power. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meiji_Restoration).

⁹ The Meiji Restoration was the catalyst toward industrialization in Japan that led to the rise of the island nation as a military power by 1905, under the slogan of “Enrich the country, strengthen the military” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meiji_Restoration).

¹⁰ “SHOGUN” is the highest rank of Japanese “SAMURAI (worrier)” and provincial lords, and the name of “SHOGUN” meant his position “Government”. “Shogunate” is expressing his position and organization.

Besides “SAMURAI” caste¹¹ Japanese majority had little sense on the national security and much less concern on the maritime security.

Through the 2000 years of Japanese history Japan had experienced only twice of the foreign countries’ attack in a large scale. The first was Chinese campaigns under the Yuan Mongolian Dynasty in 1274 and 1281. At the first crisis of the Chinese severe offshore attack had made Japan fall into the fatal pinch, but “KAMIKAZE the big wind¹²” of huge typhoon had saved Japan to drive Yuan off shore landing assault onto Japanese main land coastline. The second Chinese invasion had been also stopped by the typhoon. According to this historic reason of the two strokes of luck, this “KAMIKAZE” belief had subconsciously rooted as “Blessed fortune” in Japanese mind whenever in the serious crisis within Japanese wishful thinking. Additionally saying China had attacked and massacred thousand of victims of farmers and fishermen in small archipelago islands on the way to Japanese main land during this aggression.

On the other hand Japan had sent offensive troops of 32,000 soldiers into the Korean Peninsula. It was a military dispatch to help Paekche against Tang and Silla allied forces in the middle of 7th Century. This war was Paekch’s challenge to revive the country that Silla had beaten once in the beginning of 7th Century.

In addition to this campaign, in the end of 16th century Japanese “SAMURAI” Hideyoshi Toyotomi who succeeded in unification of Japan had intended and failed in his military dispatches into Korea twice in 1592~1593 and 1597~1598. Those dispatches were obviously invasions deep into Korea on Toyotomi’s private intention and interests.

Both dispatches were failed and Japan was defeated. The latter was a typical one-sided invasion by Japan. This invasion became one of Japan’s historic regrettable ironies to Korea as same as the annexation of Korea between 1910–1945.

Japanese piracy and smuggling with Chinese were the other cases that looted towns and villages along the coast of China and the Korean peninsula in 13th ~16th century. Those illegal deeds were rampantly prevailing without the knowledge of the crackdown under the controls of Japanese shogunate and Chinese Dynasty or Korean Dynasty.

Before the Meiji restoration of 1867 it was the only once that all Japanese grown-up male had been designated as candidates of the conscription in the family register ledgers at every province. In this period Japanese army troops were organized against Tang threats. Tang national armed forces allied with Silla had stationed in the Korean peninsula. The distance between Japan and the Korean Peninsula is very close each other such as Japan could send 32000 soldiers into the peninsula for Paekche-Silla War even in this early 7th century.

The first Japanese conscription had become a mere name at the decline period of the Tang Dynasty in the end of 9th century. From the context of a traditional nation state with the conscription as a prerequisite condition, Japan might have been named an ancient nation state.

¹¹ SAMURAI: Less than 10% of Japanese Population. At the end of “Tokugawa Shogunate” period, there were more than 300 feudal lords in Japan. Farmers shared more than 87% of Japanese population.

¹² KAMIKAZE: Word from SHINTO of Japan’s original religion. Wind of God. Yuan invasion in 1274 and 1281 was abandoned by the typhoon just before landing Japanese main land. Japanese believe the Kamikaze of God in the crisis. This word “KAMIKAZE” became a noted name of Japanese suicide attack during WWII.

However since the rise of the “SAMURAI” shogunate supremacy to the Emperor regime, the conscription had been vanished from the history for 1000 years until the revival of the conscription in 1873 right after the Meiji Restoration. During this “SAMURAI” period of 1000-years Japanese people were classified into several caste between the combatants of the professional warrior “SAMURAI” less than 10% of Japanese population including the aristocrats of nobles, priests and the other non-combatants civilians of 87% farmers, merchants, workmen accounted 90%.

In this long period of the “SAMURAI” regime, in fact the period from the end of 9th century to the Meiji Restoration, it can be said that the non-combatants caste had spend their peaceful daily lives without any concern on not only the war and also the conscription.

The revival conscription had been restored in 1873. Almost Japanese who were designated as a soldier did not concern the national security at all in the both conscription cases. Farmers concern is always on the 365 days weather and the annual tribute of crops. Therefore Japanese morale of the nation state should have introduced into the nation’s education and training. And long afterwards at the time facing WWII the nation wide education and training¹³ on the age’s spirit of “Enrich the country and strengthen the military” led Japanese into sub-consciousness of the high patriotism.

Japan had successfully and strictly kept 250 years “SAKOKU¹⁴” Until the Meiji Restoration. This “SAKOKU” meant typical isolation to overseas. Japan had never caused any confrontation with any foreign countries in this “SAKOKU” period. The “SAKOKU” had strongly restricted to be abroad and isolated from overseas so that Japanese people had never seen or heard any foreign news. Such circumstances had made Japanese no sense on security issues.

Generally speaking in the sense of national security the national standing forces should be necessarily maintained. It was a common sense that a heart-land country had intentionally deployed superior land-power or a limb-land country had intentionally deployed superior sea-power rather than others. Such a competitive armed race has given impacts of armed threats with each others. That was one of the causes of war in the past age of the traditional war.

¹³ Following the Meiji Restoration, the leadership of the Meiji government felt the need to emphasize the common goals of rapid modernization (westernization) with support and legitimization of the political system centered on the imperial institution. “The Imperial Rescript on Education” was signed by Emperor Meiji of Japan in 1890 to articulate government policy on the guiding principals of education on the Empire of Japan. The 315 character document was read aloud at all important school events, and students were required to study and memorize the text. Additionally “The Imperial Rescript on Military (Personnel)” was articulate and read about at daily military life. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_Rescript_on_Education: Japanese Students at Cambridge University in the Meiji Era, 1868–1912: Pioneers for the Modernization of Japan, by Noboru Koyama, translated by Ian Ruxton September 2004).

¹⁴ This Sakoku Edict of 1635 was the third of a series issued by Tokugawa Shogunate Iemitsu, shogun of Japan from 1623 to 1651. Iemitsu followed in the footsteps of his grandfather and former shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu. In support of the continuation of the isolationist policies established by shogun Ieyasu, the Edict of 1635 is considered a prime example of the Japanese desire for seclusion. This decree is one of the many acts that were written by Iemitsu to eliminate Catholic influence, and enforced strict government rules and regulations to impose these ideas. The Edict of 1635 was written to the two commissioners of Nagasaki, a port city located in southwestern Japan. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sakoku_Edict_of_1635 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sakoku_Edict_of_1635: Andrea, Alfred; James H. Overfield (2005). *The Human Record: Sources of Global History*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin).

Japan under the shogunate regime the leadership was concentrating towards domestic and influential competitors. There was not any trigger to make aware of or to concern to the oversea threats through the “SAKOKU” period. This stable “SAKOKU” policy and circumstances compared to the peaceful sleep had been broken by the sudden penetration into the Japan’s inland sea “The Edo Bay” called “The Tokyo Bay” today in the capital area. The additional Commodore Perry’s gunboat diplomacy with blank fires had directly threatened the Edo Shogunate government. Japanese civil people without any concern to the threats from overseas had been extraordinary surprised at seeing the black steam warships in near sight. It was the first time for citizens in the capital to see the serious threats breaking through the sea wall that was the Japanese belief as same as the fortress and the present blessed by Heaven like “KAMIKAZE” to maintain the Japan’s security.

There remained a poem expressing Japanese mind when Commodore Perry invaded deeply and closely into the Tokugawa Shogunate Capital area:

The surprise and confusion these ships inspired are described in a famous humorous poem (“KYOKA” similar to the 5-line “WAKA”): This poem is a complex set of puns “Pivot words” and so a literal translation of the poem is:

“Awoken from sleep of a peaceful quiet world by Jokisen tea with only four cups of it, one can’t sleep even at night.”¹⁵

However, the view point of the professional warriors “SAMURAI” were significantly sensitive on this military threat. Fortunately all members of Tokugawa Shogunate Bakufu government were “SAMURAI” of professional warriors. They had sensitive consciousness on armed forces of their threats.

During this period, Japan was threatened by not only the US, but also Russia, Britain, French. In the North East Asian continent region several European powers and the US were competitively spreading their influence especially into China.

It was a fistful players of “SAMURAI” caste among all, who could responsively understand the realities of threats. And then it was the first time to know that the sea had been no defensive any more to Japan. What Japanese has been thinking the sea as the defensive wall as a fortress became obvious its misunderstanding on Japanese maritime security without serious sense against the threats from overseas.

Japan’s “SAKOKU” policy was wisely reasonable for the success of the 250-years peace time. But Commodore Perry’s gunboat diplomacy or threatening to open trade had

¹⁵ The Black Ships (in Japanese, kurofune) was the name given to Western vessels arriving in Japan between the 15th and 19th centuries. In particular, it refers to Mississippi, Plymouth, Saratoga, and Susquehanna, that arrived on July 14, 1853 at Uruga Harbor (part of present-day Yokosuka, Tokyo Bay) in Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan under the command of United States Commodore Matthew Perry. The word “black” refers to the black color of the older sailing vessels, and the black smoke from the coal-fired power plants of the American ships. Commodore Perry’s superior military force was a factor in negotiating a treaty allowing American trade with Japan, thus effectively ending a period of more than 200 years in which trading with Japan was only allowed to the Dutch and Chinese.

However, there is an alternate translation, based on the pivot words. Taihei can refer to the “Pacific Ocean”; jōkisen also means “steam-powered ships”; and shihai also means “four vessels”. The poem, therefore, has a hidden meaning:

“The steam-powered ships break the halcyon slumber of the Pacific a mere four boats are enough to make us lose sleep at night.”

changed Japan's "SAKOKU" policy to the opening of a country. The "SAMURAI" Tokugawa Shogunate leadership made a final decision to yield Commodore Perry's demand.

On the other hand in the very beginning of this period of the Meiji Restoration, the confronted "SAMURAI" groups under the several province lords against Tokugawa Shogunate regime had never accepted the idea of the opening of a country. But they had been bent to fate before Britain's or the US bombardment¹⁶ from the sea, and then they had converted their principle from "The exclusion of foreigners" to "The opening of a country" and "Enrich the country, strengthen the military".

It was an irony that the latter took Japan's leadership for the restoration in stead of the former.

The former Tokugawa Shogunate regime should have gone from the Japan's leadership although the final decision of "The opening of a country" had been accomplished by Tokugawa Shogunate regime. However in order to mature the modernized nation state the latter who had been standing on opposite position of the Tokugawa Shogunate regime had positively introduced advanced foreign civilization. This restoration was successfully achieved by the both "SAMURAI" groups with minimum casualties as to say "The Bloodless Revolution".

Thus Japan's restoration was led toward modernization by a few leading bearers in comparison with 90% people of Japanese population without any nation state consciousness on security.

Japanese sense on the national security. On Maritime Security

During the 75-years period between the Meiji Restoration and the Surrender of Japanese WWII, Japan's leadership on strategic or geo-strategic thinking had been how to compete with the world powers. The slogan of "Industrialization & Militarization" was "Catching up and overtaking" in other words.

This positive thinking had been not only remained at the world balance of power, but also had been running to employ military power for a breakthrough of the oil embargo in the end. It had been certainly clear that the European and American powers were very friendly to Japan as developing country in the beginning, but Japan's countervailing power against the European and American powers had become a threat on the success of Japan's "Industrialization & Militarization" significantly after the Japan-Russo War and WWI¹⁷.

¹⁶ Anglo-Satsuma War (August 1863 during the Late Tokugawa shogunate) The British Royal Navy bombarded the town of Kagoshima. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bombardment_of_Kagoshima) The Bombardment of Shimonoseki (1863–64), by joint naval forces from Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and the United States, against the Japanese feudal domain of Chōshū, which took place along the banks of Kanmon Straits off the coast of Shimonoseki, Japan. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bombardment_of_Shimonoseki).

¹⁷ War Plan Orange (known as Plan Orange or just Orange): A series of United States Joint Army and Navy Board war plans for dealing with a possible war with Japan during the interwar years. The plans were begun informally in 1919 and formally adopted by the Joint Army and Navy Board beginning in 1924. Orange was predicated on the U.S. fighting Japan alone. It anticipated a withholding of supplies from the Philippines and other U.S. outposts in the Western Pacific, while the Pacific Fleet marshaled its strength at bases in California, and guarded against attacks on the Panama Canal. After mobilization, the fleet would sail to the Western

As a result that political and war leadership had caused Japan's surrender and the Allied Power's occupation Japan. This Japan's historic failure should have given an implication for Japan's next stage on the national security. The most serious reason of the failure was Japan's poor war leadership and judgment on the international situation and the world powers' countermeasures. Japanese people had strongly criticized the blame for that failure and fallen into the allergy of militarism.

Gen. MacArthur¹⁸ the supreme commander of the occupied regime had amended Japan's constitution that included "The renunciation of war and rearmament". He had also intended Japan's restoration to be "An unarmed permanent neutral country". He had strongly influenced Japanese being "Pacifist". On the one hand, oddly enough, there is not any "War Museum" in Japan, and on the other hand it can be seen a lot of "Peace Museums" in Japan. The occupation policy under Gen. MacArthur had purged not only the war criminals from any public service, but also the military organization from Japan.

This occupation leadership had led Japanese being a sensitive nation on war and militarization. Although the US policy under President Truman had intended to lead and encourage Japan to be a core of North East Asian Treaty of Organization (NEATO) as such as NATO at the US-NSC, Gen. MacArthur's leadership in Japan was conflicting with the US President Truman's leadership until Korean War.

Japanese policy had completely renounced all military affairs on rearmament, military industrialization. Since the almost occupation troops in Japan had been dispatched into the Korean Peninsula right after the outbreak of the Korean War on 25th May 1950, the few occupation forces had been left to keep Japan's stable security against outrage of illegal extremists or communists. Gen. MacArthur had reluctantly directed Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida to organize the constabulary forces "The Reserve Police" which would be re-organized as JSDF afterward.

The renewal of Japan-US alliance, the US encouragement of Japan's rearmament and the US President Eisenhower's visit Japan had faced radical Japanese demonstration with casualties in 1960. This Japanese resistance to the US had changed the US strategy in North East Asia to maintain the influential military presence. The US-NSC decided that the US would have led Japan as an economic country. The US had abandoned Japan as a core of NEATO. The US-NSC decision was the reinforcement of the US military presence in the East Asia by the US Forces stationing in Japan instead of Japan's rearmament. The US had chosen Japan as a "The US sympathizer" rather than a "Troublesome". In the context of ancient Roman Rule, it can be said that Japan has been under the US patronage.

Pacific to relieve American forces in Guam and the Philippines. Afterwards, the fleet would sail due north for a decisive battle against the Imperial Japanese Navy, and then blockade the Japanese home islands. This is in keeping with the theory of Alfred Thayer Mahan, a doctrine to which every major navy subscribed before World War II (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_Plan_Orange).

¹⁸ Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) was the title held by General Douglas MacArthur during the Occupation of Japan following World War II. MacArthur oversaw the Occupation of Japan from 1945 to 1951. Although criticized for protecting Emperor Hirohito and the imperial family, he is credited with implementing far-ranging democratic changes in that country. He led the United Nations Command forces defending South Korea against the North Korean invasion from 1950 to 1951. On April 11, 1951 MacArthur was removed from command by President Harry S. Truman for publicly disagreeing with Truman's Korean War Policy and additionally the Japan's occupation policy. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme_Commander_of_the_Allied_Powers,http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Douglas_MacArthur#Post-World_War_II_Japan).

With these history, Japanese sense on the self security, excluding a short period between the Meiji Restoration (1867) and Japan-Russo War (1904~1905), has never been matured by herself. Even in the current period after the collapse of the East-West antagonism structure, Japanese concern on her military role in the international system is much little of responsibility. For instance it is free to ship back and forth in the international waters according to Japanese consciousness of “The freedom of the seas”. “The freedom of the seas” had already become a classic concept in the advanced international system. It should be expensed for “The sovereignty, security and national interests” in the context of “The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” today.

A lot of Japanese parliament politicians have nothing concern on the realistic world security feature or interest in the international security matter. All of the political decisions are dependent upon the partisan policy for the election and the competitive race to get the superior political initiative.

The new structure of the maritime security for “The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity”

Pursuing possibility of all relating countries participation

On the occasion of the 2nd Japan-U.S. Sea Power Dialogue “Advocating Critical Maritime Infrastructure Protection” July 22-23 2008 in Tokyo, the participants argued the valuable importance on the leadership of Japan-U.S. initiative in the East Asia and in the West Pacific Ocean. This context on Japan-US leadership might be brought a note of discord into relating countries. China would especially take an offensive feeling and show her unpleasantness with Japan-US attitude. What is the reason why China might express a claim on Japan-US partnership is coming from Chinese perspectives according to her concern to the hegemony¹⁹.

On the one hand in the North-East Asian region not only the bilateral allied relationship between democratic countries such as Japan, Korea, Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan and also the traditional confrontation of the North-East or the South-North such as confrontations

¹⁹ U.S. Relations With the People’s Republic of China (2008): U.S. Department of Defense “China Requires Close Eye as It Expands Influence, Capability” By Donna Miles American Forces Press Service (WASHINGTON, March 12, 2008) – The top U.S. general in the Pacific told Congress yesterday that he’s working to strengthen the U.S.-Sino relationship, but he emphasized the need to keep a close eye on China as it strives to expand its influence in the region.

(Reference) Keating described what he thinks, but isn’t sure, was a tongue-in-cheek comment a senior Chinese officer made during the admiral’s first visit there as PACOM commander. With a straight face, Chinese officer said, “As we develop our aircraft carriers,” – a remark Keating said he found interesting in itself – “why don’t we reach an agreement, you and I?” Then came the Chinese proposal: “You take Hawaii east. We’ll take Hawaii west. We’ll share information, and we’ll save you all the trouble of deploying your naval forces west of Hawaii.” Keating called the statement telling. “Even if in jest, it indicates some consideration of the strategic vision that the People’s Liberation Army, navy and air force might have,” he said. “While not necessarily hegemonic, they clearly want to expand their areas of influence. (http://hongkong.usconsulate.gov/uscn_others_2008031202.html).

in the Korean Peninsula, the Taiwan Strait and the China Sea are still unstable, although the cold war had already terminated and the new international system is maturing.

On the other hand in the West and the East Europe and the Atlantic region it is significant that the new and huge community is constructing as such as EU or new NATO. Those are involving the old Western and Eastern European countries. Russia is never exception to this phenomenon.

In comparison with Europe and the US there is an exception in the Pacific Area.

There was not any argument concerning to the huge multilateral system involving every country neighboring each other and along the sea lane from the Northern Europe to the Japanese archipelago via the Suez Canal and the South Horn including New Zealand and Australia for "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity". Certainly the international order of "The freedom of the seas" is still valid among the authorized nation states, but today it is not effective rule to the rogue states and the non-state actors that are defiantly and illegally challenging against the international order.

The military power has been charged into the sanction, prevention or preemption. The coalition forces were tolerated in the international systems as the collective forces of which roles have been expanded and of which troops, fleets, and wings have been employed into each operations. This is one of the RMA phenomena. However the military operation does not work the best at all. As a result, the casualties had never been decreased, the terms for cease fire have never been shortened, and the stabilization of one confrontation has introduced another chain reaction.

In the context of the sea lane the maritime security differs from the security on the ground. The area of the sea is seriously wide so that the crackdown does never reach everywhere beyond the border. Only one countermeasure should be efficient at spreading and appearing piracy, sea-jack, terrorism, traffic in drug, illegal refugees, poaching and so on. That must be the international cooperative maritime security system depending upon the collective functions as such as military forces, constabulary forces and NPO & NGO powers of all relating countries. It should be necessary to create the dual and multi use organization of human and instrument factors between the public service and the civilian fields.

More than 90% of Japan's oil resources are imported by huge oil tankers shipping from the Middle East on the SLOC via the Indian Ocean and through the straits such as the Lombok Strait or the Strait of Malacca highly threatened by piracy of non-state actors. But it is free and legally going back and forth on this sea lane depending upon the international rule of "The freedom of the seas" without any expense for the maritime security. This is the typical case of "Free ride" or "Easy ride" in which there is not any consciousness of what the maritime security is relying on.

Premise of the unified international maritime system

What the objectives and purposes of this idea to construct and produce an international maritime security system for "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity"?

In the context of the premise or condition which is necessary to show in advance to realize this idea, one of the first importance is what the new concept on the respect for the sovereignty of the traditional nation state is.

Although the mankind experienced a big transition of “The Westphalia Order²⁰” in the context of the international system and “The French Revolution or the Napoleonic War” in the context of the nation state or RMA, only a few wise person could know that there was a close resemblance between “The latest transition in the end of 20th century” and “The Peace of Westphalia and the Napoleonic war”.

“The transition in the 21st century” is carrying the new type of global war from the traditional war of the 20th century. The objectives of threats become uncertain adversaries which cannot be identified, which are indiscriminate in killing combatants and non-combatants, which are illegally challenging to the international order such as terrorism, piracy, drug traffic in drug and WMD, illegal refugee, poaching, smuggling, and penetration into the economic water.

The first purpose to organize the international security system is maintaining the stability. And the next, the major roles are “Preemption or Prevention for the exclusion of the threats for instance the illegal challenge by the rogue states against the international order”, “Minimizing the damages”, “Retrieval”, “Reconstruction”, “Relief”, “Rescue” and so on in the contingency cases. The international order should be established in order to maintain the stable peace like “The Westphalia Peace” in the context of the international system.

Who is working as the actors for these missions?

They are combined and mixed members from “The related countries”, “Many kinds of the professional fields”, “The professional military combatants and non-combatants volunteers”, “The constabulary of the Coast Guard, the Police, the Fire Brigade”, “The NGO & NPO” and so on. The collaboration among those members is a key factor for the success of this security project. The specific characteristic of this operation is that the strongest military personnel may not necessarily be taking a major or leading role. The precise procedure should be studied, but the difference between the military activities and the new concept of the constabulary activities should be classified and clarified.

The member countries of the international maritime security system must make clear understanding on the several issues concerning to the maritime security as followings.

At the first, in order to maintain the stable SLOC for “The Freedom and Prosperity”, not only Japan, and also the maritime countries of limb-land or the island countries should know “The nature and evolution of the international maritime security system”, “The role, responsibility, obligation, burden of each country depending upon the SLOC”, and of which “RMA phenomenon”.

The second is to find the obstacles on the practice and the measures for every solution of those topics for studies.

The third is the equal and reciprocal delivery of the privileges for the investment or the reward.

²⁰ The Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648, which ended both the Thirty Years' War in Germany and the Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Netherlands. The treaties involved the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand III (Habsburg), the Kingdoms of Spain, France and Sweden, the Dutch Republic and their respective allies among the princes of the Holy Roman Empire. The Peace of Westphalia resulted from the first modern diplomatic congress and initiated a new order in central Europe based on the concept of national sovereignty. (<http://www.google.co.jp/search?sourceid=navclient&hl=ja&ie=UTF-8&rls=SUNA,SUNA:2006-03,SUNA:ja&q=Peace+of+Westphalia>).

The following importance is the principle of the process to solve difficulties at every stage for any happening on the security.

At the first stage, the peaceful measures should be overwhelmingly sought for the peaceful settlement.

The second, the constabulary or military forces should be effectively appealed by the efficient and practical way in a short period, without many casualties, with restriction of escalation under the sensible war-leadership.

The third, the fair, reasonable and precise judgment should be proceeded based on the best system consisted of the international law, the trial and the punishment.

The fourth, all the soft and hard instruments including human factors should be thrown into the reconstruction of all the damages and destruction.

The last point is whether the benefit must be expensed or not. Whether is "The freedom of the seas" common sense or not today? How about is "The free ride or easy ride on the SLOC" the international common sense on the maritime security?

In the context of this perspective, the related countries should pay expense for their burden sharing of each benefit. The calculation of that sharing might be complicated account. From the reason of the most valuable benefit for the survival and the national interests of the related countries with the SLOC on the maritime security, the index of the expense rate can be shown the following formula, for an example the formula of calculation is:

$$\frac{[(\text{Investment expense to use secured SLOC}) + (\text{Investment expense for self-security})]^{21}}{(\text{Total gain of the trade on the water})}$$

This is similar to a kind of "The toll". Here there is an evolution of the maritime security concept. If the implication might be given from the future arguments, it will be presented based on a new concept of the maritime security for this 21st century. The future argument from tomorrow will derive additional factors, too. Those topics will be carrying "The control of the judgment in the international maritime security system", "The industrial functions on the security", "The operational procedures", "The specific organizations" and so on.

Conclusion: Beyond the nationalism

It needs more pages to set the full-dressed concept on this idea through the accurate analysis and research concerning to "The history of the maritime security", "The sea power on the concept or the strategy", "Geopolitics", "The substance of threats", "The existent maritime security system".

²¹ In accordance with a personal idea, this percentage indicates the ratio of the responsible payment in proportion with the national interests as to say the benefit. In the case of a very developing country, this number might be over 100%. This calculated solution means the necessity that such a country may not pay the response except the member's fee. This country should pay the additional responsible expense when her number of $[(\text{Investment expense for self-security})/(\text{Total gain of the trade on the water})]$ would have become less than the fixed certain number, for instance 30%. This certain number and the membership fee or the responsible expense might be fixed by the board of the maritime security system.

These pages will call another realistic analysis on “The change of the maritime security factor after the collapse of the Cold War structure”, “The level of the concrete threats”, “Defects of the old-fashioned system”, “Effectiveness of the present system” for today and tomorrow. The solution and the argument on these analysis will be able to bring “The feature of the confrontation between the international maritime security system and the new threats”, “The superiority or inferiority of the countermeasure against threats”, “The image of the new and the best regime of each country for her freedom and prosperity” into relief.

The US has been secured Japan’s maritime security for a long time especially during the Cold War period. Japan had owed “Japan’s stable sovereignty, people’s safety and national interests” to the US presence including the SLOC of Japan’s lifeline. It was the realistic situation during the period at least 50-years of the post WWII era. However the present structure of the international order had transformed from the East-West structure under the two confronted regime into the coalition structure in accordance with individual interests or consensus in these days.

In other words the bilateral relationship is becoming a classic style for the security as same as an allied on the both faithfulness for every occasions like Japan’s wishful thinking to the US.

On the other hand coalition is organized on the present consensus or the age’s spirit of the participants. It could be seen such transformation in the case of the Gulf War, the Kosovo Conflict, the Afghan Wars and the Iraq War that differed each others in the context of the consensus, legitimacy, roles and participants.

Nowadays, it can be said that the matured international system is effectively working for the world wide contingency relief, prevention or preemption for maintaining the stable international orders. These actions such as “The Gulf War” by the coalition forces”, “The Kosovo Conflict” by NATO Forces and PKF that deployed into a lot of serious conflicts or confrontations are typical evolutions of this concept. These military phenomena have shown an additional new role of armed forces which is different from the traditional military role for the war belonging to a nation state at least before the collapse of the East-West Structure during “The Cold War”.

The RMA changed the traditional warfare in the end of the 20th century into the new types of warfare as such as “Asymmetric”, “Humanitarian”, “Terrorism”, “Fatal air-power campaign”, “Cyber” and so on. It seems that this additional warfare might have appeared in the gray fog of Clausewitz on War. At first the global terrorism was a typical one unlike traditional terror such as the IRA extremists. And other piracy, traffic in drug, illegal mass refugees and illegal trade of WMD are the same. The remarkable actors are the rogue states such as Iraq, Iran, or North Korea that had already shown their illegal challenge against the international order.

In the current world wide circumstances on the security issues Japanese attitude is too moderate to behave for the security like nothing contingency happened around Japanese people. The typical example can be found within the military history in the past 60-years period since the end of WWII. Japanese had concerned nothing to the Korean War except the economic boom on the arsenal demand, although Korea of the closest neighborhood was in the serious contingency. Another case of “The operation of Desert Storm” had shown the

same unconcern to Japan's military campaign into the Middle East, although Japan imports petroleum from the Middle East which is accounted more than 90% of Japan's demand.

The former Japanese behavior of her self centered on going policy was criticized especially by Korean people who were struggling under the fatal destiny that the communist invasion had campaigned into the south edge of the Korean peninsula. In the latter case Japan was ignored from the international society.

Nevertheless, the nationalism that has been cultivated within the long history could be never improved at once or evolved into the latest aged spirit in a short period. Therefore the nationalism is still a big reason of the confrontation today.

The globalization teaches both of the new world order and the new type of threats that means both of the collaboration within the independent nationalism and the difficulty of the efficient countermeasures against threats.

Geographically saying Japan is a maritime country. Keeping the policy as a maritime country might be Japan's destiny as same as the other same maritime countries. That has matured as each nationalism of which tendency is going to isolation. However, if the ages spirit of this 21st century is definitely "The collaboration and the global threats", it should be the pronto project to organize the international maritime security system for "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" especially for such maritime countries. Unless Japan can transform her characteristic and attitude soon, it may be possible to become a leading bearer of this valuable idea to realize.

Streszczenie

W japońskiej polityce izolacjonizm i ograniczanie kontaktów ze światem zewnętrznym jest tradycyjnym i historycznie uwarunkowanym sposobem zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa państwa. Po II wojnie światowej, wymuszona zarówno powojenną traumą, jak i amerykańskimi działaniami japońska polityka ponownie uznała izolacjonizm za najważniejszy element narodowego systemu bezpieczeństwa. Momentem zwrotnym w sposobie takiego postrzegania swojej roli przez japoński establishment polityczny była pierwsza wojna w Zatoce Perskiej. Japonia nie zaangażowała bezpośrednio swoich wojsk, ale przekazała koalicji kwotę 15 miliardów dolarów na odbudowę Kuwejtu. Niestety nie znalazła się ona na liście państw, którym Kuwejt dziękowała za pomoc. To spowodowało inne podejście do zagadnienia sił zbrojnych w Japonii. Artykuł ten przedstawia krótką historię japońskich wojsk i bezpieczeństwa morskiego od 1853 roku aż po dzień dzisiejszy. Przedstawia on próbę podjęcia przez Japończyków wspólnej odpowiedzialności za bezpieczeństwo morskie współczesnych państw, wymieniając aktualne zagrożenia. Do najważniejszych zalicza: piractwo, terroryzm, przemyt narkotyków i nielegalną imigrację.