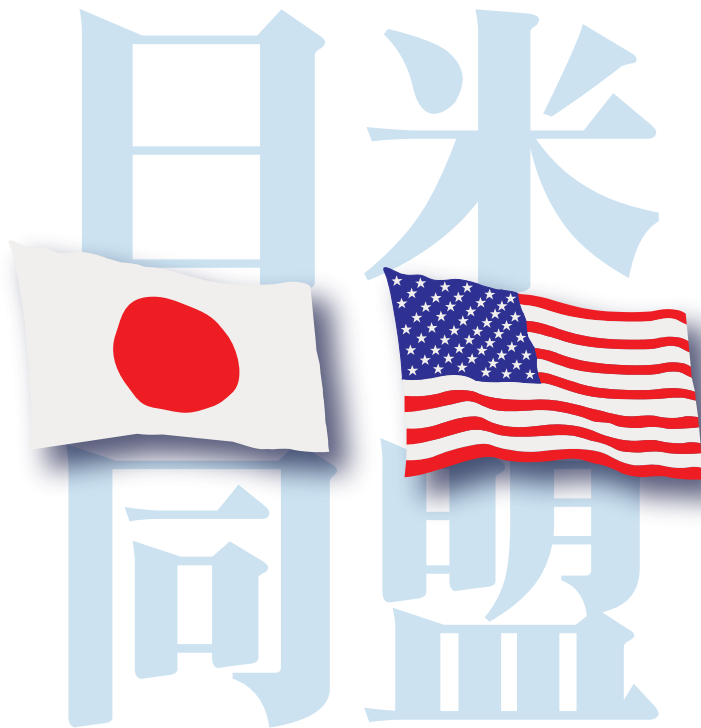


A Proposal

based on the results of the U.S.- Japan Seapower Dialogue

*United States-Japan Seapower Alliance  
for Stability and Prosperity on the Oceans*



April 17, 2009



## Foreword

While oceans have the potential to aid mankind's development and prosperity, they also contain many problems in such areas as security, development, and the environment. Should not the United States and Japan, the two major seapowers, standing on the foundation of security cooperation on the sea created by the United States Navy and Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force, firmly build a "seapower alliance" that incorporates a daring new concept, and offer it to the world as a global commons, thereby contributing to peace and prosperity via the ocean?

Motivated by these ideas, the Ocean Policy Research Foundation, in conjunction with the Pacific Forum CSIS, the Center for a New American Security and the American Enterprise Institute, organized the U.S.-Japan Seapower Dialogue, at which experts from both countries came together over a series of three meetings in March and July of 2008 and April of 2009. Through the Dialogue, which has facilitated discussion of issues facing the U.S. - Japan Alliance and the status of initiatives to deal with ocean problems, many constructive opinions have been presented. The Ocean Policy Research Foundation compiled the fruits of these discussions and submitted them to the 3<sup>rd</sup> U.S.-Japan Seapower Dialogue in the form of a draft proposal. Participants of the dialogue agreed that there was value in making a proposal that reflects carefully and across a broad range the outcome of the dialogue.

With the endorsement of participants of the U.S.-Japan Seapower Dialogue, Ocean Policy Research Foundation publishes hereupon *United States-Japan Seapower Alliance for Stability and Prosperity on the Oceans* as a proposal.

Ocean Policy Research Foundation

April 17, 2009

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## **1. U.S. - Japan Seapower Alliance Ushering in a New Era**

The oceans hold the possibility for solving many of the issues facing mankind, such as the problems of energy and resource shortages, and climate change, as well as how to create future development and prosperity.

\* \* \* \*

### **Hopes for Development**

The oceans cover 71 percent of the surface of the planet on which we live. In the future as in the past, the sea lanes will continue to bring prosperity to society. Unexploited resources beneath the seabed have also been confirmed, including oil, natural gas, manganese nodules, and methane hydrate, and advanced exploration and exploitation technologies are being developed. A continuing decrease in frozen sea areas in the Arctic Ocean will make transit throughout the Northwest Passage and Northern Sea Route more feasible, thereby significantly reducing travel time between Europe, Asia, and North America. And, melting sea ice may make accessible the seabed of the Arctic Ocean, which has resources such as crude oil.

### **The Ocean as a “Critical Infrastructure” for Mankind**

When we look at conditions on the ocean however, we find the sea lanes are threatened by piracy and maritime terrorism, overt tensions between states over marine jurisdictional areas and rights to ocean resources, and extreme instability in the security environment due to a lack of transparency in the rapid build-up of naval forces by emerging maritime powers. Should global shortages of resources and energy arise in the future, armed conflicts could erupt between states over maritime rights and freedoms.

At the same time, indiscriminate development and pollution are endangering marine ecosystems and environments, and further aggravating climate change. Global warming leads to the problem of sea level rise, which threatens island states and areas at low sea levels. In addition, it is feared that climate change will lead to new security problems.

Amidst these conditions, entities among many developing and less developed coastal states lack the financial and enforcement resources to effectively manage their jurisdictional waters, which results in havens for illegal, unregulated, and unreported (IUU) fishing, piracy, and maritime terrorism, and an inability to protect living and non-living marine resources and the ocean environment. Also, while development of technologies for seabed resource extraction continues apace, environmental impact assessment often lags.

Due to the bounty it provides, the ocean is often called the “Common Heritage” of mankind. In light of these essential qualities, it might now be more aptly termed mankind’s “Critical Infrastructure,” which we must cooperate to preserve and protect.

## **The Ocean for Japan and the United States**

The United States and Japan are the world’s two largest economies and leading seafaring nations, as more than 30 percent of each country’s GDP depends on maritime commerce. The two countries are also the world’s largest importers of oil. The ocean is a lifeline for their economies, whose importance will no doubt increase in future. Development of seabed resources will also become indispensable for both countries.

Both nations enjoy expansive coastlines, so security in the oceans is essential to their national security. The oceans are the largest maneuver

space on the globe, providing the first line of defense against attack and enabling swift and flexible responses to distant crises. The U.S.-Japan alliance is, if we look only at its significance through the lens of mutual security, substantially a maritime defense alliance in the sense of using the sea to protect common national interests.

### **Leadership Needed for the Ocean**

Leadership by the leading seafaring nations is indispensable for stabilizing the security environment on the ocean, promoting marine technology, revitalizing industry, advancing sustainable development, and establishing international order. The United States and Japan should restructure their seapower in strengthening their alliance arrangements, make it the common basis for international cooperation, and grapple with the problems involving ocean development and security.

### **Changes in the Concept of Seapower**

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Admiral Alfred T. Mahan observed a history through which the fate of nations was inextricably bound up with their control of the seas, and the Admiral described “seapower” as the application of a state’s strength in maritime transport, navigation, experienced seafarers, and a capable navy in order to achieve greater prosperity through maritime trade via “the great common of mankind” or the “great highway.” He urged America to build its power in this regard. The development of Mahan’s concept has had far-reaching effects on world history, and, in the current age of a global economy, has yet to lose its validity.

In today’s world, all countries seek to increase their access to the ocean in pursuit of a variety of rights and interests. The great highway of mankind is now the great commons, essential for global mobility and trade, and a rich source of both living and non-living resources. A variety of management

regimes have been created, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which gives sovereign rights and jurisdiction to coastal states for the development of resources and protection of the environment. Under these conditions, we must therefore add such capacities as scientific research and technology, resource development, and environmental protection management as important elements of seapower. In this way, the concept of seapower must be grasped in a refined and broadened way and with expanded significance.

### **The New Concept of Seapower Arising From the U.S.-Japan Alliance**

The seapower we propose to build through the U.S.-Japan Alliance is characterized by such a broad definition. The process of building the new seapower alliance will also serve as a new challenge for the U.S.-Japan Alliance that some suggest is beginning to waver. Recognizing the great changes that have taken place on the ocean, there is a need for the United States and Japan to establish and exercise a new seapower throughout the world. The spread of this concept would become an attempt to connect the Pacific and the Indian Oceans with peace and stability.

## **2. Development of the U.S.-Japan Alliance on the Ocean : A Proposal**

We offer the following proposal to the governments of the United States and Japan so that both countries may work together to create an accessible “new seapower” that will promote freedom of navigation and stabilize the security environment of sea lanes, and will deter armed conflict over maritime interests while promoting sustainable ocean development.

As the seas are interconnected and comprise one “world ocean”, solutions to ocean problems call for comprehensive responses. For a Consortium of Seafaring Nations, cooperation on resource and environmental protection issues and promoting science and technology, in addition to cooperation on military and security issues, is more important than ever. Joint effort in these areas is now called for.

### **a. Ocean Based Defense and Security**

#### **a-1. Promotion of a Global Maritime Partnership in the Indian and Pacific Oceans**

- Japan should support the Global Maritime Partnership (GMP) being advanced by the United States, which calls for mobilizing the seapower of different nations for disaster relief, prevention of maritime terrorism, piracy, and transport of weapons of mass destruction, and, in cooperation with the United States, help strengthen GMP in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.
- The United States and Japan should work to create Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) as the global commons, while ensuring MDA is not misused by state and non-state actors to impede freedom of navigation.
- The international cooperative activities being carried out by Coast Guards from several countries that began as a result of such Japanese initiatives as the “Northern Pacific Coast Guard Forum Principals’ Summit” and similar gatherings focused on Southeast Asia, are appreciated. Likewise, the “Western Pacific Naval Symposium” (WPNS) provides a great contribution by promoting confidence building and transparency as well as mutual understanding toward stabilizing the maritime security environment. The United States and Japan should cooperate in promoting the regional expansion of these international activities and the creation of multi-layered regimes.
- The navigational safety support activities Japan conducts in the Malacca

and Singapore Straits and surrounding areas should, in conjunction with India, be extended into the Indian Ocean. Japan also should promote cooperation with the United States on the support activities it carries out on the East African coast. It should be noted that the participation of Japan in international frameworks to suppress piracy off the coast of Somalia may succeed in promoting directly or indirectly cooperation among various countries including the EU, Russia, and China on the basis of U.S.-Japan cooperation, and will create an opportunity for the establishment of a multinational system to secure the safety of sea lanes that are the great commons.

- The roles of the International Maritime Organization (IMO), which has grappled with global maritime security issues, are appreciated. With regard to the piracy problem, the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP) is a welcome framework for regional cooperation for information analysis and sharing and capacity building, and we recognize that it is proving an invaluable model for international cooperative activities for the problems of piracy off the coast of eastern and western Africa. The governments of the United States and Japan strongly hope that Indonesia and Malaysia will join ReCAAP soon. At the same time, this “ReCAAP model” should be adopted for other regional concerns, as well as those on the maritime security agenda.
- The United States and Japan should expand their diplomatic efforts toward developing states, including support for coastal zone development and safety, security, and environment protection in international straits, education, and training programs for coast guards, and the sharing of information related to maritime security.
- The United States together with Japan should promote the “Cooperative Mechanism” that was established for Safety of Navigation and Environmental Conservation in the Malacca and Singapore Straits, and

pursue measures for gaining cooperation of civil sectors such as the shipping industry.

- From the perspective of maritime security, Japan should ease the restrictions of its Three Principles on Arms Export in order to give more effective support to developing countries and to promote U.S.-Japan cooperation in technological development.

## **a – 2. Establishment of Joint Response Readiness for Situations of Armed Conflict**

- The United States and Japan, in order to prepare for and prevent conflicts that are feared likely to arise in the near future over the struggle for resources and energy or disputes between states on such issues as ocean boundary delimitation, from a maritime security perspective need to make arrangements in accordance with the U.S.-Japan Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty to cooperate to reduce tension and prevent war, including the maintenance and exercise of a combined maritime deterrent posture.
- The two nations should seek to cooperate with all nations opposing the emergence of any aspiring hegemonic state that could disrupt the balance of power on the seas and create instability in the security environment. The United States and Japan should be ready for contingencies by maintaining and demonstrating strong naval capabilities as an indication of the strength of their alliance and by arranging a standing posture of Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR).
- The roles, missions, functions, and refinement of base facilities of Japan's Maritime Self-Defense Force and Japan Coast Guard and the U.S. Navy, U.S. Marine Corps, and U.S. Coast Guard, all of which are involved in developing naval strategy for deterrence, forward presence, sea control, power projection, and sea lane defense, need to be examined. Japan is

being called upon to resolve various problems concerning the transformation of U.S. bases in Okinawa and implement the plan as quickly as possible. Also, Japan should realize the relocation of the Fifth U.S. Aircraft Carrier Air Wing to Iwakuni and landing and takeoff training facilities for it needs to be secured near the Japanese mainland at an early date.

- As regards seaborne operations of Critical Maritime Infrastructure Protection involved with the sea lanes and Missile Defense (MD), the C4I system, which makes use of the global commons – the oceans, outer space, and cyberspace – is indispensable. Maritime Security, Outer Space Security, and Cyber Security need to be integrated into a unified approach that preserves these domains for the free enjoyment of all states. U.S.-Japan interoperability must also be considered in this regard. A concert of interested nations on a global scale is needed to provide for the security of sea lanes. For this, initiative by the U.S.-Japan alliance is imperative.
- In addition, we must be prepared to consider how climate change could worsen the security environment and lead to conflict. The United States and Japan, in conjunction with other countries and international organizations, must carry out research in advance and make preparations to respond to a variety of situations, including disaster relief and humanitarian assistance, management of an influx of refugees created by rising sea levels, conflict created by depletion of fish stocks, large-scale natural disasters, the spread of epidemics, and significant retreat of coastlines.
- To carry out the above activities in a responsible manner, Japan should move urgently to reach a solution to security related constitutional issues so that Japan can exercise the right of collective self-defense, and participate more actively in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and other international collective peace activities.

### **a—3. Consortium of Seafaring Nations Concept**

- In order to secure maritime security in international coordination, the U.S.-Japan Seapower Alliance should be open to expansion, rather than remaining an exclusive partnership. We therefore propose that a loose-knit Consortium of Seafaring Nations be established, composed of nations that endorse the tenets of this Seapower Alliance. From the Western Pacific region, therefore, the Republic of Korea and Australia should first be invited to join and cooperate.
- In the Indian Ocean, the United States and Japan should make efforts to secure the sea lanes from the Indian Ocean to the Asian Pacific. This requires active participation in multinational anti-terror operations and international anti-piracy measures. Cooperative relations with India should be sought.
- To establish a loose-knit Consortium of Seafaring Nations, it is essential that the participating countries fulfill fundamental conditions, such as the observance of international rules, including freedom of the global commons, as reflected in the Charter of the United Nations and UNCLOS, and international coordination. Russia, as an historic sea power with compelling interest in freedom of the seas, and China, an emerging maritime power with an interest in worldwide mobility, are not to be excluded from this union. Rather, these states should be urged to reaffirm their commitments to the principles of the union, with the possibility that the two nations eventually would participate.

## **b. Toward Sustainable Development of the Ocean**

### **b—1. Development of Marine Resources, Marine Technology, and Research Study**

- To provide against shortages of resources, energy, and food supplies likely to occur on a global scale, the major seafaring nations of the United States and Japan should play leading roles in the development of living

and non-living resources in the seabed and continental shelves, as well as in the development of ocean energy resources and seawater potential. Both countries can and should help battle the global economic crisis by demonstrating their commitment to a “Blue New Deal” policy based on these precepts and by promoting development of the oceans on the condition of sound environmental stewardship in the maritime domain as well as increasing job creation.

- The United States and Japan need to cooperate with each other where possible in the development of technologies and funding for the exploration and exploitation of seabed resources and marine energy development in order to bring these industries into active production.
- Research on the oceans, the accumulation of data, its use and sharing, and human resource exchanges are important for the effective promotion and development of technology. To facilitate this, the establishment of a joint data center and R&D center for research and development of marine resources, as well as joint construction and use of a marine scientific survey ship and platform for exploration and exploitation, are desirable. Furthermore, opportunities for the exchange and publicizing of technologies between the two countries should be created in maritime industries, which support such research and development.
- As new marine technologies are developed, transfer to developing countries should be considered. The United States and Japan should play a leading role in this area.
- We recognize the fine work done by the “Marine Resources and Engineering Coordination Committee” (MRECC) of the U.S.-Japan Conference on Development and Utilization of Natural Resources (UJNR), but further revitalization and the improvement of information sharing between the United States and Japan should be considered in this area.

## **b—2. Conservation of the Marine Environment and Response to Climate Change**

- Given the pressing issues facing the oceans, along with efforts to conserve the marine environment and maintain biological diversity, the maritime powers of the United States and Japan should demonstrate leadership in international initiatives. While recognizing the achievements of the U.S.-Japan Common Agenda in this regard, we would like to see more steady progress in these areas.
- The Integrated Ocean Drilling Program (IODP), a sophisticated ocean monitoring system with a global development of temperature/salinity profiling floats (Argo Project), and the International Coral Reef Initiative (ICRI) are highly regarded programs that have been developed at the initiative of the United States and Japan. Further development of such marine science research projects is important for conservation of the marine environment and ocean use. The activities of the U.S.-Japan joint research center, begun 10 years ago, hold similar promise.
- Development of ocean resources, including exploitation of seabed resources, requires environmental impact assessments, formulation of manuals for environmental conservation, and development of conservation technologies and methods. These are difficult but vital. U.S.-Japan cooperation and effective responses are needed in these areas.
- U.S.-Japan initiatives are needed to investigate and promote an ocean version of the “Green Revolution,” an energy revolution, CO<sub>2</sub> capture and sequestration technologies, reduction in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from ships, and development of responsive technologies to address global warming.

### **c. Establishment of an International Regime based on UNCLOS and Related Conventions**

- UNCLOS, which came into force in 1994 and has 157 parties to the Convention as of the end of 2008, serves as the fundamental legal basis for the international order on the oceans. The United States, the world's largest maritime nation, has made great contributions to the creation and development of the international ocean regime, but has yet to accede the Convention. This reluctance not only weakens Washington's position and reduces America's potential for exercising leadership in the oceans, but also reduces the trust of other nations and undermines U.S. economic interest and national security. In this regard, we welcome recent movements toward U.S. accession. The United States and Japan should cooperate in the establishment of an international ocean regime based on UNCLOS and related conventions created after the adoption of UNCLOS.
- Recognizing that freedom of navigation and overflight is the fundamental principle in the international waters, the United States and Japan should endeavor to shape an international order in the oceans by addressing these issues, which include problems associated with exploitation of area resources, coordination of user states' activities in the EEZs and coastal states' interests, restraint of excessive claims by coastal states, boundary delimitation of EEZ and continental shelf, realization of sustainable development, and the protection of biological diversity.
- To promote effective responses to the problems of piracy and maritime terrorism, the United States and Japan should quickly ratify the 2005 Protocol to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (SUA 2005). The two states should at the same time urge all countries in the Asia-Pacific region to ratify the Convention itself.

- As for the Arctic Ocean, many interrelated issues within the purview of UNCLOS have accumulated, including resource development, ocean use, navigation, boundary delimitation, maritime security, environmental conservation, and climate change. Japan has an interest in using the Arctic Ocean as a transpolar route between Asia and Europe, and the United States also has economic and military interests in a free Arctic Ocean. There are possibilities for the United States, as a coastal state, and Japan, as a user state, to cooperate in addressing these issues on the basis of their alliance by sharing information and ideas.



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