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"A New Horizon for Japan's Security Policy

Basic Concept and Framework"

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Summary of the Presentation

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Session 1: "The International Political Climate after 9/11" Presentation Overview

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- 1. Common ground and differences in international politics that are recognized in the Japan-Europe relationship
 - A. Differences between Japan and Europe

• Differences in the geopolitics and security environment between Europe and Asia command the aspired strategic relationships with the US, and reflect in differences.

• Japan is in need of stepped up cooperation from the US in order to improve its independence.

• Europe needs to stand further apart from the US in order to improve its independence.

B. Common ground between Japan and Europe

• Concept of attaining global stability through global governance (division

of sovereign power on the basis of norms-based governance, multilateralism-based system) and by way of expanding international norms, e.g. WTO, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Japan-Europe alliance concerned with the International Criminal Court

• Emphasis on "soft power"

2. US-Europe relationship – conflicting values or conflicting interests

A. Different views concerning the Iraq War

• Differences were observed between countries within Europe as well as between political elites and citizens within each country.

• A feeling of distance from the US concerning establishment of international codes, such as on the environment, had already surfaced

before 9/11.

B. Historical maturity of Europe

• Europe understands that ideas or actions that consider state sovereignty first and foremost have their limits from experiences of its own colonial rule and hegemony.

• It has created a modern view of state sovereignty which aims to solve international issues by dividing and sharing sovereign powers of the nations.

C. The source of the US-Europe conflict

• Difference in the position regarding the national sovereignty – global governance or supremacy of state sovereignty.

• The US has a classic notion of state sovereignty, taking an opposing position against the global governance which leads to restrictions of the sovereign power. In this context, the gap between the US and Europe is deep.

- 3. Desired picture of the global system in the future
 - A. Impact of the emerging power of China, Russia and India, and significance of multipolarization

• There is concern that greater prominence of China, Russia and India which place utmost priority on state sovereignty may resume an international society which is driven by power politics.

• Multipolarization intended to counterbalance the US as advocated by some of the intellectuals in Europe may, in some aspects, further intensify the sovereign power-first principle and power politics in the international society. It is by no means favored by Europe which aims to expand international norms.

B. Favored international political model - Global governance model

• The US, Japan, and Europe have common interests in expanding global governance.

• It is critical to expand partners sharing a vision under multilateralism of "norms-based governance."

• Japan is strongly apprehensive of the prominence of the sovereign powerfirst principle in Asia, and Japan-Europe cooperation aimed at global governance will be increasingly sought in the future.