

THE IMPACT OF US THINK TANKS ON THE EVOLUTION OF US-JAPAN ALLIANCE

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Abstract: The US-Japan alliance is one of the most important alliances in the international community today. The development of the US-Japan alliance has been affected by think tanks. The existing literature believes that the reason why think tanks can promote the development of the alliance stems from the rationality of think tanks' suggestions and the discourse construction role of think tanks. However, the unequal hierarchy and dependence between the United States and Japan have hardly been mentioned in the existing literature. The current dependency theory provides a more insightful method to supplement the above discussion. Based on the Armitage Report and the adjustments made by the US-Japan alliance after the report, this research points out that think tanks have promoted Japan's dependence on the United States through the way of market, leverage, and linkage, thus promoting the development of the United States-Japan alliance relation.

Keywords: US-Japan Alliance; Think Tank; Policymaking; Armitage Report; Dependency Theory

1 Introduction

The US-Japan alliance is a significant strategic alliance in the international community today, and its importance in the study of international relations is self-evident. Think tanks play an irreplaceable role in the US foreign policy making. The National Center for Strategic Studies of the United States, as an official platform for a non-governmental think tank on international relations, has been putting forward its own relevant opinions and suggestions for consolidating the development of the US-Japan alliance since the beginning of 2000.¹² A valuable question still remain unsolved: How does the think tank affect the U.S.-Japan alliance? So far, five in-depth analysis reports on the US-Japan alliance have been published. These reports have also been named Armitage Report by the academic community of international relations due to the academic achievements of Richard L. Armitage and Joseph Nye, the principal authors. Besides, the policy formulation of the development of the US-Japan alliance from 2000 to now is basically similar to the recommendations given by the Armitage Report: not only in the traditional international relations fields such as security and military but also in the non-traditional fields such as economy and environment, Armitage Report has had a profound impact on the cooperation between the United States and Japan.³⁴⁵⁶⁷ Thus, using a case of Armitage Report, these paper try to figure out impact of think tank on US-Japan alliance.

As a think tank, why can Armitage Report promote the development of the US-Japan alliance? Previous literature pointed out that the impact of think tanks on policy formulation is often generated through a series of unofficial channels, such as lobbying and outside groups. The degree of its effect on policy formulation is derived from its theoretical and authoritative nature.⁸⁹¹⁰ This research supplements the political and economic

practical effect of the Armitage Report on the US-Japan alliance with the theory of political economy and focuses on the "unequal hierarchy" in the US-Japan alliance. This research believes that Armitage Report increases Japan's dependence on the United States through the three ways of Market, Level, and Linkage, thus promoting the development of the US-Japan alliance.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Think tank and Policymaking

The functions of think tanks include: mediating between the government and the public; identifying, elaborating, and evaluating current or recent important issues, problems or suggestions; turning ideas and problems into policy issues; making an informal and independent voice in the policy debate; Provide a constructive forum for the exchange of ideas and information among important stakeholders in the process of policy formulation.¹¹ The impact of think tanks on alliance relations is the impact of think tanks on alliance policy formulation. It has been pointed out in the literature that the impact of think tanks on policy formulation is often generated through a series of unofficial channels, such as lobbying and outside groups. The degree of its influence on policy formulation comes from its theoretical and authoritative nature.¹² Through the application of scientific theories and the analysis of actual data, think tanks have played a very good role in the decision-making process, evaluation and supervision, thus making the decision-making process full of diversity and competitiveness.¹³ Therefore, in the general trend of multiple interest groups competing, in order to make their own scientific decisions, interest groups often choose to seek the help of think tanks. In this case, think tanks will also have a greater impact on policy formulation.

2.2 Think tanks and social construction

As a result of the debate between "materialism" and "empiricism" in epistemology, constructivism has aroused widespread concern in the academic community since its birth--many scholars believe that constructivism is "a widely recognized 'methodological practice' in the field of social science, especially effective in the study of social science."¹⁴ In the field of international relations, constructivism has also been widely recognized and developed. Scholars believe that the structure of social consciousness - beliefs, norms, concepts, and cognition - endows the material structure of international relations with meaning, which affects the social identity of actors, and also makes social identity affect the interests and behaviors of actors.¹⁵ Meanwhile, they state that the identity generated can change the identity of the actors so that the interests of the actors can be changed, thus affecting the development of international relations.

The United States and Japan are always affected by such constructive identities. In the new era, such constructive identity often comes from the influence of the think tanks of the two countries. The reasons for this identification include the influence of the western political system and political operation

¹ Chen, K.: Analysis of American Policy towards Japan during the Bush Administration. Jpn Stud. 2016.

² Gu, J. and Li, X.: New Trends in American Asian Strategy from the "Armitage Report." Mod Int Relat. 2007.

³ Konishi, W.: The Changing U.S.-Japan Alliance: Implications for U.S. Interests. Congr Res Serv. 2007.

⁴ Armitage, R.L. and Nye, J.S Jr.: Smart Power and the U.S. Strategy for Security in a Post-9/11 World. CSIS, 2007.

⁵ Yang, B.: Analysis of the Inherent Contradictions and Regional Strategic Impacts of the U.S. Policy towards Japan. Jpn J. 2014.

⁶ Liu, X.: On the New Progress and New Challenges of the US-Japan Alliance -- A Perspective of Japan's Defense Policy. Mod Int Relat. 2006.

⁷ Schoff, J.L.: Transformation of the U.S.-Japan Alliance. Fletcher Forum World Aff. 2007 Winter;31(1). Available from: HeinOnline.

⁸ Nicholson, S.: EU Think Tanks in Brussels: Policy-making Roles, Functions, and Influence [MA thesis]. Katholieke University Leuven; 2009. Available from: <http://www.thesis.net/EU%20Think%20Tanks/EU%20Think%20Tanks>

⁹ Lu, L. and Hu, Y.: Main theoretical schools of international relations after World War II. China Social Science Journal. 2018. Available from: http://www.cssn.cn/zx/bwy/201808/t20180803_4523124.shtml

¹⁰ Wang, Z. and Yu, M.: The benign interaction between government decision-making and the knowledge of new think tanks: A study based on the perspective of social constructivism. Political Science Research. 2016.

¹¹ McGann, J.: Global think tanks: Policy networks and governance. Introduction. Routledge; 2010, p. 5.

¹² Nicholson, S.: EU Think Tanks in Brussels: Policy-making Roles, Functions, and Influence [MA thesis]. Katholieke University Leuven; 2009. Available from: <http://www.thesis.net/EU%20Think%20Tanks/EU%20Think%20Tanks>

¹³ Suzuki, T.: The formation of "Democracy" in Japan and the autobiographical sequence theory of entrepreneurs. Daiichi Shorin; 2007. p. 107. [] Translate from Japanese 鈴木崇弘 『日本民主主義 起業家自伝シクタンク論 第一書林 2007P. 107.]

¹⁴ Delanty, G.: Social science: Beyond constructivism and realism. Minneapolis: Univ of Minnesota Press; 1997.

¹⁵ Lu, L. and Hu, Y.: Main theoretical schools of international relations after World War II. China Soc Sci J. 2018. Available from: http://www.cssn.cn/zx/bwy/201808/t20180803_4523124.shtml

mode mentioned above and the think tank itself under the constructivism narrative. The impact of think tanks on politics is often discussed from its origin. Constructivists believe that the essence of the impact of think tanks on politics is a social construction. Social construction is that constructivism forms the understanding and understanding of things in the process of social behavior, social interaction, and social time, endows things with specific cultural significance, and this set of understanding, discourse, and meaning - guides the daily behavior and practice of social members including government members and state leaders in the form of social knowledge.¹⁶ Social construction is the construction generated by the interaction between the constructors; otherwise, it is difficult to generate a variety of construction identities.¹⁷ This kind of interaction is essentially a spiritual activity between subjects: it takes language and its carrier as the intermediary, takes equal negotiation as the form and takes inter-subjective understanding and meaning construction as the purpose.¹⁸

The interaction between the think tanks of the United States and Japan and the governments of the United States and Japan is in line with the process of construction and identification of the two countries at this time. Under the influence of the modern administrative context and the idealized policy formulation system, the US and Japanese think tanks, which are already powerful, have played a crucial role in both factors. They are both the embodiment of policy rationality and the representative of publicity. The US and Japanese think tanks that meet these two factors would have an impact on the development of the US-Japan alliance. The construction of identity is also an essential theoretical source to prove the impact of the US-Japan think tanks on the US-Japan alliance.

Indeed, the above documents explain that adopting the reasonable "think tank proposal" to promote the US-Japan alliance will promote the alliance relationship and the contribution of think tanks to the "social construction" of the US-Japan alliance in the current social discourse context. However, the above documents are not enough to explain the contribution of the "think tank proposal" to the US-Japan alliance in political and economic practice. In fact, under the influence of the Armitage Report, the political and economic results of the decisions of the governments of the United States and Japan have further deepened the alliance between the United States and Japan. These political and economic results can strengthen the alliance between the United States and Japan because of the "unequal hierarchy" in the relationship between the United States and Japan - dependency.

2.3 Dependency theory

The current dependency theories point out that in an open global economic system, the more developed countries have the power to influence the political economy of other open economies.^{19,20} Although the dependency theory initially focused on the global north and the global south in the 1970s, with the development of non-western economies, the dependency theory tends to focus more and more on the political and economic development level of the research objects. Emmanuel Wallerstein further supplemented the dependency theory from the perspective of political and economic development and put forward the world system theory: the formation of the world system is the inevitable result of the development of a capitalist economy. If the existing system cannot accommodate the scale of the development of today's capitalist economy, the status of the

world system and the state will inevitably change.²¹ Specifically, he put forward the "core - half border - border" theory, which believes that the relationship between border countries, half-border countries, and core countries can change at any time, and the rising development of border countries is just the embodiment of dependency development.²² In addition, some scholars have deconstructed the influencing factors of dependency, such as Barbara Stallings. She summarized the relationship into three factors: first, market dependence, that is, one country has a dependence on another economic power; The second is leverage, which means that the significant economic countries and developed countries will influence the economic development of another country in various ways, such as economy and politics. The common influence is political and economic cooperation and security guarantee; The third is the connection, that is, between the economic powers and other countries. Due to various transnational activities, there will be many links between countries, including education, training, and civil exchanges. It can be seen from this that the elements contained in the newly developed dependency theory can also be used as indicators to measure the development of alliances formed between countries with a disparity in strength, such as NATO, the India-Pacific Alliance, and the United States, Japan, and South Korea Alliance.²³

Compared with the alliance between the United States and other allies, the relationship between Japan and the United States is "special." This particularity stems from the fact that the alliance between the United States and Japan is "unequal." Some scholars believe that in the traditional bilateral alliance, due to the national gap between the two sides, the weak side often has a certain degree of dependence on the strong.^{24,25} Due to the special historical background and political reality of Japan, after the end of World War II, the new Japanese democratic government has developed to this day, and their foreign policy has always been supported by the "US-Japan axis." The alliance established on this basis is slightly different from the traditional "formal or informal arrangements made by two or more sovereign countries in various aspects to achieve security cooperation." The asymmetric alliance between the United States and Japan includes both security and diplomatic, security, and economic cooperation.

3 Armitage Report

The Center for Strategic and International Studies, as an official platform of non-governmental international relations and think tanks, has been making suggestions on developing the US-Japan alliance since the beginning of 2000. It has published five in-depth analysis reports on the US-Japan alliance so far. These reports are also well-known for the academic achievements of Richard L. Armitage and Joseph Nye, the main authors, namely, "Armitage Report" or "Armitage-Nye Report" by the academic circles of international relations. The report's content is often the guidance for the analysis and response of the US-Japan alliance at the strategic development level.

Since the publication of the first article in 2000, the Armitage Report has been playing a strategic role in guiding the formulation of the policy of the US-Japan alliance and is the "wind vane" of the US-Japan alliance. The recommendations from the Armitage Report have primarily promoted the policy formulation on developing the US-Japan alliance since 2000. Chen (2007) wrote in the article "Analysis of the U.S. Policy towards Japan during the Bush Administration" that the

¹⁶ Wang, Z and Yu, M.: The benign interaction between government decision-making and the knowledge of new think tanks: a study based on the perspective of social constructivism. *Polit Sci Res.* 2016.

¹⁷ Burr, V.: *An Introduction to Social Constructionism.* London, New York: Routledge; 1995.

¹⁸ Wang, Z. and Yu, M.: The benign interaction between government decision-making and the knowledge of new think tanks: a study based on the perspective of social constructivism. *Polit Sci Res.* 2016.

¹⁹ Frank, AG.: "Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil." 1967 New York: Monthly Review Press.

²⁰ Cardoso, FH. and Faletto, E.: *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina.* Mexico, DF: Siglo XXI; 1969.

²¹ Wallerstein, I.: *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century.* New York: Academic Press; 1974.

²² Wallerstein, I.: *Semi-Peripheral Countries and the Contemporary World Crisis.* *Theory Soc.* 1976;3(4):461-483.

²³ Stallings, B.: *Dependency in the Twenty-First Century?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2020. pp. 11-14.

²⁴ Yang, G.: On the dependence of Japan's military strategy after the war. *Mil Hist Res.* 2005;(3):72-7.

²⁵ Xiang, H.: An Examination of Japan's Strategic Dependence on the United States in the U.S.-Japan Alliance. *Northeast Asia Forum.* 2022;(06):72-86,126. doi:10.13654/j.cnki.naf

adjustment of the Bush Administration's foreign policy toward Japan was directly affected by the Armitage Report in 2000.²⁶ One reason is that the essence of the Armitage Report published in 2007 is to draw a blueprint for the US-Japan alliance to play a regional role and even play a role in the world. The essence is to maintain the leading position of the United States in East Asia at the grass-roots level of the US-Japan alliance.^{27,28} Another reason why the Armitage Report in 2000 played a role in the adjustment of the policies of the United States and Japan is that the report not only conforms to the Bush administration's plan to strengthen the defense cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and strengthen the interests of the US-Japan alliance but also meets the expectations of the Koizumi cabinet to reform the defense policy. The report also promoted the introduction of the National Defense Program Guidelines--2004.²⁹ Armitage also has been committed to providing suggestions and methods on how the United States can use its smart power to pull in alliances, maintain interests and balance regional strategies.³⁰ Yang (2014) pointed out that the three reports from 2000 to 2012 reflected the vision of the United States to promote the Asia-Pacific strategy based on the US-Japan alliance, and the solutions provided by the report were also the inertia ideas and policies formed under the United States hegemonism.³¹ Liu (2019) analyzed from the perspective of Japan's defense policy formulation and believed that the Armitage Report in 2018 played a guiding role in the formulation of Japan's new defense policy.³² In addition to its role in traditional international relations such as security and military, the Armitage Report also has a profound impact on the cooperation between the United States and Japan in non-traditional fields such as economy and environment.³³

The above discussion explains the reasons for adopting the think tank research - Armitage Report - by the United States and Japan and its impact on the US-Japan alliance from the perspective of the vision and policy rationality of the United States and Japan. Nevertheless, the above cannot discuss and explain the functional role of the "think tank proposal" in strengthening the political and economic aspects of the US-Japan alliance. Although Schoff discussed the impact of the report on the economy and environment of the United States and Japan, he ignored the fact that the economic and social guidance of the think tank for the two countries economies is also to promote the development of the US-Japan alliance. In addition, the above discussion oversimplifies the unequal relationship between the United States and Japan, which makes these discussions ignore the significance of think tanks to the US-Japan alliance in political economics and leads to their lack of critical discussion on the "US-Japan think tank proposal conforms to the US-Japan alliance hierarchy."

4 The evolution of the US-Japan alliance and the Armitage Report

4.1 The Bush Administration and the Armitage Report 2000

The first Armitage report was released after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the US-Japan relationship was facing challenges. As an important alliance of the United States to contain the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the US-Japan alliance lost its common interests and coherence of coordinated policies with the collapse of the Soviet Union and faced more threats and potential risks. The United States and Japan ignored the urgent and practical pursuit of bilateral relations and thus

lacked effective communication and dialogue. At this time, the contradiction between the two sides was greater than the common interests of the former containment of the expansion of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the differences between the two sides on many major issues are greater than the consensus. At this time, the relationship between the United States and Japan is also gradually deteriorating due to the Okinawa US military incident, the Korean Peninsula crisis, and the Taiwan Strait crisis, which makes the implementation of the White Paper on US-Japan Defense Cooperation issued in 1996 extremely difficult, and even fell into a quarrel for a time. Poor policy coordination is because the United States continues to pursue its hegemonic policy in Asia, which has caused serious dissatisfaction from Asian countries including Japan. In terms of the strength of countries in the Asian region, China, which has greatly developed its comprehensive national strength, has become an inseparable strategic partner of the United States and Japan in terms of economy - which makes the United States and Japan have to reconsider the relationship with China. Therefore, the relationship between the United States and Japan must be adjusted during this period, and the first Armitage report was born for this purpose. From the first paragraph of the report, it is clear that the focus of the study is the sustainability and strategy of the development of the US-Japan relationship. The research team also believes that studying the US-Japan relationship is indispensable to studying the US Asian policy.

Indeed, even the release of the Armitage report did not change the changes of the US-Japan alliance in this period at the earliest time. At the earliest time, President Bush still adhered to the global strategy and principles of the Clinton era and thus steadily developed the US-Japan alliance. However, the emergence of the "9/11 incident" made the US-Japan alliance must be adjusted to a new level acceptable to both the United States and Japan in a short time. The ruling idea of the Bush administration began to develop in the direction of "Bushism," which is a realistic foreign policy with conservative color based on the two principles of the supremacy of national strength and the pursuit of peace by strength.³⁴ Once this policy was launched, it attracted the opposition of most countries, including the United States' allies. On the premise that most countries are against the "Bush Doctrine," the United States urgently needs to establish a stronger alliance with Japan, which is willing to cooperate more with the United States and needs to achieve higher results quickly. Therefore, the Armitage Report issued during this period became increasingly crucial for the Bush administration to develop the US-Japan alliance.

4.1.1 Market

Although the bilateral economic relations between the United States and Japan have experienced many fluctuations in the 1990s, there is no doubt that the report suggests that the United States and Japan should give the highest priority to the long-term bilateral economic relations.³⁵ Driven by the report, the United States and Japan did not take measures to limit trade and balance trade surplus. According to the figure below, the total bilateral trade volume remained high, and Japan's trade surplus with the United States continued to expand. During this period (2000~2007), the United States has always been one of Japan's most indispensable trade exporters, and Japan's economy is also highly dependent on exports to the United States.³⁶

For Market independence, the report suggests that the United States and Japan should prioritize long-term bilateral economic relations. As suggested in the Armitage report, Junichiro Koizumi's government has promoted privatization and marketization, the most important of which is the privatization of the postal and insurance industries. This will make it possible for some of Japan's previously inaccessible markets to allow

²⁶ Chen, K.: Analysis of American Policy towards Japan during the Bush Administration. *Jpn Stud.* 2016.

²⁷ Sun, R.: Interpretation of the new version of the Armitage Report. *People's Daily*, 2006.

²⁸ Gu, J. and Li, X.: New Trends in American Asian Strategy from the "Armitage Report. *Mod Int Relat.* 2007.

²⁹ Konishi, W.: The Changing U.S.-Japan Alliance: Implications for U.S. Interests. Congressional Research Service, 2007.

³⁰ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS Jr.: Smart Power and the U.S. Strategy for Security in a Post-9/11 World. CSIS, 2007.

³¹ Yang, B.: Analysis of the Inherent Contradictions and Regional Strategic Impacts of the U.S. Policy towards Japan. *Jpn J.* 2014.

³² Liu, X.: On the New Progress and New Challenges of the US-Japan Alliance -- A Perspective of Japan's Defense Policy. *Mod Int Relat.* 2006.

³³ Schoff, JL.: Transformation of the U.S.-Japan Alliance. *Fletcher Forum World Aff.* 2007;31(1).

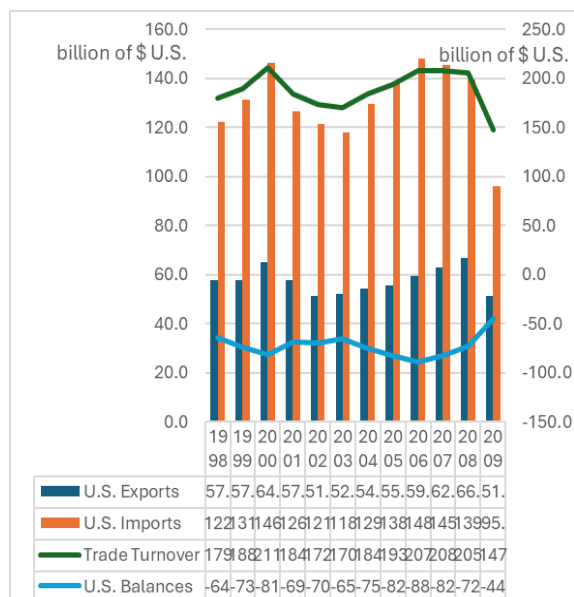
³⁴ Zhou, Q.: Bush Doctrine and American Neoconservatism. *Am Study.* 2007;21(2):7-27.

³⁵ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S. and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature. 2000;1.

³⁶ Cooper, WH.: US-Japan economic relations significance, prospects, and policy options. Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress; 2010.

American capital to enter investment smoothly. With the relaxation of investment restrictions, Japan's economy will further rely on the investment of the United States.

Figure 1 the trade between the U.S and Japan³⁷



Source: UN Comtrade

4.1.2 Leverage

According to the dependency theory, the use of leverage includes direct use of power, commitment to reward and punishment, and implementation (or non-implementation) of an action that affects bilateral relations.³⁸ The security guarantee and military support the US-Japan alliance provides for Japan conforms to this theory. The Armitage report also increased Japan's dependence on the United States through leverage. A series of principles and policies during the Bush administration are highly consistent with the recommendations and opinions in the first report. It is like the redefinition of the US-Japan alliance in the Armitage report: the significance of the existence of the US-Japan alliance is that when Japan is attacked, the United States should also regard it as an attack on itself.³⁹ In this case, the United States took the following actions to maintain the leverage relationship between the United States and Japan. First, the United States encouraged Japan to strengthen its independence and initiative by signing a treaty so that Japan could consciously join the "collective defense" policy pursued by the United States. To this end, in 2006, the United States and Japan reached a consensus on the military integration plan, and the United States encouraged Japan to break the restrictions of the peace constitution.⁴⁰ Second, the United States provides Japan with a "security guarantee" through the US-Japan alliance. The United States has made more commitments on "security guarantees" to Japan, and the so-called "security commitments" also include the support of the United States for Japan after the dispute between Japan and its neighboring countries.⁴¹ In addition, Japan's dependence on the United States has deepened regarding military technology. The United States and Japan have carried out more military cooperation. On September 21, 2001, when the aircraft carrier battle group of the Seventh Fleet of the United States set sail for the Indian Ocean, the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force and the United States carried out

the first joint escort operation.⁴² Since then, the United States and Japan have also cooperated in interceptor missile technology and anti-missile system construction, which also means that Japan will further deepen its dependence on the anti-missile system of the United States.

The Armitage report further deepened Japan's dependence on the United States by encouraging the US-Japan alliance to meet Japan's political demands. Specifically, with the help of the continuously strengthened US-Japan alliance, Japan will be easier to realize its political aspirations. After 9/11, Japan strengthened the US-Japan alliance -- cooperating with the United States plan to launch a "war on terrorism" around the world, and quickly issued the "Special Measures against Terrorism Law," "Amendment to the Self-Defense Forces Law," and other laws. Secondly, between 2001 and 2006, Japan spared no effort to provide logistical support to the US military and its allies, whether in Afghanistan or the Second Gulf War. For Japan, cooperating with the United States to launch the "war on terror" will bring more political autonomy to Japan - this will enable Japan to openly expand its military strength under the premise of cooperating with the United States to launch military operations and at the same time, it can also participate more in international affairs in the military and political fields. The development of leverage linkage between the United States and Japan during this period confirmed the relevant recommendations in the Armitage report. This further confirms that the think tank's view on the more significant impact of the development of the US-Japan alliance in terms of political leverage is established, but the impact of the think tank will also be different due to the actual situation of the international community.

4.1.3 Linkage

Dependency theory points out that "Linkage" is not the traditional metaphysical linkage between countries, regions, and regions but is driven by common interests and formed by interest groups between the two countries. This kind of linkage often generates linkage with people in other countries through cultural exchange, transnational training, and economic interaction, thus forming a Linkage network and ultimately deepening mutual dependence. As suggested in the report, the United States helped improve Japan's intelligence capability through transnational training, which further promoted the linkage between the two countries. In the Japanese Defense Guidelines issued in 2004, Japan proposed for the first time to establish a defense force with "high-tech intelligence capability" to cope with "the complex surrounding security environment that is difficult to cope with by traditional containment methods."⁴³ Since then, with the assistance of the United States, Japan has continuously strengthened its intelligence collection capacity, including but not limited to technical cooperation between the United States and Japan, The training of intelligence officers of the intelligence headquarters of the Japanese Self-Defense Force and the Japanese Public Security Department by the US intelligence department. Such intelligence cooperation and exchange finally met the expectations of the Armitage Report and strengthened the degree of linkage between the United States and Japan.

4.2 The Obama Administration and Armitage Report 2007 & 2012

When the second and third Armitage reports were launched, the United States government had transitioned from the Bush administration to the Obama administration. During this historical period, the international situation has also evolved in a different way. With the September 11 incident, extremist terrorist organizations became a common problem faced by the international community at that time. During the Bush administration, a large amount of military expenditure was

³⁷ Source: UN Comtrade

³⁸ Stallings, B.: *DEPENDENCY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY?*. Cambridge University Press: 2020. p.13.

³⁹ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: *The U.S. and Japan: Advancing Toward a Mature*. Oct. 2000. p.2.

⁴⁰ See Sina Military News. Available from: <http://mil.news.sina.com.cn/2006-08-26/1710393042.html>

⁴¹ See <https://www.reuters.com/article/oukwd-uk-china-japan-usa-idAFBRE88JIGZ20120920>

⁴² See U.S Department of Defense. <https://www.defense.gov/News/Feature-Stories/Story/Article/2306658/us-japan-alliance-increasingly-strengthened-since-end-of-wwii/>

⁴³ See Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet https://japan.kantei.go.jp/policy/2004/1210taikou_e.html

consumed in the "war on terror," which made the financial problems of the United States government more serious; Externally, Bush's act of "safeguarding the security of the United States" through unilateralism has aroused many voices of criticism from the international community. When the second and third Armitage reports were launched, the United States government had transitioned from the Bush administration to the Obama administration. During this historical period, the international situation has also evolved in a more different way. With the September 11 incident, the extremist terrorist organizations became a common problem faced by the international community at that time.

In the face of the ensuing difficulties, the Obama administration must make changes to maintain the United States hegemony in the world. In the 2007 report, it was emphasized that the establishment of a "correct" US-Japan alliance: the United States and Japan should rely on their existing strength and international status to promote cooperation between the US-Japan alliance and other countries in the region, regional international organizations and their influence in the region (for example, ASEAN and Australia), and emphasize the free economy, the rule of law and political freedom in American-style values.^{44,45,46}

The 2012 report was born amid uncertainty in the US-Japan relationship. The US-Japan government is facing numerous challenges. Therefore, although it is not intended to propose how the alliance status will develop, the report defines the important role of Japan - the key for the United States to maintain stability and strategic balance in the Asia-Pacific region; It is also an important part of maintaining the vitality of the world economy.⁴⁷ This also means that the report suggests that the United States should adopt an equal attitude towards the alliance between the United States and Japan. Japan should boldly carry out equal communication and dialogue with the United States. At the same time, Japan should strive to become the "leader" of Asian countries in cooperation with the United States.⁴⁸

4.2.1 Market

The economic relationship between the United States and Japan is far better than the political relationship. Specifically since the Koizumi cabinet has continued to maintain economic liberalization reform. From 2007 to 2012, the United States direct investment (FDI) in Japan increased significantly (Table 2-1). This change is inseparable from the principle that both sides should adhere to the same principle of free trade, as suggested in the Armitage report.⁴⁹ In addition to a large amount of direct investment, the United States has increased its investment in Japan in the form of stock market securities investment: between 2007 and 2012, American investors held a total of 429.4 billion US dollars in Japanese corporate stocks and 45.7 billion US dollars in Japanese bonds.⁵⁰ This is also the result of both sides encouraging external investment and relaxing the investment threshold, which is still consistent with the report's recommendations. Further, the recommendations of the Armitage report strengthen Japan's dependence on the United States from both bond and investment aspects.

Table 2-1 The amount of direct investment from the United States to Japan from 2007 to 2012 (in billions of dollars)⁵¹

Year	U.S FDI to Japan
2007	85.2

⁴⁴ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020. 2007 Feb; pp.21-25.

⁴⁵ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020. 2007 Feb; pp.21-25.

⁴⁶ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020. 2007 Feb; pp.21-25.

⁴⁷ Armitage, RL. and Nye JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Anchoring Stability in Asia. 2012 Aug; p.1.

⁴⁸ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Anchoring Stability in Asia. 2012 Aug; p.1.

⁴⁹ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS. The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020. 2007 Feb; pp.21-25.

⁵⁰ Survey of Current Business, July 2013, pp18-21.

⁵¹ Data source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis

2008	99.8
2009	96
2010	102.6
2011	126
2012	134

In terms of trade, as stated in the 2007 report, the United States and Japan should "connect East and Southeast Asian countries and build a high-quality regional free trade network."⁵² The report believes that to realize this mechanism, Japan should continue to promote economic reform, encourage the development of free trade, eliminate trade barriers and promote external investment.⁵³ The 2012 report strongly advocates for Japan to develop trade with the United States. The report believes that the Obama administration advocates the Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) as an agreement with bright prospects for cooperation. Japan's participation in this free trade agreement is conducive to activating and safeguarding the economic relations between the United States and Japan.⁵⁴ According to UN Comtrade, even after the 2008 financial crisis, Japan's exports to the United States continued to grow, and its dependence on the United States continued to increase.

4.2.2 Leverage

Through a "security guarantee," the United States has increased Japan's dependence on employing leverage. According to the implication of "containing the rise of China" in the 2007 report, the United States and Japan, as called for in the report, stated in the "Shared Vision Future," an official document adjusting the US-Japan alliance, that both sides will improve the alliance's ability to respond to and deal with emergencies.⁵⁵ Encouraged by the Armitage report, Japan continues to exert pressure on China on the disputed territory between China and Japan - "Shankaku Island"⁵⁶, and the United States has repeatedly reaffirmed that the Diaoyu Islands issue is applicable to the US-Japan Security Treaty to eliminate Japan's security concerns.⁵⁷ Armitage's proposal not only conforms to Japan's vision of disputed territory but also ensures that Japan will be more dependent on the United States on security issues while pursuing this vision.

In 2012, in the face of the Japanese government's protest against the US garrison during the Hatoyama Yukio period, the third Armitage report strengthened Japan's dependence on the US through leverage. The report questioned whether Japan wants to become a "first-class country or is willing to continue to be a second-rate country."⁵⁸ This kind of leverage paradigm -- full of power color and a certain degree of threat -- made the cabinet of Yoshihiko Noda and the cabinet of Shinzo Abe, who was committed to repairing the alliance between the United States and Japan, pay great attention to the Armitage Report. The two prime ministers said successively that "the Japan-US alliance is the biggest asset for Japan's security and diplomacy",⁵⁹ and "Japan certainly wants to become a first-class country".⁶⁰ This response by Shinzo Abe is also the first time Japanese leaders

⁵² Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020. 2007 Feb; pp.21-25

⁵³ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020. 2007 Feb; pp.21-25.

⁵⁴ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Anchoring Stability in Asia. 2012 Aug; p.6.

⁵⁵ The White House, Office of Press Secretary, "U.S.-Japan Joint Statement: A Shared Vision for the Future," April 30th, 2012, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/30/united-states-japan-joint-statement-shared-vision-future>.

⁵⁶ Since the "purchase of the islands" in the period of Yoshihiko Noda, Japan has repeatedly announced that it has "exercised power" over the Diaoyu Islands, and has repeatedly sent sea patrol boats and right-wing people to patrol around the Diaoyu Islands. See Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/japan-china-islands-clash-idCNCNE86A00T20120711>. See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. https://www.cn.emb-japan.go.jp/territory/senkaku/pdfs/senkaku_pamphlet.pdf

⁵⁷ Tao W.: Three adjustments of the US-Japan alliance after the Cold War. Am Stud. 2015; Pp27

⁵⁸ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Anchoring Stability in Asia. 2012 Aug; p.1.

⁵⁹ Lv, Y.: Deepening the alliance mechanism: the strategic vision of Japan-US. bilateral interaction -- review and analysis of the Common Blueprint for the Future. J Japan. 2012.

⁶⁰ Tao, W.: Three adjustments of the US-Japan alliance after the Cold War. Am Stud. 2015

have responded to the contents of the Armitage Report, which shows that the Armitage Report has shaped the relationship between the United States and Japan. In addition to saying that the relocation of the Futenma base should be resolved as soon as possible, the United States and Japan also decided to establish a joint training base belonging to the Japanese Self-Defense Force and the US military in Guam and the Mariana Islands.⁶¹ And these above are consistent with the suggestion in the 2007 report that the armed forces of the United States and Japan should strengthen coordinated training and cooperation.

4.2.3 Linkage

For education and training, the recommendations of the Armitage report during this period are also conducive to Japan's dependence on the United States. Armitage suggested that the United States help Japan to strengthen "cooperation capabilities including upgrading military facilities, strengthening anti-missile capabilities, and the necessary operational command, communication, military intelligence, detection and other aspects of conventional operations, and ultimately enhance Japan's national defense capabilities."⁶² During this period, the cooperation between the United States and Japan in interceptor missile technology and constructing an anti-missile system made Japan make more remarkable progress in military science and technology. During Abe's term of office, the United States helped Japan accelerate the development of a backward intelligence system. Regarding the issue, the guide proposes that the US-Japan alliance should expand the information sharing between the two countries at all levels.⁶³ At the suggestion of Armitage, this deeper "Linkage" between the United States and Japan further promoted Japan's dependence on the United States.

4.3 Trump Administration and Armitage Report 2018

During this period, the protectionism advocated by the Trump government -- all taking the domestic interests of the United States first -- was harmful to the gradually improved US-Japan alliance. In 2018, the Trump government strengthened tariff barriers against Japan to protect domestic trade. This is opposed to the Armitage Report, which seeks to develop the US-Japan alliance. Therefore, this report in 2018 expressed concern about the US government's turn while still trying to give suggestions for the development of the US-Japan alliance.

4.3.1 Market

During this period, the United States' economic policy towards Japan ran counter to the Armitage report. The Armitage report believes that the "United States first" and protectionist policies pose unprecedented challenges to the economic cooperation between the United States and Japan.⁶⁴ The report calls on the United States to stop undermining bilateral economic relations, re-establish an open trade and investment system and establish a broader regional economic strategy.^{65,66} Unfortunately, the withdrawal of the United States from the TPP and the imposition of tariffs on Japan have become facts. The Trump government has yet to take more measures to promote economic cooperation between the United States and Japan and consolidate Japan's dependence.⁶⁷

4.3.2 Leverage

There was little market means to promote the US-Japan alliance and Japan's economic dependence during this period. However, in terms of leverage, under the recommendations of the Armitage report, the US-Japan alliance has continued to consolidate, and Japan's dependence on the United States has also further increased. The Armitage report believes that "the United States needs a strong and confident Japan, and Japan also needs an active and constructive United States".⁶⁸ Therefore, the United States and Japan need to play a more critical role in maintaining the "peace and prosperity and international order" sought by other allies.⁶⁹ In this context, the Outline of the Defense Plan issued by Japan claimed that Japan, as a sovereign country, must assume more responsibilities in the US-Japan alliance and improve the ability of the alliance to resist threats - essentially at the strategic level, it supports the United States to promote security cooperation and support the "Indo-Pacific strategy" of freedom and openness.⁷⁰ Although different from the recommendations of the previous version of the report - the Armitage report in 2018 encourages Japan to participate more in regional security affairs and maintain international order; more participation in regional security affairs and maintaining international order will also lead to Japan's greater security dependence on the United States. After all, Japan's security needs to rely largely on the United States.⁷¹

4.3.3 Linkage

Through intelligence technology training and cooperation, the United States also strengthened Japan's dependence through this kind of linkage during this period. The Armitage report calls for Japan to be included in the Five-Eye Alliance, strengthen intelligence cooperation with Japan, and train intelligence personnel for Japan.⁷² Also, the Armitage report suggested that the United States and Japan should also complement each other in different fields and strengthen the exchange and technical complementarity of the military industry of the two countries.⁷³ In the 2019 congressional report of the United States, Japan has also become an intelligence gathering partner of countries with the same importance as the Five Eyes Alliance.⁷⁴ Subsequently, Japan accelerated the pace of entering the Five Eyes Alliance. During this period, Japan promoted information exchange and technical training with the United States alliance and strengthened intelligence cooperation with the Five-Eye Alliance.⁷⁵ It is consistent with the Armitage report's suggestion that the United States and Japan should strengthen intelligence cooperation and training and encourage Japan to join the Five Eyes Alliance. This linkage further promoted Japan's dependence on the United States. The Five Eyes Alliance needs Japan to cooperate with more countries to carry out intelligence work, thus further expanding Japan's demand for intelligence. Meanwhile, Japan's intelligence work depends largely on the exchange and training of the United States. In this case, joining the more robust demand will promote Japan's greater dependence.

⁶¹ Consultative Committee, "Joint Statement of Security Consultative Committee," Aug 26th, 2012. <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/4/188586.htm>.

⁶² Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Getting Asia Right through 2020. 2007 Feb; pp.3-5, 21-25.

⁶³ 《日本防衛力のための方論》. 2015. See http://www.mod.go.jp/j/approach/panpo/shishin/pdf/shishin_20150427j.pdf

⁶⁴ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: More Important than Ever: Renewing the US-Japan Alliance for the 21st Century. 2018 Oct; p6.

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⁶⁶ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: More Important than Ever: Renewing the US-Japan Alliance for the 21st Century. 2018 Oct; pp.6-12.

⁶⁷ The White House, "President Donald J.Trump is Addressing Unfair Trade Practices That Threaten to Harm Our National Security" Mar 8th, 2018.

⁶⁸ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: More Important than Ever: Renewing the US-Japan Alliance for the 21st Century. 2018 Oct; pp.6-8.

⁶⁹ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: More Important than Ever: Renewing the US-Japan Alliance for the 21st Century. 2018 Oct; pp.6-12.

⁷⁰ See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. https://www.mofa.go.jp/np/np/page1we_000082.html

⁷¹ Xiang, H.: An Examination of Japan's Strategic Dependence on the United States in the U.S.-Japan Alliance. NORTHEAST ASIA FORUM. (06),72-86+126. doi:10.13654/j.cnki.naf.2022.06.005.

⁷² Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: More Important than Ever: Renewing the US-Japan Alliance for the 21st Century. 2018 Oct; pp.6-10.

⁷³ Armitage, RL. and Nye, JS.: More Important than Ever: Renewing the US-Japan Alliance for the 21st Century. 2018 Oct; p10.

⁷⁴ Congressional Research Service, Artificial Intelligence and National Security. Nov.2019.

⁷⁵ See <https://international.caixin.com/2019-08-23/101454100.html>

4.4 Biden Administration and Armitage Report 2020

4.4.1 Market

During this period, the US-Japan alliance faced an economic situation that was under the impact of the COVID-19 epidemic. Under the report's recommendations, the US-Japan alliance began to develop its market dependence from three aspects. First, the two sides began to focus on repairing the supply chain in the high-tech field. After Suga Yoshihide took office, he held many consultations and negotiations with the United States on the issue of repairing the supply chain in the high-tech field.⁷⁶ The US-Japan alliance has also carried out high-tech cooperation under the framework of QUAD, which will also enhance the broader and deeper market cooperation between Japan and the United States in the field of high-tech.⁷⁷ This is consistent with the proposal in the Armitage Report to strengthen the high-tech cooperation between the United States and Japan. Second, to ensure the stability of the Japan-US dependency relationship, the Armitage report recommends that Japan and the United States work together to protect economic security and prevent damage to the bilateral economy.⁷⁸ During his term of office, Japan issued an economic security policy - to ensure the local safety of strategic materials and the leakage of core technology, to establish a safe supply chain to maintain Japan's economic security, and to cooperate with the "economic security strategy" of the United States.⁷⁹

4.4.2 Leverage

The goal of the report during this period is to "promote the construction of the security alliance": the US-Japan alliance establishes a new security framework for competitive coexistence in the Asia-Pacific region.⁸⁰ According to the report, Japan and the United States need each other more in terms of security -- to deal with both "crisis" and "long-term challenges"⁸¹ More deeply, the Armitage report suggested that the US-Japan alliance should deal with the threat from China.⁸² Subsequently, the military cooperation carried out by the US-Japan alliance directly aimed at containing China. In 2021, the "2+2" talks between the United States and Japan stated that China had become "the biggest security threat in the Asia-Pacific region" in the concept of the US-Japan alliance. For this reason, the United States stressed that the Diaoyu Islands still applied to the contents of Article 5 of the US-Japan Security Treaty.⁸³ Thus, under the influence of Armitage, the US-Japan alliance further increased Japan's security dependence. On the one hand, Japan needs the security support of the US-Japan alliance to pursue its disputed territory - Senkaku Islands; On the other hand, the increasing threat from China has further stimulated Japan's security aspirations.

4.4.3 Linkage

Intelligence training for Japan remains the key to increasing Japan's dependence during this period. The report recommends that Japan join the Five-Eye Alliance, so as to better promote Japan to establish the so-called "regional cooperation" with other allies of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region and integrate its strength in the region.⁸⁴ The rise of China has

caused anxiety of the Five-Eye Alliance and Japan, which has prompted the Five-Eye Alliance to pay more attention to China.⁸⁵ At this time, Armitage encourages Japan to participate in the Five-Eye Alliance, which will further increase Japan's greater intelligence demand -- to cooperate with the Five-Eye Alliance in monitoring China's dynamics in the Asia-Pacific. This demand for information is bound to increase Japan's dependence on the United States in technology and equipment. With the call of the Armitage report and the help of the United States, Japan's own intelligence collection capability and technological progress are obvious to all. During the Biden period, the United States continued to promote cooperation between Japan and the Five-Eye Alliance so as to strengthen intelligence cooperation and training within the US-Japan Alliance. In 2021, with the help of the United States, Japan acquired RQ-4 reconnaissance aircraft with a surveillance capability of up to 100000 square kilometers.⁸⁶ With the equipment provision and training of the United States, Japan will provide more intelligence assistance to the United States and its Asia-Pacific allies. In 2022, U.S. - Japan established the Bilateral Intelligence Analysis Cell (BIAC), which aims to use MQ-9 to help Japan monitor abnormal military activities in surrounding areas more efficiently.⁸⁷

5 Conclusions

It is preliminarily feasible to analyze the development of the US-Japan alliance with the three elements of the new attachment theory. The Armitage report shaped the US-Japan alliance to a certain extent. The Armitage report increased Japan's dependence on the United States in three ways: market, leverage, and contact, thus promoting the development of the US-Japan alliance.

For the market, the Armitage report is committed to maintaining the economic dependence between the United States and Japan. The Armitage report has repeatedly recommended that Japan conclude trade agreements and economic liberalization reforms with the United States to maintain Japan's trade surplus and facilitate the wider absorption of American investment. In this way, Japan's economy will also grow with the economic prosperity of the United States and Japan. Regarding leverage, the Armitage report constructs a model of "security issues - US-Japan alliance - dependence." Armitage, while encouraging Japan's military expansion and protecting the security of disputed territory, stressed that the US-Japan alliance faced a threat from the rise of China. Whether it is to develop its own military power, resolve disputed territory or deal with potential threats, Japan needs the security support of the United States to realize these visions. In order to solve the vision proposed by Armitage, Japan will increase its security needs, which will help Japan to rely on the US-Japan alliance to a greater extent. As for linkage, like leverage, in order to better involve Japan in solving the above security problems, the Armitage report encourages the United States to strengthen training and cooperation with Japan's military forces and intelligence agencies. This action not only increased Japan's security dependence but also increased the dependence of Japan and the United States on cooperation and exchange through closer intelligence training and cooperation.

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