

Ritsumeikan University International Collaborative Research Promotion Program

(国際共同研究促進プログラム) Project:

Re-interpreting Japan's Cold War Security Policy

Project Proposal:

Soul Park, University of East Anglia (Soul.Park@uea.ac.uk)

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Tentative title:

Joint Military Exercises and Regional Security: Lessons from Cold War East Asia

Summary:

In the post-Cold War era, the international system has witnessed a substantive rise in the number of joint military exercises (Bernhardt, 2020; Wolfley, 2018). Specifically, there has been an increase in the number of bi- and multi-national military exercises with the start of the Cold War period that has substantially increased since the 1980s. Today, military exercises serve a variety of roles for states and has become a key component of a nation's security strategy; military exercises enhance strategic and tactical interoperability, serve as deterrence against various regional threats, and are utilized as a signaling tool to increase credibility within alliance dynamics, among others. Moreover, a large percentage of these military exercises are not only multinational in composition but also involve non-allies and also engage in non-combat activities. In the Asia-Pacific region, many of the military exercises center around the US alliance structure under the hub-and-spoke system (Cha, 2016) and recent studies have started to analyze the role of secondary states within the growing Sino-US rivalry (Park, n.d.). This study aims to analyze the development and significance of military exercises within the context of US-based alliances in East Asia, with a particular focus on the Cold War developments. In particular, the proposed joint study with Daichi Morishige at Ritsumeikan University aims to address the following questions:

- What role and purpose did military exercises play and serve for the US's East Asian allies – specifically Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines – towards the end of the Cold War?
- How are the Cold War period military exercises different from the post-Cold War ones in scope and function in East Asia?
- What role do the military exercises play for the junior partners of the alliance with the US in East Asia and how has it shaped the formation of the regional security dynamic in the Cold War?

Given the growing number and regional significance of military exercises, the main purpose of this research is twofold. First, the research aims to better understand the motives of and functions that military exercises served for US-based alliances during the later stages of the Cold War period. In particular, the paper focuses on how existing joint military exercises evolved over time as well as explaining the origins of new forms of bi- and multi-lateral exercises during the Cold War period. Second, the research explores the links between military exercises and foreign policy of East Asian states. Put it differently, the research aims to unpack the role military exercises served in advancing the security goals of regional players in East Asia. These are preliminary questions that the collaborative research aims to address as part of the overall project. The direction of the paper will be further discussed with Daichi Morishige in due course and will be tailored accordingly.

Tentative Timeline:

August 2023: Workshop in Ritsumeikan University; meeting with co-author and fellow investigators

Summer 2024: Paper workshop in University of East Anglia

Winter 2024: Completion of manuscript draft

Spring 2025: Submission of manuscript to journals, preferably SSCI and SCOPUS indexed

Tentative Budget Request:

Research Assistant (1 person) request at UEA for:

- Compiling military exercises data for Cold War period
- Compiling sources and data on military exercises in East and Southeast Asia, with a focus on South Korea, Philippines, Taiwan and Japan (mainly English sources)
- Creating annotated bibliography on secondary sources on the topic
- Making a list of potential interviewees

Travel Assistance (optional) request in Japan for:

- Conduct any archival work – The Diplomatic Archives at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo

Tentative Paper Outline:

- Introduction
- Alliances and Military Exercises
- Case Study:
 - o US-Japan
 - o US-South Korea
 - o US-Philippines
- Conclusion & Implications

Preliminary Reference:

Bernhardt, Jordan, “The Causes and Consequences of Joint Military Exercises” (PhD Dissertation: Stanford University, 2020).

Bernhardt, Jordan and Lauren Sukin, “Joint military exercises and crisis dynamics on the Korean Peninsula,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65, no. 5 (2021): 855-888.

Bradford, John H., “Japanese naval activities in Southeast Asian waters: building on 50 years of maritime security capacity building,” *Asian Security* 17, no. 1 (2021): 79-104.

Burgess, Stephen F. and Janet Beilstein, “Multilateral defense cooperation in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region: tentative steps toward a regional NATO?” *Contemporary Security Policy* 39, no. 2 (2018): 258-279.

Cha, Victor D., *Powerplay: The Origins of the American Alliance System in Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

D’Orazio, Vito, “War Games: North Korea’s Reaction to US and South Korean Military Exercises.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 12, no. 2 (2012): 275-294.

Emmers, Ralf, “The Five Power Defence Arrangements and defense diplomacy in Southeast Asia.” *Asian Security* 8, no. 3 (2012): 271-285.

Kinne, Brandon J., “Defense Cooperation Agreements and the Emergence of a Global Security Network,” *International Organization* 72, no. 4 (2018): 799-837.

Kinne, Brandon J. "The Defense Cooperation Agreement Dataset (DCAD)," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64, no. 4 (2020): 729-755.

Kuo, Raymond and Brian D. Blankenship, "Deterrence and restraint: do joint military exercises escalate conflict?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 66, no. 1 (2022): 3-31.

Park, Kyuri, "Do Joint Military Exercises Tell Us Anything About East Asian Security? China's Rise and the Evidence of Hedging," working paper.

Seldon, Zachary, "Balancing Against of Balancing With? The Spectrum of Alignment and the Endurance of American Hegemony," *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (2013): 330-363.

Wolfley, Kyle, "Training Not to Fight: How Major Powers Use Multinational Military Exercises to manage Strategic Uncertainty" (PhD Dissertation: Cornell University, 2018).