



**IIPS**

Institute for  
International Policy Studies

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## **IIPS International Conference**

**“A New Horizon for Japan’s Security Policy**

**–Basic Concept and Framework”**

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*Presentation Overview*

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## Session 1: “The International Political Climate after 9/11”

### Presentation Overview

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#### 1. Three spheres constituting the modern world system

The modern world system consists of the following three spheres, interaction between which form international politics.

##### A. The first sphere (new medieval sphere) – Kantian logic

- Democracy and market economy have taken root, and therefore, the role of the sovereign nation has been diminished. Hence, inter-state war within the sphere is unimaginable.
- Politics is based on coordination aimed at building a community among friends.

##### B. The second sphere (modern sphere) – Lockean logic

- Undergoing political and economical modernization, trying to form a nation state under nationalism. Inter-state war within the sphere is still possible.
- Rivals compete over political power under a minimum set of rules.

##### C. The third sphere (chaotic sphere) – Hobbesian logic

- Nations suffer from civil war and starvation being unable to maintain even the minimum social order .
- All people fighting against all people in the absence of the minimum set of rules.

#### 2. Dilemma in world politics generated from interaction between the spheres.

The complexity of the problem comes from the fact that these three spheres do not exist separately. Situations that force them to interact with each other poses a serious dilemma to international politics.

##### A. Reality of the interaction

- A Kantian entity which interacts with a Lockean entity is obliged to act in the Lockean manner.

Reasonable deterrent measures will be required when it stands face to

face with a nation aspiring to boost national prestige by means of military expansion.

- A Kantian or Lockean entity which interacts with a Hobbesian entity is obliged to act in a Hobbesian manner.

It cannot see terrorists as a rival who act based on a certain set of rules. Deterrent measures are insufficient.

#### B. Dilemma of the US

- The events of 9/11 posed reality of the Hobbesian world to the US.
- Because the US, which represents the first sphere, is most frequently engaged in military interactions with the second and the third spheres, it has come to drift into a dilemma in its behavioral principle (acts like a Lockean or Hobbesian while being a Kantian nation itself) much more than any other nations.

#### C. Concerns of Europe

- Having joined the first sphere nations following the ending of the Cold War, Lockean actions are no longer needed in Europe. While it seeks a Kantian world, it feels a stronger repulsion towards the Hobbesian thoughts and the US who acts like a Hobbesian.
- Europe is distrustful of the US, speculating that it might have transformed into a Hobbesian entity leveraging its superpower position.

#### D. Circumstances of Japan

- Japan was able to act like a Kantian nation due to particular situations it was placed in the post-war period.
- Contrary to Europe, it became increasingly necessary for Japan to confront nations in the second sphere particularly after the ending of the Cold War. While feeling an aversion towards Hobbesian actions of the US, it valued its relationship with the US from a Lockean viewpoint.

#### E. Rifts caused within the first sphere due to the Iraq War

The rifts within the first sphere do not reflect surfacing of the structural conflict between the US and Europe, but are attributable to different military roles that the US and Europe play, which arise from interactions between

spheres. They also represent a diplomatic breakdown of having failed to establish a common recognition concerning measures required for security.

## 2. Response to future challenges

### A. Basic recognition

- Both US and Europe basically share Kantian thoughts. A difference comes from different actions arising from different roles they actually play and from different assessment of such actions.
- Nations in the first sphere will need to overcome the rifts and work on various issues in the world through cooperation.

### B. Points to keep in mind for the US

- Although Hobbesian actions may be necessary at times, it should not do anything that might downplay being a Kantian, thereby losing friends.

### C. Points to keep in mind for Europe

- The current situation in Iraq, whose handling Europe is leaving completely up to the US by thinking that it has no interest in Hobbesian type of risks, is serious. Europe must recognize that the US, which responds to Lockean and Hobbesian challenges, is forced to act in a Lockean or Hobbesian manner. Cooperation overcoming past rifts will be critical.