

U.S. and Japan Diplomacy Program

March 2022



**Crossley Center for Public
Opinion Research,
Director Floyd Ciruli**

**Consulate-General of Japan in Denver
Center for China-U.S. Cooperation**

The Crossley Center and Consulate-General of Japan in Denver sponsored a program in March 2022 to discuss and analyze diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific. The Beijing Winter Olympics accord of Feb. 4 between Russia's President Vladimir Putin and China's President Xi Jinping and the Russian invasion of Ukraine became major new factors for the foreign policy experts to consider within the discussion topics.

The PowerPoint slides on the left describe the backdrop to the program's topics and presentations.

Program and Presenters

- Thursday, March 10 – **China-Russia Friendship – Any Limits?** Japan and U.S. Relations in Light of New Administrations and Challenges in the Indo-Pacific
- Wednesday, March 16 – **North Korea Starts Testing Again. What's Next?** U.S., Japan and South Korea Roles in Maintaining a Free and Open Indo-Pacific
- Wednesday, March 23 – **Taiwan, Japan and U.S. Relations After Ukraine.** Position of Taiwan in U.S., Japan and China Relations



Akiko Fukushima

Tsuneo Watanabe

Suisheng Zhao

Nobukatsu Kanehara

Junya Nishino

Christopher Hill

Koji Murata

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Three foreign policy panels held with seven professors/policy experts from Japan and from the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver. The newly confirmed ambassador to Serbia, former Korbel School Dean, Christopher Hill, joined in the second panel as a special guest. Prof. Floyd Ciruli, director of the Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research, moderated the panel discussions and presented these slides.

Rally to Flag, Not President Putin Foe/Zelenskyy Hero



President Joe Biden delivers his State of the Union address, March 1, 2022 | Saul Loeb/Pool/Getty Images

- Americans following war closely
- Russia, Putin seen as unfavorable and as threats
- Ukraine/Zelenskyy full approval
- Sanctions have high bipartisan support, even if prices rise
- But no direct combat, NATO supported but criticism, concern about nuclear weapons
- **Biden gets a small approval bump** and good ratings on handling Ukraine but Republicans argue missteps, not enough

An examination of American public opinion shows that the ferocity of the invasion of Ukraine has rallied Americans to the Ukraine cause. Americans now see Russia as a threat and Ukraine as a victim. The American public supports sanctions, but not direct combat. President Biden has helped rally the allies and guide the effort, but he hasn't received much credit from voters.

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Believe What Autocrats Say Russia Under Putin

Putin and Russian Greatness

1999	Putin's first speech to Duma: "Russia has been a great power for centuries and remains so. It has always had and still has legitimate zones of interest... We should not drop our guard in this respect, neither should we allow our opinion to be ignored."
2005	Collapse of USSR " greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century " at annual speech
2007	Rejects liberal world order and its security architecture, desires to reverse the outcome of the Cold War, speech at Munich Security Conference – Unipolar World bad, bipolar Cold War good
2008	Invades Georgia
2014	Crimea annexation, Donbas separatists supported in eastern Ukraine
2020	Belarus election chaos, Russia supports government, now has troops in country
2021	Putin speech and text on " Historical Unity of Russians and Ukrainians "
2022	Feb. 4 statement by China and Russia from Beijing Olympics on grievances, pledges of solidarity; Feb. 22 statement announcing independence of Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics and use of Russian troops to enforce independence; Feb. 24 invades Ukraine

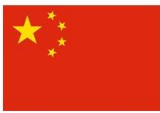
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The West (geopolitical usage) failed to heed Putin's threats. His imperialistic views have been voiced for 20 years in his calls for restoring Greater Russia. He viewed NATO and the West as holding Russia back. The effort to neutralize or dismember Ukraine has been a long-stated goal. Since 2014, his threats became more urgent as the war in the Donbas ended in a stalemate and the politics of Ukraine shifted toward the West. In 2021, Putin gave his "Historical Unity" speech and began to assemble troops. On Feb. 4, 2022, he joined China in challenging the West. On Feb. 24, Russia's invasion began.

China After 2012, Guiding Principles Some Old, Some New

Guiding Principles



- Century of humiliation
- China's rise is inevitable
- U.S. is in irreversible decline
- People of Asia must run affairs of Asia
- West is trying to stop China's rise
- Criticism of China is violation of its sovereignty
- Battle of narratives, not values



U.S. version of democracy is flawed; Black Lives Matter; Jan. 6, 2021 drama

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President Xi, leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the party's agents and the Chinese media have been communicating for more than a decade their grievances, their view of the West in decline and their belief in China's historical destiny. Any criticism of Chinese behavior is called an attack on its sovereignty. China is aggressively engaged in implementing its foreign policy with attacks on the West while promoting its narrative of providing a better model of development and a new form of democracy.

Moving Beyond Cooking to Displays of Force Sharing Blintzes While Troops Maneuvered

- "Moving to coordinate weapons systems and command structures that could test U.S. military dominance in times of crisis." U.S. Defense Office, 2018
- Foreign ministers Wang Yi and Sergei Lavrov protest West's sanctions; trying to enforce "it's form of democracy," 3-22-21
- Beijing Winter Olympics accord: "friendship has no limits," 2-4-22
- China's statement on Ukraine: "U.S. is at fault," 2-24-22



Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Xi Jinping make pancakes during a visit to the Far East Street exhibition on the sidelines of the Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivostok, Russia, Sept 11, 2018 | Reuters

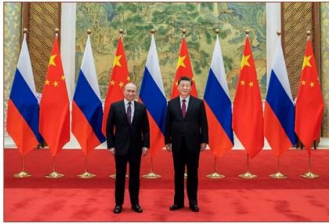
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Russia and China have been moving toward an accord for several years. The specific timing of Feb. 4, 2022 was most useful for Russia, but the language of the communiqué had long been heralded in events and articulated in statements and speeches. Diplomacy, military power, economic interests and state propaganda have underscored the effort.

China-Russia Pact

Sino-Russia Convergence to End West's Global Dominance (3-16-22)



Moscow and Beijing have declared their opposition to further enlargement of NATO and to the formation of other regional security alliances | U. Tao/Xinhua/Getty

Communiqué of Beijing Winter Olympics – February 4, 2022

- Major shift – 50 years, 1972 Nixon/Mao opening
- Friendship...has no limits (2-4-22)
- Anti-West, anti-sanctions, anti-NATO
- Pro-sovereignty (Ukraine?)
- No U.S. pivot to Asia, no NATO in Pacific
- We have a new form of democracy: anti-color revolutions (anti-regime protest movements)
- "Rock Solid" backing Russia, Foreign Minister Wang Yi (3-6-22)

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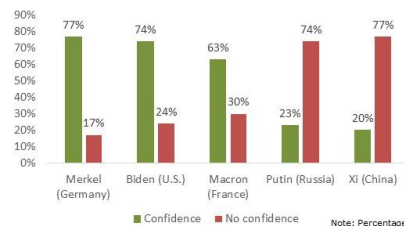
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The China-Russia accord is historic and a major challenge to the West. The 5,000-word document is a tome of historic grievances, assumptions and goals. Fifty years after the 1972 Nixon-Mao summit, it reflects a dramatic shift in the framework of both countries' relationships. China makes clear that its goals are in dominating the Pacific, and it rejects NATO-type alliances, sanctions and an independent Taiwan. For the near term, China stands "rock solid" with Russia.

Putin's and Xi's Authoritarian Model Not Easy Sell

Public Opinion Doesn't Deter, But It Helps Implement Sanctions

Democratic Public Doesn't Trust Authoritarian-style Leaders
% who have ___ in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs



Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey, Pew Research
Format: Crossley Center 2022

Note: Percentages are medians based on 13 countries: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, South Korea, Spain, Sweden and the UK. "Don't Know" responses not shown

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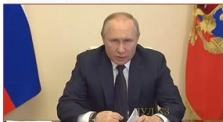
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Both Putin and Xi have mastery over public opinion in their respective countries, broadcasting only nationalist and populist messages. But while they control both the media and their country's political processes, neither are popular among world democracies. Citizens of democratic nations most object to the lack of freedom for Russian and Chinese citizens. Although lack of popularity globally doesn't deter authoritarians, it helps countries to approve and citizens to tolerate sanctions, as well as support providing weapons and aid to victims of their policies. Xi and the CCP wish to win world favor, as evidenced by Belt and Road programs.

Putin – Winning the Battle, Losing the War



Ukrainian forces with a captured Russian tank | Tyler Hicks/The New York Times



Vladimir Putin said the West's attempt to have global dominance is coming to an end as he warned it is trying to "cancel Russia" with an "economic blitzkrieg" of sanctions, March 16, 2022 | Photo: DailyMail.com

Winning some battles, but expensive and serious long-term damage

- West unites; Berlin shifts strategy; EU, Britain, Japan join in opposition
- NATO revived, additional members, troops, equipment to frontline states
- Speed and depth of sanctions
- The fight in Ukraine army, one-week war to one month plus; "military operation is going to plan" (Putin, 3-16-22)
- Thousands of military and civilians dead and injured, 3 million refugees and rising
- Loses media war; opinion in EU, Ukraine, U.S. see Russia as threat; Putin becomes archetype for cruel dictator

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Putin's invasion had the element of surprise, but has suffered many setbacks as it was based on a number of false assumptions. Strategically it has been a disaster, with Ukraine's resistance, NATO's revival, Germany's shift, sanctions coming fast and deep, and the Russian economy damaged. Putin has become an archetype of the cruel dictator. By contrast, Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy is regarded as a hero. World opinion reflecting the war's damaging impact on Russia's reputation is evident in cable TV coverage, social media postings and United Nation voting defeats.

Taiwan and Ukraine – Related, But Different

China wants U.S. interests out and control of Taiwan foreign-, defense-, democracy-related policies, but...

- Massive shift of power in Pacific, failure like Suez
- Economically important (10th), 100 miles of water, close to U.S. allies
- No security guarantees, but long U.S. relationship, including military aid; Biden call with Xi: "Oppose any unilateral change to the status quo" (3-18-22)
- Bad timing for Xi's 3rd term, relative peace disturbed, impact on economy, threat of coronavirus
- Ukraine highlights it's very expensive for Russia (sanctions)
- Solidifies democracies' public opinion as anti-Russia, anti-autocracy
- Bad image for selling CCP version of democracy

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Xi and the CCP continue to make clear that Taiwan must be back under China's control. Ukraine is a wake-up call and the West should prepare. But Taiwan is different from Ukraine; it is economically important to the West and if China takes control it would mean a massive shift of power in the Indo-Pacific. The U.S. has a strong political/military relationship with Taiwan. Ukraine's invasion highlights how difficult and costly a war over Taiwan could be for China.

Threat to Taiwan - Urgent

Accelerating From 2050 to "Next Six Years" (Adm. Philip Davidson, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command)

Eisenhower – Taipei 1960



With Chiang Kai-shek, U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower waved to crowds during his visit to Taipei in June 1960 | via Wikipedia

Xi – Hong Kong 2017



Chinese President Xi Jinping inspects Hong Kong Garrison of the People's Liberation Army in Hong Kong, June 30, 2017 | Kim Cheung/AP

Richard Haass:

"I want to spend some time speaking about **Taiwan**, because it may well be the only current issue that could lead to a full-scale war between the United States and China. The chance of conflict is increasing" (March 2021).

Taiwan question should be resolved in "the new era" not passed from "one generation to the next" (Chinese annual report, Feb. 2022) (Washington Post, March 22, 2022)

Hong Kong Security Law:

- One country, two systems is over
- Very little direct cost so far, some indirect

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As Putin and Xi make clear, the personalities and ambitions of government leaders are important. Xi considers Taiwan a legacy issue for the CCP that this generation must resolve. The question of when China intends to act remains. U.S. military officials believe it will be before the end of Xi's new term (6 years). China took control of Hong Kong with little cost, but damaged its reputation in the world — especially within the Indo-Pacific.

Authoritarian Behavior Costs Them Support



- **Ukraine** turns against Russia after Crimea and Donbas: Mostly good – 88% in 2013, 42% in 2021; join NATO – 30% in 2013, 56% in 2021 (2021)
- **Japanese** public supports more assertive action: 86% support PM Kishida's sanctions on Russia, 90% concerned China may invade Taiwan, 75% worried about disputed islands with China (2022)
- **Taiwan**: 72% would fight against forced unification, 62% even if declare independence (youth more supportive), 60% identify as Taiwanese (2021)
- **U.S.** defend Taiwan with troops – 52% (19% in 1982), 60% say Taiwan an ally or partner, 61% China rival or adversary, 84% favorable toward Japan (2021)

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The authoritarian model is unpopular among democratic countries, and where countries are specifically threatened, it is resented and resisted. Denying political choice costs autocrats friends, except among other dictators. Polling shows that Russia has lost Ukrainian people's support since 2014. Japanese public opinion has shifted towards taking more assertive action. Taiwan citizens now say they are ready to defend against forced unification with China. The U.S. public has awakened to authoritarian threats.

New Administrations Strengthen Commitment to Alliance Perceive More Peril in the Pacific



Fumio Kishida (R) was elected ruling-party leader, assuring him of succeeding PM Yoshihide Suga (L), Sept. 29, 2021 | Kyodo/Reuters



U.S. Ambassador to Japan Rahm Emanuel (L) and Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshimasa Hayashi are pictured ahead of their talks in Tokyo, Feb. 1, 2022 | Pool photo/Kyodo

- Japan and U.S. closer, alliance more important
- Japan more assertive, Quad revived, strong external relations
- Military spending up if still restrained
- China threatens islands (East China Sea)
- North Korea conducts missile tests, South Korea changes government
- Russia/China joint naval exercise, Japan joins sanctions – Ukraine
- Japan and Taiwan, more attention, more concern

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The Japan-U.S. alliance has become stronger. The Quad countries of Japan, the U.S, India and Australia have solidified. Concerns over North Korea's missile and nuclear weapons development and China's potential attack on Taiwan mount. Improving Japan-South Korea relations will help strengthen the Indo-Pacific defense.



U.S. and Japan Diplomacy Program

Questions and Discussion

The Crossley Center and Consulate General of Japan in Denver have sponsored three years of dialogue among professors and experts on diplomacy and strategy in the Indo-Pacific. Each year, the topic has become more critical and urgent for the alliance. We end at a historical turning point for peace and security among democratic nations in the Indo-Pacific.

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