# **DIPLOMACY**

Vol.84, Mar. / Apr. 2024

Contents of Features

# 78 Will defense force be strengthened?

One year has passed since the Cabinet approved "the Three documents". What is the actual status of "defense capacity reinforcement"? We interview key figures on budget support, joint development of next-generation fighter jets, exports to third countries, and other issues.

Itsunori Onodera (Former Minister of Defense) and Keiko Izuka (Yomiuri Shimbun)

### 86 The fear of both sides in the US presidential election

The Republican Party, which has given the impression of a "one-party Trump presidency," has seen some of its voters turn away. The Biden administration, on the other hand, is solid, but his age and the handling of the situation in Gaza are causing concern. Rvo Takano (Asahi Shimbun)

# 92 The Gaza crisis and the political dynamics of the US-Israel "Special Relationship"

The US and Israel have long had an alliance-like relationship. However, the Netanyahu administration's outburst over the current situation in Gaza has pushed the bilateral relationship to the brink of collapse.

Takuya Matsuda (The University of Tokyo)

### 98 Putin's fifth term and Navalny's death

Putin won the presidential election for 5th time, but Navalny, the biggest critic of the Putin administration, lost his life. We follow in his footsteps and decipher the dissident movement in Russia.

Hitoshi Omae (Mainichi Shimbun)

# 104 Generative AI and profit-motivation in Indonesia's presidential election

Last month's presidential election in Indonesia continued the "low-level democracy" as the image strategy of generative Al and profit-motivation led to the result President Joko wanted.

Jun Honna (Ritsumeikan University)

### 110 Myanmar's old and new civil wars

Myanmar has experienced repeated civil wars due to the antagonistic structure of the country since independence. Currently, rule by the national military is shaky. This paper looks at the current situation in Myanmar from the historical perspective. Noriyuki Osada (Institute of Developing Economies, JETRO)

### 118 North Korea's policy change toward "regime perpetuation"

Kim Jong Un rejects his father's and grandfather's policies and positions South Korea as an enemy nation in the structure of the "new cold war". He will focus on perpetuating the regime through "insurance" in relation to both Russia and China. Atsuhito Isozaki (Keio University)

#### 124 Strict "election control" divides Iran

Iran's election saw the elimination of the leading reformist candidates and a major victory for the conservatives. This article looks at Iranian politics, which is losing the political circuit to channel social discontent, in light of the diplomatic situation. Sachi Sakanashi (Japan Economic Research Institute)

### 130 Libya: The long road to national reconstruction

Since the collapse of the Gaddafi regime, Libya has been in turmoil, with political forces dividing the country into east and west, and external forces intertwined with each other. A diplomat who visited the country multiple times during the evacuation of embassies examines the situation.

Masaki Amadera (Embassy of Japan in Libya)

### 136 Obituary: Makoto lokibe, emeritus professor at Kobe University

A historian who dedicated himself to the "people living in the world today" Masaya Inoue (Keio University)

# Special Feature:

# Question the strategic of international cooperation

### 6 What is strategic "development cooperation"?

The value of Official Development Assistance (ODA) has not decreased since its establishment 70 years ago. At the turn of this century, its strategic nature is being debated. What are Japan's "national interests" and the value of ODA in the future? Akihiko Tanaka (Japan International Cooperation Agency)

### 14 Round table: Overcoming global divide through "inclusiveness" and "diversity"

The aims and new approaches of the revised Development Cooperation Charter are clarified, and the strategic nature of international cooperation is discussed. In an era of confrontation and division, cooperation is needed. Is zumi Ohno (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies), Ken Jimbo (Keio University) and Hideo Ishizuki (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

### 26 The growing presence of emerging donors

Emerging countries are gaining prominence in the world of international aid. Developed countries should encourage transparency and conformity to international standards among these emerging donors, collaborate with them, and consider aid that is linked to issues such as the SDGs.

Hisahiro Kondoh (Saitama University)

### 32 Pacific island countries keep their distance from US-China competition

Establishment of diplomatic relations with China and cross-strait relations with Taiwan. The Pacific island countries are affected by the US-China competition and Australia's movement. What is the "logic" of the island countries? Furthermore, what is the role of Japanese diplomacy?

Izumi Kobayashi (Osaka Gakuin University)

### 38 South Africa: Economic diplomacy and the logic of "non-alignment"

South Africa has serious economic problems and urgently needs to improve relations with the West. However, the philosophy of "non-alignment" prevents this. Could Japan ease this relation? Kumiko Makino (Institute of Developing Economies, JETRO)

### 44 How will OSA change security cooperation?

OSA "for the benefit of armed forces and other related operations" has begun. The development of infrastructure such as airports and ports for military and civilian use is also attracting attention. This report explores the significance and challenges of this new international cooperation.

Ippeita Nishida (The Sasakawa Peace Foundation)

### FOCUSO Year 3 of the war in Ukraine faces challenges

### 50 Russia-Ukraine War reaches a critical moment

In the midst of Ukraine's inferiority complex, the Western powers are losing their footing in supporting Ukraine. What will happen after the US presidential election? How can Japan contribute?

Michito Tsuruoka (Keio University)

### 58 Round table: The change of international society caused by "10 years' war"

Russia's aggression against Ukraine began in 2014. This article examines Putin's intentions, the persistence of unity among Western nations, the meaning of the ceasefire and war crimes that have emerged from the long-term war.

Tomohiko Uyama (Hokkaido University), Matake Kamiya (National Defense Academy) and Norito Kunisue (The University of Tokyo)

70 Significance and outcome of the "Japan-Ukraine conference for promotion of economic growth and reconstruction" Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

### 72 "Deep operation" that enables Russia to continue the war

In order to continue the war, Russia has put in place a system of diverse policy coordination that can withstand Western sanctions, and has secured geographical pipelines to its trading partners. Its ability to continue the war is supported by its bureaucracy.

Takeyuki Hasegawa (National Institute for Defense Studies)