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Citation: 92 Foreign Aff. 44 2013

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# Why Drones Fail

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## When Tactics Drive Strategy

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*Audrey Kurth Cronin*

**T**he war-weary United States, for which the phrase “boots on the ground” has become politically toxic, prefers to eliminate its terrorist foes from the skies. The tool of choice: unmanned aerial vehicles, also known as drones. In Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen—often far away from any battlefield where American troops are engaged—Washington has responded to budding threats with targeted killings.

Like any other weapon, armed drones can be tactically useful. But are they helping advance the strategic goals of U.S. counterterrorism? Although terrorism is a tactic, it can succeed only on the strategic level, by leveraging a shocking event for political gain. To be effective, counterterrorism must itself respond with a coherent strategy. The problem for Washington today is that its drone program has taken on a life of its own, to the point where tactics are driving strategy rather than the other way around.

The main goals of U.S. counterterrorism are threefold: the strategic defeat of al Qaeda and groups affiliated with it, the containment of local conflicts so that they do not breed new enemies, and the preservation of the security of the American people. Drones do not serve all these goals. Although they can protect the American people from attacks in the short term, they are not helping to defeat al Qaeda, and they may be creating sworn enemies out of a sea of local insurgents. It would be a mistake to embrace killer drones as the centerpiece of U.S. counterterrorism.

### **AL QAEDA'S RESILIENCE**

At least since 9/11, the United States has sought the end of al Qaeda—not just to set it back tactically, as drones have surely done, but also to

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**AUDREY KURTH CRONIN** is Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University and the author of *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns*. Follow her on Twitter @akcronin.

defeat the group completely. Terrorist organizations can meet their demise in a variety of ways, and the killing of their leaders is certainly one of them. Abu Sayyaf, an Islamist separatist group in the Philippines, lost its political focus, split into factions, and became a petty criminal organization after the army killed its leaders in 2006 and 2007. In other cases, however, including those of the Shining Path in Peru and Action Directe in France, the humiliating arrest of a leader has been more effective. By capturing a terrorist leader, countries can avoid creating a martyr, win access to a storehouse of intelligence, and discredit a popular cause.

Despite the Obama administration's recent calls for limits on drone strikes, Washington is still using them to try to defeat al Qaeda by killing off its leadership. But the terrorist groups that have been destroyed through decapitation looked nothing like al Qaeda: they were hierarchically structured, characterized by a cult of personality, and less than ten years old, and they lacked a clear succession plan. Al Qaeda, by contrast, is a resilient, 25-year-old organization with a broad network of outposts. The group was never singularly dependent on Osama bin Laden's leadership, and it has proved adept at replacing dead operatives.

Drones have inflicted real damage on the organization, of course. In Pakistan, the approximately 350 strikes since 2004 have cut the number of core al Qaeda members in the tribal areas by about 75 percent, to roughly 50–100, a powerful answer to the 2001 attacks they planned and orchestrated nearby. As al Qaeda's center of gravity has shifted away from Pakistan to Yemen and North Africa, drone strikes have followed the terrorists. In September 2011, Michael Vickers, the U.S. undersecretary of defense for intelligence, estimated that there were maybe four key al Qaeda leaders remaining in Pakistan and about ten or 20 leaders overall in Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen.

Drones have also driven down the overall level of violence in the areas they have hit. The political scientists Patrick Johnston and Anoop Sarbahi recently found that drone strikes in northwestern Pakistan from 2007 to 2011 resulted in a decrease in the number and lethality of militant attacks in the tribal areas where they were conducted.

Such strikes often lead militants simply to go somewhere else, but that can have value in and of itself. Indeed, the drone threat has forced al Qaeda operatives and their associates to change their behavior, keeping them preoccupied with survival and hindering their ability to move, plan operations, and carry them out. The fighters have proved

remarkably adaptable: a document found left behind in February 2013 by Islamist fighters fleeing Mali detailed 22 tips for avoiding drone attacks, including using trees as cover, placing dolls and statues outside to mislead aerial intelligence, and covering vehicles with straw mats. Nonetheless, the prospect of living under the threat of instant death from above has made recruitment more difficult and kept operatives from establishing close ties to local civilians, who fear they might also be killed.

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*Not only has al Qaeda's propaganda continued uninterrupted by the drone strikes; it has been significantly enhanced by them.*

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But the benefits end there, and there are many reasons to believe that drone strikes are undermining Washington's goal of destroying al Qaeda. Targeted killings have not thwarted the group's ability to replace dead leaders with new ones. Nor have they undermined its propaganda efforts or recruitment. Even if al Qaeda has become less lethal and efficient, its public relations campaigns still allow it to reach potential supporters, threaten potential victims, and project strength. If al Qaeda's ability to perpetuate its message continues, then the killing of its members will not further the long-term goal of ending the group.

Not only has al Qaeda's propaganda continued uninterrupted by the drone strikes; it has been significantly enhanced by them. As Sahab (The Clouds), the propaganda branch of al Qaeda, has been able to attract recruits and resources by broadcasting footage of drone strikes, portraying them as indiscriminate violence against Muslims. Al Qaeda uses the strikes that result in civilian deaths, and even those that don't, to frame Americans as immoral bullies who care less about ordinary people than al Qaeda does. And As Sahab regularly casts the leaders who are killed by drones as martyrs. It is easy enough to kill an individual terrorist with a drone strike, but the organization's Internet presence lives on.

A more effective way of defeating al Qaeda would be to publicly discredit it with a political strategy aimed at dividing its followers. Al Qaeda and its various affiliates do not together make up a strong, unified organization. Different factions within the movement disagree about both long-term objectives and short-term tactics, including whether it is acceptable to carry out suicide attacks or kill other Muslims.

And it is in Muslim-majority countries where jihadist violence has taken its worst toll. Around 85 percent of those killed by al Qaeda's attacks have been Muslims, a fact that breeds revulsion among its potential followers.

The United States should be capitalizing on this backlash. In reality, there is no equivalence between al Qaeda's violence and U.S. drone strikes—under the Obama administration, drones have avoided civilians about 86 percent of the time, whereas al Qaeda purposefully targets them. But the foolish secrecy of Washington's drone program lets critics allege that the strikes are deadlier and less discriminating than they really are. Whatever the truth is, the United States is losing the war of perceptions, a key part of any counterterrorism campaign.

Since 2010, moreover, U.S. drone strikes have progressed well beyond decapitation, now targeting al Qaeda leaders and followers alike, as well as a range of Taliban members and Yemeni insurgents. With its so-called signature strikes, Washington often goes after people whose identity it does not know but who appear to be behaving like militants in insurgent-controlled areas. The strikes end up killing enemies of the Pakistani, Somali, and Yemeni militaries who may not threaten the United States at all. Worse, because the targets of such strikes are so loosely defined, it seems inevitable that they will kill some civilians. The June 2011 claim by John Brennan, President Barack Obama's top counterterrorism adviser at the time, that there had not been a single collateral death from drone attacks in the previous year strained credulity—and badly undermined U.S. credibility.

The drone campaign has morphed, in effect, into remote-control repression: the direct application of brute force by a state, rather than an attempt to deal a pivotal blow to a movement. Repression wiped out terrorist groups in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and tsarist Russia, but in each case, it sharply eroded the government's legitimacy. Repression is costly, not just to the victims, and difficult for democracies to sustain over time. It works best in places where group members can be easily separated from the general population, which is not the case for most targets of U.S. drone strikes. Military repression also often results in violence spreading to neighboring countries or regions, which partially explains the expanding al Qaeda footprint in the Middle East and North Africa, not to mention the Caucasus.

## **KEEPING LOCAL CONFLICTS LOCAL**

Short of defeating al Qaeda altogether, a top strategic objective of U.S. counterterrorism should be to prevent fighters in local conflicts abroad from aligning with the movement and targeting the United States and its allies. Military strategists refer to this goal as “the conservation of enemies,” the attempt to keep the number of adversaries to a minimum.

Violent jihadism existed long before 9/11 and will endure long after the U.S. war on terrorism finally ends. The best way for the United States to prevent future acts of international terrorism on its soil is to make sure that local insurgencies remain local, to shore up its allies’ capacities, and to use short-term interventions such as drones rarely, selectively, transparently, and only against those who can realistically target the United States.

The problem is that the United States can conceivably justify an attack on any individual or group with some plausible link to al Qaeda. Washington would like to disrupt any potentially powerful militant network, but it risks turning relatively harmless local jihadist groups into stronger organizations with eager new recruits. If al Qaeda is indeed becoming a vast collective of local and regional insurgents, the United States should let those directly involved in the conflicts determine the outcome, keep itself out, provide resources only to offset funds provided to radical factions, and concentrate on protecting the homeland.

Following 9/11, the U.S. war on terrorism was framed in the congressional authorization to use force as a response to “those nations, organizations, or persons” responsible for the attacks. The name “al Qaeda,” which does not appear in the authorization, has since become an ill-defined shorthand, loosely employed by terrorist leaders, counterterrorism officials, and Western pundits alike to describe a shifting movement. The vagueness of the U.S. terminology at the time was partly deliberate: the authorization was worded to sidestep the long-standing problem of terrorist groups’ changing their names to evade U.S. sanctions. But Washington now finds itself in a permanent battle with an amorphous and geographically dispersed foe, one with an increasingly marginal connection to the original 9/11 plotters. In this endless contest, the United States risks multiplying its enemies and heightening their incentives to attack the country.

It is precisely because al Qaeda is a shifting adversary that drones have proved so tempting. Globalization has given terrorists potential worldwide reach, and Washington wants to destroy new elements in



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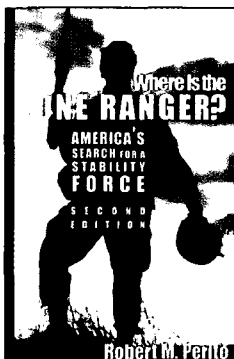
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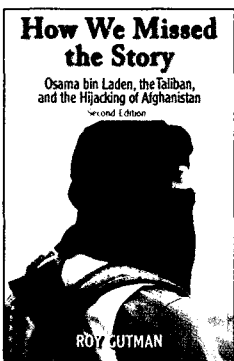
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these networks before they can plan attacks. U.S. policymakers apparently believe that killing fighters before they target the American homeland beats invading another country in the aftermath of an attack. Al Qaeda-associated operatives have been trying to take advantage of unstable situations in Libya, Mali, Yemen, and, especially, Syria. Using drone strikes may allow Washington to keep jihadists from tipping the balance in sensitive places.

U.S. officials also claim that drone strikes have prevented or pre-empted numerous specific terrorist attacks that would have resulted in American casualties. These claims are hard to verify, but they are intuitive enough. Consider the Yemen-based al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the source of several attempted attacks against the United States. In 2009, the effort of a would-be terrorist to ignite a bomb hidden in his underwear on a plane on Christmas Day was connected to al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, as was an October 2010

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*Washington risks turning relatively harmless local jihadist groups into stronger organizations with eager new recruits.*

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attempt to blow up bombs hidden in printer cartridges aboard two U.S. cargo planes. The drone campaign in Yemen directly responded to these dangers and has reduced the likelihood of similar dangers manifesting themselves in the future.

But other threats to the U.S. homeland have actually been sparked by outrage over the drone campaign. Faisal Shahzad, a naturalized U.S. citizen, tried to bomb Times Square in May 2010 by loading a car with explosives. A married financial analyst, Shahzad was an unlikely terrorist. When he pleaded guilty, however, he cited his anger about U.S. policies toward Muslim countries, especially drone strikes in his native Pakistan.

Indeed, the situation in Pakistan demonstrates that drone attacks exact a clear price in growing animus toward the United States. According to the Pew Global Attitudes Project, only 17 percent of Pakistani respondents to a 2012 poll approved of American drone strikes against the leaders of extremist groups, even if they were jointly conducted with the government of Pakistan. Pakistanis aren't the only disapproving ones: the vast majority of people polled internationally in 2012 indicated strong opposition to the U.S. drone campaign. The opposition was strongest in Muslim-majority countries, including

traditional U.S. allies, such as Turkey (81 percent against), Jordan (85 percent against), and Egypt (89 percent against).

Europeans are almost as unhappy: of those polled in a 2012 Pew survey, 51 percent of Poles, 59 percent of Germans, 63 percent of French, 76 percent of Spanish, and a full 90 percent of Greeks noted their disapproval of U.S. drone strikes. The only publics that even approach the positive attitudes of the United States—where 70 percent of respondents to a recent *New York Times* poll approved of drones and 20 percent disapproved—are in India and the United Kingdom, where public opinion is more or less evenly divided. Washington insiders commonly contend that these popular attitudes don't matter, since government officials in all these countries privately envy American capabilities. But no counterterrorism strategy can succeed over time without public support.

That is because a crucial element in the success of U.S. counterterrorism has been close collaboration with allies on issues of terrorist financing, the extradition of terrorist suspects, and, most important, the sharing of vital intelligence. Obama ran for office in 2008 on the promise that he would restore the United States' reputation abroad. But his administration's unilateralism and lack of transparency on targeted killings are undermining the connections that were painstakingly built over the past decade, particularly with Pakistan and Yemen. This decreases the likelihood that allies will cooperate with Washington and increases the chances of terrorist attacks against Americans.

Of course, if drones actually stop another major attack along the lines of 9/11, they might be worth all the international opprobrium. But for the moment, the only sure thing Washington is doing is driving down international support for the United States and alienating local populations. All this in pursuit of preventing what is almost impossible to stop: a small cell of determined jihadists trying to carry out a minor attack on U.S. soil. That much was made clear by the tragic Boston Marathon bombings in April.

The long-term effect of drone strikes may be that the al Qaeda threat continues to metastasize. An alphabet soup of groups with long-standing local grievances now claim some connection to al Qaeda, including al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, al Qaeda in Iraq, al Shabab (in Somalia), and Boko Haram (in Nigeria). This diversification should come as no surprise. The spread of terrorist groups has historically resulted from campaigns of decapitation



*Don't drone me, bro! Pakistani tribesmen hold pieces of a missile, January 2009*

and repression. Russia's assassinations of Chechen leaders between 2002 and 2006, for example, changed the conflict in Chechnya from a separatist insurgency to a broader radical movement in the Caucasus. The Russians killed virtually every major Chechen leader, pummeled Grozny to rubble, and brought Chechnya firmly under Russian control. In that sense, the campaign worked. But violence spread to the nearby regions of Dagestan, Ingushetia, and North Ossetia. Those who argue that the United States should stay the course with drones tend to be the same people who warn that the al Qaeda threat is spreading throughout the Middle East and North Africa. They need to consider whether drone strikes are contributing to this dynamic.

For the moment, there is no conclusive evidence that can prove whether drone strikes create more enemies than they kill. Some academics, including the Pakistan scholar C. Christine Fair and Christopher Swift, who has studied Yemen, argue that no widespread blowback against the United States can yet be detected. They argue that many locals grudgingly support drones and recognize their utility in beating back al Qaeda. Others, however, including the Yemen scholar Gregory Johnsen, warn of a simmering resentment that is driving recruits to al Qaeda. Much of the evidence is highly contested, and the sample sizes used tend to be small and biased toward local

officials and educated professionals, who are the easiest to interview but the least likely to become terrorists.

In short, the picture is mixed: drones are killing operatives who aspire to attack the United States today or tomorrow. But they are also increasing the likelihood of attacks over the long term, by embittering locals and cultivating a desire for vengeance.

## **HOMELAND INSECURITY**

Despite the end of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, Washington still wants to take the fight to the enemy—it just wants to do so on the cheap. This makes drones and special operations forces the preferred instruments of U.S. hard power for the moment. Protecting Americans from terrorism may require early action, even preemption, and early action means striking before knowing for certain that a threat is imminent.

Given the shocking nature of terrorist attacks, U.S. counterterrorism policy depends not just on objective measures of effectiveness but also on public opinion. And the American public demands zero risk, especially of a terrorist attack at home. In this sense, drone strikes offer the ideal, poll-tested counterterrorism policy: cheap, apparently effective, and far away.

At first glance, the U.S. government is coming close to meeting that demand: by virtually every quantifiable measure, Americans today are remarkably safe. In the decade following 9/11, the number of people who died in terrorist attacks in the United States plummeted to the lowest since such statistics began to be collected in 1970. The drop owes to both increased public vigilance and heightened defenses at home, but also to U.S. counterterrorism policy abroad, including targeted drone attacks. It is impossible to determine exactly what contribution drones have made to the outcome, but senior U.S. officials have every reason to believe that what they are doing is working.

The near-miss terrorist attacks of the last several years, however, have had widespread effects even in failure. In May 2010, a CNN poll indicated that American fears of a terrorist attack had returned to 2002 levels. Fifty-five percent of those questioned said that an act of terrorism on U.S. soil was likely in the next few weeks, a 21 percent surge from August 2009. That effect has persisted: a 2011 Pew poll indicated that 61 percent of Americans felt that the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on U.S. soil was the same or greater than in 2001. And a Pew poll in the wake of the Boston bombings

showed that 75 percent of Americans now believe that occasional acts of terrorism will persist on U.S. soil, up from 64 percent last year. .

In this environment, it is understandable that Americans and the politicians they elect are drawn to drone strikes. But as with the fight against al Qaeda and the conservation of enemies, drones are undermining U.S. strategic goals as much

as they are advancing them. For starters, devoting a large percentage of U.S. military and intelligence resources to the drone campaign carries an opportunity cost. The U.S. Air Force trained 350 drone pilots in 2011, compared with only 250 conventional fighter and bomber pilots trained that year. There

are 16 drone operating and training sites across the United States, and a 17th is being planned. There are also 12 U.S. drone bases stationed abroad, often in politically sensitive areas. In an era of austerity, spending more time and money on drones means spending less on other capabilities—and drones are not well suited for certain emerging threats.

Very easy to shoot down, drones require clear airspace in which to operate and would be nearly useless against enemies such as Iran or North Korea. They also rely on cyber-connections that are increasingly vulnerable. Take into account their high crash rates and extensive maintenance requirements, and drones start to look not much more cost effective than conventional aircraft.

Another main problem with Washington's overreliance on drones is that it destroys valuable evidence that could make U.S. counterterrorism smarter and more effective. Whenever the United States kills a suspected terrorist, it loses the chance to find out what he was planning, how, and with whom—or whether he was even a terrorist to begin with. Drone attacks eliminate the possibility of arresting and interrogating those whom they target, precluding one of the most effective means of undermining a terrorist group.

It is worth noting that the most dramatic recent decapitation of a terrorist organization—the killing of bin Laden—was performed by humans, not drones. As a result, the most important outcome of the operation was not the death of bin Laden himself but the treasure trove of intelligence it yielded. Drones do not capture hard drives, organizational charts, strategic plans, or secret correspondence, and their tactical

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*Yes, killing would-be terrorists saves American lives. But so does interrogating them, and drones make that impossible.*

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effectiveness is entirely dependent on the caliber of human intelligence on the ground. And if the unpopularity of drones makes it harder to persuade locals to work with U.S. intelligence services, then Washington will have less access to the kind of intelligence it needs for effective targeting. Yes, killing would-be terrorists saves American lives. But so does interrogating them, and drone strikes make that impossible.

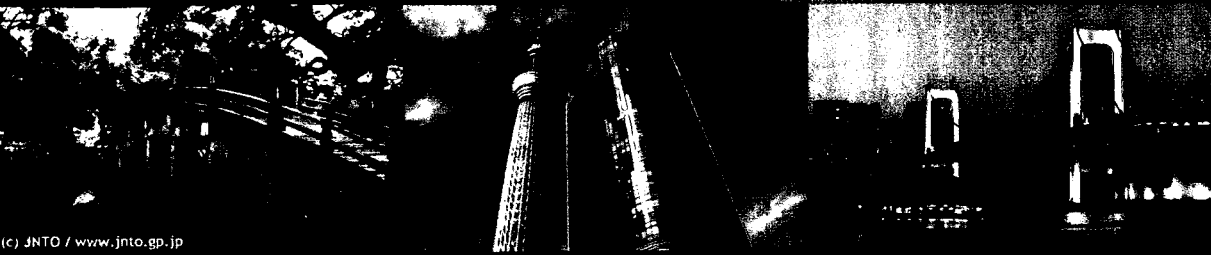
Finally, the drone campaign presents a fundamental challenge to U.S. national security law, as evidenced by the controversial killing of four American citizens in attacks in Yemen and Pakistan. The president's authority to protect the United States does not supersede an individual's constitutional protections. All American citizens have a right to due process, and it is particularly worrisome that a secret review of evidence by the U.S. Department of Justice has been deemed adequate to the purpose. The president has gotten personally involved in putting together kill lists that can include Americans—a situation that is not only legally dubious but also strategically unwise.

### **PASS THE REMOTE**

The sometimes contradictory demands of the American people—perfect security at home without burdensome military engagements abroad—have fueled the technology-driven, tactical approach of drone warfare. But it is never wise to let either gadgets or fear determine strategy.

There is nothing inherently wrong with replacing human pilots with remote-control operators or substituting highly selective aircraft for standoff missiles (which are launched from a great distance) and unguided bombs. Fewer innocent civilians may be killed as a result. The problem is that the guidelines for how Washington uses drones have fallen well behind the ease with which the United States relies on them, allowing short-term advantages to overshadow long-term risks.

Drone strikes must be legally justified, transparent, and rare. Washington needs to better establish and follow a publicly explained legal and moral framework for the use of drones, making sure that they are part of a long-term political strategy that undermines the enemies of the United States. With the boundaries for drone strikes in Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen still unclear, the United States risks encouraging competitors such as China, Iran, and Russia to label their own enemies as terrorists and go after them across borders. If that happens—if counterterrorism by drone strikes ends up leading to globally destabilizing interstate wars—then al Qaeda will be the least of the United States' worries. 🌐



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## REBOOTING JAPAN

By Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan

In my comeback as prime minister, I am boldly making use of monetary policy, public finance policy, and a growth strategy, which I dub my “three arrows” and is packaged as what has come to be known as “Abenomics.”

Japan alone has wrestled over the years with the bane of deflation. Deflation robs people of their expectations, turning optimists into pessimists.



Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan

As I again stand at Japan’s helm, I am driven by a sense of urgency to remedy this scourge of deflation immediately.

One way forward will be to take advantage of our resources, which, while incredibly rich, are still largely untapped. One long-neglected resource is our human resources, particularly women and middle-aged and elderly workers.

Other still-untapped resources are the methane hydrates and rare earths found in our Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which is fourth in the world in terms of volume. While we are not yet at the stage of commercial viability in extracting these

resources, we are perhaps only a step or two away from a breakthrough that would completely redefine Japan’s self-sufficiency ratio.

Japan’s holdings of rare earth resources may well be the equivalent of 220 years of our domestic consumption, for instance.

As Japan transitions to a stronger and more vibrant future that makes use of these and other resources, it is clear that our future lies in opening up Japan further. My push to join negotiations for the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) Agreement is just one way in which we are pursuing a future that is more open to the world.

Japan has also bid to host the 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games in Tokyo.

I am convinced that the selection of Tokyo would move the world in a positive direction, for there can be no doubt that Japan will regain the optimism that astonished the world back in 1964 when the five Olympic rings first came to the nation’s capital.

Japan’s structural challenges include a decreasing birthrate, an aging population, and its cumulative national debt.

My administration is determined to resoundingly overcome these challenges through a single-minded pursuit of growth. We have already put forward a number of policy proposals that have been met with positive reac-

tions from not only the markets and world leaders but also from average Japanese citizens and entrepreneurs. Still more changes are in the works.

As a nation, we stand ready to make the difficult choices that will bring strength and optimism to our economy overall and revitalize the daily lives of the Japanese people. This is how we will

“reboot” Japan.

Japan, a long-established democracy, has been working to make the world a better place.

To continue the path my country has taken, my administration will pursue ways to make Japan more robust and hand a strong and vibrant nation over to the optimistic Japanese of the next generation.



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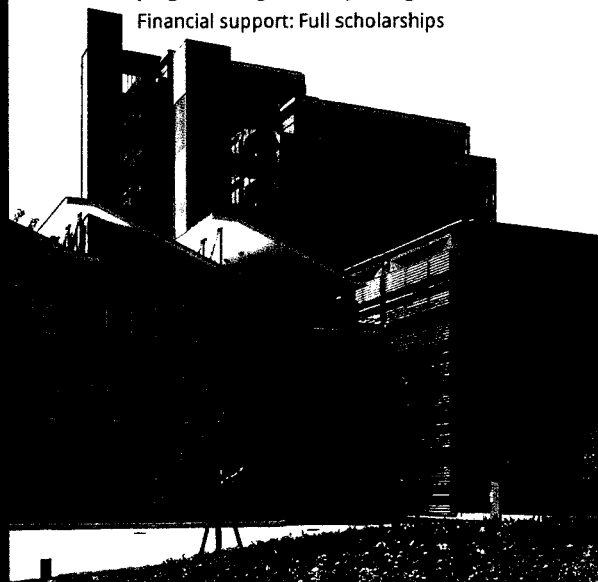
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It was only in 2003 that the government made it a priority to raise foreign tourist arrivals.

In March 2011, the sector was dealt a huge blow with the earthquake and tsunami that hit the Tohoku region in eastern Japan.

According to official figures, foreign tourist arrivals fell to 6.3 million that year. Just two years after, that figure has risen beyond pre-disaster levels to 8.6 million.

The remarkable recovery of Japanese tourism speaks to the country's enduring worldwide appeal; and given Tokyo's bid to host the 2020 Olympics, it is hard not to be optimistic for the future.

"Inbound tourists to Japan come mainly from Korea, Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, and the U.S. A significant number of tourists come from the U.S., with over 710,000 of them in 2012, the largest among non-Asian markets. This makes the U.S. one of the most important markets for our Visit Japan programs," said Ryoichi Matsuyama, president of the Japan National Tourism Organization (JNTO).

"This year, we are aiming for ten million tourists, targeting 800,000 visitors from the U.S.," Matsuyama added.

The country's main international gateway—

Narita Airport—is expecting a huge growth in flights and passenger traffic.

"With the implementation of the 'open skies' policy, we hope to see an increase in the number of flight operations. And with the economic outlook in seemingly good shape, thanks to the administration of Prime Minister Abe, and his government's policy to promote inbound tourism, we can expect a steady increase in flights to Japan," said Narita International Airport Corporation (NAA) President and CEO Makoto Natsume.

"Throughout the years, we have increased Narita International Airport's capacity, and I am pleased to say that our capacity expansion and facility upgrading is on target to accommodate 300,000 annual aircraft movements by fiscal year 2014. One key feature is a dedicated low-cost terminal," Natsume added.

Sharing more than half of the total number of international passengers in Japan, Narita International Airport is rightfully regarded as Japan's gateway to the world.

"Narita is an important node between Asia and North America. Our network extends to 109 cities around the world. Compared to other airports around Asia, we have a very well-balanced network, especially with our network to North America, which accounts for sixteen percent of our traffic," Natsume said.

"As for our partnership with U.S. airports,



Terminal 1 of Narita Airport

we have very strong ties with the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. We are currently having discussions with Denver International Airport so that when the inaugural flight is launched, we would like to conclude a sister airport agreement," he added.

"As a multifunction airport that can meet the diverse needs for air transport in the Greater Capital Area of Tokyo, Narita aims to become the key international hub airport in East Asia and become an airport that is reliable, trusted, favored, and preferred by the customers," he said.

Meanwhile, Haneda International Airport is capitalizing on its location in central Tokyo in the hopes of attracting more international flights.

"We will have to improve access between the two airports in the future. With the 'open skies' policy and the entry of low-cost carriers, passenger demand will increase," said Isao Takashiro, president of Japan Airport Terminal, the largest shareholder in Haneda International Airport (See related article).



## Message from President & CEO

Makoto Natsume



Narita's well-balanced air services network may not reach out to the moon yet but extends far and wide around the globe.

Our user-friendly terminal facilities are safe and clean. From luxury air travel to low-cost budget travel or to a quick hop on a private jet, Narita is at your service as a multifunction airport capable of meeting diverse needs of air transport, serving as a key international hub gateway to the world.

And we want to remain that way well into the future—as the "Chosen One."



## FLAGSHIPS / TECHNOLOGY

# Born to innovate

Tracing its origins all the way to 1875, to companies founded by two giants of Japan's modernization, Hisashige Tanaka and Shisuke Fujioka, Toshiba has continually consolidated its reputation as a pioneer in the technologies of the day. That spirit of innovation still drives the company in all that does.

The technology giant brought Japan its first radar, transistor television, and microwave oven; and the world its first laptop personal computer and NAND flash memory.

Today, Toshiba has grown into a global organization with more than 200,000 employees, 587 consolidated subsidiaries, and businesses in four main domains: digital products, electronic devices, social infrastructure, and home appliances.

"In the U.S., Toshiba is known for its consumer products like the TV or PC. But actually, we are more than that. We play a leading role in the American electronics industry and enjoy market leadership in NAND flash memory and storage products, and in HDDs and SSDs (technologies that support data-intensive applications on mobile equipment and provide the core infrastructure for managing big data)," explained Hisao Tanaka, the recently appointed president and CEO of Toshiba.

"We are also active in public infrastructure in North America. In fact, we have been the leading supplier of thermal power steam turbines for nine consecutive years," Tanaka added.

And in the field of medical equipment, Toshiba has developed life-saving products in collaboration with the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, one of its many

partners. It currently has the third-largest market share in the world in computerized tomography (CT) and ultrasound diagnostic systems.

## A deep American connection

One milestone in Toshiba's history came in 1905 when General Electric (now GE) secured a stake in Tanaka Engineering Works, one of the original founding companies that later formed Toshiba. The partnership resulted in a sharing of technology that accelerated the development of several consumer products.

The Japanese conglomerate entered the American market nearly fifty years ago with the establishment of Toshiba America in 1965.

Today, Toshiba Group in North America consists of seventy-two consolidated subsidiaries with about 22,000 employees, including those from Westinghouse Electric Corporation and Vital Image, which joined the group in 2006 and 2011, respectively. Last year, Toshiba brought IBM's retail solutions business into the group.

In recent years, Toshiba America has rapidly evolved by focusing on growth businesses, developing new business areas, and shifting its portfolio towards business-to-business (B2B) operations. With that move, the group has strengthened its profit-making base.

"We are very much committed to the U.S. and we do make a contribution in various business areas. An example is our facility in Houston where we manufacture high-performance drive motors for Ford Motor Company's hybrid vehicles," Tanaka said.

Mindful of its responsibility to local communities and mission to help build a sustainable society, Toshiba partnered with the National Science Teachers Association to set up the ExploraVision Awards, a science-and-technology competition open to all K-12 students in the United States and Canada.

Guided by a teacher-sponsor, participants study a technology of interest, predict what that technology might be like twenty years from now, and explore what is necessary to make their visions a reality.

Since its inception in 1992, more than 315,000 students have participated in ExploraVision. This year, three student winners showcased their projects at the White House and met U.S. President Barack Obama.

Through this initiative, Toshiba hopes to inspire students to pursue a future in science, technology, engineering, and math.

And with Tanaka at the helm, everybody can expect continuity in these social-development activities.

## New leader, continuing vision

With the recent appointment of Tanaka as president, the Toshiba Group will benefit greatly from his long experience in the

# TOSHIBA

Leading Innovation >>>



Toshiba Group President and CEO Hisao Tanaka

United States. But as a company veteran, he is also very familiar with Toshiba's corporate philosophy and mission - "Committed to people. Committed to the Future."

"The work of our founders still inspires us to meet our corporate social responsibilities by developing technologies, products, and systems that make life better; and to improve environmental management, so that we become one of the world's foremost eco-companies," said Tanaka.

With rising concerns about fast-growing population, increasing urbanization, and rising energy demand, Toshiba is dedicated to the wise use of the Earth's finite resources by fully utilizing the technologies and know-how accumulated over the years in its project to build "smart communities."

Proving to be once more an innovator in this new field, Toshiba is taking part in thirty-five demonstration and commercial projects around the world to establish "smart communities" and the Japan-U.S. smart grid test project in New Mexico.

In February, Toshiba also joined the Clean Energy Demonstration Project in a major mall in Carmel, Indiana, which is demonstrating a plug-in ecosystem that integrates solar photovoltaic power generation with a vehicle-charging and battery-storage system.

"My management policy will focus on seeking growth in sales and revenue while maintaining a constant level of profit. I will also emphasize innovation, not only in products but in processes, too. And, of course, CSR and environmental activities will continue to be important, as we will fully leverage our technological prowess and leading edge product capabilities to offer people around the world a better future," Tanaka said.

[www.toshiba.co.jp/index.htm](http://www.toshiba.co.jp/index.htm)



Toshiba's giant electronic billboard in New York's Times Square sends a message of thanks to the American people for their support after the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake.

## Expert passenger handling at Tokyo's Haneda Airport

Sixty years since it was formed to develop the old Haneda Airfield into the Tokyo International Airport, the Japan Airport Terminal Co. Ltd. (JAT) has overseen the construction and management of passenger terminals in one of the world's most important financial centers. (Currently, JAT operates one international and two domestic terminals.)

In what is clear recognition of JAT's efficient management, Haneda Airport was named the Best Domestic Airport in Skytrax's World Airport Awards this year. Located in central Tokyo, Haneda has also been recognized by Forbes Traveler as the most punctual airport in the world for two straight years.

"We consider ourselves to be a highly functional airport, and we will maintain that. But we would like to go beyond functionality. We want the people who visit Haneda Airport to be happy and comfortable. We are also constantly looking for ways to be the ideal place in terms of commercial facilities," said JAT President Isao Takashiro.

Although JAT is recognized as a pioneer in the field of airport operation and widely known for its expertise in terminal management, the company is also responsible for other aspects of the airport's business: retail establishments, restaurants, building operations, facilities management, parking lot operations, and in-flight catering.

"We also look into opportunities beyond the scope of the airport. In China, for example, we have a business alliance with Beijing Airport. We also have maintained a business alliance with Gimpo International Airport in Korea for the past ten years that has involved a constant exchange of information and human resources," said Takashiro.

"We are looking to establish more alliances to share and expand our know-how. In fact, we have received inquiries from a number of countries in Southeast Asia that are interested to have us work with them in airport construction and management. These are the opportunities we are looking into," he added.

Apart from opportunities abroad, JAT is considering an unexpected move into the higher-education sector. With the University Hub Haneda Airport (UHHA) Project, JAT hopes to capitalize on its position as a transportation hub to be a focal point for exchange of knowledge and information.

"We see ourselves as a central base, not just for air traffic. Haneda Airport can also function as a hub for a variety of things: commercial operations, Japanese culture, and even education. With our UHHA project, we wish to cultivate Japanese youth and promote interest in other countries and cultures. In turn, we hope promote Japanese culture to foreign people," Takashiro explains.

Over the past few years, the Japanese aviation industry has seen a lot of changes with the steady growth of the tourism sector in Japan, the rise in the number of low-cost carriers, and the adoption of the "open skies" policy.

"Airline companies are working hard to be more efficient and constantly incorporate new measures into their operations. To accommodate these developments, we need to make changes in our system, too. We work on keeping down costs and improving the services we provide, so that we stay ahead of the others," says Takashiro.

"We are currently building an extension to the international terminal, which will be completed in 2014. So by next year, we will double the number of daytime flights per year to 60,000," he added.

With its round-the-clock operations and location in Tokyo proper, Haneda provides passengers with two major advantages, which JAT capitalizes on in its objective to become a major regional and international airport.

JAT's message is simple. "We hope that many people from all over the world will come to Japan. And we hope their pleasant experience will begin and end with Haneda Airport," Takashiro stressed.



JAT President Isao Takashiro shows off Haneda's award as World's Best Domestic Airport from Skytrax.

## EDUCATION / TOP OF THE CLASS

### The best of the local and the global

Attracted by Japan's astounding success in global business and by its reputation for technological innovation, a growing number of foreign students apply to Japanese universities, highly confident they will graduate with a world-class education and practical skills.

"International students account for over 10 percent of the total student population. We have more than 230 international undergraduates and over 440 international graduate students," said Prof. Susumu Yamauchi, president of Hitotsubashi University.

Other top universities in Japan have more international undergraduates than international graduates. Hitotsubashi takes pride in that unique ratio.

Well known for its programs in business and economics, Hitotsubashi University also pioneered seminar-style teaching in Japan and incorporated both German and Japanese styles in the classroom.

"Hitotsubashi University has a long history of producing leaders of Japanese business, or what we call captains of industry," Yamauchi said.

"Japanese companies are increasingly interested in hiring international students. We have developed strong career support for international students over the years. And thanks to our reputation in the business sector, companies know Hitotsubashi and our graduates are highly valued," he added.

Hitotsubashi University also conducts "A Career Seminar," where different leading business executives gives a lecture at the school every week.

Building a global corporate culture has become a priority for many Japanese-grown companies. While demand for foreign employees is rising, there also is a decline in Japanese students' desire to study abroad — an issue many universities and members of the business sector are quick to address.

"We created the University Hub Haneda Airport based on the idea that the world is getting more and more international. We must use our position as a central hub to cultivate Japanese youth and pique their interest about other countries, while at the same time bringing people in from other countries to learn about Japan," said Isao Takashiro, president of Japan Airport Terminal Company.

"We implemented this program last year and have had three acad-

emies and one symposium so far. One of the academies was about the creative vision and strategy for the global branding of New York City. We had Willy Wong, who was instrumental in the reconstruction of the city after the 9/11 attack," Takashiro recalled.

"We also invited Sri Mulyani Indrawati, the World Bank managing director, to speak to the students and business people at a symposium designated as an official post-conference event after the IMF World Bank Annual Meetings held in Tokyo last year," he added.

With the emphasis on molding cosmopolitan graduates, universities in Japan have expanded the global network through more exchange programs and international enrollment.

"We have over 500 foreign students at J. F. Oberlin. Almost thirty percent of our graduate students are foreign students. And through our Reconnaissance Japan Program, exchange students can study for one year or for one semester in English or in Chinese," said Reo Dr. Takayasu Mitani, president of J. F. Oberlin.

"We also have a Global Outreach Program open to undergraduates of the College of Arts and Sciences and the College of Business Management," he added.

J.F. Oberlin offers several unique graduate programs, like the Ph.D. Program in Gerontology, offered only at J.F. Oberlin and in Japan.

In addition, the university also conducts distance-learning courses for individuals already in the workforce.

"We are proud of our university's highly-regarded faculty and world-renowned professors. The quality of the courses can compete with foreign universities. This April, we are happy to have begun offering degree courses in English," Mitani boasted.

Beyond the high-caliber courses, J.F. Oberlin injects a sense of global purpose in its objective.

"The purpose of higher education is not just to impart knowledge, skills, and techniques, but also to mold students into good citizens. Our aim is to educate students to be well-informed global citizens," he said.

Sharing those ideals is Prof. Mitsuaki Akudo, the president of Seigakuin University, an undergraduate university founded in 1888. Its graduate school was established in 1996.

"Seigakuin wants to be a university that makes a contribution. 'One for others' and servant leadership are very important principles that Seigakuin follows," said Akudo.

"Many universities in Japan emphasize that in order to become an internationally-minded person, you need English. But that is not as important as the ability to understand and feel compassion for others. It is not just learning a foreign language that makes you international," Akudo stressed.

Seigakuin University prides itself in providing transformative education that stresses cooperation over competition.

Admittedly a small university, Seigakuin believes that, more than size, the value placed on empathy and respect toward the learning process allows a university to thrive in our increasingly global community.

While students gain from Japan's inimitable mix of local culture and international environment, they also benefit from the country's success as one of Asia's economic powerhouses.

Opened in 1997, the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) in Tokyo provides an opportunity for mid-career officials from around the region and the

world to learn about public-policy issues, while equipping themselves to become leaders in their own countries.

"Many students here are sent by their respective governments. They are highly motivated and destined to be senior officials in due course. Experience tells me that our students are on the path to becoming directors-general, members of the board of central banks, ministers, and vice-ministers. They will rise very high," said Dr. Takashi Shirashi, president of GRIPS.

"GRIPS is the most internationalized graduate university in Japan. Here, you learn not only about Jap-

anese policy issues but also about other countries in the region. I'm hoping to provide the space and time for international or transnational collaboration on policy studies, particularly for our faculty," he added.

Graduate schools like GRIPS and various universities in Japan have formed the country's and the region's future leaders in business and government.

As an example of development for emerging economies, and with its emphasis on a global mindset and international environment, Japan will surely remain a preferred destination for education.

## Network with Asian Leaders of Tomorrow

Study with the next generation of Asian leaders. Degree courses offered in English include a one-year MBA at the Graduate School of International Corporate Strategy (ICS), and Master's degrees at the School of International and Public Policy (IPP). Our Global Leaders Program (GLP) is tailored for a select international group of undergraduate students. In-house language courses are also available for students without prior understanding of Japanese.

<http://www.hit-u.ac.jp/index-e.html>

ICS <http://www.ics.hit-u.ac.jp/>

IPP <http://www.ipp.hit-u.ac.jp/english/index.html>

GLP <http://glp.hit-u.ac.jp/en/index.html>



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based on Christian values  
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**桜美林大学 (Obirin Daigaku)**

東京都町田市 Tokyo, Japan

J. F. Oberlin University and its affiliated Schools and Oberlin College in Ohio, USA are legally independent institutions; there is no corporate affiliation between the two, and neither is a subsidiary or agent of the other.

## A bridge of peace between Japan and Asia and the world

Seigakuin University offers a liberal arts education based on Christian ideals and implements small-group teaching to nurture each and every student to contribute to world peace.

We support international students through special tuition fees.

Love God and Serve His People  
**聖学院大学**

**Seigakuin University**

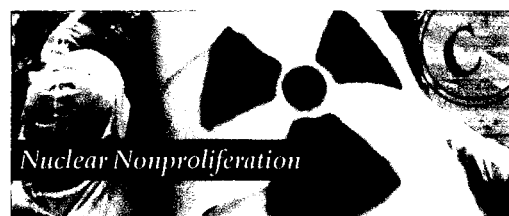
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# COUNCIL *on* FOREIGN RELATIONS

*International Institutions and  
Global Governance Program*

## How Well Are We Addressing Global Challenges?



A new report by the Council on Foreign Relations grades U.S. and international efforts to address six major global challenges based on the insights of more than fifty experts.

According to the *Global Governance Report Card*, performance was worst on climate change, for which experts gave the international community a D and the United States a C-. Efforts had best results on issues of global finance and terrorism. Experts awarded the international community a B and the United States a B+ on both.

*Find out the rest of the results:  
Read the report card at [www.cfr.org/reportcard](http://www.cfr.org/reportcard).*

