

Chapter 3

Japan: Examining the Dynamic Defense Force

In the forty-sixth House of Representatives general election held in December 2012, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) won a majority and a coalition government of the LDP and New Komeito Party was formed. The new Cabinet led by LDP President Shinzo Abe made the decision to review the National Defense Program Guidelines (hereinafter referred to as the “NDPG”) formulated under the administration of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and to abolish the Mid-Term Defense Program. Accordingly, deliberations are currently underway toward the revision of the NDPG.

In formulating the new NDPG, it is essential to examine in detail the NDPG formulated under the DPJ government and to determine its merits and problems. From this perspective, this chapter focuses on the efforts toward the establishment of the “dynamic defense force” aimed at in the *National Defense Program Guidelines for FY 2011 and beyond* (hereinafter referred to as the “2010 NDPG”) adopted by a Cabinet resolution in December 2010. First of all, the progress of the strengthening of the defense posture in the southwestern islands will be examined. In addition to the continuous regular intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) operations emphasized in the 2010 NDPG, particular stress is placed on the increasing need to strengthen seamless deterrence and response capabilities according to changing circumstances through improvement of the Self-Defense Force’s (SDF) mobile deployment capabilities and in preparation for more intense conflicts. Japan’s response capabilities against a ballistic missile attack are considered in light of its response to the missile launches by North Korea in April and December of 2012.

Next, focusing mainly on the “dynamic defense cooperation” being promoted by Japan and the United States, the changes in the US-Japan alliance since the formulation of the 2010 NDPG are outlined. The long-term challenges faced by the US-Japan alliance will be considered in view of the commencement of a review of roles, missions, and capabilities (RMC) and of the revision of the Guidelines for US-Japan Defense Cooperation.

Regarding the strengthening of the multilayered security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region advocated in the 2010 NDPG, focus is laid on three areas—network building for security cooperation, capacity building support for developing nations, and maintenance of maritime order—and the progress and issues in each of these areas. Through an examination of the SDF’s operations in the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) launched

at the beginning of 2012, the challenges and issues for future peacekeeping operations and global operations by the SDF will be outlined.

Finally, it will be shown that the concept of a dynamic defense force in the 2010 NDPG has many points in common with defense policies from before the establishment of the DPJ government. Accordingly, it is argued that these aspects should be comprehensively examined when formulating the new NDPG.

1. Effective Deterrence and Response

(1) Strengthening of Defense Posture in the Southwestern Islands

The 2010 NDPG stated in its objectives that the “SDF will permanently station the minimum necessary units on off-shore islands where the SDF is not currently stationed. Also, the SDF will enhance its capability to respond to attacks on those islands and ensure the security of the surrounding sea and air space by securing bases, mobility, transport capacity, and effective countermeasures necessary for conducting operations against such attacks.” The policy of strengthening its defense posture in the southwestern islands actually being implemented by Japan strongly reflects these features.

Particular emphasis is being placed on continuous regular ISR operations. In addition to the constant surveillance of the movements of foreign ships and aircraft in the vicinity of islands in Japan’s possession, by detecting in advance the possibility of incursion into Japan’s territorial waters or violation of its airspace, the SDF and Japan Coast Guard, etc. can join forces in preventing an attack on an offshore island or other territory, or responding swiftly when a contingency occurs. From this perspective, ISR capabilities in this region have been comprehensively improved through the effective operation of existing equipment as well as the efforts made by the Ministry of Defense and SDF toward the deployment of coastal monitoring units on offshore islands and the enhancement of equipment through installation and replacement of radar systems.

By making early detection possible, this strengthening of ISR will enhance the reliability of deterrence. At the same time, in order to deter more intense conflicts than the “gray zone” situations (see Chapter 8 of *East Asian Strategic Review 2011*) that lie somewhere between normal and emergency situations and to respond effectively to conflicts when such deterrence fails, it will be necessary to strengthen to some extent the swift and seamless response capabilities needed to

respond to changes in the situation.

From this viewpoint, the Mid-Term Defense Program stated the need to develop the system for swift response when a contingency occurs and to improve the SDF's mobile deployment capabilities by commencing preparations for the deployment of the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF) responsible for the initial response on offshore islands and by enhancing joint transportation capabilities. Compared to the improvement of ISR capabilities, however, it can hardly be said that progress had been made in improving effective response capabilities. For example, the Ministry of Defense has been investigating the utilization of private-sector transportation capabilities in mobile deployment based on the lessons learned from the response to the Great East Japan Earthquake, but a concrete policy has still not been made clear. To promote the strengthening of more seamless response capabilities, it will also be necessary to further enhance cooperation among the SDF, Japan Coast Guard, and US armed forces by implementing combined training and exercises.

Another issue is the strengthening of the SDF's amphibious operation capabilities. At present, operations such as the recapturing of offshore islands are expected to be conducted by the Western Army Infantry Regiment stationed in Sasebo City, Nagasaki Prefecture. Yet this regiment does not have amphibious assault capabilities such as those of the US Marines. Accordingly, the GSDF's amphibious operation capabilities, particularly independent offshore island recapture operations and the securing of positions for reinforcements, are being strengthened through combined training and exercises with US armed forces. As part of these preparations, the Ministry of Defense plans to purchase four amphibious vehicles for training purposes from FY 2013.

Nevertheless, expert opinions are divided as to the extent to which the SDF should strengthen its amphibious operation capabilities. Since the southwestern islands are not suited topographically for the operation of amphibious vehicles, some experts think that priority should be placed on mobile deployment using paratroops and light-armored units. It has also been pointed out that that a full-scale assault landing will not be necessary because, even if an outlying island is temporarily occupied, it will be easy to cut off the supply lines of the occupying force as long as the SDF and US armed forces retain sea and air superiority. Others take the view that minimum amphibious assault capabilities are necessary because it is politically difficult to allow even the temporary occupation of

national territory. It has also been stated that amphibious operations by the SDF will be effective not only in offshore island defense but also in international peacekeeping operations and support for affected areas in the event of a disaster.

Ultimately it is difficult to resolve this issue without examining it from the strategic viewpoints of the hypothetical scenarios in defense of the southwestern islands and the sort of role the GSDF is required to play. To this end, it will be necessary to conduct a comprehensive simulation for southwestern island defense not only by the GSDF but also in cooperation with the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF), Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF), Japan Coast Guard, and US armed forces, etc. and to determine their respective roles in amphibious operations based on this simulation.

It will also be necessary to strengthen Japan's air defense posture in order to enhance offshore island defense capabilities. In view of the sharp increase in scrambling (emergency takeoff) in the southwestern island region in recent years, it is necessary to steadily implement the plan of reorganizing the fighter squadrons at the Naha Air Base from one to two units. In addition, it will be essential to promote the strengthening of the missile defense posture in this region in order to respond to a missile attack on the air base.

In the longer term it will be necessary to view defense of the southwestern islands not simply as "island defense" but as part of a more intense conflict situation that may occur. For instance, while cooperating with the United States in its efforts to counter the threat of Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD), one idea would be to position the southwestern islands as a point of strategic importance and, in addition to enhancing antisubmarine and ballistic missile defense (BMD) capabilities, to strengthen the resiliency of SDF and US bases or facilities through the improvement of rapid runway repair capabilities and the underground burial or dispersion of important military facilities. Although 2010 NDPG states that "Japan will...secure durable base functions...so that the SDF, as a Dynamic Defense Force, will be able to effectively perform its roles in deterrence and response," it can hardly be said that concrete measures have been taken toward the realization of this objective.

However, in the escalation from a gray-zone situation to a low-intensity conflict (offshore island invasion) and then to a high-intensity conflict (air-sea battle), the creation of a seamless posture at each of these stages would increase the costs of conflict for the invading country and consequently contribute to the

deterrence of provocative acts by an invading country in a gray-zone situation as well. On the other hand, rapidly changing the current status of defense capabilities in the southwestern islands or strongly criticizing the actions of another country might unnecessarily heighten tensions in the region. The strengthening of the defense posture in the southwestern islands should therefore be promoted calmly and quietly.

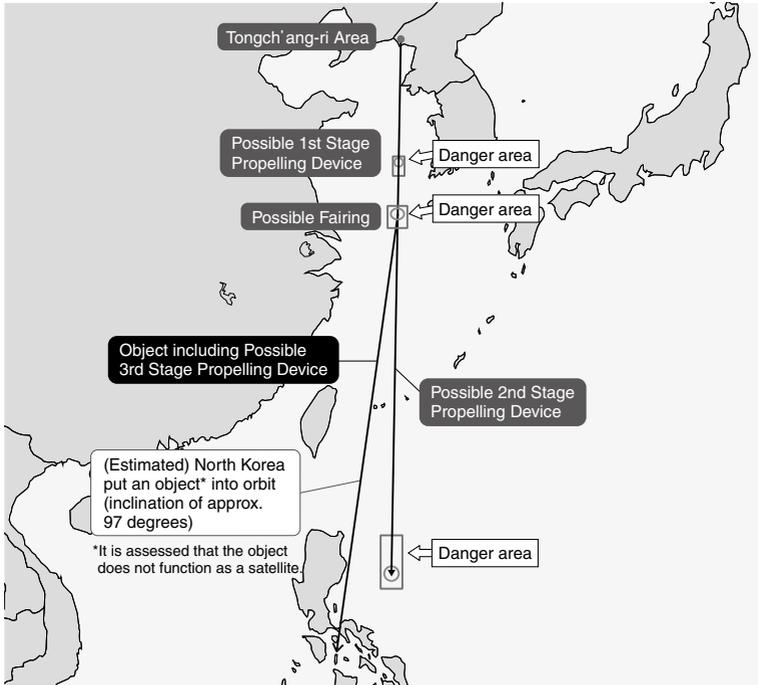
(2) Response to Ballistic Missile Threats

Japan has steadily strengthened its BMD system since the Cabinet decision to introduce it in December 2003. By March 2012, the objectives stipulated in the attached table of the *National Defense Program Guidelines for FY 2005 and beyond* (2004 NDPG) had been realized. These included the deployment of four Aegis-equipped destroyers armed with the SM-3 missile and sixteen Patriot PAC-3 missile firing units, and the strengthening of radar capabilities by installing four FPS-5 and upgrading seven FPS-3 radar sites. The Ministry of Defense is continuing to develop the BMD system, and its current objectives include the enhancement of BMD capabilities through two new Aegis-equipped destroyers and improvements to one PAC-3 missile firing unit. US and Japanese headquarters organizations have also strengthened BMD cooperation with the relocation of the Air Defense Command Headquarters completed in March 2012 from Fuchu to the US Air Base at Yokota, including the establishment of the Bilateral Joint Operations Coordination Center.

Having been developed through the process outlined above, the true value of Japan's BMD system was tested by North Korea's test launches of missiles that it called "satellites" in April and December of 2012. North Korea had already launched missiles that passed through Japanese air space twice before, in 1998 and 2009. On both occasions, the missile flew over the Tohoku region and fell into the Pacific Ocean. In the cases of the 2012 missile launches, since the route reported in advance by North Korea to an international organization indicated that the first-stage rocket of the missile would land in the sea to the west of South Korea and the second-stage rocket in the sea to the east of Luzon in the Philippines, the Ministry of Defense for the first time deployed SDF units both on the main island of Okinawa and on the Sakishima Islands.

As media and other reports have already shown in the case of the April missile launch, the response by the government including the Ministry of Defense raised

Figure 3.1. Trajectory Image of the Missile Launched by North Korea



Source: Japanese Ministry of Defense.

issues regarding the transmission of information to the Response Office at the Prime Minister's Office (Crisis Management Center) and citizens. The main reasons for the delay in transmitting information were the failure to predict the falling of the missile immediately after launch in the scenario of the prior exercise by the Ministry of Defense and Cabinet Secretariat, and the use of a double-check system involving not only the US Shared Early Warning (SEW) system but also the transmission of information after definite detection by SDF radar. This double-check system was adopted in view of the mistaken announcement made by the Ministry of Defense after the 2009 missile launch.

As a result of reflection on these issues, when North Korea conducted a similar missile launch test on December 12, 2012, the Ministry of Defense contacted the Crisis Management Center at the Prime Minister's Office immediately after receiving the SEW and closely shared information with the Center after that.

Furthermore, regarding the J-Alert nationwide emergency warning system, which was not used after the April missile launch, and the dedicated emergency line, Em-Net, which had only transmitted information to local governments after a considerable delay following the April launch, information was transmitted very smoothly to municipalities nationwide immediately after the December missile launch.

At the time of the April missile launch, the operation of the BMD system including the automatic warning and control system (JADGE) was conducted almost without any hitch. At about 7:40 a.m. the Ministry of Defense confirmed reception of a SEW indicating the launch and trajectory of some sort of flying object. This information was displayed on screen at both the Air Defense Command Headquarters at Yokota Air Base and the Central Command Post in Ichigaya. SEW were also issued immediately to forces and Aegis destroyers in the region. Furthermore, after both the April and December missile launch tests, the US armed forces are said to have deployed a large force including Aegis destroyers and missile range instrumentation ships. From this viewpoint too, it is reasonable to presume that cooperation between Japan and the United States was very close.

However, it cannot be denied that certain aspects of this response were successful because they easily met several specific conditions. For example, there is no guarantee that the government could definitely use private-sector vessels used to transport PAC-3 to Okinawa and the Sakishima Islands if a similar incident occurred again. It will also be necessary to rapidly implement the deployment of PAC-3 to Okinawa planned in the Mid-Term Defense Program and to enhance the rapid response posture by shortening the time for deployment to the southwestern islands.

In view of the need to transmit information to citizens and provide peace of mind, particularly in an emergency, it is desirable that radar detection be possible even when a missile launch ends in failure. Accordingly, the Report of the Evaluation and Response Consideration Team Related to the Matter of the Missile Launch that North Korea Had Purported as Being a “Satellite” (hereinafter referred to as the “Evaluation Team Report”) published by the Ministry of Defense after the April missile launch pointed out that, instead of the deployment of only three Aegis destroyers armed with SM-3 interceptors, efforts should be made to secure a posture enabling the deployment of four Aegis destroyers including one not armed with SM-3. The Evaluation Team Report stated that the deployment of

ships to waters nearer North Korea, including the sea area in the vicinity of the missile launch site, should be considered taking into account coordination with US Aegis destroyers. It also pointed out the need to consider more deeply cooperation with the United States, including the positioning of US Aegis destroyers, and the use of information provided by the US armed forces.

The Evaluation Team Report also pointed out the need for the further strengthening of the cooperation structure for information sharing between Japan and South Korea and between the United States, Japan, and South Korea in order to respond effectively to ballistic missiles. In fact South Korea deployed *Sejongdaewang*-class Aegis destroyers in the Yellow Sea and is said to have succeeded in tracking the trajectory and fall of the missiles. In addition, the trajectory of the ballistic missile tracked by Japan's Aegis destroyers and the movements of each ship detected by its maritime patrol aircraft are thought to have been useful information for South Korea.

Progress was already made in 2012 regarding several of the points raised in the Evaluation Team Report. For instance, Japan and the US agreed in the Japan-US Defense Ministers' Meeting of September 2012 to coordinate on how to deploy the United States' second X-band radar system, AN/TPY-2 radar, including the possibility of additional deployment in the future. Furthermore, the Ministry of Defense is looking into the improvement of ballistic missile early detection capabilities through research on infrared sensors. However, there are still no clear prospects regarding information sharing between Japan and South Korea (see Section 3 below). Therefore, while the response to North Korea's two missile launches in 2012 demonstrated the effectiveness of Japan's BMD system to a certain extent, it can also be said to have raised further issues, particularly regarding cooperation with the United States and friendly nations.

2. Efforts toward US-Japan Dynamic Defense Cooperation

(1) Deepening and Expanding the US-Japan Alliance

On April 27, 2012, Japan and the United States announced a joint statement confirming the adjustment of the roadmap for realignment of US forces in Japan at the Japan-US Security Consultative Committee ("2+2") meeting. The first point of the joint statement was the decision to implement the relocation of US Marine Corps forces from Okinawa to Guam and the resulting land returns south of

Kadena Air Base separately from developments regarding a replacement facility for the Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Futenma. The United States-Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation announced in May 2006 had stated that all these aspects would be included in one “package,” and the relocation of US Marine Corps forces to Guam and return of lands south of Kadena Air Base could not be implemented without progress in the relocation of MCAS Futenma. Under the new agreement, with the new US military strategy of making Guam a strategic hub and the resulting acceleration of realignment of US forces, progress is expected toward the reduction of Okinawa’s burden.

The background to this agreement is the US military strategy of realizing a “force posture in the Asia-Pacific region that is more geographically distributed, operationally resilient and politically sustainable.” According to the joint statement, along with adjustments to the composition of the US Marine Corps forces in Okinawa and Guam, approximately 9,000 US Marines, including operational units, are to be relocated together with their associated dependents from Okinawa to locations outside Japan. Of the relocated US Marines, about 4,000 will move to Guam, while the remaining 5,000 will be rotated between Hawaii and Australia. The agreement was realized through the alignment of interests of the United States, which aims to improve deterrence and response capabilities in the region as a whole through this new posture of forces, and Japan, which wishes to reduce the burden of Okinawa rapidly and visibly while maintaining deterrence.

As a new initiative for promoting the peace, security, and economic prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region, the joint statement confirmed that support for capacity building would be provided to allies and friendly nations in the region by the United States through training and exercises and by Japan through the strategic use of official development assistance (ODA). Although the strategic use of ODA is not a particularly new approach for Japan, its reconstitution in the context of security policy, together with capacity building support being independently provided by the Ministry of Defense (see Section 3.2 below), can be expected to give new depth to Japan regional security policy. Furthermore, by making this kind of initiative part of the division of roles between Japan and the United States, more efficient and effective support can be provided to developing countries.

At the Japan-US summit meeting held following the “2+2” meeting, a US-Japan joint statement titled “A Shared Vision for the Future” was announced. It confirmed

that Japan and the United States would pursue their “respective commitments, including the development of Japan’s dynamic defense force under the 2010 National Defense Program Guidelines, and the U.S. strategic rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific.” The joint statement also affirmed that, based on the new Common Strategic Objectives announced in June 2011, the two countries would strengthen the rule of law and protect and develop “critical areas” such as space and cyberspace, in addition to dealing with the global issues of terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and piracy. The summit meeting also made it clear that the United States and Japan would cooperate regarding nuclear power for civilian use, which was mentioned in the Common Strategic Objectives, and in the new field of clean energy initiatives. Through the “2+2” meeting and Japan-US summit meeting, Japan and the United States have thus aimed not only to deepen their alliance cooperation by affirming their existing commitments but also to further expand the areas and geographical extent of their cooperation.

(2) Three Pillars of the Dynamic Defense Cooperation

At a meeting on October 25, 2011, between Japanese Minister of Defense Yasuo Ichikawa and US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, the two ministers agreed to “promote dynamic defense cooperation, which aims to enhance activities of units of the SDF and U.S. forces and demonstrate the presence and capabilities of both countries.” Dynamic defense cooperation is the application to US-Japan defense cooperation of the concept of a dynamic defense force focusing on operations of units. This means that the United States and Japan cooperate dynamically in advance of a contingency arising, placing emphasis on swift and seamless cooperation both at ordinary times and in emergency situations. This is expected to improve the regular operational level of units and, in addition to mutually reinforcing and clarifying the intentions, capabilities, deterrence, and presence of the United States and Japan, can be expected to promote multilayered defense cooperation including trilateral defense cooperation among Japan, the United States, and South Korea or Australia, as well as US-Japan cooperation in a multinational framework.

Specific measures for US-Japan dynamic defense cooperation consist of three pillars: timely and effective joint training; joint surveillance and reconnaissance operations; and joint use of facilities. Examples of the first pillar, timely and effective joint training, are the joint drills conducted by Japan, the United States,

and Australia in the South China Sea in July 2011 and the joint exercises held by Japan, the United States, and South Korea in waters south of the Korean Peninsula in June 2012. Up to then Japan, the United States, and Australia had conducted joint exercises in western Kyushu and the seas around Okinawa, but these were the first such exercises in the South China Sea, where tensions have been increasing among regional powers through disputes over the ownership of territory such as the Spratly Islands. Japan, the United States, and South Korea have held several search and rescue drills in waters off Hawaii and in the Japan Sea, but this was the first time they had conducted full-scale exercises in which US aircraft carriers and ships of all three countries took part. The exercises were held two months after North Korea's test launch of a missile it called a "satellite" and amid reports that it was going to conduct its third nuclear test.

Since the aim of trilateral joint training and exercises by Japan, the United States, and Australia or South Korea is to improve the interoperability and communications capabilities of the three countries, they are not necessarily conducted on a large scale. Nevertheless, by carefully planning the timing and location of these exercises, they are considered an effective means of sending a message to neighboring countries. In addition, the United States carried out military exercises with the Philippines and Vietnam before and after the joint exercises with Japan and Australia, as well as joint exercises with South Korea in the Yellow Sea near North Korean territorial waters immediately after the joint exercises with Japan and South Korea. Holding bilateral exercises linked to trilateral exercises in this way, the United States can give a synergy effect to the message conveyed by it and its allies while achieving the effective and flexible presence it is aiming at.

The second pillar, joint surveillance and reconnaissance operations, is an issue that has been continually discussed by the United States and Japan. For example, in the document "U.S.-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future" released in October 2005, it was listed as one of the "Examples of Operations in Bilateral Security and Defense Cooperation to be Improved." At a meeting on August 2012 between the Japanese Minister of Defense Satoshi Morimoto and US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, the United States and Japan confirmed that they would cooperate regarding long-endurance unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV). Until then the Ministry of Defense had often considered introducing UAV, but each time it had been passed over because of budget

restrictions and management problems. If it were possible to use UAV capable of long-distance, long-endurance, and high-altitude flight, this would enable maritime patrol and intelligence gathering not only around Japan but also over a wider area.

The third pillar of US-Japan dynamic defense cooperation is the joint use of facilities. In the “2+2” joint statement, the United States and Japan confirmed their plan to develop training areas in Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands as shared-use facilities. The primary significance of this plan is to secure training areas for offshore island defense. Although SDF training and exercises based on offshore island defense have been increasing in recent years with the strengthening of the defense posture of the southwestern islands, sufficient locations have not been secured in Japan for exercises such as the amphibious operation exercises that are indispensable for remote island defense. If the SDF and US armed forces use bases for training in Guam and Tinian in the future, opportunities for joint training and exercises can be expected to increase.

In fact, for about one month from August 21, 2012, the GSDF Western Army and the US Marine Corps III Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) headquartered in Okinawa conducted joint training and exercises based on offshore defense in Guam and Tinian. In view of the planned relocation of 9,000 US Marines, including operational units, from Okinawa to locations outside Japan, this training can be expected to contribute to the development of the SDF’s ability to independently defend the offshore islands.

However, if this were merely a case of securing training areas for the strengthening of offshore island defense, it would be no more than an extension of existing cooperation under the US-Japan alliance. A more important point is that this project will not only secure training areas but also has the potential for the joint development of Guam into a *strategic hub* by SDF and US armed forces. The MSDF and ASDF have already conducted training on Guam. With the addition of the GSDF, this will strengthen the joint

operational capabilities of the SDF and US armed forces and further increase the SDF's presence around Guam, the hub for the United States' new military strategy. According to media reports, the SDF is considering rotational deployment of training units consisting of joint forces from the GSDF, MSDF, and ASDF at US base facilities on Tinian. The reports also indicate that these facilities might also be used for training and exercises with the forces of friendly nations such as Australia.

The development of the area around Guam as a strategic hub by the SDF and US armed forces will not only strengthen mutual operational capabilities through regular cooperation. By enhancing the presence of both countries in the western Pacific Ocean between Okinawa and Guam, it may also strengthen US-Japan surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities in this region. The implementation of joint training and exercises by the United States and Japan with Australia or South Korea using this hub as a base can also promote the building of a security cooperation network (see Section 3.2 below). In addition, the joint use of facilities in Japan and the increase of opportunities for joint training and exercises by the United States and Japan will considerably reduce the burden of local governments accepting US armed forces facilities and training in Japan. Through these mutual relationships, the three pillars of dynamic defense cooperation can be expected both to mutually strengthen the military capabilities and political sustainability of the alliance and to further promote the stability of the regional security environment.

(3) Future Challenges: Beyond Dynamic Defense Cooperation

The Japan-US Defense Ministers' Meeting of August 3, 2012, furthered discussions on the US-Japan RMC advocated in the "U.S.-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future" agreed in 2005, and the two countries confirmed that they would consider the best ways of promoting defense cooperation and the division of roles. At the Defense Ministers' Meeting of the following month, both sides agreed, in addition to considering RMC, to conduct necessary studies and discussions regarding the Guidelines for US-Japan Defense Cooperation established in 1997 (hereinafter referred to as the "1997 Guidelines"). US Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta suggested that this review process would finally be linked to revision of the 1997 Guidelines. Discussions on RMC and discussions toward revision of the 1997 Guidelines are expected to be a process

that takes at least one or two years.

The division of roles between the United States and Japan cannot be determined without discussing the future direction of the US-Japan alliance from a long-term perspective. One important issue is whether the alliance should focus more than before on traditional threats centering on international conflicts in the vicinity of Japan, or whether it should be extended (as before) to global territories including nontraditional threats.

Since the end of the Cold War, through the Japan-US Joint Declaration on Security in 1996 and the revision of the 1997 Guidelines, followed by cooperation in the War on Terror, the scope of the US-Japan alliance has expanded from the “defense of Japan” to “the Asia-Pacific region” and thence to “global cooperation.” In particular, the cooperation of the SDF in reconstruction assistance in Iraq and replenishment support activities in the Indian Ocean, and US-Japan cooperation in disasters such as the Sumatra Earthquake, have underlined the importance of the US-Japan alliance as an infrastructure supporting international order. On the other hand, it is often pointed out that US-Japan cooperation regarding problems directly related to Japan’s defense (e.g. cooperation in situations in areas surrounding Japan and defense of the southwestern islands) has not changed as much as cooperation in global areas. Regarding situations in areas surrounding Japan, many contingencies have arisen that were not envisaged when the 1997 Guidelines were formulated and the need to review this concept has been pointed out.

In view of the fact that the security environment around Japan has worsened, particularly in recent years, it is natural that cooperation should be strengthened in responses to threats arising in the region, which is an area directly related to Japan’s vital interests. Discussions on RMC and revision of the 1997 Guidelines can also be conducted basically bearing in mind these changes in the security environment around Japan. The clarification of division of roles between the United States and Japan in the southwestern islands and west Pacific Ocean regions is a particularly urgent task. As we have seen, the primary aim of US-Japan dynamic defense cooperation is the strengthening of deterrence and response capabilities in the areas surrounding Japan.

On the other hand, US-Japan cooperation regarding global issues and nonmilitary areas does not conflict with the response to the regional problems Japan faces. For instance, the strong solidarity shown in the response to the “nontraditional security” problem of the Great East Japan Earthquake can be said

to have resulted in enhancing the alliance's deterrent capability regarding traditional threats. Furthermore, Japan's positive contribution in global fields will reduce the United States' burden in maintaining a free and open international order, thereby strengthening its commitment to the defense of Japan. In this sense, expanding alliance cooperation in various fields while deepening existing cooperation will strengthen the basis of the alliance and is vital for the improvement of its deterrent capability. The revision of the RMC and the 1997 Guidelines, as well as discussion on the exercise of the right of collective self-defense, are expected in the broad context of the US-Japan alliance as an "infrastructure for international order" without narrowing it down to the aspect of response to regional threats.

Dynamic defense cooperation also has the potential to combine these elements of deepening and expanding the US-Japan alliance. For example, it is possible that the SDF, having strengthened its amphibious operation capabilities through joint exercises with US armed forces around Guam, can engage in broader cooperation than before with US armed forces and the armed forces of other friendly countries in such fields as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HA/DR) and peacekeeping. In the longer term, it may be possible to make US-Japan alliance cooperation more open by inviting friendly nations and other countries in the region to participate in joint training and exercises. If the US-Japan alliance can be expanded in this way, this may suggest possible new forms of the alliance beyond dynamic defense cooperation.

From the viewpoint of broadening alliance cooperation, it is also important to strengthen cooperation in cyberspace and outer space. Japan and the United States have already conducted strategic dialogue concerning cyber security. In the "U.S.-Japan Cooperative Initiatives" announced after the Japan-US summit meeting of April 2012, the two countries confirmed their intention to take various cooperation measures in the field of space situational awareness. The stable use of cyberspace and outer space is a vital issue not only for Japan and the United States, but also for the international community as a whole. It is expected that US-Japan cooperation in such global public spaces will become even more important in the future.

3. Multilayered Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region

(1) From Defense Exchanges to Multilayered Security Cooperation

The 2010 NDPG states that network building in multilayered combination with bilateral and multilateral security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, along with the US-Japan alliance, is essential for Japan to effectively enhance the stability of the security environment in the region. In accordance with this policy, Japan has made efforts to strengthen its relationships with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), India, Mongolia, Russia, and China, in addition to the US allies Australia and South Korea. Japan has also promoted multilayered security cooperation by taking an active part in multinational frameworks such as the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus).

One major reason for the increasing importance of multilayered security cooperation is Japan's much more active participation in defense exchanges and defense cooperation compared to the Cold War period as a result of the diversification of security issues. According to an essay titled "The History of Japan's Security and Defense Exchanges" by Yukinari Hirose, then director general of the Kyushu Defense Bureau and a former director of the Defense Agency's International Policy Planning Division, the Defense Agency took a very restrictive attitude to defense exchanges with countries that were not allies during the Cold War era. During that period, the only visits made by all ministers of state for defense to foreign countries other than the United States were four visits to Western Europe and three to Asia, and Japan accepted visits from the defense ministers of only two countries (apart from the United States), West Germany and France.

With the diversification of security threats after the Cold War, Japan came to recognize the importance of broadening dialogue not only with the United States but also with neighboring countries. In the Defense Agency's white paper *Defense of Japan 1995*, the phrase "security dialogue and defense exchanges" was used for the first time. In addition to personal exchanges from minister level to defense attaché, international student, and researcher levels, overseas training cruises, education and training, and goodwill exercises during visits by ships from overseas came to be viewed as opportunities for "defense exchanges."

In April 2007, the Ministry of Defense announced its Basic Policy for Defense

Exchanges. In response to the vitalization of Japan's defense exchanges after the Cold War, the Basic Policy outlined a basic approach and direction for promoting independent and active defense exchanges and cooperation by the Ministry of Defense, and for the first time systematically provided a framework for their realization.

However, the significance and objectives of defense exchange outlined in the Basic Policy were only general guidelines, such as building basic mutual understanding and relations of trust and friendship and responding to various security issues. It did not discuss a strategy regarding the concrete objectives Japan should achieve through exchanges and cooperation. In contrast with this, by organically combining bilateral and multilateral defense cooperation, the multilayered security cooperation Japan is now pursuing can be viewed as strategic in its aim of actively building a liberal and open world order. In Japan's multilayered security cooperation, particularly in recent years, emphasis has been placed on the following three areas.

(2) Three Areas of Multilayered Defense Cooperation

(a) Security cooperation network building

The first area is security cooperation network building through the strengthening of relationships with the US allies Australia, South Korea and the Philippines, and with other friendly nations in the region. Security cooperation network building incorporating the United States can be expected to strengthen capabilities for responding to various problems in the region, including traditional and nontraditional security problems. It will also promote cooperation with countries in the region and help to maintain the United States' regional involvement by ensuring that it has a flexible and stable presence in the region through strategic dialogues and training and exercises.

Among these relationships, cooperation with Australia has made the most progress. In 2012 there were several developments, such as joint US, Japan, and Australia military exercises in Guam in February, the signing of the Japan-Australia Information Security Agreement (ISA) in May, and the holding of the US-Australia and Japan Trilateral Defense Ministers Meeting for the first time in five years in June. In particular, in the statement announced after the Fourth Australia-Japan Foreign and Defence Ministerial Consultations (Japan-Australia "2+2"), which

was held in September 2012 for the first time in about two years, the wide-ranging areas of cooperation amounting to forty-seven items were in effect the “common strategic objectives” of Japan and Australia. Progress has already been made in effective cooperation between the two countries ahead of the Japan-Australia “2+2” meeting, as in the deployment of two liaison and coordination staff from the Australian Defence Force to the Coordination Center of the GSDF conducting peacekeeping operations in South Sudan (see Section 4.2 below).

The future challenge of Japan-Australia security cooperation is how to pursue cooperation in new areas beyond the cooperation that has already been promoted in peacekeeping and HA/DR. For example, many new items were included in the areas of cooperation announced after the Japan-Australia “2+2” meeting, such as cooperation in confronting threats in cyberspace and outer space and promoting cooperation in science and technology fields of defense. Compared to cooperation so far, much of the cooperation in these new areas will require more advanced information sharing and communication, which will necessitate even closer consultations between the two sides. Since it can hardly be said that much has been done to promote citizens’ understanding relative to the importance of Japan-Australia security cooperation, it will also be necessary to raise the level of bilateral cooperation through exchanges between researchers, etc.

As far as security cooperation network building is concerned, progress has been made in relations with the Philippines as well as Australia. In April 2012, the SDF participated for the first time in a tabletop exercise in the combined military exercise conducted by the Philippines and the United States (known as Balikatan). Apart from the SDF, the armed forces of Australia and South Korea also took part for the first time in the twenty-eighth Balikatan. In July, a meeting was held between the Minister of Defense Satoshi Morimoto and the Philippine Secretary of National Defense Voltaire T. Gazmin. The two parties signed a “Statement of Intent on Defense Cooperation and Exchanges” aimed at promoting high-level defense exchanges and cooperation in areas such as HA/DR. The LDP government formed in December also places importance on cooperation with countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam, and Singapore, and is expected to continue strengthening cooperation with such maritime nations in Asia.

On the other hand, complications have arisen in Japan’s relationship with South Korea, which is also an ally of the United States. Cooperation between Japan and South Korea up to the first half of 2012 was proceeding very smoothly, with the

holding of a meeting of the defense ministers of the United States, Japan, and South Korea and the implementation of the first ever full-scale naval exercises by the three countries in June (see Section 2.2 above). However, the signing of an agreement on the protection of military information between defense authorities by Japan and South Korea scheduled for June 29 was suddenly postponed due to domestic problems in South Korea. One of the reasons for this was that, on the eve of the presidential election, conflict intensified between South Korea's ruling and opposition parties, the latter criticizing the ruling party for its confidential treatment of the negotiations on this military information security agreement. In response to this criticism, the South Korean Presidential Office announced on July 6 that a study had concluded that there were transparency and other problems with the procedures for conclusion of the agreement. As of December 2012, there are no prospects for the signing of this agreement.

Generally speaking, however, the strengthening of bilateral defense cooperation takes time. Even in the case of cooperation between Japan and Australia, the ISA was signed eventually in 2012 and, due to the domestic situation in Japan, more than two years passed before the Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) signed in 2010 came into effect. Although many problems, including history issues, exist between Japan and South Korea, considering that the conclusion of a military information security agreement would have been unthinkable even a few years ago, both countries have made a clear progress in defense cooperation. From a long-term viewpoint, therefore, it can be said that steady progress has been made in security cooperation network building, including Japan-South Korea defense cooperation.

The key to this is the United States. Just as most of the strengthening of security cooperation between Japan and Australia has been achieved as an extension of trilateral cooperation including the United States, or of US-Japan and US-Australia cooperation, cooperation between Japan and South Korea will be facilitated through the involvement of the United States. For instance, if the US-Japan-South Korea joint military exercises and cabinet-level strategy dialogue of 2012 could be held more often, cooperation between Japan and South Korea would be steadily deepened. In particular, now that the United States is "rebalancing" to the Asia-Pacific and placing increasing emphasis on cooperation with its allies to maintain order in the region, making active use of this opportunity is very important for promoting security cooperation networks. Needless to say,

however, constant efforts are required toward the building of a relationship of trust between Japan and South Korea.

(b) Capacity building support

The second area is support for capacity building in the field of nontraditional security by dispatching specialists to and accepting trainees from developing countries. As mentioned in Section 2.1 above, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been considering providing patrol boats to Southeast Asian countries through the strategic use of ODA. On the other hand, the distinctive characteristic of support for capacity building by the Ministry of Defense is to focus on assistance for military or military-related institutions that cannot be supported through ODA and, since they cannot be supplied with equipment due to legal restrictions, to try to improve the capacities of developing countries from a longer-term viewpoint by placing emphasis on the “soft” area of human resources development.

The Capacity Building Assistance Office set up in April 2011 in the Ministry of Defense’s International Policy Division has conducted studies on the possible areas and modality of capacity building support by the Ministry of Defense and SDF through local surveys of developing countries in Southeast Asia and elsewhere and assessments and analysis of their specific assistance needs. Based on these studies, the recipient countries and specific nature of assistance were determined in 2012 and full-scale capacity building support projects were started. In the initial year of FY 2012, SDF and other personnel were dispatched to Cambodia and Timor-Leste and provided human resources development assistance for road building and provision of vehicle maintenance, respectively. Small-scale assistance such as seminars is also being provided for Vietnam, Indonesia, and Mongolia. While continuing these initiatives, the Ministry of Defense is considering providing similar assistance to Asia-Pacific countries such as Papua New Guinea and Tonga.

Mongolia is one of the countries with which the Ministry of Defense has been striving to strengthen relations in recent years. In January 2012, Minister of Defense Yasuo Ichikawa visited Mongolia to mark the fortieth anniversary of Mongolia-Japan diplomatic relations and signed a memorandum on defense cooperation and exchanges with the then Mongolian Minister of Defense Luvsanvandan Bold. At this meeting, the two countries confirmed that, in addition to capacity building assistance from Japan, they would cooperate in areas such as

peacekeeping and disaster relief operations. In November 2012, the first Japan-Mongolia Defense Vice-Ministerial Meeting was held in Ulan Bator and both sides agreed to continue promoting defense exchanges. The strengthening of defense cooperation with Pacific countries is also an important project for the Ministry of Defense, and in this the cooperation of Australia and New Zealand, which have deep links with these countries, will be indispensable. In addition, cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the strategic use of ODA will make it possible to promote more efficient capacity building in these regions.

Regarding capacity building support for developing countries, attention should also be paid to the Experts' Working Group on Military Medicine (EWG-MM), which conducts exchanges of opinion on the cooperation in medical fields of HA/DR being promoted by the Ministry of Defense under the ADMM-Plus framework. At the ASEAN Defence Senior Officials' Meeting-Plus (ADSOM-Plus) held in April 2011, it was decided that Japan would co-chair the EWG-MM together with Singapore.

Since few policy-level discussions have been conducted on military medicine, it is a field with great scope for development. The SDF has accumulated much experience in military medicine through its peacekeeping and international disaster relief operations. In view of the particularly high demand for medical operations in natural disasters, the SDF will be able to convey to countries in the region through EWG, etc. the experience it gained from medical operations after the Great East Japan Earthquake. At the second EWG-MM meeting held in Tokyo in July 2012 following the first meeting held in Singapore in July 2011, the participants conducted a tabletop exercise on medical assistance in HA/DR operations with the aim of improving multilateral interoperability in the field of military medicine. Field training exercises are planned in 2013 and international cooperation in this field is expected to continue to deepen.

(c) Maintenance of maritime order

The third area is efforts toward the maintenance of maritime order. In addition to deterring armed conflict at sea, cracking down on criminal acts such as terrorism and piracy, promoting the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and conducting sea rescue, this includes the observance and promotion of rules such as international maritime agreements and international common law. Damage through piracy is still confirmed to be occurring off the coast of Somalia and in

the Gulf of Aden where the SDF conducts antipiracy operations, and international tensions are rising in the South China Sea through territorial disputes over offshore islands. Furthermore, with the occurrence of incidents arising from the increased activity of Chinese sea operations around Japan in the East China Sea, such as abnormal approaches to MSDF vessels by Chinese navy helicopters or fixed-wing aircraft, the danger of an unexpected international conflict at sea is increasing.

At the IISS Asia Security Summit (Shangri-La Dialogue) held in June 2012, Parliamentary Senior Vice-Minister of Defense Shu Watanabe gave a speech titled “Protecting Maritime Freedoms.” In order to establish a stable international maritime order in the Asia-Pacific region, Watanabe stressed the importance of: (1) freedom of navigation as an overriding principle, (2) good seamanship as a form of manners at sea, and (3) practical cooperation with the countries in the region. This “good seamanship” is a custom or form of manners that every seaman should acquire as a matter of course, and which should not be influenced by differences in interests or ideology, but be universal in order to reduce unpredictability at sea and prevent unnecessary contingencies from arising.

In addition to the great differences in the size, uses, and mobility of ships, the situation at sea is greatly influenced by the width of the sea area, density of sea traffic, and natural environmental features such as topography, winds, and tidal currents. As a result, there are many difficulties in determining concrete rules such as those for land traffic, which makes the custom of good seamanship extremely important. In other words, good seamanship is a framework for supporting the practical implementation at sea of the general rules and regulations in international agreements such as the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

From this viewpoint, the Ministry of Defense has actively promoted good seamanship in the Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) attended by delegates from the navies of Asia-Pacific countries and in ADMM-Plus EWG meetings. In parallel with this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has actively taken the initiative in holding the Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF) attended by the ASEAN nations and member countries of the East Asia Summit, and in October 2012 its first meeting was held.

However, due to difficulties in reaching agreement, these multinational efforts toward maintaining maritime order have their limitations. For example, although the Code for Unalerted Encounters at Sea (CUES), which was formulated by the WPNS in 2003 and is also the main basis of the good seamanship being promoted

by Japan, was scheduled to be endorsed as a WPNS document at the thirteenth symposium, its adoption was postponed because the member countries could not reach an agreement. Also, some countries are clearly opposed to Japan's taking the initiative regarding this problem, such as its promotion of the EAMF.

In view of this, it is necessary to supplement these multinational efforts with practical efforts toward the maintenance of maritime order on a bilateral or trilateral basis. For instance, the MSDF and Indian navy held their first-ever joint exercises in Sagami Bay in June 2012, focusing on tactical maneuvers and search-and-rescue operations. Maritime security cooperation between Japan and India are also being strengthened. In addition to the exercises already being conducted by the coast guards of the two countries, the Sixth Japan-India Foreign Ministers' Strategic Dialogue in April 2012 reached an agreement to start a working-level dialogue to tackle broad maritime issues with a focus on maritime security.

From the viewpoint of avoiding inadvertent incidents and escalation in the seas around Japan, it is a particularly urgent task to promote dialogue with China, which has been conducting more active maritime operations in recent years. In this respect, it was very significant that talks on a maritime communication mechanism between the two countries' defense departments, which had been postponed since September 2010, were resumed in Beijing in June 2012. As a result of the working group meeting, the two sides agreed that a maritime communication mechanism would help to avoid unexpected incidents, promote mutual trust and practical cooperation between the two countries' defense departments, and promote the overall development of a strategic partnership of mutual benefit. The working group also agreed to commence partial operation of the mechanism by the end of the year. The nature of this cooperation was expected to be mainly: (1) mutual confirmation of the communication frequencies of ships and aircraft in the area; (2) creation of a hotline between the two countries' defense departments; and (3) holding of regular meetings.

In September 2012, however, in response to the increasing possibility that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government would carry out the plan it had been pursuing to purchase the Senkaku Islands from a private Japanese citizen, the Japanese government announced its decision to "nationalize" the islands. The Chinese government responded furiously and fierce demonstrations against the nationalization of the Senkaku Islands broke out in China. As a result, as of December 2012, there are no concrete prospects for the start of the operation of

the maritime communication mechanism. China has also been stepping up its maritime operations around Japan by increasing the number and frequency of maritime law enforcement agency ships being dispatched to the vicinity of the Senkaku Islands.

In view of the increasing risk of a serious incident between Japan and China, it has become imperative to build multilayered crisis management mechanisms not only with the People's Liberation Army (PLA) but also with organizations such as Chinese maritime law enforcement agencies. For example, at the first High-Level Consultation on Maritime Affairs between deputy director general-level officials of Japan and China on May 2012, maritime law enforcement agencies of both sides, including the Japan Coast Guard and China's Ministry of Agriculture and State Oceanic Administration, met and exchanged opinions about cooperation and exchange on various aspects of maritime affairs. It is necessary for both sides to build a relationship of mutual trust by further promoting this kind of crisis management mechanism and defense exchange and deepening cooperation at various levels in the area of nontraditional security.

This kind of cooperation with China on the maintenance of maritime order through bilateral and multilateral frameworks will further improve military transparency and the PLA's manners at sea and lead to the inclusion of China in a maritime order based on regulations and the rule of law. On the Chinese side too, this cooperation will provide important opportunities for removing distrust of the SDF. Furthermore, Japan-China defense exchanges and cooperation is in line with the US policy of promoting military exchange with China and therefore does not conflict with the Japan-US alliance. Since the future trend of the relationship between Japan and China will have a great influence not only on bilateral relations but also on the security of the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, the development of defense exchanges and cooperation between the two countries is expected to be continued under the new NDPG.

4. SDF's Global Operations

(1) SDF International Peace Cooperation Activities in Their Twentieth Anniversary Year

The year 2012 is the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the International Peace Cooperation Law and amendment of the International Disaster Relief Law

(by adding dispatch of the SDF). During this period the SDF has steadily achieved successes in its operations overseas. It has taken part in fourteen international peace cooperation assignments including peacekeeping operations in Cambodia (1992–1993) and Timor-Leste (2002–2004) and in thirteen international disaster relief activities in response to disasters all over the world (as of December 2012). In 2001, the International Peace Cooperation Law was partially amended. In addition to lifting the freeze on carrying out the so-called core operations of the peacekeeping force, the amendment made it possible for the SDF to use weapons to protect “individuals who have come under their control during the performance of duties.” In 2007, international peace cooperation activities were designated for the first time as a “primary mission” of the SDF and have now become one of the main duties of the SDF together with national defense and disaster relief dispatches.

During these two decades, citizens’ understanding and support for international peacekeeping operations have steadily increased. According to a questionnaire survey conducted by the Cabinet Office in October 2011, more than 80 percent of respondents replied that Japan “should participate more actively than before” in peacekeeping operations or “should continue participating at the same degree,” greatly exceeding the percentages of those who replied that Japan “should participate, but as little as possible” (10.4 percent) and “should not participate” (1.0 percent). Considering that, in a survey by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in 1990, nearly 40 percent of respondents said that the SDF “should not be dispatched overseas at all” and less than 23 percent replied “the SDF may be dispatched if required by the UN,” it is clear that times have changed. It can be said that nowadays most Japanese people view the SDF’s international peace cooperation activities as a matter of course.

The 2010 NDPG also regards improvement of the global security environment by the SDF as an important element of the dynamic defense force it is aiming for, stating that “Japan will continue to actively participate in international peace cooperation activities, including peace building such as humanitarian and reconstruction assistance and ceasefire monitoring.” However, with the heightened awareness of the risk of disasters after the Great East Japan Earthquake and growing uncertainty of the international situation in East Asia, several commentators have suggested that the SDF’s involvement in global operations including international peace cooperation activities should be decreased and the emphasis shifted to responding to concerns in the area around Japan that directly

affect national security and to dealing with natural disasters, etc. in Japan. Taking such opinions into account, careful consideration should be given at the formulation stage of the new NDPG to the significance of the SDF's contribution to global security and preparations for dispatching it for such operations.

(2) Dispatch of the SDF to South Sudan

From September 2011, the government sent several advance survey teams to South Sudan and surrounding countries to conduct studies on the local situation, including public safety. As a result of these surveys, a cabinet meeting of December 20, 2011, approved the implementation plan and cabinet order for the dispatch of a 330-person GSDF engineer unit to conduct peacekeeping activities in South Sudan. From the beginning of 2012, transport coordination personnel and GSDF advance troops departed successively for South Sudan, together with the start of transportation of equipment for local use by the GSDF. The main force of about 120 GSDF troops arrived by SDF aircraft in the capital of Juba in February and full-scale operations commenced in April.

In April 2012, a military clash broke out between the Sudanese and South Sudanese armies over oil interests in the border area. In response to concerns about worsening security, the Ministry of Defense dispatched a six-person survey team in May to study the local situation. As a result of this study, Minister of Defense Naoki Tanaka confirmed the government's intention to continue with the SDF operation in South Sudan, and issued an order on May 11 to dispatch a second GSDF engineer unit (about 330 personnel) to South Sudan. The second GSDF unit arrived in South Sudan in June and replacement of the first unit was completed by the end of the month. In response to the adoption of a resolution to

extend the period of the UNMISS operation to July 2013 (resolution 2057) at a UN Security Council meeting in July, the Japanese government officially decided in October to extend the deployment period of the SDF for a year (until October 31, 2013). As of December 2012, about 350 SDF personnel are in South Sudan working on road



SDF personnel collecting garbage with local children (Joint Staff photo)

building and infrastructure development.

This SDF mission had a facet of a major logistics operation involving transportation on a very large scale. Since the operational base in the South Sudanese capital of Juba is about 2,000 kilometers by road from the port of Mombasa in Kenya, and large aircraft chartered by Ministry of Defense such as the Ukrainian Antonov 124 commercial cargo aircraft cannot land at Juba Airport, supplies were transported by land and by medium aircraft to Juba after their arrival by air in neighboring Uganda. The land transportation route of about 800 kilometers includes many unpaved roads, and this was the first time that the SDF had conducted transportation over such a long distance in their international operations. In spite of these difficulties, through the appropriate combination of the GSDF, MSDF, and ASDF with commercial means of transport, this large-scale transportation was successfully completed without any major confusion.

Another distinctive feature of this mission is the establishment of a Coordination Center for the first time in the SDF's peacekeeping operations. Unlike previous operations, which mainly involved ceasefire monitoring and postwar reconstruction, the peacekeeping operation in South Sudan is a new type of mission that provides nation-building support from square one. In performing its duties according to the UN instructions, the SDF is required to investigate specific local needs in coordination with the UN, South Sudanese government, and NGOs, and independently formulate and put forward operational proposals. Having set up its headquarters in the capital of Juba and a team in Uganda, the Coordination Center is conducting studies on the operations to be undertaken by the dispatched engineer unit. It is also holding consultations with locally based international organizations such as the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the World Food Programme (WFP).

As in the preceding SDF peacekeeping operations in Haiti, emphasis was placed in South Sudan on "all-Japan" efforts through strengthened coordination in information sharing and decision making between government ministries and agencies and the private sector. Specifically, the Interim Summary of the Roundtable Conference on Approaches to PKO held from October 2010 to June 2011 pointed out the need to promote: (1) strategic and effective coordination with diplomatic activities including ODA; (2) civil-military cooperation such as local coordination between SDF operations and civilians, including NGO,

involved in humanitarian assistance and socio-economic reconstruction and development; and (3) establishment of a system for regular information sharing among the government ministries and agencies concerned. In the Haiti peacekeeping operation the SDF cooperated closely on site with the JICA, Japanese Red Cross, and NGOs in providing medical care and dismantling and constructing facilities.

In South Sudan too, active efforts are being made to conduct operations through close coordination between the government and private sector. The SDF is maintaining and improving community roads using materials procured through Japan's Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects, while private-sector companies commissioned by the Ministry of Defense set up GSDF quarters, water supply and sewage facilities, and electric wires and cables. In addition, related parties such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Defense, Cabinet Office, and JICA hold regular meetings and exchange information at the Liaison Office of the Government of Japan in Juba. These "all-Japan" efforts are expected to make it possible to conduct more efficient and seamless continuous operations.

(3) Future Tasks

In these ways, the SDF is making efforts to implement speedier and more efficient international peace cooperation activities. In particular, the SDF's international peace cooperation activities focusing on cooperation in civilian fields such as nation building have drawn attention in the international community to Japan as a peaceful nation and played a role in enhancing this "soft power." As stated in Section 2.1 above, the global activities of the SDF also have an important meaning from the perspective of maintaining a strong US-Japan alliance.

Future tasks for the SDF include the "exit strategy" problem: how to achieve the objectives of peacekeeping and other operations as quickly as possible, and thereafter withdraw swiftly and prepare for the next deployment. Since it is particularly difficult to clearly indicate the time of completion in nation building operations such as South Sudan, operations should always be carried out with an awareness of such an exit strategy.

One example of an effective exit strategy by the SDF is the Haiti peacekeeping operation, in which the SDF was dispatched in February 2010 and its withdrawal was decided in August 2012. In addition to debris removal, road repairs,

earthquake-resistance assessment, and construction work, the Haiti peacekeeping operations involved building the capacity of local people to undertake reconstruction themselves, such as teaching them how to operate bulldozers and other heavy machinery, through the Kizuna Project. Furthermore, as the first application of the revision of Japan's three principles on arms exports, some of the heavy machinery used by the SDF in Haiti was donated to local people. The promotion of self-help reconstruction and development by local citizens in these ways will enable the SDF to carry out its duties more smoothly.

The above-mentioned "all-Japan" efforts are also essential for achieving the objectives of deployment speedily and efficiently. It is said that the SDF's early withdrawal in the Haiti peacekeeping operation was made possible by the fact that it handed over the medical assistance operations it took over from the JICA to the Japanese Red Cross, which provides assistance for reconstruction. Some operations can also be handed over not only to the local government or international organizations, but also to NGOs conducting operations on site. Such reconstruction assistance and economic aid by both the government and private sector makes it possible both to promote the early completion of deployment duties and, by ensuring the continuity of operations, to minimize the impact of the burden arising with the termination of assistance.

The most important point is that the formulation of an exit strategy for the SDF should be done with an overall image of the smooth implementation of its duties and its efficient and energetic contribution to peacekeeping operations, and that this must not lead to the reduction of the SDF's global operations. With the increasing need for the SDF to respond flexibly to duties all over the world, its exit strategy should always be considered with the next "entry" in mind.

Cooperation with the United States and friendly nations is also important for the speedy achievement of objectives. For example, since the United States has dispatched some five personnel to the UN headquarters in South Sudan and advisers to the South Sudanese army, it will be possible to collect information through cooperation with the US armed forces. Japan has also accepted the dispatch of two Australian liaison officers to the Coordination Center to improve the efficiency of information sharing and liaison. Another possibility is the building of a cooperative relationship, including information exchange, with South Korea, which decided to dispatch army engineers to the South Sudan peacekeeping operation in September 2012. Since the SDF has already cooperated

with the South Korean army in peacekeeping operations in Timor-Leste and Haiti, the accumulation of the results of cooperation in these fields will contribute to the development of overall defense cooperation between Japan and South Korea.

The improvement of the legal structure is another task that should be addressed. According to the Interim Summary of the Roundtable Conference on Approaches to PKO, it has become important, particularly in recent peacekeeping operations, not only to maintain peace in support of a ceasefire agreement between the parties concerned, but also to provide provisional security and build long-term peace, protecting civilians by the use of force if circumstances require it, in the period from immediately after a ceasefire to the restoration of stable peace by the governments concerned. The International Peace Cooperation Law has not been amended since 2001, and it can hardly be said that it reflects these changes in peacekeeping operations. In view of this, the revision of the five principles of participation in peacekeeping operations, addition of guard duties to the SDF's tasks, extension of logistic support for other countries, and revision of the criteria for use of weapons were proposed in the Roundtable Conference.

In response to these proposals, the government has embarked on a full-scale investigation encompassing amendment of the International Peace Cooperation Law. The points to be examined for amendment consist of thirteen diverse issues ranging from the general issues of the scope of the "parties to armed conflicts" and the existence of ceasefire agreement conditions to specific issues such as joint defense of quarters with other countries and "rushing to the scene and guarding" (when there is no danger to their own life or person, to proceed rapidly to a place remote from their location and use weapons to protect the armed forces, etc. of another country), and provision by SDF dispatched based on the International Peace Cooperation Law of supplies and services to US armed forces, etc. conducting operations other than peacekeeping. As of December 2012, the DPJ government was conducting a careful investigation, including the question of whether amendment of the law is necessary, to enable the flexible implementation of peacekeeping operations over the next twenty years.

However, if Japan is to continue to position peacekeeping operations as an important part of its national security policy, amendment of the International Peace Cooperation Law is unavoidable. As of December 2012, a situation requiring the SDF operating in South Sudan to conduct "rushing to the scene and guarding" has not yet arisen. However, if other opportunities increase for

cooperation in peacekeeping operations with international organizations or NGO, it is possible that there will be more instances where civilians or the staff of international organizations require protection due to the deterioration of law and order. In addition, through deepening cooperation with the United States and friendly nations in peacekeeping operations, there may be an increasing need for joint defense of quarters with the armed forces of other countries and the provision of supplies and services to these foreign troops. It is desirable that the legal framework be further developed in order to enable more substantial peacekeeping operations by the Ministry of Defense and SDF.

5. Toward the Formulation of the New NDPG

Since the concept of a dynamic defense force examined in this chapter first appeared in the 2010 NDPG, there is a strong impression that this defense concept originated under the government of the DPJ. However, a detailed examination of its contents shows that it has many points in common with the defense policy that had been pursued *before* the DPJ came to power. For example, the 2004 NDPG formulated during the LDP Koizumi government emphasized “readiness and mobility” and “seamless response,” both of which represent the concept of a dynamic defense force. The fundamental principles of a dynamic defense force were also enunciated in the report of the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities, an expert council commissioned by the LDP Aso government in 2009. The report stated that, in view of “the growing importance of situations in gray spectrum between peace time and war time” and other factors, there is an increasing need for Japan to place greater priority on deterrence by operations—referred to as dynamic deterrence—through normal activities, as opposed to deterrence by presence, or static deterrence.

The SDF’s southwestern shift, the strengthening of the US-Japan alliance and security network building, and increased efforts to improve the global security environment are also policies that have been continued from before the DPJ administration. In this sense, the approach of a dynamic defense force outlined in the 2010 NDPG should be viewed not as a new idea that was suddenly conceived beyond the defense policy pursued up to that time, but as a systematization or development of that policy.

Given the increasingly fluid post-Cold War international order, the shift from a basic defense force, which was a static approach to international order, to a

dynamic defense force aimed at actively building the kind of international environment Japan has come to need, is essentially a product of the changing times. Furthermore, considering defense policy must be formulated under an extremely reduced budget due to the increased costs of social security, etc., the approach of pursuing an effective defense force and promoting “selection and concentration” has become unavoidable, whether people like it or not.

The important thing is that this defense policy in response to these changes in the international environment has developed continuously even after a change in government. In principle, the national security policy on which a country is founded should not change fundamentally with a change in administration. Indeed, in most advanced democracies, while there are differences in emphasis in specific policies, national security policy is formulated and continued across party lines. Considering that the ruling and opposition parties in Japan advocated almost opposite national security policies during the Cold War, it is very significant that after the first fundamental change in government in the post-Cold War period, the DPJ government drew up a realistic defense policy that also took into account the need for continuity.

Needless to say, the 2010 NDPG is not without problems. For instance, many commentators have pointed out since its announcement that, while they support the orientation of a dynamic defense force, it is insufficiently backed up in terms of the budget and personnel required in order to realize it. As often stated in this chapter, there are also many important points that were raised in the 2010 NDPG but have not been implemented. Furthermore, situations have occurred that were not fully anticipated when the 2010 was formulated, such as the complex large-scale disasters following the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 2011.

Regarding the future direction of Japan’s defense policy based on the above points, emphasis should be placed on supplementing the 2010 NDPG where it is insufficient, while examining the status of achievement of defense preparations based on the 2010 NDPG and the changes since its formulation. In particular, it is essential both for Japan’s security and world peace to give concrete form to several themes arising in the process of formulating the 2010 NDPG but not realized. These themes include more effective participation in UN peacekeeping operations and the establishment of a policy coordination and advisory body similar to what is generally called a national security council. With this awareness both of continuity with the past and response to new situations and an emphasis on

implementing each measure steadily and swiftly, the deepening of discussions through “all-Japan” efforts that transcend political parties and ideological rivalries will be vital in the process of formulating the new NDPG.

