

Section 2. The National Defense Program Guidelines and Defense Build-Up

This section provides the description of the National Defense Program Guidelines, the Mid-Term Defense Program based on the guidelines and defense force build-up in FY2006.

1. Basic Concepts of Formulating National Defense Program Guidelines

The National Defense Program Guidelines shows basic principles of Japan's security policy and the basic guidelines of Japan's defense forces in the future including significance and roles of the defense forces as well as the specific organization of the SDF and the target levels of major equipment to be built up that are deduced from them.

The National Defense Program Guidelines was formulated twice in the past, once in FY1976 as the National Defense Program Outline in and after FY1977 (NDPO 1976) and another in 1995 as the National Defense Program Outline in and after FY1996⁸ (NDPO 1995). The current guidelines were formulated in 2004 as the National Defense Program Guidelines in and after FY2005 (NDPG) in order to respond adequately to the international security climate after the 9/11.

(1) Background of Formulating the NDPG

1) Changes in International Situation and Diversifying Roles of Military Forces.

After the end of the Cold War, interdependence of states has been deepened and expanded, and with the advancement of international coordination and cooperation the likelihood of a global armed conflict has become more remote even in comparison with that at the time of formulating NDPO 1995.

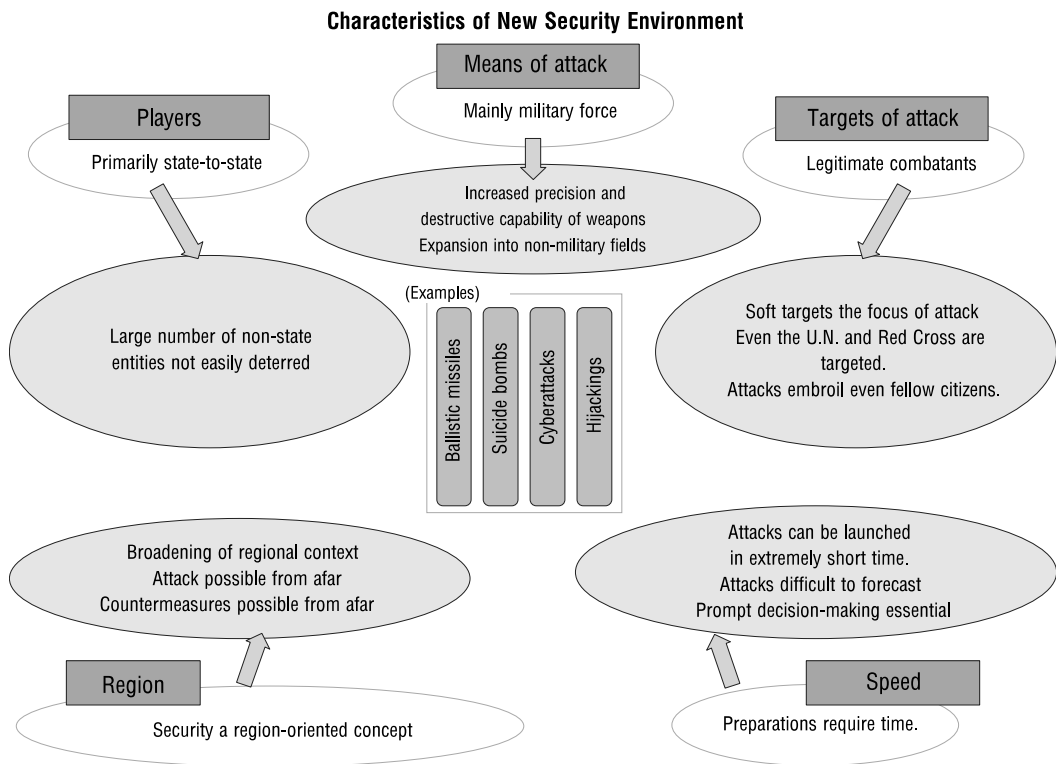


Fig. 2-2-1

On the other hand, complex and diversified regional conflicts have occurred due to territorial, religious and ethnic issues. Furthermore, responses to new threats and diverse contingencies have become an urgent task for respective nations and the international community including illegal activities and emergency situations such as international terrorism as observed in the September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States (the 9-11 terrorist attacks), proliferation and transfer of weapons of mass destructions and ballistic missiles, and piracy.

Against these backgrounds, to prevent inter-state conflict, it remains to be important to maintain a conventional form of deterrence. However, against non-state actors such as international terrorist organizations the approach of conventional form deterrence does not necessarily work effectively.

In addition, a single country comes to find it more difficult to resolve security environment has become a common interest for every country. Therefore, each country has been making a broad range of efforts to resolve those issues by utilizing various means including military capabilities, thorough coordination of various measures and with international collaboration. In this context the roles of military forces have become diversified to include prevention of conflicts and assistance of reconstruction in addition to their traditional role of deterrence and response to armed conflicts.

Under such circumstances, the United States has been engaged in a variety of activities such as war on terror and activities to halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction while giving consideration to international collaboration. Depending on the nature of these activities, there has been some instances in which international cooperative frameworks have been established in the form of "Coalition" that differ from traditional alliance relationships. (See Fig. 2-2-1)

In the midst of these global changes, the countries in areas surrounding Japan are characterized by diversity in ethnic groups, religions, political systems, and economic strength; the area also features several major countries having a complex structure of tangled interests as well as disputes over unification, territorial issues, and maritime interests. Many countries are also modernizing and improving their military capabilities. In particular, North Korea is engaged in the development and deployment of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles and maintenance and reinforcement of its asymmetric military capabilities (large-scale special forces, and others). In addition, China continues to grow steadily as a major power in the region both politically and economically, while in the military sphere the country has been modernizing its nuclear/missile forces as well as its naval/air military capabilities and seeking to expand the scope of its activities at sea. Continued attention must also be paid to these trends into the future. (See Fig. 2-2-2)

2) Remarkable Technological Developments

Technological advancements led by the information and communications technologies have not simply sparked spectacular improvements in combat capabilities, but brought about fundamental transformation of military powers and have considerable impact on the defense strategies of each country.

3) Expansion of the SDF's Activities and the Development of Japan's Emergency Response Mechanism

The SDF's activities have been diversifying and expanding to include responses to the incidents with suspicious boasts, nuclear accidents, various natural disasters, illegal acts, emergency situations, and international activities including not only UN peacekeeping operations but also cooperation in the international efforts for preventing and eradicating international terrorism as well as the effort for reconstructing the nation of Iraq. Through the activities in response to these situations, the coordination with relevant agencies such as police agency and local communities has been reinforced.

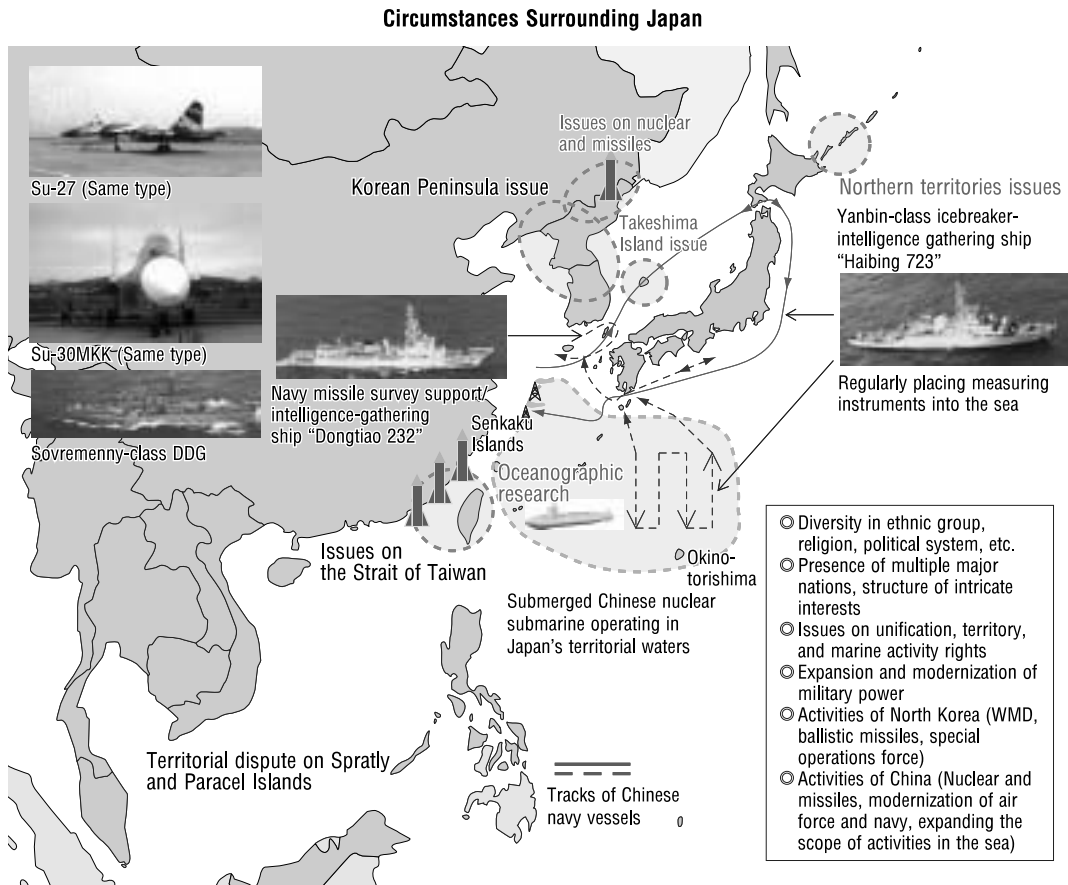


Fig. 2-2-2

4) Characteristics of Japan

Japan is located at a strategically important position close to major powers of the Eurasian continent and choking exit points of the maritime traffic extending from the northeastern part of the continent to the Pacific Ocean. Its territory consists of a long and thin crescent-shaped archipelago with long coast lines and numerous small islands. Japan's large population is confined to a very narrow territory, its industries and population are concentrated mainly in urban areas, and a large number of important facilities essential to economic development are in coastal areas, all of which can be considered in terms of topology as vulnerabilities. Due to the geographical, geological and climatic conditions, Japan is also prone to natural disasters of various kinds.

In addition, stability in the international security environment is essential for Japan's stability/development grounded as these are in a market-based economic system and free trade. Above all, Japan depends on imports for many resources as we rely on the Middle-East for nearly 90% of crude oil, and the maintenance of the security of maritime traffic, and stable utilization of the seas are extremely important for the country.

(2) Circumstances for Formulating the National Defense Program Guidelines

In light of the changes in security environment surrounding Japan as described above, the current Defense Program Guidelines was formulated in December 2004. The following section shall introduce such circumstances.

1) Study Sessions within the Defense Agency ("Defense Posture Review Board") (September 2001 to December 2004)

Based on the changes in security environment surrounding Japan including changes in the international situation and the remarkable advancement of technologies, the "Defense Posture Review Board" was established under the Minister of State for Defense in September 2001, and items relating to the future defense posture were reviewed from broad viewpoints.

With consideration also given to reviews within the Defense Agency, the "On Introduction of Ballistic Missile Defense System and Other Measures" was approved in December 2003 by the Cabinet. It states, as a direction, the necessity for conducting overall review of defense capabilities for the future defense to be able to respond effectively to the new threats and diverse contingencies⁹ as well as to be able to proactively participate on its own initiative in the activities for peace and stability in the international community including Japan.

The Cabinet decision included the plan for formulating a new defense program outline in 2004 to replace NDPO 1995 by conducting reviews within the governmental departments.

2) Reviews in "the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities" (April to October 2004)

In April 2004, "the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities"¹⁰ (Chairperson: Hiroshi Araki, Advisor of Tokyo Electric Power Company) was established with the purpose of gathering opinions from the experts in security and economy areas under the supervision of the Prime Minister Koizumi to conduct comprehensive review with broad perspectives on the holistic governmental efforts for future security and defense posture.

This council meeting was held 13 times, and a report was submitted to the Prime Minister Koizumi in October of the same year.

This report presents the concept of integrated security strategies based on the need for integrated execution of appropriately combined 3 approaches i) Japan's own efforts, ii) cooperation with an alliance partner, and iii) cooperation with the international community) to achieve 2 objectives i) defense of Japan, and ii) prevention of the emergence of threats by improving international security environment) to ensure Japan's security.

In addition to that, with regard to future defense forces, the report proposed that in order to implement the integrated security strategies, the government must pursue "Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force" that can perform multiple functions (responding to terrorist attacks and ballistic missiles, and international cooperation) through flexible operation of the defense forces.

These key recommendations of the Council are reflected in the basic principles of the security policy and new concept for future defense forces of the National Defense Program Guidelines.

3) Reviews in the Security Council of Japan (October to December 2004)

On the basis of the Cabinet decision "On Introduction of Ballistic Missile Defense System and Other Measures" and the report from "the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities," the Security Council of Japan deliberated future defense forces comprehensively from broad perspectives. The National Defense Program Guidelines, was approved by the Security Council of Japan and the Cabinet on December 10, 2004.

(3) The Basic Concept of the National Defense Program Guidelines

1) Two Objectives and Three Approaches

The purpose of Japan's security is to protect peace, independence and the territory of Japan, to maintain the national system based on the freedom and democracy, and to protect the lives and property of the nation.

With establishment of the trend toward attaching importance to collaboration and cooperation in the international community and also from a Japanese standpoint of playing a suitable role for the position of our

country to gain the trust of the international community, Japan must proactively make its own efforts for peace and stability of the international community, which is a prerequisite for Japan's peace and independence.

On that occasion, because the security challenges today are unpredictable, complicated and diverse, it is important for the government to make swift and appropriate response through systematic collaboration of the security-related measures such as those of public security, economy and intelligence, in addition to the promotion of diplomatic efforts in peace time and effective operation of defense capabilities, to cooperate with the United States based on the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangement and to promote cooperation with the relevant countries and the international organizations such as the United Nations.

Based on the above-mentioned perception, the National Defense Program Guidelines defines the following two objectives for security:

- i) to prevent any threat from reaching Japan, and, in the event that it does, repel it and minimize any damage, and
- ii) to improve the international security environment so as to reduce the chances that any threat will reach Japan in the first place.

In order to achieve the two objectives indicated above, following three approaches shall be combined in an integrated manner:

- i) Japan's own efforts
 - ii) cooperation with alliance partners and
 - iii) cooperation with the international community
- (See Fig. 2-2-3)

Against the threat of nuclear weapons, Japan will rely on the U.S. nuclear deterrent and at the same time will play an active role in the efforts for disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear weapons and missiles.

Relationship between Two Objectives and Three Approaches

○ Two Objectives for Japan's Security

1. To prevent/repel any threats from reaching Japan
2. To improve the international security environment to prevent any threats from reaching Japan

○ Three Approaches for Achieving the Objectives

1. Japan's own efforts
2. Cooperative efforts with Japan's alliance partner
3. Cooperative efforts with the international community

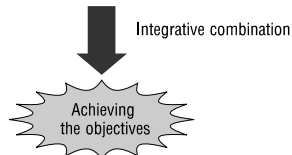


Fig. 2-2-3

2) New Concept for Defense Forces (Transforming defense forces from "deterrent effect-oriented" to "response capability-oriented")

a. Reviewing the Basic Defense Force Concept

With regard to Japan's defense forces, NDPO 1976 presented the Basic Defense Force Concept. This is the idea to maintain the minimum necessary basic defense forces as an independent state lest it turns into a power vacuum and becomes a destabilizing factor in the region surrounding Japan rather than preparing to directly counter a military threat. NDPO 1996 basically followed this concept.

With respect to the Basic Defense Force Concept, a review was conducted for the following two reasons on the basis of changes in the security environment surrounding Japan.

(a) Effective Response to Contingencies

In the Basic Defense Force Concept, a focus was placed on the concept of preventing invasion by possessing adequate scale of defense force, in addition to relying on the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements, more specifically on the deterrent effect of defense force's presence. However, the new threats and diverse contingencies¹¹ are difficult to predict and can occur unexpectedly, and conventional deterrent power of defense force's presence not necessarily works effectively. Therefore, the defense capabilities in the future are strongly expected to have ability to prevent such threat from rising to the surface, and to have mobility to enable effective response to various contingencies and to minimize damages when such events occur.

(b) Proactive Efforts on Its Own Initiative for the International Peace and Cooperation Activities

While the Basic Defense Force Concept are based on assumption that it is internationally recognized that the efforts for stable international relationship will continue in spite of the existence of unpredictable/uncertain elements, and the basic concept is that Japan will not turn into a power vacuum and become an destabilizing factor for the surrounding region. On the other hand, mutually cooperative and interdependent relationship among nations has been escalating in the current international community, and the new threats and diverse contingencies are difficult for one nation to resolve.

While peace and stability of Japan are closely linked to peace and stability of the international community, Japan must proactively participate in international collaborative activities (International Peace Cooperation Activities) on its own initiative by utilizing its defense capabilities for the improvement of international security environment to ensure Japan's security.

In other words, it has become difficult to build defense capabilities based solely on Japan's Basic Defense Force Concept focusing on the defense of Japan by not turning into a power vacuum and becoming a destabilizing factor for the surrounding regions.

b. Multifunctional, Flexible, and Effective Defense Forces

In regards to the future defense capabilities, the National Defense Program Guidelines states that the effective portion of the Basic Defense Force Concept (the following points continue to be effective: Japan's defense force is not for direct combat against military threats to Japan, but appropriate defense capabilities shall be maintained to suit the strategic environment as well as geographical features of Japan in order to deter aggression) shall be succeeded in the new security environment, and with these capabilities Japan shall be able to respond to the new threats and diverse contingencies effectively while proactively participating in the international peace cooperation activities on its own initiative.

While expected roles of the defense force are becoming diverse, decline of young population with dwindling birthrate and financial circumstance with dramatic increase of severity need to be considered as we plan the future defense capabilities.

Based on this view point, future defense force needs to be equipped with high responsiveness, mobility, adaptability and multi-purpose functionality, and supported by advanced technology and intelligence capabilities measuring up to the trend of military technology standard, so that it needs to become "multi-functional, flexible, and effective defense forces" that can effectively respond to various contingencies through flexible operation of the units and equipments with diverse functionalities.

Thus, it is required to transform the defense force from the conventional deterrence-oriented to response capability-oriented defense capabilities for various contingencies in and out of Japan. (See Fig. 2-2-4)

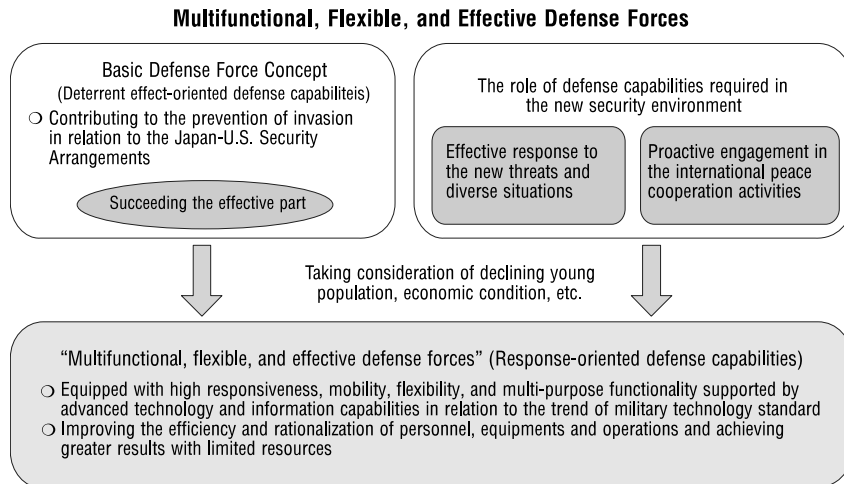


Fig. 2-2-4

2. Contents of the National Defense Program Guidelines

(I) Basic Principles of Japan's Security Policy

1) Basic Principles

As described above, there are two objectives of Japan's security: to prevent any threats from reaching Japan or to repel it; and to improve international security environment so as to reduce the chances that any threat will reach Japan.

Japan will achieve these objectives integrated combination of three approaches: Japan's own efforts, co-operation with the ally, and cooperation with the international community.

a. Japan's Own Efforts

Japan's security depends first and foremost on its own efforts. Based on this recognition, it is stated in the National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG) that Japan will utilize all appropriate means to prevent any threat from directly reaching the country. In the event that these efforts fail to prevent a threat from reaching Japan, the Government of Japan will take an integrated response by swiftly making appropriate decisions through bringing together all relevant organizations. This is based on the recognition that it is important to invest the total national power by collecting the capabilities of relevant organizations such as the SDF, police and Japan Coast Guard in order to ensure the safety of the nation and the people. In addition, the Government will establish necessary civil defense systems to respond to various emergency situations, and the central and local governments will work closely together to establish adequate systems.

At the same time, Japan will engage in its own diplomatic activities to prevent the emergence of threats by improving international security environment.

Japan's defense capabilities, which are the ultimate guarantee of the national security, shall be multifunctional, flexible, and effective as indicated previously, and the improvement of efficiency and rationalization are necessary in order to realize such defense capabilities.

b. Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements (Cooperation with Allies)

Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements are indispensable in ensuring Japan's security, and the presence of the

U.S. military is essential for the maintenance of peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. Considering the progress made in Japan-U.S. cooperation in dealing with global issues as exemplified in the fight against terrorism, close Japan-U.S. cooperative relationship plays a significant role in the effective promotion of the international efforts to prevent and respond to the new threats and diverse contingencies.

The function of the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements is not granted by simply having the agreement called the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America. In order to make these agreements effective, it is essential to make restless efforts in peacetime. Based on this viewpoint, the National Defense Program Guidelines clearly specify the following efforts.

(a) Implementation of Strategic Dialogues between Japan and the United States (strategic objectives, role-sharing, and military posture)

Based on the posture of Japan's security and defense capabilities clarified in the National Defense Program Guidelines, Japan will proactively engage in strategic dialogues with the United States on wide-ranging security issues such as role-sharing between the two countries and military posture while working to harmonize our perceptions of the new security environment and appropriate strategic objectives¹². In doing so, the Government of Japan will bear in mind the need to reduce the excessive burden on local communities which host U.S. facilities and areas, while maintaining the deterrent and capabilities that the U.S. military presence in Japan provides.

(b) Various Efforts for Strengthening of the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements

The Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements shall be enhanced through active promotion of measures including intelligence sharing, various operational cooperation, and collaboration on ballistic missile defense (BMD).

c. Cooperation with the International Community

The National Defense Program Guidelines state that in order to improve the international security environment as part of cooperation with the international community and help maintain security and prosperity of Japan, the Government of Japan will actively engage in diplomatic efforts, including the strategic use of Official Development Assistance (ODA). It is also stated in the Guidelines that based on the recognition that the destabilization of the international community by events such as regional conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and international terrorist attacks would directly affect its own peace and security, Japan will, on its own initiative, proactively participate in international peace cooperation activities as an integral part of its diplomatic efforts.

In particular, stability in the regions spreading from the Middle-East to East Asia is critical to Japan, thus the Government of Japan will strive to stabilize the region by promoting cooperative efforts, in conjunction with other concerned countries, to deal with common security challenges. And, Japan will actively engage in the U.N. reform, and also promote the efforts for multilateral frameworks for security in the Asia-Pacific region such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF).