

# Part II

## The Basics of Japan's Defense Policy and Build-up of Defense Capability

### Chapter 2

#### The National Defense Program Guidelines and Build-up of Defense Capability

- Section 1. Basic Concepts of Formulating the National Defense Program Guidelines
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## **Section 1. Basic Concepts of Formulating the National Defense Program Guidelines**

The National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG) set forth the basic principles of Japan's security policy and the basic guidelines for Japan's defense capability in the future, including its significance and role as well as the specific organization of the SDF and the target levels of major defense equipment to be built-up based on these principles and guidelines.

The NDPG have been formulated twice in the past, once in 1976 as "The National Defense Program Guidelines for FY1977 and Beyond"<sup>1</sup> (1976 NDPG) and again in 1995 as "The National Defense Program Guidelines for FY1996 and Beyond"<sup>2</sup> (1995 NDPG). After deliberation by bodies such as the Defense Posture Review Board of the then Defense Agency and the Security Council<sup>3</sup>, the current guidelines were formulated in 2004 as "The National Defense Program Guidelines for FY2005 and Beyond" (2004 NDPG) in order to respond adequately to the international security environment following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States. This section explains the background and basic concepts of the formulation of the National Defense Program Guidelines.

The 2004 NDPG stipulates that the trends of the current security environment and technical standards should be considered five years after the drafting of the guidelines and then the necessary amendments made. There were plans to initially revise the 2004 NDPG in 2009, however, there was a historical change of regime as a result of the general election held in the same year and it was determined that the new government would have to pay sufficient consideration to the revisions, as they are an important issue related to the security of Japan. For this reason, it was decided that a resolution on revising the 2004 NDPG would be made in 2010.

As a result, Japan's defense capabilities for FY2010 was built up based on the concepts of the 2004 NDPG as the resolution for the 2004 NDPG revisions would be reflected in the budget from FY2011 onward.

Moreover, in revising the 2004 NDPG, it is stipulated that upon its revision, a basic policy for Japan's security will be drafted after carrying out an analysis and evaluation on such factors as trends in international affairs, the security environment of Japan, Japan's national defense capabilities, and the current situation of the SDF. At the same time, it is supposed that Japan is to work to efficiently develop effective defense capabilities.

This section covers the background of the drafting of the 2004 NDPG along with its basic concepts. Section 2 will further explain its content while Section 3 provides additional explanation on such aspects as the revision of the 2004 NDPG.

(See Reference 7)

### **1. Background to Formulating the 2004 National Defense Program Guidelines**

#### **1. Changes in the International Situation and the Diversifying Roles of Military Capability**

Since the end of the Cold War, the interdependence of states has deepened and expanded, and with the advancement of international coordination and cooperation, the likelihood of a global armed conflict has become even more distant than it was at the time of the formulation of the 1995 NDPG. On the other hand, complex and diversified regional conflicts stemming from territorial, religious, and ethnic issues have occurred, and responding to new threats and diverse contingencies<sup>4</sup> has become an urgent task for various nations and the international community.

Against this background, maintaining conventional forms of deterrence remains important in order to prevent inter-state conflicts. However, maintaining conventional forms of deterrence is not always effective against non-state actors such as international terrorist organizations.

In addition, it has become increasingly difficult for a single country to resolve security environment issues, and stabilizing the international security environment has become a common interest of all countries. Therefore,

each country has been making a broad range of efforts to resolve such issues through various means including military capabilities, through coordination of various measures, and through international collaboration. In this context, the roles of military capabilities have diversified to include prevention of conflict and reconstruction assistance in addition to the traditional roles of deterrence and response to armed conflict.

Under these circumstances, the United States, while giving consideration to international collaboration, has been engaged in a variety of activities, including international terrorism and activities to halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Depending on the nature of these activities, there have been instances in which international cooperative frameworks in the form of “coalitions” have been established that differ from traditional alliance relations.

In the midst of these global changes, the countries in areas surrounding Japan are characterized by ethnic, religious, political and economic diversity. The area also features several major countries with a complex structure of interrelated interests and 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 as well as maintenance and reinforcement of its asymmetric military capabilities (including large-scale special forces). In addition, China continues to grow steadily as a major power in the region both politically and economically. In the military sphere, the country has been modernizing its nuclear/missile forces as well as its naval/air capabilities, and seeking to promote space development and expand the scope of its maritime activities. These trends must continue to be monitored in the future.

## **2. Remarkable Developments of Scientific Technology**

Technological advancement, led by information and communications technology, have not only given rise to significant improvement in combat capabilities, but have also brought about a fundamental transformation of military power, exercising considerable influence on the defense strategies of all countries.

## **3. Expansion of SDF Activities and the Improvement of Japan's Emergency Response Mechanism**

The SDF's activities have been diversifying and expanding to include response to incidents with suspicious vessels, nuclear accidents, various natural disasters, illegal acts, emergency situations, and international activities including both U.N. peacekeeping operations and cooperation in international efforts for preventing and eradicating international terrorism, as well as efforts for the national reconstruction of Iraq. Through the activities being undertaken in response to these situations, coordination with relevant agencies such as police and local communities has been reinforced.

## **4. Characteristics of Japan**

Closely located to major powers of the Eurasian continent, Japan is situated at a strategically important position for the maritime traffic from the northeastern part of the continent to the Pacific Ocean. Japan's territory consists of a long and thin crescent-shaped archipelago with long coast lines and numerous small islands. The country's large population is confined within a very narrow territory, with industry and population concentrated mainly in urban areas, while a large number of facilities essential to economic development are located in coastal areas, all of which can be regarded in terms of topology as vulnerabilities. Due to geographic, geologic, and climate conditions, Japan is also prone to natural disasters of various kinds.

Furthermore, stability in the international security environment is essential for Japan's stability and development, which are based on a market-based economic system and free trade. Above all, Japan depends on imports for many resources and food, relying on the Middle East for approximately 90% of its crude oil

consumption and other countries for approximately 60% of its food. The maintenance of secure and stable sea lanes are therefore of extreme importance to Japan.

## 2. The Basic Concept of the 2004 National Defense Program Guidelines

### 1. Two Objectives and Three Approaches

The purpose of Japan's security is to protect the peace; safety; independence; and land, sea, and air territories of Japan; to maintain the national system based on freedom and democracy; and to protect the lives and property of the Japanese people.

With a steady trend toward attaching importance to collaboration and cooperation in the international community, as well as from the Japanese perspective of playing a role commensurate with the nation's position and gaining the trust of the international community, Japan must independently and proactively make efforts for the peace and stability of the international community, which are prerequisites for Japan's own peace and independence.

In doing so, due to the unpredictable, complex, and diverse nature of today's security threats, it is important that the Government take swift and appropriate responses through a systematic combination of security-related measures, including those of public security, economy, and intelligence, and promotion of diplomatic efforts in times of peace and effective operation of defense capabilities. Furthermore, it must engage in cooperation with the United States, based on the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements and promote cooperation with relevant countries and organizations such as the United Nations (U.N.).

Based on the aforementioned recognition, the 2004 National Defense Program Guidelines define the following two objectives for security:

- 1) Prevention of direct threats from reaching Japan and, in the event that they do, repelling them and minimizing any damage.
- 2) Improvement of the international security environment to reduce the potential that threats will reach Japan in the first place.

In order to achieve the two objectives listed above, three approaches — Japan's own efforts, cooperation with alliance partners, and cooperation with the international community — are to be combined in an integrated manner.

(See Fig. II-2-1-1)

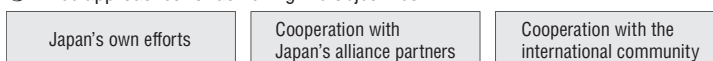
Fig. II-2-1-1 Relations between Two Objectives and Three Approaches

○ Two objectives for Japan's security

1. To prevent or repel threats from directly reaching Japan
2. To prevent threats from reaching Japan by improving the international security environment



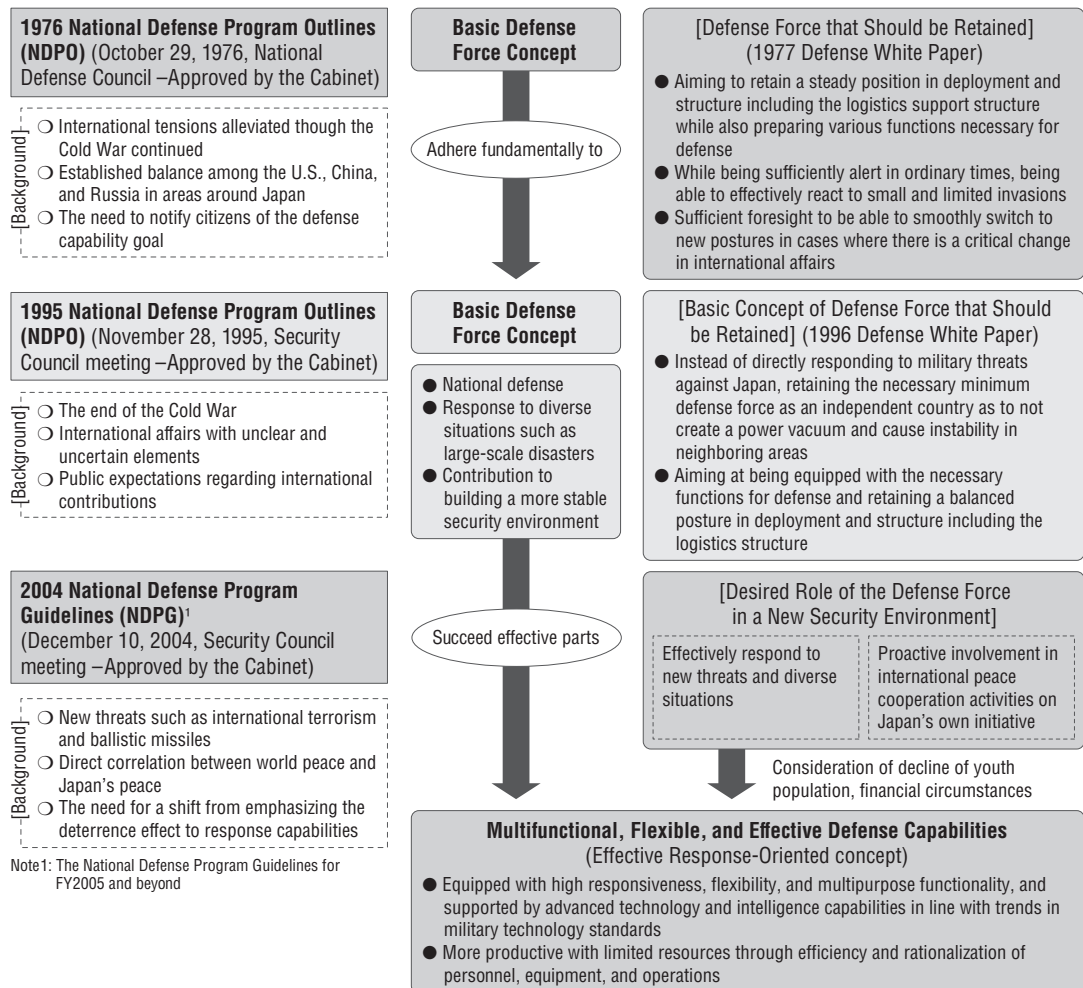
○ Three approaches for achieving the objectives



Integrated combination



Fig. II-2-1-2 Changes in Conception of Defense Force that Should be Retained



To combat 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 efforts for disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear weapons and missiles.

## 2. New Concept for Defense Capability (Shifting emphasis from “deterrent effects” to “response capability”)

### (1) Reviewing the Basic Defense Force Concept

With regard to Japan's defense capability, the 1976 NDPG set forth the Basic Defense Force Concept. The concept is designed to enable Japan to maintain the minimum necessary basic defense capability as an independent state so as not to turn into a power vacuum and become a destabilizing factor in the region, rather than preparing to directly counter military threats. The 1995 NDPG essentially adhered to this concept.

The Basic Defense Force Concept was reviewed for the following two reasons in line with changes in the security environment surrounding Japan.

(See Fig. II-2-1-2)

### **a) Effective Response to Contingencies**

Under the Basic Defense Force Concept, focus is placed on defense capabilities of an adequate scale in addition to the Japan–U.S. Security Arrangements as preventative measures against potential invasion. Behind this idea is the deterrent effect generated by a country that possesses adequate defense capabilities. However, new threats and diverse contingencies are difficult to predict and can occur unexpectedly, such that conventional deterrent effects that derive from the presence of a defense force do not necessarily work effectively. Therefore, future defense capabilities are strongly required to have the ability to prevent such threats from surfacing, as well as the ability to enable effective response to various contingencies and to minimize damage when such events do occur.

### **b) Proactive Efforts on Japan’s Own Initiative for International Peace Cooperation Activities**

The Basic Defense Force Concept is based on the assumption that while it is internationally recognized that efforts for stable international relationships will continue despite the existence of unpredictable and uncertain elements, at the same time, mutually cooperative and interdependent relationships among nations have been advancing, and new threats and diverse contingencies are becoming increasingly difficult for a single nation to resolve.

Under these circumstances, Japan, in order to ensure its security, must proactively participate in international collaborative activities for the improvement of the international security environment (international peace cooperation activities) on its own initiative by utilizing its defense capabilities. It has become difficult to build defense capabilities solely on the basis of Japan’s Basic Defense Force Concept, which is focused on the defense of Japan.

## **(2) Multifunctional, Flexible and Effective Defense Capabilities**

With regard to future defense capabilities, the NDPG states that the effective portion of the Basic Defense Force Concept shall be maintained<sup>5</sup> under the new security environment, and that in addition to responding to new threats and diverse contingencies effectively, there is also a need to be able to participate proactively in international peace cooperation activities on Japan’s own initiative.

In addition, while the expected roles of defense capabilities are becoming more diverse, a decline in the youth population due to dwindling birthrates and a dramatic increase in the severity of Japan’s fiscal condition should be considered as the country plans the future build-up of defense capabilities.

Based on this viewpoint, Japan’s future defense capability needs to be equipped with high responsiveness, flexibility, and multi-purpose functionality, and to be supported by advanced technology and intelligence capabilities in line with trends in military technology standards so that it can establish “multi-functional, flexible, and effective defense capabilities” that can respond appropriately to various contingencies through flexible deployment of SDF units and utilization of multifunctional defense equipment.

The 2004 NDPG thus stipulates that Japan must shift the emphasis of its defense capabilities from pursuit of conventional deterrence effects to acquisition of ability to respond to various contingencies at home and abroad.