

The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities Report

—Japan's Visions for Future Security and Defense Capabilities—

October 2004

The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities

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FOREWORD

We are living in an era of great transition. The Cold War in which the world faced the danger of an apocalyptic clash between the two blocs had ended, and the scenario of one of the superpowers invading Japan has disappeared. However, the end of the Cold War has not created a world of peace and stability. The post-Cold War era has been tainted by the interminable ethnic and religious conflicts, and large-scale terrorism. In the era of globalization, dangers and threats can easily travel across borders and arrive in our land without any warning. Under such context, the Cold War, in hindsight, seems to have been an era of relative stability.

The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities has examined how the international security environment has changed, what kind of threats Japan faces in the new environment, and what kind of security policy and defense forces are needed to protect Japan and its people.

Against the backdrop of international terrorism and other emerging threats, dramatic progress in military technology, and the growing public interest in security and defense issues, the Council has drawn two conclusions.

First, in the current international security environment, it is imperative that we try to prevent the emergence of new threats as early and far away from home as possible while maintaining the ability to repel various types of threats on our shores. In other words, international peace cooperation activities conducted in distant places can contribute greatly to the defense of Japan.

Second, while overcoming the harms of the stove-piped nature of government organizations in this country, we must find ways to create a unified inter-agency decision-making and coordination mechanism, and make it work in times of national emergencies. In this regard, improvement in intelligence capabilities and active utilization of the Security Council should be the first agenda.

According to Hiroyuki Agawa, Shigeyoshi Inoue, a Japanese Imperial Navy Admiral widely known as the “last navy admiral,” strongly objected to the navy headquarters’ gigantic budget request calling for the construction of large battleships, contending that the navy was attempting to “fight war in the Showa period with the equipment of the Meiji era.” Inoue insisted on incorporating air power into the navy. I kept this anecdote in mind in moderating the sessions of this Council. There is no way of knowing what Admiral Inoue would have recommended had he lived in this era, but I would note the increased importance of soft power in dealing with security and defense issues in the twenty-first century. Hard power is necessary. But it works effectively only when combined with reliable intelligence and good managerial skills. Diplomacy, cultural exchanges, and economic cooperation also work to prevent the emergence of new threats. For this reason, defense and domestic security organizations, other relevant government agencies, and the Japanese people should work together to make the best use of Japan's hard and soft power as a means to preserve peace and security.

Although we have left some issues unaddressed due to limited time, we were able to produce this report thanks to the active participation and contribution of the Council members and the support of the members of the Cabinet Secretariat. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to those who provided kind support for us, and I truly hope that this report will contribute to the security of Japan and its people.

Hiroshi Araki
Chairman
The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities

PART I: JAPAN'S NEW SECURITY STRATEGY

1 Security Environment in the Twenty-First Century

Events on September 11, 2001 marked the beginning of a new century for security affairs. The United States, the world's only superpower, was struck at its nerve center by terrorists owing allegiance to no state, sustaining major damage on a par with that of war. This spelled the end of the era when threats from other states could be regarded as the sole focus of security. No security strategy is viable unless it is prepared to deal head-on with threats from non-state actors, such as terrorists and international criminal organizations.

This does not mean, however, that we no longer have to worry about conflicts among states. The end of the Cold War has all but eliminated the worst-case scenario, namely, the possibility of nuclear war between superpowers, but nuclear weapons are still maintained and nuclear proliferation continues unabated. The regime of Iraq's Saddam Hussein may have been overthrown, but that did not put an end to states intent upon invading other countries. There is an ever-present threat of conflicts between states leading to hostilities. Since the end of the Cold War, the main source of military conflicts throughout the world has been civil wars, ethnic conflicts, and unstable governments. These types of conflicts always harbor the potential of developing into international military confrontation.

What this all means is that the international security environment is now much more complex than before. At one extreme, we have terrorist attacks with unimaginable means and intensity that could be unleashed by non-state entities. At the other extreme, we continue to face the possibility of very traditional warfare. Between these two extremes, there is the risk of conflicts taking any conceivable combination of forms. States racked by civil wars and states lacking the ability to maintain law and order provide ideal bases for terrorists. Some revisionist states may have formed networks with terrorists and international criminal organizations. Already pirates are wreaking havoc in sea lines of communication to an extent that is becoming too significant to ignore and there is a risk of important sea channels being blocked or port facilities destroyed through regional conflicts or large-scale terrorism. If Internet mischief-makers team up with terrorists or with certain regimes, we could see cyber attacks of untold dimensions. Proliferation of weapons, including weapons of mass destruction (WMD), is occurring through legal and illegal weapons markets, increasing the risk of armed conflict or terrorist attacks. Religious fundamentalism, chauvinism, and extreme nationalism, the psychosocial forces that breed and intensify these types of threats, exist throughout the world. The accelerating pace of globalization driven by technological advances carries with it the risk that threats of all kinds can move and spread rapidly around the world.

In addition to these dramatic changes in the global security environment, Japan faces security problems unique to its location in East Asia. The end of the Cold War has certainly reduced substantially the risk of a full-scale invasion. However, there continue to exist two nuclear powers (Russia and China) in this region, and one country that has not abandoned its ambition of developing nuclear weapons (North Korea). The problem of WMD development, including North Korean nuclear weapons, and the development and deployment of ballistic missiles could represent a direct threat to Japan, and instability on the Korean Peninsula may yet become a major destabilizing factor affecting international relations in East Asia. Furthermore, the possibility of armed clashes across the Strait of Taiwan could not be ruled out. If a large-scale military conflict were to break out in East Asia, not only would it threaten

regional and global security, it could even affect the stability of the world economy. Failure to achieve a peaceful resolution of conflicts over resource development and other problems in Japan's vicinity could have serious consequences for Japan's security.

When considering the security of Japan, it is important to take into account Japan's role in the world and geopolitical factors. Japan is the world's second largest economy and its continued prosperity depends on access to overseas energy and resources as well as on the country's global commercial activities. Currently, more than ten million Japanese travel abroad each year and approximately one million Japanese live overseas. Japan's current prosperity is built upon global interdependence, but the flipside is that Japan is vulnerable to disturbances in other parts of the world. The changes in the global security environment referred to at the beginning of this part could have a substantial effect on these worldwide activities of Japan and its citizens. That is why we need to pay attention to threats in distant regions in addition to the threats in the vicinity of Japan. More than ever before, international security is acquiring an integrated character that extends beyond the local region.

In the increasingly complex global security environment, threats to Japan's security may not come only from outside. When we recall the terrorist attacks using chemical weapons perpetrated by Aum Shinrikyo, it is obvious that the country faces threats from endogenous terrorist forces and criminal organizations. We must be fully alert to the possibility of these groups establishing ties with hazardous external elements. Japan has a large population crammed into a confined space, with facilities essential to its socioeconomic activities concentrated in urban and coastal areas. We need to be conscious of the vulnerability to terrorist attacks that this imposes.

Security means protecting diverse values which people regard important from various threats. The most fundamental values are people's lives and properties, and the homeland. However, there are other values that are worth protecting in addition to these. Security under a democratic government must extend to protecting social life and other cultural values that the people treasure, including freedom and democracy. Otherwise it cannot be regarded as true security. The inability to deal with illicit entry into territorial waters of armed special-operations vessels, even if such an event does not produce casualties, pose a serious threat to security. It hardly bears mentioning that we expose ourselves to grave danger by allowing international terrorists and foreign agents to infiltrate Japan in order to engage in destructive activities. Protecting the life and wealth of the Japanese nationals from major natural disasters as well as other disturbances abroad also comes under the rubric of security. Disruption to important supplies of food, energy and other resources is yet another kind of security problem that threatens the people's livelihood. There is also the risk of a complex interaction of events posing a threat to the people. Whether intrusions of armed special-operations vessels or a major disaster, there will always be a need to block situations in which failure to resolve one problem spawns other security threats, with even more serious consequences.

2 Integrated Security Strategy

The issue is what kind of strategy Japan can develop in order to ensure Japan's security in this complex twenty-first century security environment. Obviously, the "strategy" must be an integrated plan to apply appropriate approaches to realize the designated goals. Thus, in working out a new strategy for the new security environment, attention must focus on defining the goals, determining the various approaches needed for their realization, and

defining the mechanisms needed to implement these various approaches in an integrated manner.

The Integrated Security Strategy has two major goals. The first is to prevent a direct threat from reaching Japan and, in the event that it does reach Japan, to minimize the damage. The second goal is to reduce the chances of threats arising in various parts of the world with the aim of preventing such threats from reaching Japan or affecting the interests of Japanese expatriates or corporations overseas. In short, the first goal is concerned with the defense of Japan itself while the second goal is concerned with improving international security environment.

What approaches are there in achieving these two goals? Obviously, the first approach that comes to mind relates to those actions that Japan can take on its own behalf. However, complete self-reliance in security is no longer a viable option in a world today. In the past, the conventional wisdom was to maintain the “military force needed to defend the country,” but since the end of the Second World War, that has become practically impossible for many countries. In fact, to attempt to achieve such a goal runs the risk of creating a security dilemma.¹ Thus, it is necessary to combine our own efforts with an approach that involves cooperation with other countries. The most appropriate solution would be, on the one hand, to cooperate with an alliance partner that shares interests and values with Japan, and, on the other, to cooperate with the international community as a whole.

The preferred security strategy for Japan would, therefore, be an integrated one based on a three-fold approach that includes (a) Japan’s own efforts, (b) cooperation with an alliance partner and (c) cooperation with the international community to defend the homeland and, at the same time, to strive for improving international security environment.

In terms of the goals and approaches for executing a security strategy, if we look at Japan’s policies to date, we would have to say that the strategy has been rather narrowly focused. While it may have made sense to focus on defending Japan through a combination of independent effort via the activities of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the Japan-U.S. alliance, the fact is that preventing the emergence of threats by improving international security environment has not necessarily been seen as directly linked to the security of Japan. Rather, the tendency has been to describe it in aloof phrases like “contribution to the international community.” Japan must now adopt an integrated security strategy embracing the above two goals. There is a need for greater effort mobilizing Japan’s capabilities in an appropriate and integrated manner to achieve these goals through the three-fold approach.

Below we discuss the two basic security goals, namely, (a) defense of Japan and (b) prevention of the emergence of threats by improving international security environment, as well as the three approaches needed to achieve these goals.

(1) Defense of Japan

a. Japan’s Own Efforts

The basis of any security policy must be one’s own efforts. Obviously, the objective of this approach is to prevent direct threats to Japan and, in the event that such a threat arises, to

¹ A security dilemma arises when one country unilaterally upgrades its own defense capability based on its own military logic and another country, seeing this, reinforces its national defenses, resulting in a further buildup of force. The outcome of this apparently rational behavior on the part of each country is to escalate the arms race, thereby decreasing the security level of each.

contain it in the way that results in minimum damage. It goes without saying that Japan's own security efforts should achieve the defense of Japan effectively, but not pose a threat to any other country. Furthermore, Japan should not possess nuclear weapons.²

Let us begin by considering how Japan should utilize the SDF as part of its own efforts. Since the 1976 National Defense Program Outline, the concept put forward to address this issue has been the Basic Defense Force Concept (*Kibanteki Boueiryoku Kousou*). The idea behind Basic Defense Force is that, in an international environment of growing détente, Japan, as an independent state, should maintain the minimum necessary basic defense force in order not to become a destabilizing factor in this region by creating a power vacuum. Another way of putting it is a Defense Force that functions as a denial capability to prevent the easy creation of a *fait accompli* in case of a "limited and small-scale aggression." It is also "basic" in the sense that it is designed to be expanded smoothly in case of need in order to respond to threats.

The trend towards reduced inter-state tension that characterizes the current international situation has something in common with the 1970s and the 1990s. In this sense, some elements of capabilities envisioned in the Basic Defense Force still remain valid and, therefore, such capabilities should be retained in the SDF force structure in the future. However, now that more than ten years have passed since the end of the Cold War, the risk of a full-scale invasion of Japan has greatly receded. The more serious problem in the current global security environment is the threat of attack by terrorists and other non-state actors, which is not amenable to the traditional notion of deterrence between states. For that reason also, there is a need to reexamine the Basic Defense Force Concept, which presupposes that threats will only come from other states, to reflect this change in the security environment. The concept proposed in this report can be described as Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force. We will elaborate on this in the next section.

Obviously, Japan's own efforts to respond to direct threats should not be limited to the activities of the SDF. It should involve a collective effort by the country as a whole. In part because of the "pacifism" spawned by feelings of remorse after the Second World War, Japan has often avoided the idea of dealing with threats through collective effort by the nation as a whole. Even alluding to emergency legislation has been regarded as taboo. However, the Japanese people have developed a greater understanding of security matters in recent years, enabling the passage of the Legislation Regarding Response to Armed Attacks. Japan has to continue its efforts to immediately establish a mechanism, involving not only the SDF but also the nation as a whole, for addressing security issues. A coordinated effort involving the Japan Coast Guard and the police together with the SDF is essential, and the capabilities of these domestic security organizations should be improved. There is also a need for cooperation among local governments and other public organizations as well as cooperation from the non-governmental sector.

In order to mobilize all of these internal resources, it is essential for the Japanese government to have in place a proper crisis management mechanism with improved

² As a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Japan has forsworn nuclear weapons. Furthermore, successive Japanese governments have consistently upheld the position embodied in the three non-nuclear principles and that same position underlies the Atomic Energy Basic Law. In a small country like Japan where population and industry are heavily concentrated, the notion of combating nuclear weapons with nuclear weapons makes little sense. By relying on a ballistic missile defense system, Japan can complement America's nuclear deterrent. Furthermore, the Integrated Security Strategy proposed in this report envisages no strategic need for possession of nuclear weapons and, indeed, regards them as undesirable because of the risk they pose in aggravating the international environment.

information collection and analytical capabilities. To eliminate the baneful effects of stove-piped organizational structures and to be able to respond swiftly and appropriately to crises, the government should create a mechanism at sub-cabinet level to facilitate decision-making as well as command and control by establishing an information management mechanism utilizing the latest technology and sharing information among various relevant organizations. An essential requirement is the training of human resources capable not only of collecting the information but also of analyzing it properly. At the same time, we need to develop the Security Council into a nerve center for national security policymaking by utilizing the information management mechanism, and strengthening the functions of and making better use of the Security Council in peacetime.

In devising an integrated security strategy, the government also needs to look at the national infrastructure required to achieve security. Regarding policies on defense-related production and technological infrastructure, further debate is needed to determine whether Japan can exist without relying on joint research and development in collaboration with the ally and friends given the rapidly advancing military technology and equipment, and to decide whether there is a need to reexamine the relevant legal system in order to implement security policies more effectively.

b. Cooperation with an Alliance Partner

The second approach to Japan's defense involves combined actions with its ally. The Japan-U.S. alliance represents a permanent arrangement based on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. As stated above, the international environment surrounding Japan remains volatile and there is no guarantee that a conflict involving nuclear weapons or other WMD will not break out. There are also threats from ballistic missiles. For these reasons, it will be necessary to maintain deterrence by bolstering the credibility of the Japan-U.S. alliance. In particular, it will be essential for Japan to continue to rely on the extended deterrence³ provided by the United States to respond to threats by WMD, including nuclear weapons. Furthermore, because traditional approaches to deterrence do not always work in a situation where proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles capable of delivering them could produce serious consequences, there is a need to complement U.S. nuclear deterrent. Thus, Japan must also acquire effective ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems in cooperation with the United States to deal with ballistic missile threats. Responding to situations in areas surrounding Japan that have an important influence on Japan's peace and security will inevitably require Japan-U.S. cooperation in order to prevent the threat from affecting Japan. We must continually upgrade arrangements for cooperation to deal with these types of situations, and strive to enhance the reliability of Japan-U.S. cooperation in actual operations.

c. Cooperation with the International Community

Until now, cooperation with the international community has not been accorded the level of importance given to independent effort or the Japan-U.S. alliance in the defense of Japan. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that diplomatic activities and interaction with other countries at the grass-roots level in various fields have improved other countries' understanding of Japan and have played a role in the country's defense, albeit indirectly. Diplomatic activities conducted through numerous bilateral and multilateral arrangements, security dialogues,

³ "Extended deterrence" aims to prevent an attack on an ally outside of one's own territory by leaving no uncertainty about the commitment to respond in the event of an attack on that ally.

military exchanges, as well as exchanges of police, Japan Coast Guard, and other administrative organizations personnel with their foreign counterparts help to avoid unnecessary tension between states and provide a basis for international cooperation in the event that Japan's security is threatened. To deal with international terrorists, there is also a need to promote stronger international cooperation in the area of information exchange and tighter protection measures on shores, to facilitate the capture and arrest of terrorists and cut off funds to international terrorist organizations. In addition, the government should make necessary preparations for smoothly executing evacuation operations for Japanese citizens in contingency situations by bringing together resources that relevant organizations within the government possess and working closely together with the authorities of relevant countries.

(2) Prevention of the Emergence of Threats
by Improving International Security Environment

a. Japan's Own Efforts

To prevent the emergence of threats in various parts of the world, Japan should make it a basic principle to work jointly with the international community and its ally. For Japan to intervene unilaterally in military disputes overseas using military force exceeding its right to self defense would not only violate the Constitution, but would also be undesirable from the perspective of international confidence. Accordingly, any SDF activities in the fields of peacekeeping, peace-building operations and humanitarian support should, as a basic rule, be conducted by Japan as a member of the international community based on international authorization such as a resolution of the United Nations Security Council.

There are actions, however, that Japan can take on its own behalf to prevent the emergence of threats. Japan's activities to date in the field of bilateral development aid have, in all likelihood, reduced threats to Japan's security by playing a positive nation-building role in many countries and contributed to economic development. These types of aid and diplomatic activities, as well as international cooperation activities conducted by the police, are certainly initiatives that Japan can execute in concert with the international community, but they should also be undertaken by Japan acting in its own right. In particular, Japan should focus every effort on preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons technology both via its own independent diplomatic efforts as well as part of a multinational initiative. Opportunities are expanding for international cooperation in fields that have a direct bearing on human safety, such as destruction of WMD, removal of landmines, collection of small arms and light weapons, and so forth, and it would be beneficial for Japan to take a more active role in these areas. There also needs to be a stronger recognition of the indirect role, that contributes to the security of the nation, played by diplomatic activities, cultural exchange as well as business activities such as the creation of employment opportunities overseas by Japanese trade and investment activities, technology transfer, and human development, even if these do not appear to have a direct bearing on security.

Armed conflicts in Northeast Asia would have direct negative implications for the security of Japan. Since Japan relies heavily on energy and other resources from overseas, it would face serious consequences if regions stretching from the Middle East and Southwest Asia to Southeast and Northeast Asia were to become unstable or the sea lines communication along these regions were jeopardized. Japan should engage actively in diplomatic and economic activities suggested above in order to prevent these regions from becoming unstable. In this context, we should not forget that cultural exchange and consistent diplomatic activities to

promote mutual understanding are indispensable means of preventing extreme nationalism from destabilizing these regions.

b. Cooperation with an Alliance Partner

It is obvious that Japan should cooperate with the United States, its ally, in the effort to improve international security environment and prevent the emergence of new threats. This is also a promising approach because it is easy for both Japan and the United States, which share the common values of democracy, market economy, rule of law, and basic human rights, to have a shared understanding and to take joint action with other countries that believe in the same values. Also, cooperation with the United States, with its preeminent international capabilities, would be highly effective in trying to improve international security environment. By holding close consultations, Japan and the United States should carefully utilize the bilateral alliance relationship so that it will contribute to regional and global peace and stability.

In the military sense, too, the Japan-U.S. alliance is increasingly assuming the role of preventing the emergence of threats in the international community, in addition to its immediate objective of securing the defense of Japan. The deterrent effect of the Japan-U.S. alliance is not designed to imply direct deterrence against a specific country. The U.S. military presence in the region is effective in deterring armed conflicts. Cooperative arrangements between Japan and the United States intended to deal with situations in areas surrounding Japan are also effective in preventing the very occurrence of such situations. Viewed this way, it would be fair to say that the Japan-U.S. alliance has become “public goods” for the countries in the region.

In addition to its role of preventing the emergence of threats in East Asia, the wide-ranging cooperation between Japan and the United States is important in preventing threats from terrorists and international criminals in the area known as the “arc of instability” stretching from the Middle East to Northeast Asia. As the United States refashions its global strategy, we should strive to clarify the roles of the two countries and work to create an effective framework for Japan-U.S. cooperation through closer strategic dialogue between the two countries.

As demonstrated by the SDF’s activities in the Indian Ocean based on the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law and its activities in Iraq based on the Special Measures Law for Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq, close cooperation with various countries, especially with the United States, is necessary to ensure the effectiveness of Japan’s activities as a member of the international community, based on resolutions of the United Nations Security Council. There is also a need to study ways of boosting the effectiveness of these activities through strategic dialogue between Japan and the United States.

c. Cooperation with the International Community

Efforts to eliminate potential sources of threats in various parts of the world, based on cooperative arrangements with the international community, will become increasingly important to Japan’s security strategy. A good example of such activities is peace building, which includes restoring peace in countries beset by civil war and regional conflicts, then keeping the peace once it is restored to facilitate reconstruction and nation building. Realizing this goal necessitates the contribution of personnel and various types of human resources acting in close collaboration with each other, including the SDF, the police, government administrators, Official Development Assistance (ODA)-related organizations, private

enterprises, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and others. Initiatives undertaken via ODA and other financial-assistance programs to counter infectious diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, or efforts to achieve “human security,”⁴ including help in raising education standards and training human resources as well as projects to eliminate poverty, are also important activities for preventing conflicts and bringing stability to various parts of the world. Through participation in these types of activities and drawing on the collective resources of the international community, we must eliminate failed states from the world. In the past, there has not been sufficient awareness of the vital link between Japan’s international-cooperation activities and its security. Japan’s current international peace-building efforts and initiatives aimed at achieving “human security” in various parts of the world should be viewed as having a direct bearing on Japan’s security. Preventing some fragile countries from becoming sanctuaries for international terrorists is critical to the stability of the world and Japan’s national interests.

Preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other WMD as well as ballistic missiles used to deliver them not only has relevance to Japan’s security, it is Japan’s historic mission as the only country in the world to be attacked with atomic weapons. The importance of this cannot be overemphasized when we consider the dangers that would result from WMD falling into the hands of terrorists. Thus, there is a need for efforts aimed at turning the NPT and other treaties and international frameworks that are concerned with export controls related to disarmament and nonproliferation, as well as the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI),⁵ into more universally accepted international frameworks and strengthening their functions. We need to consider ways of providing appropriate help to developing countries that are struggling to implement these treaties and frameworks.

As another step to prevent the threat of terrorism, there is a need to enhance Japan’s counter-terrorism capacity and legal systems to the world’s highest standards. It is also necessary to bolster diplomatic efforts and cooperation between the Japanese police and judiciary and those of other countries via multilateral/bilateral forums and regional forums. Key issues are the creation of international rules to deny safe haven to terrorists, and provision of assistance to developing countries with weak terrorist-fighting capabilities to help build their capacity to counter terrorism. From the perspective of confronting the root causes of contemporary terrorism, it is critical to strengthen relations with moderate Islamic countries and to promote nation building as well as stabilization of the civil societies in the Middle East.

Securing sea lines of communication is of vital importance to Japan because of its heavy dependence on imported energy resources. There is a need for cooperative arrangements and international frameworks to deal with the depredations of pirates and international criminal organizations, which have grown in frequency in recent years, as well as conflicts in the coastal areas that would endanger the safety of the sea lines of communication.

Another key thrust of initiatives to prevent threats from arising from any part of the world is the effort to establish multilateral institutions focused on confidence building, preventive diplomacy, and settling conflicts. At the highest level, this effort means bolstering the functions of the United Nations Security Council and, in a more localized form, includes

⁴ “Human security” embodies the idea of strengthening efforts, in the face of globalization, to protect each individual from threats to survival, life, and dignity, such as conflicts, refugee problems, infectious diseases, and sudden economic crises.

⁵ PSI is an initiative to consider collective measures among the participating countries in order to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, missiles, and their related materials, which is a threat to the peace and stability of the international society, in accordance with the international law and each country’s domestic laws.

strengthening the activities of, for example, the ASEAN Regional Forum. Another important plank is security dialogue and exchanges between the military of each country.

It is important for Japan to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in order to enhance the effectiveness of the concerted efforts that Japan is making in conjunction with the international community. As a permanent member of the Security Council, Japan could take action that would help to achieve better multilateral cooperation and enhance the effectiveness of efforts to build peace throughout the world. That would not only be in Japan's interests, but would also contribute to improving the institutions and mechanisms of the United Nations.

(3) Integrating the Elements of the Security Strategy

As discussed above, achievement of the two major goals of Japan's defense and improved international security environment necessitates a judicious combination of three separate approaches. This would create six fields of activity that can be regarded as the basic component of Japan's security strategy. However, these six fields represent merely a conceptual categorization; as such, when it comes to the actual policy implementation process, it will be imperative that these activities be gelled together to maximize their utility and effectiveness. That is to say, we cannot say that such and such organization is responsible for any specific field of activities. For each field, it is necessary to focus the capabilities of the relevant ministries and to seek the cooperation of local governments and the people.

Furthermore, these six constituents are not independent of each other. Efforts taken by Japan at its own initiative to defend itself are closely interrelated with efforts taken in conjunction with the international community to create a stable international environment. Having the capacity to act on its own behalf in an appropriate manner is what gives Japan the capability to cooperate with the international community, and the cumulative experience of cooperating with the international community would reduce the threats to Japan.

In order to implement the integrated strategy effectively, it is essential to have an integrated decision-making mechanism. There is a need for a central decision-making mechanism under the leadership of the Prime Minister to monitor and observe on a day-to-day basis all six fields of activity, and develop appropriate policy guidelines. Addressing this issue will necessitate reforming the Security Council so that it can, as a strategic command center for mid- to long-term security policymaking, determine how best to mix the six constituents of the strategy and what roles to assign to what organizations. It is only when the above elements are integrated that the new security strategy can function to maximum effect.

3 Defense Force to Support the New Security Strategy:

Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force

The question that arises is: what kind of capabilities should the SDF have in the context of the Integrated Security Strategy? We will discuss this first by comparing the defense force for the future with the defense force of the past. The Self-Defense Forces Law states that the "primary mission of the Self-Defense Forces is to protect Japan's independence and peace and to defend the country from direct and indirect aggression in order to preserve the security of the nation." The specific actions defined as the primary missions of the SDF in this law are concerned with responding to threats to Japan. In respect of the two security goals outlined

earlier, the Law defines the SDF's duty primarily in terms of the first, namely, the defense of Japan. It is also clear that in relation to the Basic Defense Force Concept, the Law envisages "states" as the source of threats to Japan. In other words, the SDF has been defined as an entity whose primary role is to protect Japan from threats by other states without going overseas. Fortunately, the situation has never arisen where it has been necessary to utilize the capabilities of the SDF, as envisaged, for this purpose. We can argue that there has never been an act of aggression against Japan since the end of the Second World War thanks to the SDF's "denial capability" and the existence of the Basic Defense Force. In fact, it would be fair to say that the SDF has fulfilled its objectives by its existence alone.

Since the 1990s, however, the need to revise this model has become increasingly apparent. Immediately after the Gulf War, Japanese minesweepers were sent to the Persian Gulf to clear mines and in 1992, SDF units were sent to Cambodia for United Nations peacekeeping operations based on the provisions of the Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) Cooperation Law. The SDF is also involved in activities in the Indian Ocean and in Iraq in accordance with the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law and the Special Measures Law for Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq. The SDF is now engaged in a variety of activities in the international arena.

In the 1990s, the SDF has been involved in international peace-cooperation activities that differ from its primary mission envisaged in the SDF Law. Given the current security environment and Japan's strategy for dealing with it, however, we could say that these activities have been carried out in line with the strategy of "preventing the emergence of threats by improving international security environment." This new reality needs to be reflected in the government's official strategy and policies.

At the same time, there is a need to reexamine the way the SDF is equipped from the perspective of the defense of Japan. Threats to Japan arising from inter-state conflicts in the surrounding area have by no means vanished. However, there is good reason to question whether the SDF is prepared to deal with the new threats of today, given that its current organization, equipment, and deployment were designed for potential threats in the Cold War era. Furthermore, in light of new threats that have arisen since the 1990s, such as the ballistic missiles and armed special-operations vessels, the time has come to reexamine the status quo. It is obvious that the Basic Defense Force Concept that has held sway until now is inappropriate for dealing with acts of terrorism perpetrated by non-state actors. Revising the Basic Defense Force Concept certainly does not mean a return to earlier ideas about "requirement-based defense force (*Shoyou Boueiryoku*)" concept, which calls for a defense force capable of effectively dealing with situations up to "a limited conventional aggression." Japan needs an effective defense force concept that is capable of responding to a variety of threats while maintaining the useful elements of the Basic Defense Force Concept.

What kind of capabilities are the SDF expected to have in the current security environment? Basically, the capabilities required of the SDF are those that contribute to the various approaches outlined in the section dealing with the Integrated Security Strategy. From the perspective of Japan's defense, the SDF must have a rapid-response capability and the ability to collect and analyze information when faced with a variety of threats arising from conflicts between states, such as those involving ballistic missiles, and also certain "basic" capabilities to respond to a possible revival of traditional threats. It must also have the ability to respond to acts of terrorism by non-state actors and also maintain and strengthen the capacity to deal with major natural disasters. There is the need for an appropriate division of roles to ensure the effective functioning of the Japan-U.S. alliance. In addition, we will have to take actions for confidence building with our neighbors and promote regional cooperation. In terms of improving international security environment, the SDF should also be capable of

participating in international peace cooperation activities. For this purpose, the SDF should participate in cooperative activities with the United States and security dialogue with other countries. The future Defense Force will, thus, need to be capable of fulfilling a number of functions as discussed here.

There are, however, many constraining factors within Japan that affect the country's ability to upgrade its defense capabilities. The first is the demographic constraint imposed by the dwindling birthrate; the second is the government's distressed finances. The key to upgrading Japan's defense capabilities in the future, based on the notion of an integrated security strategy, hinges on the creation of a framework capable of fulfilling effectively the various required functions through appropriate management and mixing and matching of existing organizations, along with the implementation of scrap-and-build programs, and the division of roles between Japan and the United States.

This is not impossible if we consider the SDF's past record. For example, the SDF, built upon the Basic Defense Force Concept, has already performed admirably in disaster relief and peacekeeping operations. It is now necessary to capitalize on this track record and to develop means of managing the various units to achieve greater versatility. It should be possible to perform many functions without enlarging the size of the force by learning lesson from the streamlining efforts of business enterprises, utilizing state-of-the-art information technology, overhauling the chain of command, and implementing appropriate educational, training, and other improvement programs. In December 2003, the Japanese government made it clear in the Cabinet Decision on introduction of BMD systems that the decision to acquire BMD systems would entail substantial restructuring and streamlining of the organization and equipment of the SDF, and constraints on the defense budget.

The pivotal requirement of the Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force is the ability to collect and analyze information. The level of the nation's intelligence capability is critical to meeting new threats, such as the threat of terrorism. Intelligence also plays a vital role in determining where and how to use the SDF's capabilities to maximum effect. The ability to collect and analyze information has a substantial multiplier effect on the effectiveness of the physical defense force and is the fundamental underpinning of a Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force capable of responding to multiple, complex threats while the SDF's existing organization and equipment are considerably overhauled to improve efficiency.

Based on the Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force concept, we need to reevaluate the capabilities that the SDF should possess in the new security environment, and review the improvement plans accordingly. At no time in the past, it seems, has the security of the people depended so much on the SDF's organizational capability to respond to various contingencies with agility.

PART II: POLICY AGENDAS FOR THE NEW SECURITY STRATEGY

As stated in Part I, the new security environment compels Japan to develop a mechanism for averting a variety of hard-to-predict threats and responding with speed and precision to the threats that become real. Moreover, the advancement of globalization has made it necessary for Japan to work with its ally and other nations to counter new types of threats. In Part II we will discuss policy agendas that need to be addressed by the government as whole in order to successfully implement a new security strategy to deal with the current environment.

1 Developing a Mechanism for Implementing the Integrated Security Strategy

As argued earlier, only an integrated system can ensure security. It is necessary to eliminate the baneful effects of stove-piped organizational structures and develop a mechanism that allows swift and effective decision-making. We present here recommendations on (a) development of a mechanism for responding to emergency situations, (b) strengthening intelligence capabilities, (c) substantial reinforcement of the Security Council's functions, and (d) a national decision-making base.

(1) Responding to Emergency Situations

The government's decision-making regarding security policy and crisis management sets a basic course of action, and as such must be properly executed under the Prime Minister's leadership. Consequently, the Cabinet Secretariat, as the Prime Minister's support team, needs to possess sufficient capacity for both security policy planning and crisis management.

The Prime Minister is responsible for presiding over the government's administrative organs in accordance with the decisions made in Cabinet Meetings. However, this system requires a special scheme that allows for prompt, accurate responses to national emergencies. In the case of a ballistic missile attack upon Japan, for example, it would be next to impossible for the Prime Minister to convene a Cabinet Meeting and decide upon a response in the roughly ten minutes between missile launch and impact. Consequently, the government must promptly seek to implement rapid, precise decision-making for dealing with such crises by examining and selecting schemes, including the ways to delegate authorities to different governmental organizations, that allow appropriate responses to be made at the first line of defense. In this regard, it is crucial to establish a mechanism for swift, accurate decision-making by making better use of the Security Council, routinely undertaking various case studies, and enhancing the entire government's intelligence and communications infrastructure.

In order to deal with a diverse, complex set of contingencies, the government must work as a whole to implement integrated responses, while at the same time appropriately dividing roles between the relevant organizations. Generally speaking, the main players in the preservation of public order and disaster relief are the police, the Fire and Disaster Management Agency, the Japan Coast Guard, and other agencies responsible for maintaining the domestic security and responding to disasters, while the Self-Defense Forces (SDF)

serves them in a complementary role. However, when these agencies alone cannot effectively deal with such situations as chemical or biological terrorist attacks, radiation contamination and other extraordinary disasters, and infiltration by heavily armed foreign elements, the SDF will be called upon to play a key role in dealing with such challenges. Given these considerations, the SDF and the other agencies need to establish a system of clearly defined role sharing and seamless coordination that is free of any sectionalism. For such collaborative relationships to be effective, the relevant agencies need to regularly engage in various joint exercises and personnel exchanges, and closely coordinate their activities at every echelon, from central command down to the field units.

The question of how to construct a national decision-making mechanism for security does not bear upon Japan alone. In order to ensure the smooth, appropriate implementation of joint Japan-U.S. responses to situations regarded as armed attack against Japan, it is vital to constantly maintain close communication between both nations, test out the bilateral decision-making process before contingencies arise, and develop response manuals.

The employment of defense capabilities is a critical element in national policy for responding to national emergencies, and accordingly it is administered through a multi-layered mechanism of civilian control involving the Diet and the Prime Minister. The management of military affairs by civilian leadership is a very important principle of democratic rule. Moreover, from the government's perspective, it is of utmost importance to have in place a mechanism whereby the government's decision-making processes can be sufficiently aided through a variety of support, including full assistance from the relevant policy planning bureaus of ministries and agencies.

(2) Strengthening Intelligence Capabilities

To formulate security policies and to make decisions in crises appropriately under the Prime Minister's leadership, it is essential that critical information be rapidly shared between intelligence officers and the government's decision-makers at all levels.

In contrast with the relatively clearly defined military threats that characterized the Cold War, newly emerging threats, particularly those in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, represent diverse, indistinct sources and forms. Accurate responses to these new threats require, above all, early identification of the underlying trends and action to prevent them from resulting in real attacks. Consequently, the government is faced with the urgent task of further strengthening its intelligence capabilities so that specialized, sophisticated information gathering and analysis can be performed in a precise, timely manner.

a. Diversifying and Strengthening the Means of Information Gathering

Imagery and signals intelligence gathered through satellites and other technical means is an effective tool for tracking military developments in neighboring countries, and is particularly useful in countering the new threats posed by international terrorists. Therefore, concurrent efforts should be made to re-examine the implications of the Diet resolution on development and use of the outer space, and to enhance the capabilities of information-gathering satellites. The information collected through such technical means should be extensively and more effectively applied to security and crisis management in the government's decision-making process, while safeguards are implemented to preserve confidentiality.

There is also a growing need to counter the new, externally unrecognizable threats posed by non-state actors through first-hand human intelligence. Consequently, the government should promptly take steps to fully exploit human intelligence resources, including area study specialists and overseas intelligence experts.

b. Strengthening Capabilities for Gathering, Sharing, and Analyzing Information

In order to strengthen the Cabinet's intelligence capabilities, the government needs to develop a mechanism that swiftly and accurately funnels the information necessary for security and crisis management to the Cabinet for use as a resource in the formation of decisions. This requires the regular use of the Cabinet Intelligence Committee meetings, Joint Intelligence Committee meetings, and other such gatherings to inspect, evaluate, and share intelligence collected and analyzed by relevant ministries and agencies in line with the government's basic guidelines and priorities. It is such constant endeavors as these that provide a solid base for the Cabinet to flexibly conduct sophisticated intelligence gathering and analysis in response to national emergencies.

In particular, the Cabinet should make good use of intelligence collected and produced by relevant ministries and agencies under a clearly defined division of responsibilities, and improve its capacity to integrate and share such intelligence by assembling under the Director of Cabinet Intelligence a staff of talented ministry officers who would be handpicked by the Chief Cabinet Secretary, the chairperson of the Cabinet Intelligence Committee meetings, and who would have access to all information available to the Cabinet.

Since the end of the Cold War, security concerns have become much more complex, diverse, and internationally widespread. Accordingly, the scope of security concerns that must be targeted by intelligence analysis is expanding. In order to meet this growing need, the government should strive to improve analytical capabilities, cultivate and train human resources internally available, and engage in collaborative efforts with universities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to pool and effectively utilize the nation's specialized knowledge base.

c. Ensuring Information Security

Leakage of shared intelligence could impede further information sharing among different agencies and the sustained acquisition of sensitive intelligence from foreign countries. Therefore, the development of a tight information security system is a vital prerequisite to the nation's efforts to gather, analyze, and utilize intelligence. This requires the formulation and implementation of a common set of strict, unambiguous information security rules for all individuals that handle intelligence related to security and crisis management. When formulating these rules, the government should consider toughening the penalties against parties who leak classified information.

d. Visions for International Intelligence Cooperation

In order that effective action can be taken in response to new threats based on international networks, Japan must strengthen its intelligence-related cooperation with other nations. Such cooperation needs to be based on mutually beneficial relationships, meaning that in exchange for quality information from other nations, Japan, too, must enhance its information gathering and analysis capabilities to better serve its ally and friends. Moreover, to ensure the effective implementation of these collaborative efforts, Japan needs to develop competent, efficient

intelligence capabilities and make a distinction between the intelligence capabilities that Japan needs to possess indigenously, and the capabilities that can be borrowed from other countries.

(3) Substantial Reinforcement of Security Council Functions

The government needs to develop a coherent system that can, by functioning as the Cabinet's nerve center, respond to national crises and strengthen intelligence capabilities within the framework of the Integrated Security Strategy. In this section, we present recommendations for achieving this objective through substantial reinforcement of the Security Council's functions.

The Security Council was established as a Cabinet organ for deliberating on critical matters related to defense and crisis response. As part of the recent development of emergency legislation, laws were revised to strengthen the government's decision-making capacity for crisis management. As a result of the revisions, the Security Council was given the central role in the government's decision-making process with regard to both the formulation of National Defense Program Outline and the actual response to national crises, including situations regarded as armed attack. The government must continue to radically strengthen the council's role as the principal implementer of the Integrated Security Strategy.

In particular, it is vital that its core members be brought together more frequently to convene meetings for information-circulation training and intelligence analysis purposes so that the Security Council can flexibly operate when an emergency arises and make decisions with speed and precision. In addition, the government should make better use of the council's Special Advisory Committee for Contingency Planning to regularly review various contingencies.

The Security Council also has to be able to constantly monitor the nation's overall security policy and ensure its coherence by creating annual guidelines and reports on the Integrated Security Strategy. Furthermore, the government should use the Security Council as a forum for in-depth discussion of security strategy by Cabinet ministers and, for that purpose, seek to build up the current Cabinet Secretariat staff and sponsor policy studies by internal and external experts. In doing so, the National Security Council within the Office of the President of the United States can serve as a useful model.⁶

At present, national defense policies are coordinated by the Defense Agency, which is an external bureau of the Cabinet Office and is run by a director-general who also serves as a minister of state. Given the importance of defense in preserving the nation's existence, however, there needs to be discussion of how to reshape the defense structure so that it can better play an advisory role for the Prime Minister, or commander-in-chief of the SDF. Such discussion should include examination of the mechanisms used in other nations.

⁶ The National Security Council (NSC) was established by the National Security Act of 1947. It is responsible for advising and assisting the President with regard to national security and foreign policy matters, and for coordinating these policies among government agencies. The council's four statutory members are the President (chair), the Vice President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the statutory military adviser to the Council, and the Director of Central Intelligence is its intelligence adviser.

(4) Enhancing the Security Policy Base

The development of human resources for operating the decision-making system is a key part of making that system truly function as intended. For this reason, the government must cultivate the core personnel who are responsible for security and crisis management. In addition to securing a full complement of quality human resources for each relevant organ, the government should also revamp the traditional training system's overemphasis on on-the-job training (OJT), increase the opportunities for personnel to study at home and abroad so that they can acquire in-depth specialized knowledge, and energize the exchange of personnel among related ministries with the Cabinet Secretariat acting as the pivot, as well as exchange with non-governmental and/or academic institutions so as to develop personnel capable of envisioning security policy from the perspective of government as a whole rather than simply within the framework of their ministry of origin. In addition, governmental and non-governmental security think tanks should be nurtured and buttressed as "idea centers" for specialized study of security issues and policies.

Given that laws function as part of the base supporting security policy, there is an urgent need to enhance the legal framework, particularly with regard to prevention of terrorism. Thus the government should move quickly to develop laws in a manner based on public consent and taking into account legal models in other nations.

2 Visions for the Japan-U.S. Alliance

(1) Significance of the Japan-U.S. Alliance and the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements

In spite of the sweeping changes in the global security environment, the region surrounding Japan still contains traditional destabilizing elements. The Japan-U.S. security arrangements and the U.S. military presence will continue to be a vital buttress in Japan's defense system, as well as an indispensable stabilizing force in this region.

Following the 9/11 attacks, U.S. security strategy has shifted from one focusing on military threats posed by particular nations to one of executing a full-scale response to the asymmetric threats of terrorists and rogue states. In addition, the new strategy seeks to prevent these entities from acquiring weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Accordingly, the United States is moving away from its traditional strategy of deterrence, and is instead working to enhance its capabilities in intelligence, rapid deployment, and other areas to be able to flexibly respond to new, amorphous threats. At the same time, the United States is carrying out a global realignment of its forces, and is seeking to strengthen relations with its allies and friends.

Terrorism and the proliferation of WMD, missiles, and other hazards pose a critical threat to Japan's security. As an effective response to these menaces is impossible for any nation to accomplish on its own, Japan must work hand-in-hand with the international community to achieve this goal. Given that Japan's ally—the United States—plays the leading role in these international efforts, the Japanese government must give attention to the likelihood that opportunities to collaborate with the United States within the framework of cooperation with the international community will increase.

(2) Maintaining and Strengthening the Japan-U.S. Alliance

Efforts must be persistently continued to maintain and strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance. From the perspective of Japan's defense, it is important that the Japan-U.S. cooperation in national emergencies and situations in areas surrounding Japan be clearly defined in accordance with the current "Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation," which were developed in 1997.

For that purpose, the government should energize the Comprehensive Mechanism established under the Guidelines in order to promote the exchange of candid opinions, and generate deeper discussion of the visions for Japan-U.S. cooperation in national emergencies and situations in areas surrounding Japan. To make the mechanism function more effectively, the governments of the United States and Japan need to continue discussion. Consequently, those talks need to involve not only the Defense Agency and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but also the Cabinet Secretariat, as well as the police, the Fire and Disaster Management Agency, the Japan Coast Guard, and other agencies when necessary.

In addition, there is a need to have strategic talks with the United States to improve shared understanding regarding the new security environment and the strategic objectives that it requires. The current effort by the United States to globally realign its forces should be viewed as an opportunity for comprehensive strategic discussions with the United States on the overall Japan-U.S. security relationship, keeping in mind the deterrent role that the U.S. forces in Japan play.

As part of this effort, Japan needs to build a cooperative relationship with the United States that will help to steadily advance not only the defense of Japan and the stabilization of areas surrounding Japan, but also the stabilization of the international community as a whole, that will prevent the emergence of threats to Japan. For example, the realization of better intelligence-related collaboration with the United States would help make bilateral talks more fruitful and thereby create a more effective alliance. Japan should further enhance its capabilities in gathering and analyzing information in order to be able to offer balanced, objective analytical products based on Japan's own perspective. In addition to that effort, the government should also take the initiative in pursuing strategic discussion with the United States concerning role sharing, taking into account Japan's own imperatives. In addition, a new "Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration on Security" and new "Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation" that are in touch with the current strategic environment should be formulated upon the output of these talks.

Furthermore, as a means of preserving the long-term stability of the Japan-U.S. alliance, the government needs to demonstrate strong political leadership to make the U.S. side better understand the Japanese position on issues concerning the U.S. bases in Japan. Japan and the United States must cooperate in taking the actions which are needed to reduce the burden that U.S. military bases place on Japanese communities.

3 Promoting International Peace Cooperation

(1) Japanese Approach to International Peace Cooperation

To further consolidate its security, Japan should actively participate in international activities to stabilize various regions of the world, particularly those with close ties with Japan, by making use of its technological prowess and administrative ability. For this purpose, Japan should implement the measures described below, and make efforts to improve the

institutions and mechanisms of the United Nations, especially reforming the Security Council, to enable the international community to better cooperate in building peace.

(2) Developing the Infrastructure for International Peace Cooperation

In recent years the international community has enlarged the scope of its efforts beyond peacekeeping operations to include a comprehensive set of actions ranging from conflict prevention to post-conflict national reconstruction. Given this transformation, the SDF and the government as a whole should engage in integrated efforts for international peace cooperation. Specifically, the following actions need to be taken.

a. Coordination for an Effective Implementation of International Peace Cooperation

At present, several different agencies within the government, such as the Cabinet Office, the Defense Agency, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, handle international peace cooperation activities such as dispatch of personnel. A mechanism needs to be developed to improve the effectiveness of Japan's international cooperation by appropriately combining the government's various means for cooperation so that all relevant agencies can closely coordinate their efforts in responding to individual security-related requirements. It is also necessary to consider bestowing honor on and increase benefits to personnel, including NGO members, participating in international peace cooperation activities in order to boost their morale.

b. Clarification of Role Sharing

In order to effectively combine the nation's means for cooperation, the government must establish guidelines that clearly delineate what is expected of the SDF and what is expected of civilian agents. To date, the SDF's role in international peace cooperation has been mostly focused on humanitarian assistance and logistical support. However, international peace cooperation activities can produce good results only if public order in the deployment area improves. For this reason, the government should fully study the question of whether to continue using the SDF for mainly humanitarian assistance and logistical support—activities in which the SDF has experience and a proven track record—or take advantage of the SDF's capabilities by expanding its role to include policing operations for maintaining public order in the deployment area. In that case, we need to consider enabling the SDF members to use firearms, if necessary, in executing their missions.

c. International Peace Cooperation as One of the SDF's Primary Missions

As previously stated, concurrently with the expansion of the international community's cooperative efforts in maintaining peace, participation by Japan in those efforts is becoming increasingly important to the nation's own security. Traditionally, international peace cooperation has been regarded as an incidental duty of the SDF, but given the growing importance of such cooperative efforts, they should be redefined as one of its primary missions.

d. Upgrading Japanese Police's International-Cooperation Activities

In recent international peace cooperative actions, the training of local police officers to improve public order has become a key challenge. Given the fact that the Japanese police system and policemen's operational ability are acclaimed internationally, Japan must do its best to enhance its ability to provide education and training to the local police staff.

e. Ensuring Personnel Safety

Ensuring safety is a challenge that concerns all personnel involved in international peace cooperation. Loosening the restrictions on use of firearms has much bearing on this issue. However, simply loosening such restrictions will not ensure safety of personnel. Although loosening these restrictions is a matter that deserves consideration, the government should examine other means of improving safety, such as the development of intelligence gathering and sharing functions, better security management planning, and more effective coordination with Official Development Assistance (ODA) projects.

f. Adopting General Laws for International Peace Cooperation

Heretofore Japan's legislative response to international peace cooperation needs has been to enact a special measures law for each new situation as it arises. However, the government should consider adopting general laws in order to keep Japan more consistently engaged in and capable of taking quick actions for international peace cooperation activities and to domestically and internationally communicate its principles in undertaking such activities, including the principle not to use force and the principle to contribute to the creation of a peaceful and stable international environment as a responsible member of the international community. In doing so, the government should thoroughly examine the types of roles that Japan would play, and then, based on public consent, clearly delineate those duties and the authority for executing them.

4 Reforming the Defense Industrial and Technological Base

(1) Maintaining the Production and Technological Base and Streamlining the Defense Industry

The necessity of maintaining Japan's advanced defense production and technological base has traditionally been perceived in terms of preserving the identity of the nation's own security policy, having leverage in bargaining over procurements from overseas, and the capacity to quickly expand its forces in a crisis.

In recent years, the rapid progress in technology and the rising costs of new equipment have prompted the defense industries of industrialized nations to endeavor to streamline their operations and maintain competitiveness through international collaboration and role sharing. There is concern, however, that Japan could be left behind as other industrialized nations achieve technological progress through international joint development projects.

Japan faces little risk today in having its external supply lines cut off due to large-scale military actions, unlike in the Cold War period, and there will unlikely be any dramatic increases in defense spending. As a result, it has become difficult to maintain the production base across the board, and thus the government should reconsider its policy of maintaining

indigenous weapons production capacity whenever possible. A truly efficient, competitive defense production and technological base can be maintained only by making a clear distinction between what domestic capabilities should be retained and what needs should be outsourced to other nations, and by retaining state-of-the-art production capabilities in core weapon systems.

(2) The Three Principles on Arms Export

Japan's Three Principles on Arms Export was adopted in 1967 with the guiding philosophy of preventing the aggravation of international conflicts. Target areas were expanded in the 1970s, but the transfer of military technology to the United States, on certain conditions, was exempted in 1983. The guiding philosophy of these principles answers the security imperatives of the present day—ensuring global peace and stability—and still remains significant. In addition, Japan has actively promoted arms control and disarmament to prevent international conflict by participating in the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) arrangements, and addressing the issue of small arms and light weapons.

Building upon these developments, however, the government must now reassess the ban on arms exports that has been in effect since the mid-1970s. First, it has to explore ways to participate in international joint development project and role sharing in production, which are becoming the global norm, to preserve the “core technologies” that are indispensable to Japan's security. Furthermore, if the current joint technological research on ballistic missile defense (BMD) by Japan and the United States reaches the point of joint development and production, it will be necessary to revise the Three Principles on Arms Export. Given these circumstances, the government should relax the ban on arms export, at least to the United States, which is Japan's ally.

In reexamining its export control regime and determining what kind of weapons and technologies can be exported to which countries, the government should keep in mind the principles' historical development and the views expressed by various parties, and uphold the aforementioned guiding philosophy.

(3) Enhancing the Efficiency of Procurement and R&D

As military equipment becomes more sophisticated through advancements in technology, its cost rises accordingly, making it necessary for the government and the private sector to continue working together to lower procurement costs. Specifically, those efforts should include streamlining of the products, diversification of procurement sources through the use of dual-use products, and the promotion of competition among defense-related enterprises.

Despite the remarkable progress in technology, the long-term procurement of small quantities of equipment can entail higher costs and the risk of the equipment becoming obsolete by the time it is fielded. Consequently, there is a need to stay closely in step with the speed of technological progress and to lower procurement and maintenance costs by implementing various remedies, including the short-term, concentrated acquisition of weapon systems that involve development of large-scale systems such as C4ISR.⁷

⁷ C4ISR stands for command, control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. It serves to accurately assessing enemy movements and appropriately controlling

The government also needs to thoroughly improve the efficiency of research and development (R&D) on equipment. To do so, it must strengthen its collaboration with business and academic circles, carefully select target items and focus R&D efforts on those items, constantly re-evaluate projects, and implement necessary streamlining efforts.

one's own forces. It is indispensable to the efficient and effective execution of military operations. In recent years, superiority in C4ISR capabilities, together with superiority in military equipment, has given one country a decisive edge in military effectiveness over others.

PART III: VISIONS FOR THE JAPANESE DEFENSE FORCE

This report contended in Part I that the current defense force should be substantially restructured and a Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force, equipped with sophisticated intelligence capabilities and highly networked weapons systems, and learning lesson from the streamlining efforts made by business enterprises, should be put in place to deal with complex and diverse future threats. In constructing the Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force, the government has to painstakingly prioritize different requirements and streamline organizations and weapon systems like the private enterprises did and are still doing, and do so under the political leadership that will make the entire process accountable to the Japanese citizens. The specifics of this Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force will be discussed below.

1 Roles and Functions of the Defense Force

(1) Roles and Functions for the Defense of Japan

As stated previously, the traditional threats of inter-state conflict in the areas surrounding Japan have not disappeared. Preparing for such threats is the core role that defense forces of any independent state should play. At the same time, the defense force is expected to deal with an attack against Japan or Japanese citizens by newly emergent non-state actors, participate in international peace cooperation activities, and deal with large-scale disasters. In order to maintain Japan's security through responding to these diverse threats, it is necessary for defense forces to possess the following functions.

a. Dealing with the Threat of Inter-State Conflicts

When considering the vision for new defense forces, it is necessary to bear in mind that the nature of threats is changing compared with the past. That is, first of all, it is thought that for the time being there is no threat of a full-scale armed invasion of Japan, which had been the focus of the defense forces during the Cold War. Secondly, although the U.S. forces continue to provide effective deterrence against the threat that nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles capable of delivering them pose to Japan, the introduction of ballistic missile defense systems will likely reinforce its credibility. Thirdly, the defense forces should be able to make quick and effective response to attacks against important installations and instigation of domestic upheavals perpetrated by guerrillas or special operations forces, as well as invasions of isolated islands and low-intensity military actions such as illegal military actions in the vicinity of Japan.

Based on such threat assessment, the new defense forces must be ready and able to swiftly execute the following missions.

- (a) Defending offshore islands, and countering armed incursions into Japanese territories
- (b) Defending important installations from attacks by guerrillas and special operations forces, as well as containing those attacks and damage from them
- (c) Monitoring and dealing with armed special-operations vessels in surrounding areas
- (d) Monitoring surrounding airspace and dealing with the violation of airspace

- (e) Effective defense against ballistic missiles
- (f) Collecting and analyzing strategic intelligence pertaining to the military posture of neighboring countries

At the same time, forces designed for the defense against a full-scale invasion should be significantly reduced, while maintaining an appropriate level of “basic” defense forces to prepare for future uncertainties.

Furthermore, the response to the situations listed above is not to be taken solely by the Self-Defense Forces (SDF), but jointly with the police in the case of armed infiltrations and with the Japan Coast Guard in the case of armed special-operations vessels intrusions. Coordination between the SDF and the domestic security agencies, such as the one between the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force and Japan Coast Guard, should be reexamined to determine whether redundancies, excesses, or deficiencies exist in capabilities and equipment, in order to make sure that roles are properly shared between the two organizations.

b. Dealing with Threats from Non-State Actors

In responding to attacks committed by international terrorist organizations against Japan or Japanese citizens, the domestic security agencies such as the police should play the leading role. In the meanwhile, when they cannot effectively deal with situations such as large-scale or special-type attacks executed by heavily armed agents and/or terrorists armed with chemical or biological weapons, the SDF and the domestic security agencies should work together in dealing with them. For this reason, the SDF should maintain a high state of readiness and the capability to cope with terrorist attacks involving the use of biological or chemical weapons.

c. Responding to Large-Scale Disasters

In most cases, local governments, fire departments, and the police would deal with disasters. However, in the case of a large-scale disaster such as a major earthquake, or an extraordinary calamity such as contamination from chemical substances or radioactive materials, the SDF would be expected to provide support for their efforts with its manpower and specialized capabilities. The SDF must be prepared to adequately address the needs of the people and obtain their understanding and cooperation regarding the ways of responding to various situations by educating them through drills and other available means.

d. Cooperation with the United States

Deterrence that the United States provides Japan has been the basis of the amicable relations Japan enjoys with its neighbors. In order to preserve the security of Japan, it is essential to maintain and strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance based on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, in addition to the continuation of Japan’s own defense efforts. It is therefore necessary for both countries to prepare Bilateral Defense Planning and Mutual Cooperation Planning, and carry out joint exercises in peacetime so that they can work together efficiently in wartime on the basis of the “Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation.” They will also have to promote cooperation on equipment and technologies to enhance interoperability.

e. Cooperation with the International Community

Following the end of the Cold War, there has been an increased effort to enhance transparency in military power and defense policies of each country, and create more stable security environment by promoting mutual understanding and trust among the members of the international community through security dialogues and exchanges of security policymakers. Recently this trend has taken root in this region, and Japan must make continued efforts to encourage this. To do so, Japan has to hold security dialogues with other countries, and proactively promote mutual visits by naval vessels and aircraft, joint exercises, and exchanges and interaction of students in uniform as well as defense experts.

(2) Roles and Capabilities to Prevent the Emergence of Threats Overseas

Since the SDF participated for the first time in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Cambodia in 1992, it has been engaged in various types of peacekeeping operations and international humanitarian relief efforts. These operations, which the SDF executed by utilizing its self-sufficient ability to operate in a highly organized manner in hazardous areas lacking modern infrastructure, are highly appreciated by the international community. In recent years, the international community has not only continued peacekeeping activities but also embarked on post-conflict nation-building efforts. Given the effectiveness of these efforts in preventing new threats from emerging and in stabilizing the international environment, including the areas surrounding Japan, the SDF should actively contribute to the efforts to promote international peace.

a. International Peace Cooperation

Regarding peacekeeping operations, in the past the SDF has mainly been engaged in logistical support missions such as engineering and transportation, but one can expect opportunities to arise for the implementation of so-called “core missions,” which include monitoring cease-fires and controlling weapons in the future with the recent lifting of limitations on such activities.

In terms of post-conflict nation building, roles are shared by different actors, whereby the primary providers of humanitarian assistance will be civilians and private companies, while the SDF will carry out support missions to give first aid. However, in cases where civilian reconstruction aid cannot be carried out due to the lack of secure environment, the SDF, with the capability to protect itself, would have to play the leading role. In particular, in cases where multinational forces are in charge of reconstruction effort, the SDF would have to take the lead in providing logistical support to such forces.

Taking into account these considerations, the SDF needs to maintain necessary training and educational infrastructure and keep its personnel adequately trained so that it could participate without delay in peace-cooperation activities when such needs arise. In addition, the SDF is required to maintain some units on high alert and enhance its ability to quickly transport a large quantity of relief supplies, personnel, and equipment to remote areas.

Furthermore, the SDF and other related organizations have to promote security dialogue with other nations for confidence-building purposes, and actively participate in activities such as anti-piracy patrols to preserve order at sea, and the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Not only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and the Japan Coast Guard but also the SDF would have to carry out these missions, and expand cooperation with other countries.

b. Japan-U.S. Cooperation in Conjunction with the International Community

Situations will likely increase where Japan and the United States cooperate in undertaking international peace cooperation activities. For this reason, it is necessary to expand Japan-U.S. cooperation in the field of intelligence and to promote interaction between foreign policy and defense policymakers of the two countries on a regular basis.

2 Characteristics of the New Defense Force Structure

(1) Key Factors

When constructing defense forces with the functions listed above, the following points need to be kept in mind.

a. Socioeconomic Factors: Constraints on the Defense Forces

The low birth rate and aging population will continue to be a fact of life in Japan in the foreseeable future. This will likely make recruitment of future SDF members more difficult. Moreover, the decrease in the consuming and producing population will result in lower economic growth and more limited national capacity to fulfill fiscal requirements, and increased spending on social welfare will crowd out expenditures on defense. Given all these long-term trends, downsizing of personnel, streamlining of equipment, and rationalization of operations will be required to make it possible for fewer resources appropriated to defense to produce greater results.

b. Efficiently Distributing Important Resources

With the limitation of resources that can be invested, it is necessary to concentrate resources on high-priority functions and boldly cut down on elements of lesser need, while avoiding half-hearted reduction of forces across the board.

c. Maintaining the Quality of Defense Force

Military technology has been advancing rapidly in recent years and, as exemplified by the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), a gap in technology will immediately create a gap in military effectiveness.⁸ In particular, a gap in information technology (IT) will have a decisive impact on the performance of defense force. Consequently, it is imperative to establish and improve an intelligence and communications network to fulfill the needs of the new defense force, with the protection of such a system against cyber attacks in mind. Also, it is necessary to maintain high-quality weapon systems and avoid lagging behind other advanced militaries by keeping up with the world's most modern military technologies and constantly modernizing our defense force.

⁸ Resulting largely from the rapid technological advance, RMA has dramatically changed the modes of military operations and the outlook of battlefield.

d. Government Responsibility

Even with the new defense force structure, the SDF must be able to carry out disaster relief missions during peacetime. But on the other hand, the government agencies and autonomous defense organizations would be looked upon to assist civilians in case of an armed attack. Central and local governments should work together to handle the protection and evacuation of nationals, and the SDF should carry out its part of the mission. Crisis management is impossible without obtaining the full cooperation of the people. It is therefore necessary to foster their understanding and carry out drills in peacetime with their participation.

(2) Defense Force Structure

Based on the considerations indicated above in Section 1 of Part III, the force structure and equipment of each service of the SDF should take on the characteristics described below.

a. Ground Defense Force

Organizations, equipment, and deployment designed to cope with large-scale amphibious landing operations centering on armored battles should be replaced by forces capable of reacting quickly to various low-intensity military contingencies. For this purpose, heavily armed units comprising tanks and artillery will be substantially reduced and streamlined, and the focus will be placed on highly flexible infantry units capable of responding promptly to various types of situations and defending important installations. In addition, an appropriate reinforcement capability with highly mobile forces, special operations capabilities, and NBC⁹ protection capabilities will be strengthened. Furthermore, highly trained and highly ready forces that can respond immediately to overseas missions should be created.

b. Maritime Defense Force

The focus will shift from the organizations, equipment, and deployment designed to perform anti-submarine warfare characteristic of the Cold War, to those tailored to the defense of offshore islands, monitoring and defending against ballistic missiles, and dealing with such events as illegal incursions by armed special-operations vessels. To achieve this, the maritime defense force must adopt a smaller and more efficient force structure with greater readiness. In that process, destroyers equipped with a missile defense capability will be introduced. Air units will continue to carry out maritime patrol and surveillance, while their force structure will be reduced and streamlined. Overall improvements in the capability of performing overseas missions will also be sought.

c. Air Defense Force

The air defense force will continue to perform around-the-clock surveillance in the airspace surrounding Japan, and stand ready to deal with violations of the territorial air. Since the need to handle a full-scale air attack has decreased, we will have to downsize and use the air assets, including fighters, more efficiently. A missile defense capability will be

⁹ NBC stands for nuclear, biological, and chemical (weapons).

incorporated in the existing guided missile units. Finally, efforts will be made to enhance airlift capabilities to better respond to the increasing number of overseas missions.

d. Promoting Jointness

By utilizing a joint intelligence and communications network, joint operations of the three SDF services will be promoted so that they can carry out their missions more rapidly and effectively. To effectively conduct joint operations, it is important to create a joint command structure along with the infrastructure required for education and training, intelligence and communications, and logistical support. Efforts must also be made to reduce costs by having the different services use the same parts and equipment as well as by encouraging the utilization of dual-use equipment.

e. Missile Defense

The missile defense systems that Japan plans to introduce necessitate joint operation of the Maritime Self-Defense Force's *Aegis* destroyers, the *Patriot* surface-to-air missile units, and Base Air Defense Ground Environment (BADGE) early-warning and air control system maintained by the Air Self-Defense Force. The government must examine whether the missile defense systems can work effectively in the existing legal framework and, if need be, it should take necessary steps, including revising laws, to make the systems work effectively.

Regarding the question of whether it is appropriate, when there is no alternative, to possess offensive capabilities against enemy missile bases as a last resort, a decision should be made after thoroughly examining the credibility of deterrence provided by the United States, effectiveness of missile defense systems, cost-effectiveness of the offensive option, and the impact this will have on countries in the region.

f. Intelligence and Communications Capabilities

In order for the defense forces to respond flexibly and effectively to unpredictable future threats, it is essential for Japan to enhance intelligence and communications capabilities. The SDF collects information by means of surveillance in neighboring areas, signals intelligence, photographic and imagery intelligence from satellites, and human intelligence provided by defense attaché stationed in foreign diplomatic missions. Not only is it necessary to improve and strengthen such intelligence-gathering activities in the future, but there is also a need to enhance the capability of the SDF's Defense Intelligence Headquarters to analyze strategic intelligence by developing capable staff. In addition, in order for relevant defense units to be able to quickly share collected information and products of intelligence analysis, a high-capacity, high-speed, broadband intelligence and communications network should be established with necessary security measures so as to protect against potential future cyber attacks. In doing so, the government should update the systems by collaborating with private business enterprises and utilizing dual-use products and technologies.

g. Personnel Policies

The most important consideration in the SDF's personnel policies is how best to keep it powerful and highly motivated. To fulfill diverse duties under the new strategic environment, it is appropriate to capitalize on young officers, promote warrant and non-commissioned

officers with the expertise in certain areas, and fill the vacant slots within the SDF to enhance readiness.

With the SDF playing a more important role today in ensuring the security of Japan, it is important that SDF members maintain even stricter discipline to win the trust of the general public. At the same time, it is also necessary to give consideration to ways for the nation to bestow honor on SDF members who carry out their duty of defending Japan without hesitating to put their lives at risk.

It is also necessary to reconsider the current situation in which a large number of retired SDF members are assuming positions in defense-related companies. Retired SDF members should be encouraged to serve as crisis managers for local governments, local communities, and private firms, contributing their abilities and experiences to Japanese society. Alternatively, they could find positions in private firms with commercial transactions with the Defense Agency and the SDF. The Defense Agency, in conjunction with other relevant ministries and agencies, should find ways to encourage them to pursue these options.

**PART IV:
RECOMMENDATIONS ON
THE NEW NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM OUTLINE**

1 Issues to be Addressed in the New National Defense Program Outline

The National Defense Program Outline (NDPO) was adopted in 1976 and revised in 1995 to provide basic guidelines on how to equip, maintain, and operate Japanese defense forces. During the détente period and after the end of the Cold War, it served to enhance people's understanding of the purpose and dimensions of Japan's defense force. However, public attention tended to focus on the number of force units and equipment listed in its attached table and how quickly the designated force level was achieved, rather than its substance.

Taking into consideration the changes in security environment since 1995, the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities has examined what kind of issues that the new NDPO should address. As this report has indicated, the new NDPO should spell out measures that Japan has to take to implement the Integrated Security Strategy as well as the roles that the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) has to play and the functions and structure that the SDF must assume in the future.

Adopted in 1957, the Basic Policy for National Defense set out the principles for achieving the nation's objective of self-defense. It states that Japan will incrementally develop an effective defense force, and that the nation will act on the basis of the Japan-U.S. security arrangements. These principles are based on the two preceding principles: to support the activities of the United Nations and promote international cooperation, thereby contributing to the realization of world peace; and to promote public welfare and enhance the public's patriotism for the nation, thereby establishing the sound basis essential to Japan's security. These principles are still valid and appropriate today.

However, during the almost half a century since the adoption of this policy, situations revolving around Japan's national security has changed greatly. These changes include the growth of Japan's economic power and its improved international status, revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and development of Japan-U.S. defense cooperation, the further deepening of mutual dependency in the international community, and the changing role of the United Nations. In light of these changes, the government should formulate a new NDPO that spells out the security strategy of the nation as a whole, incorporating the critical elements of the Basic Policy for National Defense.

2 Ways to Set the Defense Force Level

The new NDPO must present both an overall picture of Japan's national security strategy and guidelines for the development of defense capability. In indicating the objectives for defense force development, the following two points must be borne in mind.

First, in view of the substantial reconfiguration of Japan's defense force currently being undertaken, the government is required to clearly indicate to the public how Japan's defense force will change quantitatively and when these changes will be brought into effect.

Second, defense force should be constantly reviewed and modified in accordance with the changing security environment and rapid technological development. In particular, the equipment and structure of the SDF should be constantly reviewed and modified within the scope of the Integrated Security Strategy and the principles defining the vision for the defense

force.

While the new NDPO's primary goal should be to specify qualitative goals of what kind of tasks that the Japanese defense force should be able to perform, but also indicate in an easily comprehensible way the quantitative target levels of defense force, which are currently defined in NDPO's attached table, and the planned timeframe within which these levels will be reached. In doing so, the new NDPO must specify the target force level in such a way that it could be regularly reviewed and modified in accordance with the needs of the times, and clarify how such a process should take place.

ADDENDUM: CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES: AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE

The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities was not set up as a forum to debate the amendment of the Constitution, but to discuss Japan's approach to national security and defense in the new security environment. For this reason, the various proposals that we have made remain within the framework of the current Constitution. Moreover, through these discussions, the Council was able to reach a consensus on how basic guidelines for the Japanese security policy should be defined relative to the existing Constitution.. First, none of us wants Japan to embark on an act of aggression. Second, we agree that Japan should direct all necessary efforts for self-defense. Third, we place great importance on Japan's participation in international cooperation to promote peace. In short, based on the ideals of promoting peace and international cooperation laid down in the Constitution, this Council has come to the conclusion that the basic guidelines for the Japanese security policy should stand on two pillars: self-defense efforts to protect its citizens and international peace cooperation.

The issue of the Constitution has been debated on numerous occasions in discussions pertaining to post-war Japan's national security and defense force. The Constitution is the nucleus of the nation's law and order and, considering that a democratic country must be administered by rule of law, including those concerning national security, discussion of the Constitution is naturally of great importance. On the other hand, the failure to make steady progress in practical policy debate due to single-minded focus on the Constitution is not desirable in formulating Japan's national security and defense policies. While it is hoped that constructive policy discussion will be furthered and a consensus will be reached among citizens, it is also desirable that the issue of the Constitution should be debated from a broad range of perspectives.

Regarding the question of the right of collective self-defense, which has been the subject of lively debate in the Diet and other forums, the opinion was expressed at this Council that this issue should be settled quickly. It was also pointed out that the right of collective self-defense exercised by individual nations and the collective actions or measures undertaken by the United Nations, including its peacekeeping operations, should be clearly distinguished and debated separately.

Possible cases referred to in the debate of the collective self-defense right include the use of force to protect U.S. forces arriving in and around Japan to defend the country prior to the outbreak of an armed attack against it, and helping the United States expel an invasion from other countries. No member of the Council has expressed the view that the latter example is acceptable. However, the answer can vary in other cases. The government should continue to promote the debate on the exercise of the right of collective self-defense in order to clarify what Japan should and/or can do within the framework of the Constitution, and expeditiously settle this issue.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since the end of the Cold War, the broadcast media has been reporting frequently the images of armed conflicts and terrorist incidents across the world. We have witnessed the intrusions of armed special-operations vessels into Japanese territorial sea and the launching of ballistic missiles in our neighborhood. Public awareness of security and defense issues has soared, and the Japanese people seem to think that we have to move beyond the highly polemic debate on defense commonly seen during the Cold War era and start engaging in a more practical debate on these issues. Against this backdrop, this Council has sought to envision a national security strategy and defense capabilities suitable for the security environment of the present time.

We have to admit that there is a gap between the reality and the ideal vision of public awareness, legal systems, the Self-Defense Forces and the U.S. forces in Japan, due largely to the historical twist and turns and highly politicized security policymaking. However, the world is not there forever to wait for us to adapt. This requires us to make steady effort to create a new reality with appropriate strategy and a clear sense of direction. The Council members have based their discussions on such common understanding.

Given the spread of terrorism and guerrilla attacks all over the world, and the fact that some have successfully countered them while others have not, we have to conclude that no matter how strong it might be, hard power alone cannot solve these problems. Military might alone simply does not offer a fundamental solution to the complex ethnic conflicts, religious confrontations, and socioeconomic inequalities. Soft power diplomacy—such as economic cooperation—should be used more actively to overcome the limits of hard power. Political leaders should take the initiative in bringing hard and soft power together to make it work. Civilian leaders must exercise bold leadership even at the risk of possible failure. It is the key to establishing true civilian control and to protecting the people and the nation.

We sincerely hope that this report will make an important contribution to the formulation of the new National Defense Program Outline and help make Japanese security policy work better.

ACRONYMS

BADGE	Base Air Defense Ground Environment
BMD	ballistic missile defense
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IT	information technology
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
NBC	nuclear, biological, and chemical
NDPO	National Defense Program Outline
NGO	non-governmental organizations
NPT	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OJT	on-the-job training
PKO	Peacekeeping Operations
PSI	Proliferation Security Initiative
R&D	research and development
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
SDF	Self-Defense Forces
WMD	weapons of mass destruction

The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities

—Members and Meetings—

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COUNCIL MEETINGS

Session 1 (April 27)

Remarks by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi

Topic The Framework of Japan's Security Policy

Session 2 (May 18)

Topic The Security Challenges that Japan Must Address, Threats which Japan Faces

Session 3 (June 1)

Topic The Threats to Japan and its People: Japan's Response

Session 4 (June 15)

Topic Japan's International Peace Cooperation
and Security Arrangements with the United States

Session 5 (June 29)

Topic Security Environment in the Asia-Pacific Region:
Efforts to Promote Regional Security

Session 6 (July 13)

Topic The Self-Defense Forces: Current Status, Challenges, and Future Course

Session 7 (July 27)

Discussion on Procedural Matters

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Topic Visions for Japan's Future Defense Capabilities

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Wrap-up Discussion 1

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Session 12 (September 30)

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Session 13 (October 4)

The Report Presented by the Council to Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi

The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities Report

—Japan’s Visions for Future Security and Defense Capabilities—

SUMMARY

PART I: JAPAN'S NEW SECURITY STRATEGY

1 Security Environment in the Twenty-First Century

Events on September 11, 2001 marked the beginning of a new century for security affairs. This spelled the end of the era when threats from other states could be regarded as the sole focus of security. No security strategy is viable unless it is prepared to deal head-on with threats from non-state actors, such as terrorists and international criminal organizations.

This does not mean, however, that we no longer have to worry about conflicts among states. Also, since the end of the Cold War, civil wars, ethnic conflicts, and unstable governments throughout the world have become the main source of military conflicts.

The international security environment is now much more complex than before. At one extreme, we have terrorist attacks with unimaginable means and intensity that could be unleashed by non-state entities. At the other extreme, we continue to face the possibility of very traditional warfare. Between these two extremes, there is the risk of conflicts taking any conceivable combination of forms.

In addition to the dramatic changes in the global security environment, Japan faces security problems unique to its location in East Asia. There continue to exist two nuclear powers (Russia and China) in this region and one country that has not abandoned its ambition of developing nuclear weapons (North Korea).

The changes in the global security environment could have a substantial effect on these worldwide activities of Japan and its citizens. That is why we need to pay attention to threats in distant regions in addition to the threats in the vicinity of Japan.

In the increasingly complex global security environment, threats to Japan's security may not come only from outside. We must be fully alert to threats from endogenous terrorist forces and criminal organizations as well as the possibility of these groups establishing ties with hazardous external elements.

2 Integrated Security Strategy

The Integrated Security Strategy, the security strategy that Japan should adopt in this complex twenty-first century security environment, has two major goals. The first is to prevent a direct threat from reaching Japan and, in the event that it does reach Japan, to minimize the damage. The second goal is to reduce the chances of threats arising in various parts of the world with the aim of preventing such threats from reaching Japan or affecting the interests of Japanese expatriates and corporations overseas.

There seem to be three approaches in achieving these goals: (a) Japan's own efforts, (b) cooperation with an alliance partner and (c) cooperation with the international community. The preferred security strategy for Japan would be an integrated one based on the three-fold approach to defend the homeland and, at the same time, to strive for improving international security environment.

If we look at Japan's policies to date, we would have to say that the strategy has been rather narrowly focused. However, Japan must now adopt an integrated security strategy embracing the above two goals. There is a need for greater effort mobilizing Japan's capabilities in an appropriate and integrated manner to achieve these goals through the three-fold approach.

(1) Defense of Japan

a. Japan's Own Efforts

The objective of this approach is to prevent direct threats to Japan and, in the event that such a threat arises, to contain it in the way that results in minimum damage.

Given the trend towards reduced inter-state tension that characterizes the current international situation, some elements of the Basic Defense Force Concept, incorporated in the 1976 National Defense Program Outline, still remain valid. However, now that more than ten years have passed since the end of the Cold War, the risk of a full-scale invasion of Japan has greatly receded. The more serious problem in the current global security environment is the threat of attack by terrorists and other non-state actors, which is not amenable to the traditional notion of deterrence between states. For that reason also, there is a need to reexamine the Basic Defense Force Concept, which presupposes that threats will only come from other states.

Japan's own efforts to respond to direct threats should involve a collective effort by the country as a whole. Japan has to continue its efforts to immediately establish a mechanism, involving not only the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) but also the nation as a whole, for addressing security issues. A coordinated effort involving the police, local governments and other public organizations, and the non-governmental sector is essential.

In order to mobilize all of these internal resources, it is critical for the Japanese government to have in place a proper crisis management mechanism with improved information collection and analytical capabilities.

b. Cooperation with an Alliance Partner

The second approach to Japan's defense involves combined actions with its ally. It will be necessary to maintain a deterrent capability by bolstering the credibility of the Japan-U.S. alliance. We must continually enhance arrangements for cooperation to deal with ballistic missile threats and situations in areas surrounding Japan, and strive to enhance the reliability of Japan-U.S. cooperation in actual operations.

c. Cooperation with the International Community

Diplomatic activities and interaction with other countries at the grass-roots level in various fields have improved other countries' understanding of Japan and have played a role in the country's defense, albeit indirectly. To combat international terrorism, there is also a need to promote stronger international cooperation in the area of information exchange and tighter border security to facilitate tracing and capturing of terrorists, and suppress financing of international terrorism.

(2) Prevention of the Emergence of Threats

by Improving International Security Environment

a. Japan's Own Efforts

To prevent the emergence of threats in various parts of the world, Japan should make it a basic principle to work jointly with the international community and its ally. Accordingly, any

SDF activities in the fields of peacekeeping, peace-building operations and humanitarian support should, as a basic rule, be conducted by Japan as a member of the international community, based on resolutions of the United Nations Security Council.

However, provision of bilateral development aid, active diplomacy, and international cooperation activities conducted by the police should be undertaken by Japan acting in its own right. Diplomatic activities, cultural exchange as well as business activities such as the creation of employment opportunities overseas by Japanese trade and investment activities, technology transfer, and human development indirectly contribute to the security of Japan. In particular, Japan should engage actively in diplomatic and economic activities in order to prevent regions stretching from the Middle East to Northeast Asia from becoming unstable.

b. Cooperation with an Alliance Partner

It is obvious that Japan should cooperate with the United States, its ally, in the effort to improve international security environment and prevent the emergence of new threats.

In the military sense, too, the Japan-U.S. alliance is increasingly assuming the role of preventing the emergence of threats in the international community, in addition to its immediate objective of securing the defense of Japan.

As the United States refashions its global strategy, we should strive to clarify the roles of the two countries and work to create an effective framework for Japan-U.S. cooperation through closer strategic dialogue between the two countries.

c. Cooperation with the International Community

Efforts to eliminate potential sources of threats in various parts of the world, based on cooperative arrangements with the international community, will become increasingly important to Japan's security strategy. To this end, Japan should contribute to peace-building activities, prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction as well as ballistic missiles, diplomatic efforts and cooperation between the Japanese police and judiciary and those of other countries to prevent terrorism, establishment of cooperative arrangements with relevant nations and multilateral frameworks to secure sea lines of communication, and the effort to establish international institutions focused on confidence building, preventive diplomacy, and settling conflicts.

It is important for Japan to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in order to maximize the effectiveness of Japan's efforts made in concert with the international community.

(3) Integrating the Elements of the Security Strategy

As discussed above, achievement of the two major goals of Japan's defense and improved international security environment necessitates a judicious combination of three separate approaches. This would create six fields of activity that can be regarded as the basic component of Japan's security strategy.

These six constituents are not independent of one another, but closely interrelated.

In order to implement the integrated strategy effectively, it is essential to have an integrated decision-making mechanism. There is a need to appropriately use the Security Council, and determine how best to mix the six constituents of the strategy and what roles to assign to what organizations.

3 Defense Force to Support the New Security Strategy: Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force

What kind of capabilities should the SDF have in the context of the Integrated Security Strategy?

The SDF has been defined as an entity whose primary role is to protect Japan from threats by other states without going overseas. In fact, it would be fair to say that the SDF has fulfilled its objectives by its existence alone.

Since the 1990s, however, the need to revise this model has become increasingly apparent. The SDF is now engaged in a variety of activities in the international arena.

There is a need to reexamine the way the SDF is equipped from the perspective of the defense of Japan. It is obvious that the Basic Defense Force Concept is inappropriate for dealing with acts of terrorism perpetrated by non-state actors.

Basically, the capabilities required of the SDF are those that contribute to the various approaches of the Integrated Security Strategy. The future Defense Force will, thus, need to be capable of fulfilling a number of functions.

There are, however, many constraining factors within Japan that affect the country's ability to upgrade its defense capabilities. The first is the demographic constraint imposed by the dwindling birthrate; the second is the government's distressed finances. The key to upgrading Japan's defense capabilities in the future, based on the notion of an integrated security strategy, hinges on the creation of a framework capable of fulfilling effectively the various required functions through appropriate management and mixing and matching of existing organizations, along with the implementation of scrap-and-build programs, and the division of roles between Japan and the United States.

It is now necessary to develop means of managing the various units to achieve greater versatility.

The pivotal requirement of the Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force is the ability to collect and analyze information. The level of the nation's intelligence capability is critical to meeting new threats, such as the threat of terrorism. The ability to collect and analyze information has a substantial multiplier effect on the effectiveness of the physical defense force and is the fundamental underpinning of a Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force.

Based on the Multi-Functional Flexible Defense Force concept, we need to reevaluate the capabilities that the SDF should possess in the new security environment, and revise the improvement plans accordingly.

PART II: POLICY AGENDAS FOR THE NEW SECURITY STRATEGY

1 Developing a Mechanism for Implementing the Integrated Security Strategy

(1) Responding to Emergency Situations

The government's contingency decision-making must be properly executed under the Prime Minister's leadership. Consequently, the Cabinet Secretariat needs to possess sufficient capacity for both security policy planning and crisis management.

The Prime Minister is responsible for presiding over the government's administrative organs in accordance with the decisions made in Cabinet Meetings. However, a special scheme is needed that allows for prompt, accurate responses to emergency situations, such as ballistic missile attacks.

In order to deal with a diverse, complex set of contingencies, the government must work as a whole to implement integrated responses, while at the same time appropriately dividing roles between the relevant organizations. For such collaborative relationships to be effective, the relevant agencies need to regularly engage in various joint exercises and personnel exchanges, and closely coordinate their activities at every echelon, from central command down to the field units.

(2) Strengthening Intelligence Capabilities

The government is faced with the urgent task of further strengthening its intelligence capabilities so that specialized, sophisticated information gathering and analysis can be performed in a precise, timely manner to identify various potential threats and prevent them from turning into actual threats.

a. Diversifying and Strengthening the Means of Information Gathering

In addition to more appropriately utilizing imagery and signals intelligence in the government's decision-making process, the government should promptly take steps to fully exploit human intelligence resources.

b. Strengthening Capabilities for Gathering, Sharing, and Analyzing Information

In order to strengthen the Cabinet's intelligence capabilities, the government needs to develop a mechanism that swiftly and accurately funnels the information necessary for security and crisis management to the Cabinet for use as a resource in the formation of decisions.

c. Ensuring Information Security

The nation's efforts to gather, analyze, and utilize intelligence require formulation and implementation of a common set of strict, unambiguous information security rules for all individuals that handle intelligence.

d. Visions for International Intelligence Cooperation

In order that effective action can be taken in response to new threats based on international networks, Japan must strengthen its intelligence-related cooperation with other nations. To ensure effective international collaboration on intelligence, Japan needs to develop competent, efficient intelligence capabilities and make a distinction between the intelligence capabilities that Japan needs to possess indigenously, and the capabilities that can be borrowed from other countries.

(3) Substantial Reinforcement of Security Council Functions

To develop the Cabinet's nerve center, the government needs to substantially reinforce functions of the Security Council as the principal implementer of the Integrated Security Strategy. In particular, it is vital that its core members be brought together more frequently to convene meetings for information-circulation training and intelligence analysis purposes so that the Security Council can flexibly operate when an emergency arises and make decisions with speed and precision. In addition, the government should make better use of the council's Special Advisory Committee for Contingency Planning to regularly review various contingencies. Moreover, the Security Council also has to be able to constantly monitor the nation's overall security policy and ensure its coherence, and provide a forum for in-depth discussion of security strategy by Cabinet ministers. For that purpose, the government should seek to build up the current Cabinet Secretariat staff and sponsor policy studies by internal and external experts.

(4) Enhancing the Security Policy Base

The government must cultivate the core personnel who are permanently responsible for security and crisis management to make the decision-making system truly function as intended.

2 Visions for the Japan-U.S. Alliance

(1) Significance of the Japan-U.S. Alliance and the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements

The Japan-U.S. security arrangements and the U.S. military presence will continue to be a vital buttress in Japan's defense system, as well as an indispensable stabilizing force in this region.

Since the 9/11 attacks, the United States has been moving away from its traditional strategy of deterrence, and is instead working to enhance its capabilities to be able to flexibly respond to new threats.

Given that Japan's ally—the United States—plays the leading role in these international efforts, the Japanese government must give attention to the likelihood that opportunities to collaborate with the United States within the framework of cooperation with the international community will increase.

(2) Maintaining and Strengthening the Japan-U.S. Alliance

Efforts must be persistently continued to maintain and strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance. From the perspective of Japan's defense, it is important that the visions for Japan-U.S. cooperation in national emergencies and other situations be clearly defined in accordance with the current "Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation," which were developed in 1997.

In addition, there is a need to have strategic talks with the United States to improve shared understanding on the new security environment and the strategic objectives that it requires. The current effort by the United States to globally realign its forces should be viewed as an

opportunity to broadly engage in comprehensive strategic discussion with the United States concerning the overall Japan-U.S. security relationship.

As part of this effort, Japan needs to build a cooperative relationship with the United States that will help to steadily advance not only the defense of Japan and the stabilization of areas surrounding Japan, but also the stabilization of the international community as a whole, that will prevent the emergence of threats to Japan.

3 Promoting International Peace Cooperation

(1) Japanese Approach to International Peace Cooperation

To further consolidate its security, Japan should actively participate in international activities to stabilize various regions of the world, particularly those with close ties with Japan.

(2) Developing the Infrastructure for International Peace Cooperation

In recent years the international community has enlarged the scope of its efforts beyond peacekeeping operations to include a comprehensive set of actions ranging from conflict prevention to post-conflict national reconstruction. Given this transformation, the SDF and the government as a whole should engage in integrated efforts for international peace cooperation.

More specifically, the government should take the following actions: better coordinate activities of several different agencies within the government, such as the Defense Agency, the Cabinet Office, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to improve the effectiveness of Japan's international cooperation; clearly delineate roles of the SDF and civilian agents by defining; redefine international peace cooperation as one of the SDF's primary missions; enhance the police's ability to conduct international cooperation activities; ensuring safety of personnel involved in international peace cooperation; and striving to formulate general laws for international peace cooperation.

4 Reforming the Defense Industrial and Technological Base

(1) Maintaining the Production and Technological Base and Streamlining the Defense Industry

In recent years, the defense industries of industrialized nations have endeavored to streamline their operations and maintain competitiveness through international collaboration and role sharing.

Since it has become difficult to maintain the production base across the board, the government should reconsider its policy of maintaining indigenous weapons production capacity whenever possible. A truly efficient, competitive defense production and technological base can be maintained only by making a clear distinction between what domestic capabilities should be retained and what needs should be outsourced to other nations, and by retaining state-of-the-art production capabilities in core weapon systems.

(2) The Three Principles on Arms Export

If the current joint technological research on ballistic missile defense (BMD) by Japan and the United States reaches the point of joint development and production, it will be necessary to revise the Three Principles on Arms Export. Given these circumstances, the government should relax the ban on arms export, at least to the United States.

In reexamining its export control regime and determining what kind of weapons and technologies can be exported to which countries, the government should uphold the principles' guiding philosophy, and keep in mind the principles' historical development and the views expressed by various parties.

(3) Enhancing the Efficiency of Procurement and R&D

It is necessary for the government and the private sector to continue working together to lower procurement costs by streamlining the products and diversifying procurement sources through the use of dual-use products.

To thoroughly improve the efficiency of research and development (R&D) on equipment, the government must carefully select high-priority target items and focus R&D efforts on those items, constantly re-evaluate projects, and implement necessary streamlining efforts.

PART III: VISIONS FOR THE JAPANESE DEFENSE FORCE

1 Roles and Functions of the Defense Force

(1) Roles and Functions for the Defense of Japan

a. Dealing with the Threat of Inter-State Conflicts

When considering the vision for new defense force, it is necessary to bear in mind that the nature of threats is changing compared with the past. That is, first of all, it is thought that for the time being there is no threat of a full-scale armed invasion of Japan, which had been the focus of the defense force during the Cold War. Secondly, although the U.S. forces continue to provide effective deterrence against the threat that nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles capable of delivering them pose to Japan, the introduction of ballistic missile defense systems will likely reinforce its credibility. Thirdly, the defense force should be able to make quick and effective response to attacks against important installations and instigation of domestic upheavals perpetrated by guerrillas or special operations forces, as well as invasions of isolated islands and low-intensity military actions such as illegal military actions in the vicinity of Japan.

Based on such threat assessment, the new defense force must be ready and able to swiftly execute important missions.

At the same time, forces designed for the defense against a full-scale invasion should be significantly reduced, while maintaining an appropriate level of "basic" defense forces.

b. Dealing with Threats from Non-State Actors

The new defense force should maintain a high state of readiness and the capability to cope with terrorist attacks involving the use of biological or chemical weapons.

In addition, it must be prepared to respond to a large-scale disaster, and play appropriate roles in cooperating with the United States and the international community.

(2) Roles and Capabilities to Prevent the Emergence of Threats Overseas

a. International Peace Cooperation

The new defense force needs to maintain necessary training and educational infrastructure and keep its personnel adequately trained so that it could participate without delay in peace-cooperation activities when such needs arise. In addition, the new defense force is required to maintain some units on high alert and enhance its ability to quickly transport a large quantity of relief supplies, personnel, and equipment to remote areas.

b. Japan-U.S. Cooperation in Conjunction with the International Community

Situations will likely increase where Japan and the United States cooperate in undertaking international peace cooperation activities. For this reason, it is necessary to expand Japan-U.S. cooperation in the field of intelligence and to promote interaction between foreign policy and defense policymakers of the two countries on a regular basis.

2 Characteristics of the New Defense Force Structure

(1) Key Factors

When constructing defense forces, the government should keep in mind such factors as the low birth rate, aging population and constraint on public expenditure, and must concentrate resources on high-priority functions and maintain high-quality defense forces.

(2) Defense Force Structure

a. Ground Defense Force

Organizations, equipment, and deployment designed to cope with large-scale amphibious landing operations centering on armored battles should be replaced by forces capable of reacting quickly to various low-intensity military contingencies. For this purpose, heavily armed units comprising tanks and artillery will be substantially reduced and streamlined, and the focus will be placed on highly flexible infantry units capable of responding promptly to various types of situations. In addition, an appropriate reinforcement capability with highly mobile forces, special operations capabilities, and NBC protection capabilities will be strengthened. Furthermore, highly trained and highly ready forces that can respond immediately to overseas missions should be created.

b. Maritime Defense Force

The focus will shift from the organizations, equipment, and deployment designed to perform anti-submarine warfare, to those tailored to the defense of offshore islands, monitoring and defending against ballistic missiles, and dealing with such events as illegal incursions by armed special-operations vessels. To achieve this, the maritime defense force must adopt a smaller and more efficient force structure with greater readiness. In that process, a missile defense capability will be introduced. Air units will continue to carry out maritime patrol and surveillance, while their force structure will be reduced and streamlined. Overall improvements in the capability of performing overseas missions will also be sought.

c. Air Defense Force

The air defense force will continue to perform around-the-clock surveillance in the airspace surrounding Japan, and stand ready to deal with violations of the territorial air. We will have to downsize and use the air assets, including fighters, more efficiently. A missile defense capability will be incorporated in the existing guided missile units. Finally, efforts will be made to enhance airlift capabilities.

d. Promoting Jointness

To conduct joint operations more effectively, it is important to create a joint command structure along with the infrastructure in various areas.

e. Missile Defense

Joint operation of the missile defense systems that Japan plans to introduce is necessary.

Regarding the question of whether it is appropriate to possess offensive capabilities against enemy missile bases, a decision should be made after thoroughly examining the credibility of deterrence provided by the United States, effectiveness of missile defense systems, cost-effectiveness of the offensive option, and the impact this will have on countries in the region.

f. Intelligence and Communications Capabilities

It is necessary to not only bolster intelligence-gathering activities but also continue to improve ability of the SDF's Defense Intelligence Headquarters to analyze strategic intelligence by developing capable staff. In addition, in order for relevant defense units to be able to quickly share collected information and products of intelligence analysis, a high-capacity, high-speed, broadband intelligence and communications network should be established with necessary security measures so as to protect against potential future cyber attacks.

g. Personnel Policies

To fulfill diverse duties under the new strategic environment, it is appropriate to capitalize on young officers, and promote warrant and non-commissioned officers with the expertise in certain areas.

**PART IV:
RECOMMENDATIONS ON
THE NEW NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM OUTLINE**

1 Issues to be Addressed in the New National Defense Program Outline

Taking into consideration the changes in security environment since 1995, the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities has examined what kind of issues that the new National Defense Program Outline (NDPO) should address. As this report has indicated, the new NDPO should spell out measures that Japan has to take to implement the Integrated Security Strategy as well as the roles that the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) has to play and the functions and structure that the SDF must assume in the future.

Adopted in 1957, some elements of the Basic Policy for National Defense are still valid and appropriate today. However, during the almost half a century since the adoption of this policy, situations revolving around Japan's national security has changed greatly. In light of these changes, the government should formulate a new NDPO that spells out a new security strategy incorporating the critical elements of the Basic Policy for National Defense.

2 Ways to Set the Defense Force Level

The new NDPO must present both an overall picture of Japan's national security strategy and guidelines for the development of defense capability. In indicating the objectives for defense force development, the following two points must be borne in mind.

First, the government is required to clearly indicate to the public how Japan's defense force will change quantitatively and when these changes will be brought into effect.

Second, defense force should be constantly reviewed and modified.

For that purpose, while the new NDPO's primary goal should be to specify qualitative goals of what kind of tasks that the Japanese defense force should be able to perform, it must also indicate the quantitative target levels of defense force, which are currently defined in NDPO's attached table, and the planned timeframe within which these levels will be reached. In doing so, the new NDPO must specify the target force level in such a way that it could be regularly reviewed and modified in accordance with the needs of the times, and clarify how such a process should take place.

**ADDENDUM:
CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES: AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE**

Through the discussions, the Council has come to the conclusion that based on the ideals of promoting peace and international cooperation laid down in the Constitution, the basic guidelines for the Japanese security policy must stand on two pillars: self-defense efforts to protect its citizens, and international peace cooperation activities.

The issue of the Constitution has been debated on numerous occasions in discussions pertaining to post-war Japan's national security and defense force. While it is hoped that constructive policy discussion will be furthered and a consensus will be reached among

citizens, it is also desirable that the issue of the Constitution should be debated from a broad range of perspectives.

Regarding the question of the right of collective self-defense, which has been the subject of lively debate in the Diet and other forums, the opinion was expressed at this Council that this issue should be settled quickly. It was also pointed out that the right of collective self-defense exercised by individual nations and the collective actions or measures undertaken by the United Nations, including its peacekeeping operations, should be clearly distinguished and debated separately.

The government should continue to promote the debate on the exercise of the right of collective self-defense in order to clarify what Japan should and/or can do within the framework of the Constitution, and expeditiously settle this issue.