# Chapter 7

# Japan

## New National Defense Program Guidelines

Tomohiko Satake (lead author, Sections 1 and 3)
Yuji Maeda (Section 2, Column)

In December 2018, the Japanese government announced the New "National Defense Program Guidelines for FY2019 and beyond (hereafter "2018 NDPG"), to replace the "National Defense Program Guidelines for FY2014 and beyond (hereafter "2013 NDPG"). In line with the higher-level "National Security Strategy" (NSS), the National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG) outline such issues as Japan's basic policy of defense, the role of its defense force, and the target levels of the Self-Defense Forces' (SDF) specific structure. The key element in formulating these Guidelines is a certain outlook of the international security environment of the time, and the role of Japan's defense force within that.

As the international order surrounding Japan started to become more fluid after the Cold War, the NDPG was moving away from the "Basic Defense Force" concept that was based on an assumption of a static international order during the Cold War period, toward developing a more active and effective defense force for stabilizing the international order and responding to threats surrounding Japan. Furthermore, given the changing regional power balance, the 2013 NDPG shifted its focus not only to considering the "operation" of the defense force, but also to its enhancement both "qualitatively and quantitatively."

Compared to 2013 when the 2013 NDPG was compiled, the security environment surrounding Japan has become increasingly severe. The power transition caused by the rise of China is heightening the tension and probability of conflict between the United States and China. There are concerns that the impact of US-Sino rivalry may also have repercussions in Japan in various ways. In addition to the dynamics of the highly uncertain politics between major powers, some urgent issues, such as the defense of island areas and sea lanes of communication and the need to build a "cross-domain" defense force including space and cyberspace, arises. Moreover, the threat of North Korea's nuclear and missile capabilities has also entered a new stage, making ballistic missile defense a more urgent matter.

The 2018 NDPG was formulated within the aforementioned environment, with a focus on building a "Multi-domain Defense Force" to execute cross-domain operations including the new domains of space, cyberspace and the electromagnetic spectrum. To this end, the 2018 NDPG aims for the continual qualitative and quantitative enhancement of the defense force, while focusing on strengthening its sustainability and resilience. The 2018 NDPG also stressed Japan's involvement in the Indo-Pacific region, and indicated a bolstering of

concrete initiatives by the Ministry of Defense (MOD) and the SDF toward maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific region.

The issue from hereon will likely be how to put into action the objectives raised in the 2018 NDPG, including further joint operations among the Ground, Maritime and Air Self-Defense Forces, Japan-US joint operations, and building comprehensive defense capabilities that integrate the public and private sectors.

## 1. What are the "National Defense Program Guidelines"?

### (1) Guidelines as Defense Strategy

To begin with, what is the purpose of the NDPG? To consider that question, it would be useful to peruse the historical timeline of the NDPG. During the first half of the Cold War period, excluding the First Defense Program (1958-1960), Japan's defense capability was developed under a five-year plan until the Fourth Defense Program (1972-1976). Described as a "time of building," the primary objective then was to build up the nation's defense capability to its full capacity, in alignment with economic growth. The "significance" of the defense capability itself was not an issue under such a circumstance.[1]

However, as Japan's rapid economic growth slowed around the start of the 1970s, the limits of a defense buildup in accordance with existing economic growth began to appear. The Fourth Defense Program, which was approved by the Cabinet in February 1972, inevitably had to be drastically reduced in scale and budget from what was initially planned, due to the worsening financial situation and other factors. Furthermore, the first oil crisis that occurred in October 1973 and subsequent inflation accelerated the deterioration of the country's financial state. Meanwhile, the US-Soviet Union détente and the US-China rapprochement gave rise to a "détente (kincho-kanwa)" momentum of easing tensions. Amidst this, there were growing concerns in Japan and abroad in regard to the "revival of Japanese militarism." This made it necessary to reconsider the direction of the defense program, including limiting Japan's defense capability.

It was under these internal and external circumstances that the "Basic Defense Force" concept was developed. The concept, which was subsequently adopted in the "National Defense Program Guidelines for FY1977 and beyond" (hereafter

"1976 NDPG"), became the guideline for the ensuing Defense Program of Japan. The concept was developed by Takuya Kubo, then Director-General of the Defense Bureau of Japan's Defense Agency. Kubo attempted to move away from the "Requirement-based Defense Force" concept that so far had aimed for a defense program to respond to the military capabilities of surrounding nations, toward establishing a defense concept that aimed to build up minimum required defence capability as an independent nation, rather than to respond to specific threats. Kubo also directed the formulation of the "Defense Force in Peace Time" that showed the "limits" of the build-up of defense capability, and made other efforts to reassure foreign nations that were concerned about Japan's move toward becoming a military power. Kubo also emphasized securing the support of domestic public opinion regarding the country's defense capability.[2]

For these reasons, the Basic Defense Force concept is often described as a "beyond-the-threat" theory that does not assume any threats and places greater importance on political consideration than "military rationality."[3] However, recent research has revealed that other policy decision-makers besides Kubo were involved in the process of formulating the NDPG, and subsequently the Basic Defense Force concept was transformed into the "concept of the required defense force for a limited threat."[4] Actually, a certain "threat" referred to as "a limited and small-scale aggression" was assumed in the 1976 NDPG, and the objective was to build up defense capabilities to the level of singlehandedly responding to such a threat. Seiki Nishihiro, who succeeded Kubo and was also involved in formulating the NDPG, commented in a later response in the Diet, "As it is possible for Japan to singlehandedly respond to 'a limited and small-scale aggression,' in that sense, it cannot be denied that this is also a counter-threat theory, even in the most limited form."[5]

In fact, Kubo himself stated in the initial paper that although there is no "probable threat (specific and imminent threat)," there is a "possible threat (a threat that may occur in the future)," and hence it is not the case of having denied the very existence of a threat.[6] In such a situation, "it is almost impossible to

have the necessary defense capability to respond to a possible threat (military capability) in a normal state"; hence, the objective was to build up a "defense capability (standing force) in a normal state" only to be able to counter situations that could realistically occur (specifically, a small-scale surprise attack, etc.), and as required, to shift to a military force needed for an emergency. This was the original idea of the Basic Defense Force concept.[7]

As mentioned previously, the "Requirement-based Defense Force" concept was aimed at building up defense capability commensurate with the military "capability" of surrounding nations. Kubo himself and others defined this as a "counter (response)-threat" type of defense capability. This caused the "beyond-the-threat theory" discourse that defines the "Basic Defense Force" as not assuming a threat (or not directly countering a threat). As Kubo himself repeatedly pointed out, however, the elements comprising a "threat" included the material concept of the other country's "capabilities," and also the non-material concept of the other country's "intention" to exercise those capabilities. The "limited and small-scale aggression," which included a surprise attack, was derived as a theoretically conceivable situation resulting from a threat expressed as a function of such a capability and intention. The "Basic Defense Force" was seen as the "counterforce" (or "deterrent force") to that situation.[8] In other words, even in Kubo's "original" Basic Defense Force concept (the so-called Kubo concept), a latent and unspecified "threat" to Japan in the sense of an "unforeseen contingency such as a small-scale surprise attack" was taken into consideration, even though in an extremely limited way.

Hence, the 1976 NDPG based on the Basic Defense Force concept had an extremely limited estimate of threats against Japan, and it continued until the end of the Cold War. This became possible because of the international circumstances following the US-China rapprochement. The 1977 Defense White Paper cited the "assumed international environment" of the Basic Defense Force as maintaining the Japan-US Security Arrangements, as well as avoiding nuclear war and large-scale armed conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, the ongoing confrontations between China and the Soviet Union, the stability of US-China relations, and maintaining the status quo in the Korean Peninsula.[9]

In particular, these assumptions that focused on the United States, China and Soviet Union relations strongly reflected the outlook of Kubo on international affairs following the US-China rapprochement. Since the US-

China rapprochement was concluded in 1972, Kubo gained insight into the essence of the "triangular diplomacy" proposed by the US Secretary of State and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and the US President Richard Nixon. Kissinger and Nixon intended to maintain US supremacy in Asia based on improving relations with both the Soviet Union and China, by leveraging the conflict between China and the Soviet Union.[10]

According to the world views of Nixon and Kissinger, as long as there was a continuation of the tripartite structure of the United States, China and Soviet Union based on the Sino-Soviet rift, even if US-Soviet Union or US-China relations were to deteriorate, the United States would still have supremacy over the communist side and be able to maintain relations with a stable balance of power. In this case, the possibility of the Soviet Union invading the US ally of Japan would be foreseeable as being more limited, compared to the premise of such a structure not existing. This is especially why Kubo and other advocates of that concept insisted on maintaining a basic defense force and the NDPG even after the late 1970s when there was a growing argument for "revising the NDPG" following the collapse of the US-Soviet Union détente.[11] In so far as there were no visible and fundamental changes in the international environment assumed in the NDPG, there was no need to change the basic posture of Japan's defense.

In retrospect, it is possible to evaluate Kubo's view on the international situation from the 1970s onwards as being somewhat valid. Ultimately, it was after the end of the Cold War when the defense capability, which was cited as an objective in an "attached table" in the NDPG, was built up. Subsequently, Japan was able to enjoy victory in the Cold War using the minimum required defense costs. Meanwhile, as shown in the rhetoric of the "beyond-the-threat theory," it cannot be denied that the difficult-to-understand Basic Defense Force concept invited confusion in the ensuing debate on defense. There is also the view that due to this difficulty in understanding the concept, the Basic Defense Force was ultimately only asserted in Japan, and was not shared at all between the United States and Japan.[12]

More than the pros and cons of the Kubo concept and the NDPG, the key point is how the direction of Japan's defense program, which had been mostly developing without any discipline since the 1950s, gained some direction with the completion of the NDPG. In fact, with the formulation of the NDPG, the various restrictions on Japan's defense capability, the reliance on the United

States for extended nuclear deterrence, and the positioning of the Japan-US alliance all became clearer. The completion of the NDPG also clarified Japan's three non-nuclear principles and nonaggressive defense policy, and the limit of keeping defense costs within the 1% bracket of Gross National Product (GNP). Hence, the emergence of the "Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation" was definitely no coincidence. The 1976 NDPG, which was the first NDPG in the post-war period to systematically show the "significance" of Japan's defense capabilities, also stipulated the direction of Japan's security policy itself.

Another feature of the Kubo concept is that it called for a review of how the significance of Japan's defense capability was perceived in relation to the international order (Kubo referred to this as the "international significance" of Japan's defense capability). Kubo asserted that defense capability should not only be viewed as a deterrence against armed aggression or to prevent and repel such acts, but also perceived as having a "peace-keeping function" in international politics.[13] The "peace-keeping function" of defense capability in this assertion assumed the meaning of being "defense capability that is neither too large or too little, and at a suitable scale and content to rebuke a situation," which Japan has as a "military middle power" that is adhering to the Japan-US Security Arrangements under the aforementioned tripartite structure of the United States, China and Soviet Union. According to Kubo, retaining this level of minimum required defense capability makes it possible for Japan to take into consideration the concerns of surrounding nations, while preventing military interference from other countries; consequently, this will be "useful for maintaining the stability and balance of international powers."[14]

Kubo's stance of Japan was also reflected in the 1976 NDPG, which argued that having the minimum required defense capability to repel any acts of aggression was not only for the benefit of Japan, but also "contributing to maintaining stability in the international politics of surrounding nations." This approach also aligns with the "power vacuum theory" (Japan will prevent acts of aggression, and contribute to a stable international order by not becoming a power vacuum itself), which formed the core of the "Basic Defence Force" concept that was reformulated after the Cold War. And although it can be seen as an extremely passive way of thinking, it can also be regarded as the first attempt to define how Japan's defense capability should develop in terms of maintaining the international order.

In this way, even with the premise of various conditions and restrictions within the country, the 1976 NDPG was the first to systematically show the direction and international role of Japan's defense capability based on a certain perception of the international security environment in the 1970s. For this reason, the 1976 NDPG can be regarded as being positioned higher than the First to the Fourth National Defense Program. Furthermore, (as is often pointed out), the 1976 NDPG was also not just a legitimized procurement plan outlined in an "attached table." With the completion of the 1976 NDPG, for the first time Japan had its own "defense strategy" that was more than simply a defense program.

### (2) End of the Cold War and Transition of the NDPG – Shift to a Proactive Contribution to Peace

Following the end of the Cold War, the possibility of any acts of aggression toward Japan declined even further compared to when the 1976 NDPG was compiled. Meanwhile, in the Asia Pacific Region, in addition to factors leading to potential conflict such as the Korean Peninsula and the Taiwan Strait, there were numerous uncertainties and risks that may disrupt the regional order including the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the movements of the Russian, Chinese and US armed forces. In August 1994, the prime-ministerial advisory body the Advisory Group on Defense Issues submitted a report (the so-called "Higuchi Report") that pointed out the declining possibility of any direct military aggression against Japan (in other words, a decline in threat), while also defining the post-Cold War global situation as follows: there exists dangers of various qualities difficult to identify, and it is hard to predict in what form such dangers would threaten our security. In such a situation, the report advocated that in addition to strengthening the Japan-US alliance, Japan itself should actively commit to the stabilization of the international security environment through "Multilateral Security Cooperation" comprising various means, such as peace-keeping operations (PKO) and a multinational security framework.

The term "Multilateral Security Cooperation" itself was not used in the new "National Defense Program Guidelines for FY1996 and beyond" (hereafter "1995 NDPG"), which was announced the following year. In addition to the existing functions of "preventing and dealing with acts of aggression," however, it added new roles for Japan's defense capability of "responding to large-scale disasters and various other situations" and "contributing to creating an even more

stable security environment." Furthermore, even though the 1995 NDPG carried on the Basic Defense Force concept, the expression "Japan will repel limited and small-scale aggression, in principle, without external assistance" was omitted; based on the expanding role of Japan's defense capability and other factors, this expression was deemed as being inappropriate for seemingly only highlighting acts of aggression against Japan.[15]

The North Korean missile tests conducted toward the Japan Sea in August 1998, the 9.11 terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, and the detection of North Korea's highly-enriched uranium plan the following year, suggested that some of the various security "risks" assumed in the Higuchi Report were beginning to actualize as real threats. In light of these situations, the "National Defense Program Guidelines for FY2005 and beyond" (hereafter "2004 NDPG") highlighted not only terrorism countermeasures, but also focused on responding to new threats such as the progressive proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, and various situations that might impact peace and security. The 2004 NDPG was also the first NDPG to mention the modernization of China's military forces and its expanding scope of maritime activities, in addition to North Korea's development of nuclear and ballistic missiles.

Based on the above, the 2004 NDPG advocated building a "multi-functional, flexible and effective" defense force that was equipped with high readiness, mobility, flexibility, and versatility, and was supported by advanced technical and information capabilities that are aligned with trends in military technology standards. Such a defense force was not only for the defense of Japan, but also for "being able to voluntarily and actively participate in international peace cooperation activities." In this way, the 2004 NDPG presented a defense concept that placed greater importance on flexibly "dealing with" various situations by actively operating a defense force during times of peace, while also carrying on the "effective sections" of the Basic Defense Force concept. This idea emphasized the "operation" of the defense force rather than its "existence," and can also be described as the forerunner to the later "dynamic defense force."

Actually, the "National Defense Program Guidelines for FY2011 and beyond" (hereafter "2010 NDPG") announced in December 2010 stressed dealing with diversified and complex threats, and hence it shared many common points with the 2004 NDPG. In particular, the 2010 NDPG highlighted for the first

time an increase in "gray-zone" contingencies as "confrontations over territory, sovereignty and economic interests that are not to escalate into wars," and underlined the need for a "seamless response" to such situations. It also set the objective of building a dynamic defense force that is focused on "operation," in order to be able to more effectively deter and deal with various situations including gray zones.

The 2010 NDPG was also the first NDPG to include the perspective of a "power shift" in the international society. Although it stated "the United States continues to play the most significant role in securing global peace and stability," it also expressed the view of "we are witnessing a global shift in the balance of powers such as China, India and Russia, along with the relative change of influence of the United States." As such, even greater importance was placed on Japan's active contribution in stabilizing the security environment in the Asia Pacific region and improving the global security environment through "Multi-layered Security Cooperation" such as peace-keeping operations (PKO) and cooperation with regional countries.

The 2013 NDPG announced in December 2013 was basically positioned as an extension of the 2004 NDPG and the 2010 NDPG, although it differed from the past NDPGs on several points. First, the 2013 NDPG was the first NDPG to be compiled under the NSS, which was formulated at the same time; hence, the 2013 NDPG was positioned as a document for implementing the NSS as the higher-level strategy. The NSS cited "proactive contribution to peace based on the principle of international cooperation" as its ideal, and it clearly raised the objective of this ideal being not only for the stability and prosperity of Japan itself, but also for "the maintenance and protection of international order based on rules and universal values, such as freedom, democracy, respect for fundamental human rights, and the rule of law."

In addition to the "operation" of the defense force, the 2013 NDPG also emphasized its "quantity" and "quality." In formulating the NDPG, the development of functions and capabilities to be particularly emphasized was calculated based on a "capability assessment" according to various assumed situations and other factors. Consequently, compared to the 2004 NDPG and the 2010 NDPG that particularly highlighted how to operate a defense force within a limited budget, the 2013 NDPG focused more on developing defense capabilities adequate both in "quantity" and "quality." Moreover, in order to achieve this,

since the fiscal year in which the 2013 NDPG was formulated, the government has continued to increase the amount spent on defense, which had fallen or remained flat until then.

This renewed emphasis on the quantity and quality of the defense force in recent years is not unrelated to the deteriorating situation in the Korean Peninsula and ever-progressing power balance in the international society. The 2013 NDPG was the first to express an even deeper recognition that "the multi-polarization of the world continues," and suggest a fundamental shakeup was happening in the US supremacy that was the major premise of Japan's postwar defense policy. The increasing risk of an escalation and protraction of the gray-zone contingencies highlighted in the 2013 NDPG is essentially a product of the effects of these changes at an international structural level. Accordingly, regardless of any changes that may occur in the localized security situation surrounding Japan, this trend of bolstering the quantity and quality of Japan's defense force is likely to continue.

In this way, some of the assumed various "risks" surrounding Japan after the end of the Cold War have actualized as real "threats," some of which are intensifying. In such circumstances, Japan has shifted from a "Basic Defense Force" concept with an extremely limited estimate of threats under the recognition of a static international order of maintaining the US, China and the Soviet Union tripartite structure, to a more effective and active defense force concept that can respond to an increase in risks and diversified threats.[16] In particular, the shakeup of the US unipolar system in recent years has highlighted not only the "operation" of the defense force, but also strengthening its capabilities. As will be considered in Section 3, although this is not necessarily a regression to the "Requirement-based Defense Force" concept, in later times it may be evaluated as a turning point, when Japan began to earnestly search for a defense and security strategy in a "multipolar age."

The international significance of the defense force as stipulated in the NDPG also changed considerably after the Cold War. Basically, "passive pacifism," whereby maintaining a minimum required defense force to not create a "vacuum of power" and to facilitate a stable international order, disappeared; the stance shifted to "proactive pacifism" of Japan actively using its defense capabilities to facilitate stabilization of the international order. In particular, even greater attention was focused on the importance of defense capabilities as a "tool" for

"creating" an order that is desirable for Japan, rather than just for "stabilizing" the existing order following the formulation of the NSS. In this progressive multi-polarization of the international order, the international significance and role of such defense capabilities will become increasingly important from hereon.

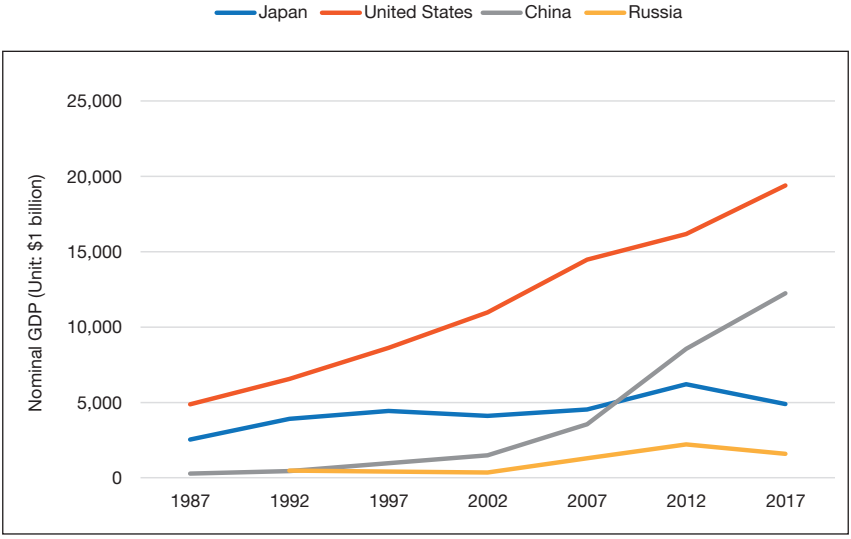
## 2. Background to the NDPG Review

### (1) Shifts in the International Balance of Power

First, the primary contributing factor to the NDPG review is the ongoing power transition between major powers affecting the entire international political system; it goes without saying this results from the rise of China. To be sure, this shift in the relative power relationship is not a new development. As discussed in the previous section, the power transition factor was already assumed, at least implicitly, in the 2010 version of the NDPG, which means that it is not a qualitative change leading to the latest NDPG. Nevertheless, the sheer scale of the quantitative increase in Chinese power necessitates our policy response, as China's economic and military growth rates far exceed those of the United States or Japan.

To illustrate, China replaced Japan as the world's second largest economy in terms of Nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2010; by 2017, China's GDP grew more than double the size of Japan's and reached roughly two-thirds of the US GDP. Furthermore, on a Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) basis, China's economy is nearly four-times as great as that of Japan, overtaking even the United States (Figure 7.1).[17] Needless to say, a simple comparison of GDP alone does not reveal much, since a state's defense capability also depends on other factors, including the level of technological sophistication and the availability of international alliances. That said, the fact remains that economic strength is the source of military power and political influence. Indeed, China in recent years has been making a considerable effort to modernize its armed forces and establish an extended economic sphere centered on itself. Looking back in history, the economic performance of the Soviet Union, even at its peak as one of the two superpowers in the Cold War's bipolar structure, did not reach half that of its American rival. For that reason, ultimately, the Soviet Union could not keep up with the competition. In that sense, the consistent and rapid growth of China clearly gives it an enormous presence in the international political arena.

Figure 7.1. Comparison of Nominal GDP of the United States, Japan, China, and the Soviet Union (Russia) (1987-2017)




*Source*: Compiled by the author based on the World Bank International Comparison Programme data.

As is often pointed out, China's military budget is steadily expanding in pace with its overall economic growth, though there is no significant change in terms of the percentage of GDP. China's military budget was estimated at approximately $76.4 billion in the 2010 fiscal year, but has doubled to an estimated $150.5 billion by 2017, equivalent to one-quarter of the US defense budget and three times that of Japan.[18] Moreover, China's official military budget does not account for some items, such as research and development (R&D) costs and weapon import costs, which suggests the actual military expenditure could be even higher.[19] The increased budget has been poured into qualitative modernization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), particularly the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN). The 2018 issue of *Military Balance*, the annual report on international military balance from International Institute for Strategic Studies (UK), warns: "Western technology edge erodes further."[20]

In the field of International Relations, power transition, or a reversal in the economic and military power relationship, is generally considered to increase the probability of international conflict. Broadly speaking, we can identify

two distinct mechanisms of this phenomenon. The first is what is called power transition theory or hegemonic stability theory.[21] These theories maintain that war is unlikely when there is an overwhelmingly powerful hegemon; conversely, war becomes more likely as the power relationship approaches parity. This proposition is contrary to the balance of power theory, which tells us that a balanced configuration of power makes for a stable international system and allows an effective operation of deterrence.

A set of international political institutions, or in other words the distribution of wealth and political influence, established by the existing hegemon, tend to sow grievance among emerging powers; the existing arrangements may not appropriately reflect the new realities of power. A classic example is the First World War. The British hegemony based on command of the sea and the vast colonial empire, was challenged by Germany, which was rapidly industrializing and seeking its "place in the sun." Thus, the greater the imbalance between the existing international politico-economic institutions and the fundamental balance of power, the higher the risk of war becomes.[22]

The other mechanism that links power transition to war is known as preventive war theory. Faced with the rise of a challenger, an established great power has an incentive to curb any further transition in the power balance before it is too late. The longer they wait, so the argument goes, the more disadvantageous their military situation will be. For example, some argue that Germany's real motive for war in 1914 was not a challenge to the British naval hegemony, but a preventive war against Russia. That is, the Germans were concerned about the possibility of Russia catching up with industrialization and threatening the established German military supremacy in continental Europe.[23]

Emerging powers that possess superior latent capabilities, such as population, territory, and natural resources, may announce peaceful intentions at present, but cannot offer any credible assurance to others that they will not change their behavior in the future when they enjoy a favorable balance of power. Due to this commitment problem, rising powers, simply by their growth, provoke preventive measures from the hegemon. Both sides fall into a negative spiral as they engage in an arms race to "prepare for the worst."

Thus, the power transition theory and preventive war theory share the same fundamental logic: as the balance of power between major powers and emerging nations approximates an equilibrium, it produces mutual uncertainties, tensions,

and miscalculations, and ultimately increases the probability of armed conflict. It remains to be seen what specific lines of policy will emerge from the United States and China through the process of power transition. However, any upheaval in the international political structure of East Asia, which has remained stable since the Cold War and allowed for Japan's peace and prosperity within it, will pose a potentially grave danger to Japan in the next several decades.

Indeed, China's foreign policy behavior in recent years shows a marked tendency toward power politics, based on its own new-found power. For instance, China's claim for sovereignty over the entire South China Sea implies that the new reality of power makes China think it unfit to apply the existing principle of sovereignty under international law as is, coupled with its victim mentality stemming from the experience of unfair treatment at the hands of the West and Japan through modern history.[24] Furthermore, the administration of President Xi Jinping is propagating "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese people," seeking to expand its political sphere of influence by economic means, such as the "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB).[25] Although China has repeatedly emphasized its leading role within the existing free-trade system, it is only natural for others to be concerned about the economic zone gradually turning into an exclusive politico-military sphere, particularly if we take into account the rapid modernization of the Chinese militaries.

In fact, there is a certain degree of rationality to securing access to overseas markets and resources, without interference from foreign powers, as a way of guarding against heightening tensions in the period of power transition that is to come. Chinese leaders are highly aware of the so-called Malacca Dilemma, a symbol of the country's economic vulnerability (i.e. the majority of marine trade that supports China's economy depends on the Strait of Malacca, which can be easily closed off by the US Navy during a contingency). The retaliatory tariffs and trade conflict escalating under the administration of US President Donald Trump only add to China's problem.[26] Of course, Japan also stands to lose a lot if the Sino-American discord causes an upheaval to the current system of international free trade in the complex and highly interdependent world.[27]

Meanwhile, the Trump administration's "America First" policy also stems from the US awareness of relative decline in the arena of international politics. In other words, the new policy symbolizes an erosion of the US will and capacity to lead the global security framework, as we saw in the containment policy against

the Soviet Union during the Cold War or later the war on terror in the unipolar world. Of course, even before the Trump administration, there were ideas like "Offshore Balancing," which claimed the United States should sit back and focus on providing support to the regional stakeholders in response to the rise of China.[28] As seen in the "rebalance" policy under the Obama administration, however, the US government itself was basically consistent in its line of policy to maintain or strengthen the US presence in East Asia.

In contrast, Donald Trump during the 2016 presidential election campaign overturned the bipartisan consensus from the Cold War period by underestimating the value of existing alliances. Although the Trump administration confirmed to uphold the US-Japan alliance itself, as of late 2018, President Trump's "America First" policy and pressure for trade deals are the major source of concern to Japan, whose foreign and security policy revolves around the US-Japan alliance. In addition, the volatile tensions surrounding the Korean Peninsula in the period from President Trump's inauguration until the US-North Korea Summit, the rejection of the multilateral free-trade system that the United States itself had led, and the deepening confrontation between the United States and China, all combine to cast a long shadow over the security environment surrounding Japan.

Put simply, the recognition of "its toughest security environment since WWII" means, by extension, Japan's sense of crisis that it must make active efforts to support, strengthen, and stabilize the traditional security framework based on its alliance with the United States, and Japan's strong recognition of the need to bolster its own defense capabilities to prepare for unforeseen contingencies.[29]

### (2) Emergence of Specific Security Challenges

The macro problem of power transition between the United States and China gives rise to a number of specific issues. As China continues its maritime expansion, it poses a challenge for Japan to defend remote islands and maintain sea lines of communication in the East and South China Seas. Assuming that China recognizes the potential risks in the power transition period, it is not surprising if China prepares for the worst and deems it an urgent task to deny the superior US power projection and to protect the maritime trade that is vital to its sustained growth. Indeed, since the 1996 Taiwan Strait Crisis, in which the United States flaunted its superior power projection capabilities, China has developed its Anti-Access/Area-Denial (A2/AD) capabilities to consolidate its

coastal defense, even while advocating "peaceful development."

Furthermore, China's ongoing efforts to build aircraft carriers domestically and construct artificial islands abroad suggest the country's growing intent to take a step forward from passive denial capabilities along its coast to actively expanding its influence in the open sea. In the South China Sea, China has already set up a base in the Spratlys, which is equipped with surface-to-ship and surface-to-air missiles and an airstrip to operate military aircraft. Similarly, China has grown more active to change the status quo in the East China Sea as well, from around the same time as it overtook Japan economically. Examples include the Chinese government vessels operating around the Senkaku Islands and China's new Air-Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) over the area. The number of emergency takeoffs (scrambles) by Japan's SDF aircraft against Chinese aircraft more than doubled from 415 in 2013 to 851 in 2016. Although the number of scrambles has somewhat settled since then, it remains high compared to previous years.[30] Japan is in a critical position, both politically and geographically, in the power transition dynamics between the United States and China. These specific issues will test the country in terms of how to navigate its way through the potentially dangerous waters ahead.

Any challenge to the maritime status quo means a potential threat to the Japanese national interests, because the overwhelming naval superiority of the United States has provided Japan with considerable benefits in both economic and security terms ever since the Cold War. Broadly speaking, there are two approaches to countering threats in international politics – "internal balancing" based on one's own efforts, and "external balancing" through alliances and partnerships with other countries. Japan has been making careful efforts at external balancing in recent years, by expanding the scope of its activities to bolster defense cooperation with other like-minded regional countries,[31] as well as securing an assurance from the Trump administration that Article 5 of the Japan-US Security Treaty applies to the Senkaku Islands.[32] Needless to say, however, Japan is ultimately responsible for its own security; Japan must defend its own territories, including outlying islands, and secure the sea lines of communication on which its economy depends.

Of particular importance to the defense of sea lines of communication and remote islands is securing air, naval, and information superiority; hence the emphasis on joint-operation capabilities as an effective defense force to achieve

the overall superiority. In that sense, another background factor to the 2018 NDPG is the innovations in information technology that have given a fresh impetus to multi-domain operations since the latter stages of the Cold War (see the Column below). In fact, the National Defense Division of Policy Research Council, an organ of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Japan, compiled proposals for the next NDPG and included "cross-domain defense force" as a key term to encompass both traditional domains of land, sea, and air, and new domains of outer space, cyberspace, and the electromagnetic spectrum.[33] Similarly, as Prime Minister Shinzo Abe confirmed at the Advisory Panel on Security and Defense Capabilities in 2018: "Maintaining advantages in new domains such as cyberspace and outer space is now a matter of vital importance for the defense of Japan."[34] Some expect the cross-domain defense force to be a possible solution for Japan to develop an efficient defense force by its own effort, striking a balance between the increasingly "tough" security environment and the stringent fiscal concerns. As the next section discusses in detail, this idea is stipulated in the 2018 NDPG as the "Multi-domain Defense Force" concept.

The last point is on ballistic missile defense against the threat of North Korean nuclear weapons and missiles. Ballistic missile defense is essentially a line of policy for Japan to prioritize capabilities to thwart the enemy attack from achieving its strategic objectives, which contributes to deterrence by denial, even while Japan continues to rely on the US forces for deterrence by punishment, which is based on retaliatory capabilities. To be sure, a more fundamental solution would be to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula. However, the feasibility of such a solution remains dubious, given North Korea's determination and scrupulous foreign policy to establish an independent nuclear deterrence posture.

The negotiations between the United States and North Korea, even with the summit meeting, have not offered a clear prospect for "complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization." The situation will not improve any time soon because China's cooperation will not be forthcoming either, in the generally cooling relationship

with the United States. Thus, ballistic missile defense is here to stay as an important stopgap measure.

An example of ballistic missile defense in practice is the decision to introduce the so-called Aegis Ashore, a ground-based missile defense system, in order to reinforce the JMSDF's Aegis-equipped vessels currently in service for intercepting missiles in their midcourse phase of flight.[35] While the total cost of introducing Aegis Ashore will be more than ¥230 billion, the system offers a substantial operational advantage by covering the entire Japanese archipelago with just two stations. The MOD's budget request also included other items, such as the acquisition of SM-3 Block IIA, an advanced interceptor missile, and the modification of existing Aegis-capable ships and Patriot Advanced Capability-Three (PAC-3) missiles, all of which are expected to enhance Japan's ballistic missile defense. As a result, the MOD's budget request in August became the largest ever, at ¥5.2986 trillion.[36] In short, Japan is not convinced that the US-North Korea summit meeting in June 2018 produced any fundamental change to the nature of North Korea's nuclear and missile threats. This view is duly reflected in the latest NDPG.[37]

## Column "Cross-Domain" Defense Force

It is a well-known principle through the modern era that joint operations involving different services can achieve much more than the simple sum of individual domain-specific services. A classic example is the German Blitzkrieg during the initial stage of World War II, in which the Wehrmacht combined armored formations on the ground with close air support to inflict disproportionate losses on the French and Soviet forces. Conversely, Imperial Japan during WWII never achieved a sufficient level of coordination between the Army and the Navy, both tactically and strategically, which rendered the Japanese resistance to the materially superior US forces even less effective. Thus, it should not be an exaggeration to say that multi-domain coordination is the conventional wisdom in the modern battlefield, where technological advancements make a remarkable impact. Naturally, that applies to East Asia as well.

If the idea is nothing new, then why do we have the "cross-domain" defense force as a key concept now? The answer lies in the unique nature of new domains of operation, namely outer space and cyberspace. That is, the traditional domains – land, sea, and air – serve as a battlefield in the literal sense of the word; in contrast, outer space and cyberspace are more important as infrastructure, or force multipliers, to sustain physical combat in the three traditional domains. Of course, it is reasonable to expect some hostilities in outer space and cyberspace as well;

nevertheless, combat results in these new domains are less important for their own sake than for the battles on land, sea, and air.

The point was vividly illustrated by the US forces in the 1991 Gulf War. The initial estimates of Coalition losses were quite high against the Iraqi forces, which boasted one of the largest and best-equipped militaries in the world. As the actual course of events demonstrated, however, the US forces inflicted a devastating blow to the Iraqi armored units in Kuwait with minimal losses to themselves, largely due to the overwhelming air superiority as well as the advanced information and communications technologies, including reconnaissance/communication satellites and precision-guided munitions. Later, more irregular military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan from 2002 proved that the high-tech approach was not a panacea for all military problems. Nonetheless, there is currently a general consensus that the effective use of outer space and cyberspace is an indispensable aspect of modern warfare, at least between major powers with relatively similar levels of technological sophistication.

Accordingly, in the context of Japan's defense program guideline, some expect joint operations across multiple domains to be a solution for Japan to develop an efficient defense force by its own effort, striking a balance between the increasingly "tough" security environment and the stringent fiscal concerns. However, building up one's capabilities in outer space and cyberspace as force multipliers also entails potential vulnerabilities associated with dependence on such assets. Indeed, China, in its pursuit for countermeasures to the US power projection capabilities is taking an asymmetrical approach to exploit the high-level dependency of US military activities on the outer space and cyberspace domains. Examples of the Chinese asymmetrical approach include anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons, with a proof-of-concept test conducted in 2007, and cyber warfare units that are purportedly engaged in the unlawful acquisition of scientific and technological information from abroad.

As Japan's SDF also relies more and more upon the outer-space and cyberspace assets in a similar fashion, it will need countermeasures against the adversary's countermoves. Moreover, in these new domains where identifying the attacker may not always be feasible, it is crucial to maintain a continuous defense posture from the so-called gray-zone conflict short of an overt clash of arms. For example, it has been reported that in addition to the Cyber Defense Group, which was newly formed in 2014, the Japanese government is also considering setting up a central command organization for cyber defense and space situational awareness (SSA).[43] In sum, a successful execution of modern warfare requires two elements: 1) advanced defense capabilities in the outer space and cyberspace domains to facilitate efficient cross-domain operations, and; 2) capabilities to protect those assets that serve as an operational infrastructure. Thus, the development of cross-domain capabilities is doubly important as a force multiplier to support operations in traditional domains.

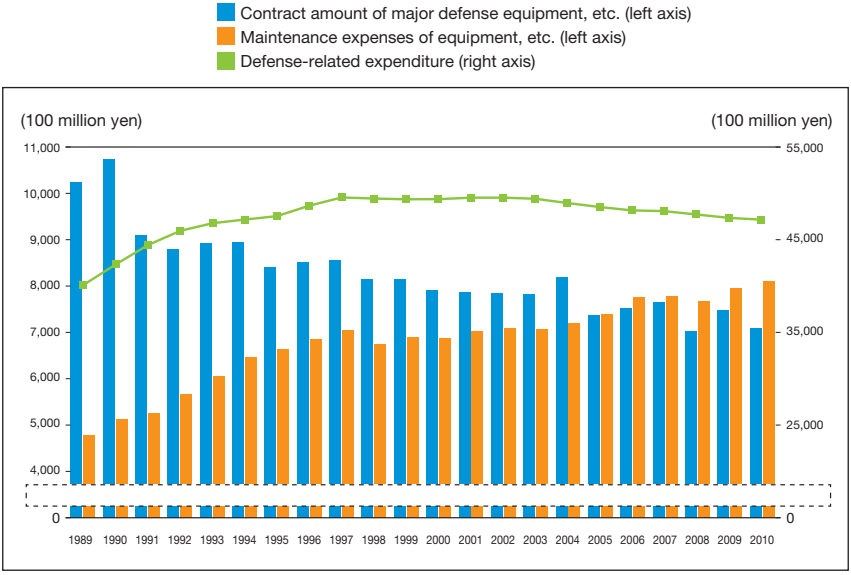
## 3. New National Defense Program Guidelines - Multi-Domain Defense Force

On December 18, 2018 the 2018 NDPG and the new Medium Term Defense Program (FY2019 – FY2023) (hereafter "MTDP") were approved at a Cabinet meeting.[38] The 2018 NDPG recognizes the security environment surrounding Japan is "becoming more testing and uncertain at a remarkably faster speed" than that assumed in the previous NDPG; hence, it emphasizes that Japan needs to "fundamentally strengthen its national defense architecture with which to protect, by exerting efforts on its own accord and initiative...thereby expanding roles Japan can fulfill." In particular, the rapidly expanding use of the new domains of space, cyberspace, and electromagnetic spectrum has established an awareness to "fundamentally change the existing paradigm of national security, which has prioritized responses in traditional, physical domains, which are land, sea, and air." Subsequently, the 2018 NDPG has raised the objective of building a "multi-domain defense force" that "organically fuses capabilities in all domains including space, cyberspace, and electromagnetic spectrum; and is capable of sustained conduct of flexible and strategic activities during all phases from peacetime to armed contingencies."

As mentioned in the previous section, one of the main backgrounds in formulating the 2018 NDPG was the rising need for cross-domain operations, as the new domains of space, cyberspace, and electromagnetic spectrum emerge. Since the start of the 2010s, the US military has been developing a strategy doctrine that emphasizes cross-domain operations and cross-domain synergy, as a part of the Air Sea Battle concept and Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC).[39] Separate to these concepts are the Multi-Domain Battle and Multi-Domain Operations spearheaded and advocated by the US army; these also emphasize the strengthening of capabilities integrated across various domains including space and cyberspace, in addition to bolstering capabilities in each domain.[40]

These concepts raise a strong sense of crisis that the supremacy of the US military on the land, sea and air (particularly the sea and air) is no longer self-evident, due to the developments in technology and changes in the international power balance.[41] In particular, "revisionist powers" (2017 US National Security

Figure 7.2. Trends in the contract amount of equipment, etc., and maintenance expenses of equipment




*Source*: Ministry of Defense, "Breakdown and Trends of Defense-Related Expenditure"

Strategy (NSS)) such as Russia and China are fully leveraging the asymmetric capabilities in these new domains and the potential vulnerabilities within them to revise the status quo, including expanding territory in gray zones. Countering these threats requires not only enhancing capabilities in both the existing domains of land, sea and air and the new domains of space and cyberspace, but also carrying out cross-domain operations that combine these capabilities; this will offset the vulnerabilities in each domain, as well as enhance the capabilities overall.

The 2018 NDPG also mentions the rapid development of capabilities in these new domains by countries such as China and North Korea, while emphasizing the following need: "Japan needs to develop, while qualitatively and quantitatively enhancing capabilities in individual domains, a defense capability that can execute cross-domain operations, which organically fuse capabilities in all domains to generate synergy and amplify the overall strength, so that even when inferiority exists in individual domains such inferiority will be overcome and national defense accomplished." To that end, the 2018 NDPG underscores

the following point: “to build a new defense capability that combines strengths across all domains, Japan needs to engage in a transformation at a pace that is fundamentally different from the past, completely shedding the thinking that relies on traditional division among land, sea, and air.”

Specific examples of this include the new introduction of short take-off/vertical landing (STOVL) fighter aircrafts, outfitting the new types of escort vessels, and the introduction of unmanned underwater vehicles (UUVs) and new surface-to-ship and air-to-ship guided missiles for further extending the firing range. Furthermore, the MTDP, taking into account the operation of the aforementioned STOVL aircrafts, clarified that remodeling would be done on the JMSDF multi-functional helicopter carrier escort vessel Izumo. The objectives of this remodeling work are to facilitate the more flexible operation of fighter aircraft and to strengthen Japan’s air defense posture on the Pacific Ocean side.

The 2018 NDPG and the MTDP both clarified plans to proceed with procuring stand-off missiles that can be launched even while outside the threat envelopes of other countries , as well as move forward with research and development on HVGP (Hyper Velocity Gliding Projectile) and new anti-ship guided missiles for the defense of remote islands, and on hypersonic weapons. Furthermore, as a means of more effectively operating these defense capabilities that have been strengthened qualitatively and quantitatively, it is stated that, “to be able to sustain a range of requisite activities at all stages from peacetime to armed contingencies, sustainability and resiliency of defense capability including logistics support needs to be enhanced.” To that end, “necessary measures for protecting important infrastructure” are mentioned, including securing ammunition and fuel, ensuring maritime transportation routes, and the dispersal, recovery and substitution of infrastructure and other foundations for SDF operations. This “important infrastructure” is thought to also include infrastructure and other equipment to support operations in cyberspace and space, which are particularly important in cross-domain operations.

As such, although the 2018 NDPG and MTDP emphasize enhancing “capabilities” in the hardware aspect of the defense force in a way not seen before, this does not necessarily mean that Japan’s defense force concept has returned to the “Requirement-based Defense Force” concept, which aimed at maintaining a defense force that is equivalent to the physical capabilities of surrounding countries. As already noted, one objective of the Multi-domain

Defense Force is to strengthen cross-domain operation capabilities to offset the inferiority in capabilities in each domain. In that sense, it is possible to position the Multi-Domain Defense Force concept as an extension of the 2013 NDPG "Dynamic Joint Defense Force" concept and the 2010 NDPG "Dynamic Defense Force" concept, which recognized to an extent the possibility of a widening gap in the capabilities of Japan with that of surrounding countries, while also aiming to close that gap by the "operation" of the defense force.

The 2018 NDPG also basically maintains this policy, and states that Japan will continue to cooperate with the United States and friendly nations in the region and play a greater role in the fields of conducting joint training and exercises, cooperation in defense equipment and technologies, capacity building assistance, humanitarian assistance/disaster relief (HA/DR), and counter piracy, etc. The 2018 NDPG particularly emphasizes the importance of an "approach taking into account characteristics and situations specific to each region and country," as is seen in the increased volume of content on each region and country compared to previous NDPG. The 2018 NDPG also set forth that Japan strengthen its involvement in the Indo Pacific. Under the Abe administration's vision for the "free and open Indo-Pacific," the SDF has been expanding its presence and partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region.[42] This is not unrelated to a greater focus in recent years on the need for strategic defense exchange and cooperation. The Ministry of Defense has had the "Basic Policy for Defense Exchanges" as an official notice in the Vice Minister's name, which stipulates the general guidelines on defense exchanges. However, the document specifying the region- and country-specific approaches and guidelines did not exist, including in the NDPG. Incidentally, under the "diplomacy taking a panoramic perspective of the world map" and "free and open Indo-Pacific" concepts raised by the Abe administration, the surge in defense exchange and cooperation activities with other countries has given rise to recognition of the need for a more strategic promotion of such activities on the basis of the "national security strategy"; hence, preparing guidelines for defense exchange and cooperation activities has become an issue for consideration.

Other important points which are stressed by the 2018 NDPG include: the importance of an alliance with India more than previously; strengthening the centrality and unity of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); promoting cooperation with the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and New Zealand; port and ship visits by the SDF troops to Pacific island nations; and

facilitating cooperation in capacity building assistance for PKO and defense exchanges with countries in Central Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. It also states: "From the viewpoint of securing the freedom and security of navigation and flight, Japan will promote cooperation to contribute to the improvement of capabilities pertaining to the maritime security of coastal states in the Indo-Pacific region, which include South Asian countries such as India and Sri Lanka, as well as Southeast Asian countries."

The 2018 NDPG is also distinctive for clarifying the priority of strengthening defense capabilities in light of the reality of Japan's severe financial situation and declining birth rate. Furthermore, in regard to executing this, it also states, "Japan will enhance priority capability areas as early as possible, allocating resources flexibly and intensively without adhering to existing budget and human resource allocation, and undertake necessary fundamental reforms." In particular, while promoting the strengthening and integration of capabilities in the new domains of space, cyberspace and electromagnetic spectrum, in regard to hedging against invasion scenarios such as amphibious landings as was assumed during the Cold War period, the 2018 NDPG clearly states Japan will "work further to achieve even greater efficiency and rationalization."

In order to transition to the execution of the numerous objectives outlined in the 2018 NDPG, including those points mentioned in this paper, the likely issue from hereon will be drawing up an even more specific roadmap focused on the next 10 years or so. In particular, the unification of the land, sea, and air system for the execution of cross-domain operations, and the strengthening of the cooperation in cross-domain operations between Japan and the United States, which was stated as an objective also in the new Japan-US Defense Guidelines announced in April 2015 , are essential elements in facilitating a multi-domain defense force. Furthermore, collaboration among various government ministries and agencies and private sector organizations is also important in bolstering capabilities in the new domains of cyberspace and space. In that sense, not only the integration of land, sea, and air operations and between Japan and the United States, but also a unified approach by the government, and cooperation that extends beyond the barriers of the public and private sector (what the 2018 NDPG refers to as "building a comprehensive defense architecture"), will all be of even greater importance than ever before.

*NOTES*

1) Hironori Matsuoka and Shingo Nakajima, "Shoyou Boeiryoku kara Kibanteki Boeiryoku he no Tenkanki ni okeru Seisaku Kettei ni kansuru Kousatsu" [A Study of the Policymaking at a Turning Point from "The Requirement-based Defense Force" to "The Basic Defense Force"], *Kokusai Anzenhosho* [The Journal of International Security], Vol. 44, No. 3, December 2016, p. 1.
2) Takuya Kubo, "Heiwaji no Boeiryoku – Hitotsu no Apurochi" [Defense Force in Times of Peace – One Approach], *Kokubou* [National Defense], Vol. 21, No. 4, April 1972.
3) Hideo Otake, *Nihon no Boei to Kokunai Seiji* [Japan's Defense Policy and Domestic Politics], San-ichi Publishing Co., Ltd., 1983, p. 124; Katsuya Hirose, *Kanryo to Gunjin: Bunmin Tosei no Genkai* [Bureaucrats and Military Men: The Limits of Civilian Control], Iwanami Shoten, 1989, p. 153.
4) Yasuaki Chijiwa, "Mikan no Datsukyouiron: Kibanteki Boeiryoku Saikou" [The Incomplete "Beyond-the-Threat" Theory – Reconsideration of the Basic Defense Force Concept], *NIDS Journal of Defense and Security*, Vol. 18, No. 1, November 2015; Hironori Matsuoka, Shingo Nakajima, "Shoyou Boeiryoku kara Kibanteki Boeiryoku he no Tenkanki ni okeru Seisaku kettei ni kansuru kousatsu" [A Study of the Policymaking at a Turning Point from "The Requirement-based Defense Force" to "The Basic Defense Force"].
5) Response from Chief Seiki Nishihiro at the National Diet House of Representatives Special Committee on Security on August 24, 1987.
6) "Boeiryoku Seibi no Kangaekata" [Approach to the Defense Program], (KB individual paper).
7) Ibid. Also refer to Takuya Kubo, "Wagakuni no Boeikousou to Boeiryoku Seibi no Kangaekata" [Japan's Defense Plan and Approach to the Defense Program], *Posthumous Papers and Memorial of Takuya Kubo*, 1981, pp. 58-86.
8) Takuya Kubo, "Posuto Yonjibo no Kibanteki Boeiryoku Kousou: Heiwaji no Kishuu, Shoukibo Shinryaku ni Taisho" [Basic Defense Force Concept after the Fourth Five-Year Program for Defense Buildup: Dealing with Surprise Attacks and Small-Scale Acts of Aggression in Times of Peace], *Sekai Shuuhou* [World News Weekly], Vol. 57, No. 44, November 1976.
9) Japan Defense Agency, *Nihon No Bouei* (Defense of Japan), 1977, p. 56.
10) Takuya Kubo et al., "Zadankai: Shinkyokumen ni Tatsu Nihon no Anzenhosho" [Round-table discussion: New Perspectives on Japan's Security], *Kokubou* [National Defense], Vol. 21, No. 1, January 1972, pp. 16-17. For Kubo's discussion on the US-China rapprochement, please also refer to: Takuya Kubo, "Kokusai Kankei to Fukuzatsu ni haramu Nichu Jyoyaku: Beichu Sekkin, Chuso Tairitsu to Nichibei Anpo to no Kanren wo Kangaeru" [The Japan-China Treaty of Friendship and Peace and its Complex Connection with International Relations: Considering the Relation with the US-China Rapprochement, China-Soviet Union Conflict, and Japan-US Security Arrangements], *Kokubou* [National Defense], Vol. 27, No. 10, October 1978.
11) For example, refer to: Masataka Kosaka, "Taikou Minaoshiron wo Kenshou suru" [Verification of the NDPG Review Paper], *Kokubou* [National Defense], Vol. 32, No. 9, September 1983; Michita Sakata, "Ima Koso, Bouei Keikaku Taikou Rosen wo" [Now is the time to align with the NDPG], *Ekonomisuto* [Economist], July 10, 1984.
12) Yukio Sato, *Sashikakerareta Kasa: Beikoku no Kaku Yokuseiryoku to Nihon no AnzenHosho*

[Under an Extended Umbrella: US Nuclear Deterrence and Japan's Security], Jiji Press Ltd., 2017, p. 69.

13) Takuya Kubo, "Wagakuni no Boeikousou to Boeiryoku Seibi no Kangaekata" [Japan's Defense Plan and Approach to the Defense Program].

14) Takuya Kubo, "Posuto Yonjibo no Kibanteki Boeiryoku Kousou" [Basic Defense Force Concept after the Fourth Five-Year Program for Defense Buildup], p. 167.

15) Japan Defense Agency, *Defense White Paper*, 2005, p. 85.

16) Sugio Takahashi, "Kibanteki Boeiryoku Kousou kara no Dakkyaku: Misshon Shikougata Boeiryoku no Tsuikyu" [From Basic Defense Force Concept to Capability-Based Planning: For Mission-Oriented Force Planning Construct], *Kokusai Anzenhosho* [The Journal of International Security], Vol. 44, No. 3, December 2016.

17) World Bank, International Comparison Program database.

18) International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 2011; The Military Balance 2018*.

19) Ibid, p. 225.

20) Ibid, p. 5.

21) A. F. K. Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger*, The University of Chicago Press, 1980; Jacek Kugler and Douglas Lemke, eds., *Parity and War: Evaluations and Extensions of The War Ledger*, The University of Michigan Press, 1996; Ronald L. Tammen, et al., *Power Transitions: Strategies for the 21st Century*, CQ Press, 2000.

22) Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

23) Dale C. Copeland, *The Origins of Major War*, Cornell University Press, 2000.

24) Michael Pillsbury, *The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower*, St. Martin's Griffin, 2016.

25) Emi Mifune, *Chugoku Gaikou Senryaku: Sono Kontei ni aru mono* [Chinese Diplomatic Strategy: What is at its foundation], Kodansha Ltd., 2016; NIDS, ed., *East Asian Strategic Review 2017*, The Japan Times, 2017, Chapter 3.

26) Dale C. Copeland, *Economic Interdependence and War*, Princeton University Press, 2015.

27) *Wall Street Journal*, October 9, 2018.

28) Stephen G. Brooks, G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2012/2013, pp. 7-51.

29) Ministry of Defense, *Heisei 30 Nen Onodera Daijin Nentou no Ji* [2018 New Year's Greetings by Defense Minister Onodera], January 4, 2018.

30) Joint Staff, Ministry of Defense, *Heisei 29 Nendo no Kinkyu Hasshin Jisshi Jyoukyou ni tsuite* [Statistics on scrambles through fiscal year 2017], April 13, 2018, Attachment 3; Ministry of Defense Joint Staff, *Heisei 30 Nendo no 3 Shihanki made no Kinkyu Hasshin Jisshi Jyoukyou ni tsuite* [Statistics on scrambles up to the third quarter of FY2018], January 23, 2018, Attachment 3.

31) NIDS, ed., *East Asian Strategic Review 2017*, pp. 235-263.

32) CNN, February 11, 2017

33) Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Japan Policy Research Council National Defense Division, *Aratana Bouei Keikaku no Taikou oyobi Chuuki Bouei Ryoku Seibi Keikaku no Sakutei*

*ni Muketa Teigen: Tajigen Oudan (kurosu domein) Bouei Kousou no Jitsugen ni Mukete*, [Proposals for the formulation of New National Defense Program Guidelines and Medium Term Defense Program: Realizing the cross-domain defense concept], May 29, 2018.

34) Prime Minister's Office of Japan, *Anzenhosho to Bouei Ryoku ni kansuru Kondankai* [Advisory Panel on Security and Defense Capabilities], August 29, 2018.

35) *The Sankei News*, July 23, 2018.

36) *The Sankei News*, August 31, 2018.

37) Ibid.

38) Ministry of Defense, *Heisei 31 Nendo Iko ni kakaru Boei Keikaku no Taikou ni tsuite oyobi Chuuki Boei Ryoku Seibi Keikaku (Heisei 31 Nendo ~ Heisei 35 Nendo) ni tsuite* ("National Defense Program Guidelines for FY2019 and beyond" and "Medium Term Defense Program (FY2019-FY2023)").

39) United States Joint Staff Joint Force Development (J7), Cross-Domain Synergy in Joint Operations, January 16, 2016.

40) David G. Perkins, "Multi-Domain Battle: Joint Combined Arms Concept for the 21st Century," Association of the United States Army, November 14, 2016; Jen Judson, "From Multi-Domain Battle to Multi-Domain Operations: Army Evolves its Guiding Concept," *Defense News*, October 9, 2018.

41) Perkins, "Multi-Domain Battle: Joint Combined Arms Concept for the 21st Century."

42) NIDS, ed., *East Asian Strategic Review 2017*, pp.244-254.

43) *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, February 17, 2018.

Chapter 7 authors: Tomohiko Satake (lead author, Sections 1 and 3)
Yuji Maeda (Section 2, Column)