

*Japan's New Security and Defense Policy: An Enduring
Partnership in the U.S.-Japan Alliance*

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Introduction

Dr. Hamre, Dr. Green, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak today at CSIS.

I met with John in my office in Tokyo back in January.

John, you told me that a speech at CSIS is much more important than a meeting with Secretary Hagel.

So here I am, keeping my word.

I am delighted to share my thoughts with you at the most important event of my week-long trip in the United States.

You may recall that Prime Minister Abe also was invited by John to deliver a speech here at CSIS, which he did February 2013.

In his speech, Mr. Abe strongly declared, “*Japan is back.*”

It’s been eighteen months since then. Today, I want to say that *Japan did NOT merely make it back during that period.* With the Prime Minister’s strong leadership, Japan is drastically moving its security policy forward.

I’d like to begin my remarks by sharing my view on the regional security environment Japan faces, and elaborate on what kind of roles Japan wants to play in the region.

Japan’s Security Strategy in the Asia-Pacific Region: Give No Green Light to Altering the Status Quo through Coercive Action

For seventy years, we strived to protect the order of peace and prosperity. Now, this order is facing severe challenges.

For millennia countries in this region have flourished along the maritimes. Since man first began to sail, our ancestors met by navigating oceans and prospered through their ties overseas.

Today, the Asia-Pacific region has become a driving force of the global economy, enjoying a following tide.

In fact, Asia constitutes about forty per cent of global trade comprising an enormous trade zone. Moreover, the middle class of Asia is likely to increase by one billion in the next decade.

Needless to say, I want to stress that the stability of this region is essential for the U.S. economy.

It’s true that the United States is with the Asia-Pacific. And a favorable future of the Asia-Pacific does not exist without U.S. commitment.

For a long time the United States and Japan have remembered this. As our bilateral Alliance shifted to a new stage for the 21st Century, then-Prime Minister Hashimoto and then-President Clinton announced the “Japan-U.S. Joint Declaration for Security” back in April 1996. The Declaration begins by saying that our strong bilateral ties “helped to ensure peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region” and “continues to underlie the dynamic economic growth in this region.”

Building Peace and Prosperous Asia-Pacific Region. This has been, and continues to be, our two countries’ clear, common objective.

The United States and Japan have always, even during the Cold War, and sometimes even risking our lives, protected “free, open, maritime order” based on the “rule

of law” thereby ensuring peace and prosperity of the region.

However, we have been recently seeing attempts to alter this order by unilateral action based on the power politics (such as):

- 1) Intrusion to our territorial waters surrounding the Senkaku Islands which is an inherent part of the territory of Japan;
- 2) Targeting fire control radar on a Self-Defense Force ship engaged in patrol and surveillance;
- 3) Unilateral establishment of an ADIZ;
- 4) Unusual approaches by warplanes

These are provocations our men and women of the Self-Defense Forces face every day. They serve to defend their country with restraint and with a steadfast manner.

What do they see in the frontlines of national defense? Sixty eight

hundred scattered islands and an expanse of sea and air.

From day one of my assignment, I've visited thirteen remote islands with SDF facilities to encourage our men and women engaged in twenty-four-seven surveillance missions in the air and on the seas, surrounded by distant ocean.

Defending land by own hands.

There's nothing unique about it.

While encouraging SDF members in remote islands, I visited overseas including those adjacent to the South China Sea. In the east of the area was the Philippines' Subic Bay and Guam. In the west, Vietnam's Cam Ram Bay. My trip included islands located in the so called first and second island chains.

During these tours, I shared my thoughts with my counterparts such as the Philippines Defense Secretary Gazmin, General Thanh of Vietnam,

and Dato' Seri Hishammuddin of Malaysia.

They, also shared the same view – *Defending one's land by their own hands.*

But in the 21 century, no country can defend itself alone. That's why more countries want to forge stronger ties with the United States and Japan.

Prime Minister Abe took his very first overseas trip to Vietnam and now has been to all ten ASEAN members within less than twelve months. I also visited six ASEAN member nations and met with all ten on the occasion of Shangri-La Dialogue and ADMM plus. And, by year's end, Japan and ASEAN are scheduled to hold the first Defense Ministerial Roundtable which is an initiative taken by Japan.

Japan is strengthening its ties with ASEAN members in a steadfast manner.

Likely, the United States too is strengthening its ties to ASEAN nations.

I witnessed first-hand the significance of U.S. forces in the region when a U.S. P-3C flew across the clear blue sky of Subic Bay last June.

Positive U.S. posture developments include rotational deployment of LCS (Littoral Combat Ship) to Singapore and signing of EDCA with the Philippines. These developments lead me to believe that this region is looking for ways to enhance stability.

From the start of the Abe Administration, the number of U.S. Congress members visiting the Defense Ministry has skyrocketed. I have met more than thirty members of both the House and the Senate Armed Service and Foreign Service

Committees. Moreover, security experts like John, and many others who have experience in key positions of the US DOD and DOS have also come to my office.

Why would they visit my office? I think in their minds they asked: “What does this Minister intend to do?”

“Is he trying to cause trouble with China, and get US involved along the way?”

A former Secretary of State gave me hard questions and I felt as if I was a student defending my thesis.

However, after I gave my thoughts, the former Secretary invited me to give a speech at Stanford. I think I was succeeded in getting understanding by the person. Let me share with you how I answered then and how I have answered to US visitors who came to my office.

Japan is not trying to stand against China. Rather, we are working hard

to welcome China as a responsible member to contribute for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan has been asking China to engage in efforts for preventing and avoiding unexpected accidents. Our effort on building a hotline between the two countries to prevent unwanted conflict, so-called the Maritime Communication Mechanism (MCM) is a good example. Japan has been asking China to initiate operations of the MCM, which was proposed by Prime Minister Abe to Premier Wen Jiabao during the first Abe Administration. Our negotiation on the MCM were then on the verge of starting operation.

But administrations changed and changed again. Unfortunately, we have not seen much progress since then. Prime Minister Abe strongly believes a framework like MCM

leads to peace and stability of the region. The Government of Japan (GOJ) will continue to encourage China to engage in this effort.

The United States engages China on multiple fronts. On invitation by the U.S., China is currently participating in the U.S. Navy hosted multilateral exercise RIMPAC for the very first time. I hope PLA Navy officers will learn what professional seamanship is through this exercise.

Japan's doors for dialogue remain open twenty-four-seven.

For any unilateral action to disturb the order by force, however, we should not forget to straighten it out promptly with resolve.

We don't accept altering the status quo by force.

Peaceful resolution of differences safeguards the peace and prosperity

of not only Japan, but also for the U.S., China, regional partners, and for the world. That's why it is *the* strategy of Japan.

Reliable Ally: Japan

Earlier I mentioned keeping a promise to John and speaking at CSIS.

Some say a characteristic of the Japanese people is to *get things done once they decide to do it*.

Let me give you an example.

North Korea's provocations continue with such things as missile launches and implying conduct of nuclear tests.

Last year, North Korea threatened us by pointing out that all of the following are within the range of its ballistic missiles - not only Japan's major cities, but also Hawaii, Guam, and here Washington D.C. It's

continuing the development of ballistic missiles that will possibly reach continental United States.

Against this backdrop, Prime Minister Abe and President Obama agreed to deploy additional TPY-2 radar to Japan in February last year. In just twelve months, Mr. Abe successfully kept the deployment project on track including acquisition of land necessary in Kyoto where no U.S. forces have existed before. Construction already started from last month, and we are planning to operationalize it as soon as possible.

The Japanese people get things done once they decide to do it.

The development of Japanese BMD system is an example of the spirit of the Japanese people.

Nearly a decade ago, when LDP Secretary General Ishiba was the head of Japan Defense Agency, now

the Defense Ministry, the GOJ decided to develop BMD systems. And a decade later, Japan holds seventeen PATRIOT units, four radars for detection of ballistic missiles, seven radars for tracking them, and four BMD-capable Aegis ships. All serve twenty-four-seven in a seamless defense posture to protect Japanese people and U.S. forces in Japan.

Additional TPY-2 will be a part of the incomparable world-class multi-layered missile defense system. What's more, we will have four additional Aegis ships in the future. We will also continue bilateral joint research on cutting-edge missile interceptors.

The Japanese people get things done once they decide to do it.

Japan continues to be a reliable partner of the United States.

Japan and North Korea are meeting over abduction issues. This does not mean at all that Japan will downplay security challenges posed by North Korea's nuclear and missile programs. Rather, Japan will strengthen its ties with the United States and South Korea. In fact, I'm ready to fly to Seoul as soon as my counterpart says yes to a meeting.

The United States continues its Rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region. From the very beginning, Japan has supported the rebalance.

As described in a "2+2" Joint Statement released last October, the U.S. Government (USG) will deploy state-of-the-art assets to Japan- for example, TPY-2 which I mentioned earlier, P-8 patrol aircraft, and Global Hawk. When I met with Secretary Hagel in Tokyo this April, he explained a plan to deploy an additional two BMD-capable Aegis ships to Japan.

All in all, Japan fully welcomes the U.S. efforts to materialize the rebalance, and Japan fully supports such efforts.

Additionally, mitigating impact on Okinawa, where facilities and areas of U.S. forces concentrate, is critical for ensuring a stable presence of U.S. forces in Japan.

Especially, the relocation of MCAS Futenma as one of the top priorities of the Abe administration. The GOJ is working toward completion of relocation with strong commitments. I myself already visited Okinawa seven times to facilitate this important effort. The GOJ is fully committed to relocation of USMC from Okinawa to Guam. To implement this project, the GOJ already provided about nine hundred and fifty million dollars of taxpayers' money to the USG. Together with Secretary Hagel, I will continue to implement this project soon and steadfastly.

Also, With Japan-U.S. cooperation at its core, we will build multi-layered security ties for more stable security environment by advancing trilateral defense cooperation with Australia, South Korea, and India respectively.

In Pacific Partnership 2014 hosted by the U.S. military in June, a JMSDF transport ship with U.S. and Australian troops on board, operated in the South China Sea for the first time.

Recently, General Iwasaki, General Dempsey, and Admiral Choi, Chief of Staffs of Japan, U.S., and South Korea respectively, met for the first time under the trilateral CHOD (Chief of Defense) framework.

And, Japan will take part in this year's U.S.-India exercise *Malabar*. *It is the first time in five years that Japan will participate in this exercise series which will be carried out in Okinawa Eastern waters.*

Japan and the United States, with strong bonds, serve as a foundation for regional multi-layered cooperation.

Japan's Security and Defense Policy: For Peace and Prosperity of the Region

I said the Japanese people *get things done once they decide to do it.*

In February last year, Prime Minister Abe said to President Obama that “Japan would fulfil its responsibilities.” He expressed his commitment to deliver on a number of security and defense policies.

Defense-related expenditures went up for the first time in eleven years.

At the end of last year, the GOJ issued a new National Defense Program Guidelines, guidance that describes future defense posture

that enables a full-fledged defense of land, water, and air of Japan, including outlying islands. NDPG stipulates enhancement of maritime and air self-defense forces as well as establishment of new amphibious units.

In addition, the GOJ recently made a Cabinet decision for drafting new legislation including those for Collective Self-Defense.

These developments are nothing new. All were explained to President Obama by Prime Minister Abe eighteen months ago.

Now, I want to elaborate on last week's cabinet decision regarding new legislation including those for Collective Self-Defense.

On July 1st, the Abe Cabinet made a historic decision demonstrating a direction of future domestic

legislation to revise existing security framework.

While Japan must continue steps it has taken as a peace-loving nation, the security environment surrounding Japan has fundamentally transformed and continues to evolve.

The shift in the global power balance, rapid technological innovation in challenging military capabilities, development and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, and threats such as international terrorism have given rise to several issues. Today there exists a situation in which any threat, irrespective of where it originates in the world, could have a direct influence on the security of Japan.

No country can secure its own peace only by itself.

In this sense, it is essential to enhance the deterrence of the Alliance both by strengthening defense posture of Japan and especially by further improving effectiveness of the Alliance.

Domestic legislation that enables seamless response is necessary for Japan 1) to protect lives and peaceful livelihood of its people, and 2) to play a more proactive role for peace and stability of international community based on its national power under principles of *Proactive Contribution to Peace*.

Based on this, three key points were stipulated in the Cabinet Decision of July 1st.

First, self-defense measures permitted under Article Nine of the Constitution, based on past interpretation, was only limited to a case when Japan was under armed attack.

The GOJ has reached a conclusion that “when an armed attack against a foreign country that is in a close relationship with Japan occurs, and as a result threatens Japan’s survival and poses a clear danger to fundamentally overturn people’s right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, and when there is no other appropriate means available to repel the attack and ensure Japan’s survival and protect its people,” use of force to the minimum extent necessary should be permitted under the Constitution as measures for self-defense in accordance with the basic logic of the Government’s view to date.

This decision is a result of our review trying to respond to the issues, for example, when the U.S. is under armed attack, shouldn’t Japan take measures 1) to protect a U.S. ship operating in waters near Japan, and 2) to

intercept ballistic missiles flying over Japan toward Guam, Hawaii and the continental U.S.?

Second, preparing and ensuring seamless and sufficient responses to so called *gray zone* situations that are neither pure peacetime nor contingencies. The Government will develop legislation that enables the SDF to carry out use of weapons to the minimum extent necessary to protect weapons and other equipment of the units of the United States armed forces, if they are, in cooperation with the SDF, currently engaged in activities which contribute to the defense of Japan.

These initiatives enable the SDF to be more responsive when the SDF and U.S. forces are working together. This includes at the time of bilateral training.

Third, the GOJ will develop legislation that enables the SDF to

engage in necessary and flexible support activities when a situation does not require use of force by Japan but require logistic support for the use of force by U.S. forces.

The Government as a whole will develop relevant legislation. I am convinced that such efforts will drastically enhance ties with the United States, our only ally.

With the recent cabinet decision, Japan and the United States will accelerate revision of the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, which Secretary Hagel and I agreed to do last fall. This is what I reaffirmed with Secretary Hagel in the meeting ahead of this event. This revision marks the first revision in seventeen years. The new Guidelines will be a drastic change which enables us to respond not only to defense of Japan but also to future security environment of the region. We will complete the review

process by the end of the year as we continue to forge our strengthened bilateral Alliance.

I would like to add one more point.

In April, the GOJ developed a new policy concerning export of defense equipment.

With the severe security environment, to further strengthen ties with the U.S. and other countries, it is necessary to expand cooperation in defense equipment by participating in international joint development and production of such multilateral projects like F-35, as well as by repairing and maintaining common assets of Japan and the United States.

Thus, the GOJ decided to clarify procedures and restrictions for the overseas transfer of defense equipment with more transparency.

I believe this new policy will enable Japan to engage further for regional peace and stability.

We will help build a peaceful and prosperous Asia-Pacific region.

That is why *Japan will not accept change of status quo by force*. This strategy is at the heart of Japan's security and defense policy.

Security and defense policy initiatives carried out over the last eighteen months have set the foundation on which we will build an enhanced bilateral Alliance.

A strong Alliance deters unilateral attempts to alter the status quo by force which we witness frequently. It prevents conflict and unexpected collision. Greater commitment by our two countries to the region will contribute to maintaining a regional order that has served as a foundation for the economic development of Asia.

Most importantly, a series of Japanese policies I have mentioned is not intended to stop or reverse our consistent pursuit as a peaceful nation after the Second World War. They exist so that our position as a peaceful nation will further be ensured.

Closing: Japan Will Continue to Walk a Path of Peace and Prosperity with the United States

Prime Minister Abe said "Peace and Prosperity in Asia, forevermore" during IISS Shangri-La Dialogue held in Singapore in the end of May. He stressed the importance of enhancing the rule of law. The message was well received by the audience with a hearty round of applause.

Secretary Hagel also gave a speech during IISS Shangri-La Dialogue and made it clear that the United

States, as a Pacific power, encourages upholding principles of the freedom of navigation; is against coercion, intimidation and aggression; and stresses cooperation based on international rules and norms.

I also stressed in my remarks that I am against any attempt to change the status quo by force and that resolution of disputes based on the rule of law is important, as I mentioned last year at the Dialogue. Due to the consistent message sent out by Prime Minister Abe, Secretary Hagel and I, I believe that the message from Japan and the US which put emphasis on the rule of law and non-acceptance of altering the status quo through force became a common theme throughout the meetings at Shangri-La Dialogue.

At G-7 in Brussels, he again stressed that any action to alter status quo by force should not be accepted anywhere in the world. Again, his

message was supported strongly by participating countries.

We will build peaceful and prosperous Asia-Pacific region.

That is why Japan will not *accept the change of status quo by force.*

I believe our message has already become a common global view.

The United States and Japan should take leadership in defending an open regional order in the Asia Pacific region, and denying any attempt to alter the status quo by force.

That's because we are two democracies that uphold open policies.

And we are two nations that recognize regional common interests and shared responsibilities.

In the last eighteen months, *Japan is not merely back.* Moreover, its engagement in developing security

and defense policy in its region is drastically expanding. Japan is playing a more responsible role in the region.

This is nothing unnatural. It is natural for a great power like Japan to play a responsible role for the region based on the significance of the area and the increasingly acute regional security environment.

Japan will play a responsible role for the regional peace and prosperity together with the United States, together in trilateral cooperation with like-minded countries, Australia and South Korea, and in our partnerships with Southeast Asian nations.

I cannot guarantee that such a path for peace and stability of the region will not be rocky.

Rather, I think the path could be long and challenging. Japan will

continue to walk the path by joining hand in hand with the United States. As we have for the past seventy years.

Thank you for giving me such a wonderful opportunity. I enjoyed the privilege of meeting with more than thirty defense ministers and explaining Japanese security and defense policy face-to-face. I am grateful for the chance to speak at CSIS.

I will continue to explain carefully and transparently Japan's security and defense policies.

And we will continue to walk the path as a peace-loving nation.

Thank you for your kind attention.