

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THE NEW GUIDELINES FOR JAPAN-U.S DEFENSE COOPERATION IN 2015**

#### **A. The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation**

The new guidelines was established on April 27, 2015. The new guidelines consists of eight parts. The first part is about the defense cooperation and the aims of the guidelines. The new guidelines has aims to ensure Japan's peace and security in any circumstance, promote a stable, peaceful, and prosperous Asia-Pacific region and beyond, and increase bilateral security and defense cooperation both countries. The United States and Japan will commit to enhance the U.S.-Japan Alliance. Both countries will maintain their national security policy. Japan needs to own the defense capability on the basis of the 'National Defense Program Guidelines' and the 'National Security Strategy'. The United States needs to continue expanding the deterrence toward Japan through the complete-range of capabilities, including the U.S. nuclear forces. The United States also continues to forward the direct battle-forces in the Asia-Pacific region. The United States needed to maintain the ability to reinforce those forces rapidly.

The new guidelines gave the general framework and the policy direction for the missions and roles of The United States and Japan on joint defense cooperation. The United States and Japan will improve the working effectiveness of their bilateral security and defense cooperation. The new guidelines advanced peace and security, deterred the conflict, secured the economic prosperity, and promoted the domestic and global understanding of the significance of the Japan-U.S. Alliance. The second part of the new guidelines is "the basic premises and principles" of the U.S.-Japan defense cooperation.

“The basic principles and premises”: (Defense, 2015)

- A. *“The rights and obligations under the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America (the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty) and its related arrangements, as well as the fundamental framework of the Japan-U.S. Alliance, will remain unchanged.”*
- B. *“All actions and activities undertaken by Japan and the United States under the Guidelines will be consistent with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations and its provisions regarding the peaceful settlement of disputes and sovereign equality of States, as well as other relevant international agreements.”*
- C. *“All actions and activities undertaken by Japan and the United States will be in accordance with their respective constitutions, laws, and regulations then in effect, and basic positions on national security policy. Japan will conduct actions and activities in accordance with its basic positions, such as the maintenance of its exclusively national defense-oriented policy and its three non-nuclear principles.”*
- D. *“The Guidelines do not obligate either government to take legislative, budgetary, administrative, or other measures, nor do the Guidelines create legal rights or obligations for either government. Since the objective of the Guidelines, however, is to establish an effective framework for bilateral cooperation, the two governments are expected to reflect in an appropriate way the results of these efforts, based on their own judgment, in their specific policies and measures.”*

The third of the new guidelines is “strengthened alliance coordination”. Strengthened alliance coordination became the new part of the new guidelines. The United States and Japan must be well for informing and coordinating at the multiple levels to ensure that the defense cooperation and

bilateral security were successful. The United States and Japan will establish the ‘Alliance Coordination Mechanism’ (ACM). It will enhance the operational coordination, and strengthen the bilateral planning. ‘The Self-Defense Forces’ (SDF) and the ‘United States Armed Forces’ conducted alliance coordination mechanism to strengthen the policy and the operational coordination. The United States and Japan also will establish necessary procedures and infrastructure (communication and information systems) and establish the regular training and exercises.

Enhancing a bilateral operational coordination for the responsively and flexibility of control and command becomes a fundamental capability of the critical importance for the United States and Japan. The United States Armed Forces and Self-Defense Forces will switch their personnel to insure the strong sharing of information, and to support the global activities, and to facilitate coordination from peacetime to contingencies. The United States Armed Forces and Self-Defense Forces will take an action through Japan and the United States respective chains-of-command. The United States and Japan will update and develop their bilateral plans to ensure effective and smooth execution of coordinated operations by the United States Armed Forces and the Self-Defense Forces. The United States and Japan will share the relevant information, including identifying logistic and operational support requirements and sources in advance, to ensure the effectiveness implementation of the plans and the ability to make timely, flexible and appropriate responses. In the bilateral planning, the ‘Security Consultative Committee’ (SCC) will have responsibility for presenting directions, validating the progress of the planning under the mechanism, and issuing directives as necessary.

The fourth part of the new guidelines is “seamlessly ensuring Japan’s peace and security”. Ensuring Japan’s peace and security became the main focus on the 1978 guidelines, the 1997 guidelines, and the new guidelines (2015). The

United States and Japan will take measures to guarantee peace and security of Japan in all phases from peacetime to contingencies, especially in the situations when an armed attack against Japan is not involved. The United States and Japan also will conduct cooperation on the strategic messaging through the appropriate channels on issues. It could become the potentially affect to peace and security of Japan. The United States and Japanese government also promotes cooperation across the board range of areas, including through the diplomatic efforts. It will strengthen the deterrence and capabilities of the U.S.-Japan Alliance. The United States Armed Forces and the Self-Defense Forces will increase readiness, interoperability, and vigilance to prepare for all possible situations in the area surrounding Japan.

The fifth is “cooperation for regional and global peace and security”. The United States and Japan will lead a cooperation role with their alliances to provide the foundation for stability security, peace and economic prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond. They will work for delivering the effective solutions for the world. The United States and Japan will participate in the global activities. When the United States and Japan were working together, the United States Armed Forces and the Self-Defense Forces will cooperate to the maximum extent practicable. They will build strong coordination through the ‘Alliance Coordination Mechanism’. They will do smooth and effective cooperation.

The United States and Japan will cooperate in the international Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief (HA/DR) operations, Peacekeeping Operations (PKO), capacity building activities, noncombatant evacuation operations, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. They will strengthen the capability of the U.S.-Japan alliance to respond the security challenges for the United States and Japan. The Self-Defense Forces and the United States Armed Forces will participate and conduct in the joint exercises and training. They also will support the logistic for both of them

when they were joining in international activities. The United States and Japan also promote and improve their trilateral and multilateral military security and defense cooperation.

The sixth part in new guidelines is “space and cyber cooperation”. The United States and Japan will enhance space situational awareness cooperation and ensure the resiliency of their space systems. The United States and Japan also will share information about the safety and stability of the space domain and impede its use. Both states will share their information to address emerging threats against the space systems. The United States and Japan also will pursue the chance for the cooperation in space-related equipment and technology and in maritime domain awareness that will strengthen their capabilities and resiliency of the space systems. Both governments will share their information on the vulnerabilities and threats in the cyberspace in a routine and timely manner to guarantee stable-use and safe of the cyberspace.

The seventh part is “bilateral enterprise”. The United States and Japan will increase the bilateral cooperation effectiveness of the United States and Japan. Both states will increase educational and research exchange, research exchange, and defense equipment and technology cooperation, intelligent cooperation and information security, and educational. They will cooperate in joint research, production, development, test, and evaluation of the equipment. They will reinforce the basis to repair and maintain the common equipment for mutual efficiency and readiness. They will facilitate reciprocal defense procurement to increase the efficiency of the acquisition, defense equipment and technology cooperation, and interoperability. They also will enhance their intelligence cooperation and information sharing at all levels. The United States and Japanese governments will deepen switch of members from the relevant organizations and strengthen communication in the U.S.-Japan educational institutions and research. The last part is “process for review”.

The new guidelines stated that “Security Consultative Committee (SCC) will regularly evaluate whether the new guidelines remain adequate in light of the evolving circumstances. The United States and Japan will update the new guidelines in a timely and appropriate manner when changes in the situations relevant to the U.S.-Japan alliance relationship occur and if deemed necessary in the view of the circumstances at that time.”

## **B. The Comparison of the 1997 Guidelines and the 2015 Guidelines**

The United States had three guidelines on Japan’s arms export cooperation. They were called the U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation. The first was signed in 1978, 1997, and 2015. The 1978 guidelines focused on self-defense of Japan. The 1997 guidelines focused on the United States.-Japan cooperation under the normal circumstances in case arms attack toward Japan and focused area surrounding Japan. The 1997 guidelines consisted seven parts, they are the aim of the guidelines, the basic premises and principles, cooperation under normal circumstances, actions in response to an armed attack against Japan, cooperation in situation in areas surrounding Japan that will have an important influence on Japan’s peace and security (situations in area surrounding Japan), bilateral programs for effective defense cooperation under the guidelines, appropriate and timely review of the guidelines. (Defense, 1997)

The regional and global security environment had changed since 1997. It was indeed ripe for the United States and Japan agreed to revise 1997 guidelines to 2015 guidelines. The United States agreed to make new guidelines for Japan based on the United States interests and the U.S. ally cooperation. The new guidelines was started in 2013 and signed on April 27, 2015. There are eight parts of the new guidelines. They consist of defense cooperation and the aims

of guidelines, basic premises and principles, strengthened alliance coordination, seamlessly ensuring Japan's peace and security, cooperation for regional and global peace and security, space and cyberspace cooperation, bilateral enterprise, and processes for review. (Defense, 2015)

The 1997 guidelines and the 2015 guidelines referred to the U.S.-Japan defense cooperation. There are three differences of the old and new principles. First, the old guidelines consisted of seven parts, while the new guidelines consisted of eight parts. The interest of the United States toward Japan has increased since 1997. Second, there was "strengthened alliance coordination" part in the new guidelines. The location was under basic premises and principles. It showed the important of alliance coordination for defense cooperation, especially for grand strategy program of the United States for rebalance Asia-Pacific. The third part of new guidelines discussed strengthened alliance coordination with effective bilateral coordination. It consist alliance coordination mechanism, enhanced operational coordination, and bilateral planning. Third, the new guidelines gave detail information and interest in every part. The 23-pages of documents in the new guidelines consists the detail information of the U.S.-Japan defense cooperation. (Tatsumi, 2015)

### **C. Implementation of the New Guidelines**

The United States gave an opportunity for Japan with a wider range geographically of state to develop arms transfer cooperation, but it was much centrally, including the United State as its ally. Since Shinzo Abe as the Japanese Prime Minister announced that Japan left ban on arms export in 2014 and the establishment of the new guidelines, Japan became the good strategic partners or 'quasi' of India, Australia, the Association of Southeast Asian States (ASEAN) member states, and countries of NATO such as France and United Kingdom. (Hughes, 2017) 'The new Guidelines for Japan-U.S.

Defense Cooperation' in 2015 gave opportunities to Japan and the United States. Japan can develop and send its armed-defense. Japan only can send its armed-defense to the U.S.-Japan alliances. The United States prepared Japan to face China and North Korea.

'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015 made easier for Japan to join multinational development projects for the expensive new weapons systems, such as the American-led effort to build the F-35 stealth fighter jet. (Fackler, 2014) Yoshihide Suga as a chief cabinet secretary stated that Japan under the new principles could make more transparency procedure for transfer of defense equipment. BBC News stated that "Japan also will participate in the joint development and production of defense equipment." (BBC NEWS, 2014) On July, 2014, Japanese Ministry of Defense announced that Japan deal to send missile interceptor part to the United States and sensor related technology to United Kingdom. (Pollmann, 2015) In 2016, Japan started cooperation on the armed-transfer toward Philippines. Japan held an international arms exhibition on June, 2017 to promote transfer-defense equipment to Southeast Asia. (Yamaguchi, 2017) The international arms exhibition in 2017 showed that Japan was ready to arms cooperation, especially doing arms export to other countries (the U.S.-Japan ally).

The new guidelines prepared strong alliances for the United States, especially Japan. The United States prepared Japan for being strong shield for balancing power the rise up of China and development nuclear of North Korea. Shared aims of Japan and the United States made both states decided to strengthen their alliance coordination and develop their defense equipment and technology. The new guidelines is the guide for both countries to do bilateral defense cooperation. The United States and Japan increased defense cooperation and their bilateral relation. The guidelines for Japan-U.S defense cooperation built defensive alliance for the United



States. The new guidelines that was drafted by the United States in 2015 showed that the United States supported Japan on defense development. The United States also supported the Abenomics program of Japan to resolve the economic stagnation. The United States and Japan increased their bilateral cooperation, especially on defense military cooperation.

Table 3.1: The U.S. Arms Export

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Aircraft	5146	5705	5693	3665	5388	5366	4724	6754	5700	48142
Air defence systems	269	55	234	243	595	966	853	654	455	4324
Armoured vehicles	861	1135	890	779	932	980	1573	1547	1390	10088
Artillery	61	75	88	58	0	46	52	19	27	426
Engines	440	336	353	280	317	388	439	332	290	3175
Missiles	910	905	997	1611	1732	1656	2065	2449	2239	14564
Naval weapons	25	40	96	93	120	11	11	28	83	505
Other		33	54	61	52	26				226
Sensors	260	395	525	487	393	291	167	219	235	2972
Ships	100	343	156	295	72	201	72	483	88	1810
Total	8074	9022	9086	7571	9601	9931	9955	12485	10508	86233

Source: *TIV of Arms Exports from United States, 2010-2018*. (2019, 12 25). Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute:  
[https://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export\\_value.php](https://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_value.php)

Table 3.2: Arms Export from Japan, 2014-2018

Type	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Aircraft				2	3	5
Total				2	3	5

Source: *TIV of Arms Exports from Japan, 2014-2018*. (2019, 12 25). Retrieved 12 25, 2019, from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute:  
[http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export\\_values.php](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_values.php)

**Table 3.3: Japan's Arms Import**

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Aircraft	206	162	100	175	124	228	265	319	566	2144
Air defence systems			14	14	28	14		14	14	98
Armoured vehicles					6		1	18	15	40
Artillery	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1		3
Engines	35	57	36	17	23	37	32	78	68	383
Missiles	110	36	16	17	20	17	20	19	1	257
Naval weapons		20	28	28	55				28	158
Other	20									20
Sensors	31	28	28	25	38	33	9	5	5	202
Total	402	304	222	276	293	329	328	454	696	3304

Source: *TIV of Arms Exports to Japan, 2010-2018*. (2019, 12 25). Retrieved from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: [http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export\\_value](http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/html/export_value)