

**Japan's Security Policies**  
Spring 2018  
Kyoto Consortium for Japanese Studies

Instructor: Saya Kiba

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 13:10-14:40

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### **Course Overview**

This course will introduce Japan's recent security policies and foreign policies. The course begins with an overview of Japan's postwar history, including a brief sketch of its cultural, social, political, legal, and economic structure. We then learn about the security situation in the Asia-Pacific region, the U.S.-Japan security alliance, and Japan's recent security policies including the 2015 security legislation debate and policy debate on constitutional reform.

In today's world, no nation can maintain its own peace and security alone. It is particularly so for Japan, which officially has no military according to Article 9 of its Constitution and has Self-Defense Forces for national territory defense that may be deployed abroad only for humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, or peace activities including UN peacekeeping missions.

In the security environment surrounding Japan, which is becoming increasingly severe, it has become indispensable to strengthen the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements and to enhance the deterrence of the Japan-U.S. Alliance, not only for the security of Japan but also for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. Based on the robust bilateral relationship confirmed through such meetings as the Japan U.S. Summit Meeting in April 2015, Japan and the U.S. are expanding and strengthening cooperation in a wide range of areas, including ballistic missile defense, cyber space and outer space.

Japan's Government under Prime Minister Abe has been making significant changes to its security policy which includes: the establishment of the National Security Council, the adoption of the National Security Strategy, and the National Defense Program Guidelines. The direction for new security legislation to ensure Japan's survival was adopted by Cabinet Decision in July 2014, and in 2015 the government submitted the bill to the Diet. After intensive discussions lasting over 200 hours, the legislation was approved by the Diet on September 19, 2015.

The class will read studies and research accumulated in the field of foreign policies and security studies, a sub-discipline of International Relations (IR) to examine how the recent security policies have been created. The course objectives are: 1) to enable students to develop a broader understanding of the key theories and concepts in foreign policy and security studies; 2) to examine major security challenges of Japan and the Asia-Pacific region through the lens of theories and concepts.

### **Course Objectives**

- 1) Students will be able to understand the basic structure and uniqueness of Japan's security policy and its background

- 2) Students will be able to understand the current security environment in the Asia Pacific region and risks that Japan faces.
- 3) Students will be able to understand the basic framework and dynamism of the US-Japan security relationship and its challenges.

### **Assignments and Evaluation**

- 1) Attendance and class participation (30%)

Students will have “summary and discussion” sessions at least once a week. Each student is assigned to serve as a "discussion facilitator." Based on the assigned readings, he/she will prepare a short (2-3 pages) "reaction paper," which could count for about 4% of the course grade, including a few questions that she/he plans to raise in class, and deliver a 4-5 minute summary of the paper in class.

- 2) Short paper assignment (10%)

5 pages paper assignment must be submitted in the end of January. Topic will be instructed during the class.

- 3) Mid-term paper and presentation (30%)

Choose and analyze a particular security risk that Japan may face in the next ten years (any potential crisis situation). The paper should cover related history, bilateral and multilateral foreign relations, past experience, current policies, and future challenges. Depending on class size, we will do the mid-term project in groups. Quote at least two real comments/opinion from Japanese people (friends, host families, other instructors, etc.)

- 4) Final paper and presentation (30%)

Based on readings and classes for this course, discuss what Japan should do in the next ten years in the following four (A to D) dimensions. Quote at least two real comments/opinion from Japanese people (friends, host families, other instructors, etc.) First, explain a grand strategy. Second, discuss / explain status quo including legal, Political, institutional, administrative, and social restriction. Third, make a realistic solution to overcome those challenges.

- A. To enhance Self-defense capability
- B. To strengthen the Japan-US Alliance
- C. To contribute rule-based order in Asia-Pacific
- D. To contribute international peace cooperation

\*Attendance policy: Missing two lectures without an appropriate reason will automatically drop your attendance grade by one full letter grade. Egregious tardiness (three or more) will yield the same penalty. Four unexcused absences from lectures over the semester will result in the class participation grade turning to zero. Missed or late paper assignments without an appropriate reason will automatically drop your paper and presentation grade by one full letter grade.

### **Accommodating Students with Disabilities**

If you are a student with a disability and have a DS-certified ‘Accommodation Letter’ please see the KCJS resident director to confirm your accommodation needs. If you believe that you have a disability that requires accommodation, you can contact your home school's Disability Services or Columbia's Disability Services at [disability@columbia.edu](mailto:disability@columbia.edu). The Office of Global Programs (OGP) can also assist you to connect with Columbia's Disability Services.

## **Textbook**

Required readings (book chapters, journal articles, and official reports) will be distributed in PDF format.

\* Upon request, the instructor will make recommendations on readings written in Japanese language.

## **Schedule**

### **Session 1** (January 9)

#### **Introduction**

The class will review major security challenges that Japan faces today.

#### Required Reading:

- *Defense of Japan (Annual White Paper) 2017*. (digest version). Available at [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/) [forthcoming]
- Heydarian, Rochard Javad. *Asia's New Battlefield: The USA, China, and the Struggle for the Western Pacific*. Zed Books, 2015. (Introduction and Chapter 1)

#### Suggested Reading:

- Ministry of Japan website, *Defense Programs and Budget of Japan - Overview of FY2017 Budget*. Available at [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_budget/index.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_budget/index.html)

### **Session 2** (January 11)

#### **Japan's Self Defense Forces: Structure and History**

The class will consider some introductory chapters of a textbook to review the unique structure and postwar history of Japan's Self Defense Forces (JSDF). The class will also watch a documentary on JSDF.

#### Required Reading:

- Eldridge, Robert, *The Japanese Ground Self-Defence Forces: Search for Legitimacy*, Palgrave, 2017. (Chapter 1-5)
- *The Constitution of Japan* (Article 9). Available at [http://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution\\_and\\_government\\_of\\_japan/constitution\\_e.html](http://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html)

#### Suggested Reading:

- Matthews, Ron and Keisuke Matsuyama eds. *Japan's Military Renaissance?* St. Martin's Press. 1993. (Chapter 2 and 3)

### **Session 3** (January 16)

#### **The US-Japan Security Alliance Part 1: History and Background**

The class will read basic policy documents to observe the history and uniqueness of Japan-US security cooperation, and to analyze how these two governments have developed the alliance.

#### Required Reading:

- *Japan-U.S. Security Treaty*. Available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html>
- *The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation* (April 27, 2015). Available at [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/anpo/shishin\\_20150427e.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/anpo/shishin_20150427e.html)
- Drohen, Thomas, *American-Japanese Security Agreements, Past and Present*, McFarland & Company, 2007. (Chapter 1)

Suggested Reading:

- Current newspapers and magazine articles (TBD)

#### **Session 4** (January 18)

##### **The US-Japan Security Alliance Part 2: Public Support**

After reviewing basic literature of military sociology, the class will read and analyze recent Japanese opinion polls on the SDF and the US-Japan Alliance.

Required Reading:

- Kummel, Gerhard and Nina Leonhard, "Casualties and Civil-Military Relations: The German Policy between Learning and Indifference" *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Summer 2005.
- Eldridge, Robert, *The Japanese Ground Self-Defence Forces: Search for Legitimacy*, Palgrave, 2017. (Chapter 9)
- Opinion Survey on JSDF by Cabinet Office, Government of Japan [forthcoming]

Suggested Reading:

- Current newspapers and magazine articles (TBD)

#### **Session 5** (January 23)

##### **Discussion with Doshisha Students on Japan-US Alliance**

The class will meet with 1<sup>st</sup> year students of Faculty of Policy Studies, Doshia University, to discuss 1) if Japan must extend its military capability to defend its own country without depending on the US, and 2) if JSDF should its combat and non-combat activities (e.g. disaster relief, peacekeeping, etc.) abroad to contribute international peace.

Required Reading:

- Eldridge, Robert, *The Japanese Ground Self-Defence Forces: Search for Legitimacy*, Palgrave, 2017. (Chapter 6-8)

Suggested Reading:

- Current newspapers and magazine articles (TBD)

#### **Session 6** (January 25)

##### **Discussion with Doshisha Students on East and South China Sea Issues**

The class will meet with 1st year students of Faculty of Policy Studies, Doshia University, to discuss how Japan and the US contribute to the rule of law and freedom of navigation in East and South China Sea.

Required Reading:

- Heydarian, Rochard Javad. *Asia's New Battlefield: The USA, China, and the Struggle for the Western Pacific*. Zed Books, 2015. (Chapter 3)

Suggested Reading:

- Current newspapers and magazine articles (TBD)

**Session 6.5** (End of January, TBD)

**Special Session on South China Sea Issues**

South China Sea Research Center of Doshisha University will hold an international symposium on rule-based order in East and South China Sea inviting prestigious scholars of International Relations (language: English). Participation is optional, but highly recommended.

Required Reading

- Deudney, Daniel. and G. John Ikenberry, "The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25. 1999. pp.179-196.

**Session 7** (January 30)

**Fieldtrip to Kyoto Museum for World Peace, Ritsumeikan University**

The class will visit Kyoto Museum for World Peace to learn Japan's peace education after World War Two. Students will leave Doshisha Campus at 12:20. Participation is mandatory. Students need to review the museum website < <http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/index.html>>

**Session 8** (February 1)

**Power and Regime**

The class will now proceed to analytical approaches around which the course is organized: Power, Balance of Power, and Hegemony, and Norms.

Required Reading:

- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. and Sean M. Lynn-Jones "International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field," *International Security*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Spring, 1988), pp. 5-27. Available at [https://www.jstor.org/stable/2538992?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2538992?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)
- Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph Nye. *Power and Independence* (Third Edition). Longman. 2001.(Chapter 1, 2, and Afterword)

**Session 9** (February 3, Saturday)

**Fieldtrip to Maizuru City, northern Kyoto**

The class will visit Maritime SDF's base and the port. Based on the field trip, students will raise at least 2 academic research questions and find hypothesis. Participation is mandatory.

**Session 10** (February 6)

**Soft Power, Smart Power**

What is soft power or smart power? Do they compete with classic power? The class will read basic literature on soft power and discuss if such power could work as a diplomatic tool to change attitudes of other countries.

Required Reading:

- Nye, Joseph S. Jr. *Soft Power : The Means to Success in World Politics*, 2004. (Chapter 1 and 2)

**Session 11** (February 8)

**Balance of Power, Middle and Small Power**

The class will review the concepts of balancing, heading, and bandaging. Then the class will focus on middle and small power countries in the Asia Pacific including South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia and discuss what theories can explain their complex security situation today.

Required Reading:

- Vasquez, John A., and Colin Elman, eds. *Realism and the Balance of Power: A New Debate*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2003.(Chapter 10)
- Michel J. Sheehan, *The Balance of Power: History and Theory*, Routledge, 1996.(Chapter 2)
- Arase, David and Tsuneo Akaha, *The US-Japan alliance : balancing soft and hard power in East Asia*, The Nissan Institute/Routledge. 2010. (Chapter 1)
- Heydarian, Rochard Javad. *Asia 's New Battlefield: The USA, China, and the Struggle for the Western Pacific*. Zed Books, 2015. (Chapters 4,5, 6)

**Session 12** (February 13)

**Student Presentations I (Mid-Term)**

Students will make 15 minutes presentations of their mid-term papers.

**Session 13** (February 15)

**Military Operations Other Than War**

After the Cold War, militaries have expanded their roles to include operations other than war, such as disaster relief, peacekeeping, cyber protection, and anti-terrorism. The class will review such “nontraditional security” environment changes in military organizations.

Required Reading:

- Caforio, Giuseppe. *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, Springer. 2006.(Chapters 23 and 24)

**Session 14** (February 20)

**SDF and Society Part 1**

The SDF has been deeply connected with local society through national development and recruitment in Japan’s postwar period. The class will discuss the historical background and compare it with the U.S. and Southeast Asia countries.

Required Reading:

- Sasaki, Tomoyuki, *Japan's Postwar Military and Civil Society: Contesting a Better Life*, Bloomsbury. 2015. (Chapter 1 and 2)

Suggested Reading:

- Okazaki, Hisahiko., *A Grand Strategy for Japanese Defense*, University Press of America, 1986.

**Session 15** (February 22)

**Fieldwork: SDF and Society**

The class will conduct an opinion survey of Japanese students at Doshisha University.

**Session 16** (March 6)

**Guest Speaker from Ministry of Defence (TBD)**

**Session 17** (March 8)

**Disaster Relief in Japan**

Among many mandates of SDF, public support and expectation is highest for its disaster relief missions in Japan. The class will review its dispatch history and policy challenges since World War Two.

Required Reading:

- Eldridge, Robert, *The Japanese Ground Self-Defence Forces: Search for Legitimacy*, Palgrave, 2017. (Chapter 7)
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**Session 18** (March 13)

**Disaster Relief abroad**

Japan started to send a Japan Disaster Relief Team (JDR) in 1987. SDF joined it after 1992. The class will review dispatch process, civil-military coordination, and diplomatic challenges of SDF's disaster relief operations abroad.

Required Reading:

- Yasutomi, Atsushi and Saya Kiba, "The Military Component of Japan Disaster Relief Team: Analyses of Recent Civil-Military Coordination," *SAREC Yearbook 2015*, Strategic Studies Center, National Defence Studies Institute, Thailand. December 2015. pp.1-24. 2015.
- Yasutomi, Atsushi and Saya Kiba, *Civil-Military Cooperation in Peace Support Operations and Disaster Relief: A Case from the Japan Self-Defense Forces' Disaster Relief Mission*, *Kasarinlan* Vol 29, No 2. 2014.

**Session 19** (March 15)

**Peacekeeping**

Peacekeeping is one of the major concerns of the Japanese public after the remarkable security legislation in 2015. The class will review the current framework and challenges of SDF's participation in UN PKO. What unique features and social climate influences Japan's engagement in peace support missions?

Required Reading:

- Curran, David and Paul D. Williams. *The UK and UN Peace Operations: A Case for Greater Engagement*, Oxford Research Group, 2016.
- Yasutomi, Atsushi and Saya Kiba, "Civil-Military Cooperation in Japan's Peace Support Operations -JSDF in search of NGO partners in South Sudan" *Japanese Studies Journal* Vol. 31, No.2, Institute of Asian Studies, Thammasat University, pp.119-136. 2014.

- Brown, Stephen and Jorn Gravingholt. *The Securitization of Foreign Aid*. Palgrave. 2016. (Chapter 1 and 5)

### **Session 20** (March 20)

#### **Military Assistance, Democracy, and Civilian Control**

The class will visit basic concept of civilian's democratic control over military. The U.S. has a strong policy to regulate its military assistance to countries with military regimes or extremely undemocratic events (such as a coup). Does it affect the recent security environment in Asia?

#### Required Reading:

- Chambers, Paul and Napisa Waitoolkiat, *Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia*. NIAS Press. 2017 [forthcoming]
- Saya Kiba, "Duterte's diplomacy: not hostility, but discomfort with US values," PacNet Number 92, Pacific Forum CSIS, Honolulu Hawaii, Dec 13, 2016.

#### Suggested Reading:

- Kiba, Saya and Hall, Rosalie A., 'Regional Cooperation on Civil-Military Coordination in Disaster Response – Crisis or Opportunity?' in *Security Sector Reform: Modern Defense Force Philippines*, Ateneo de Manila University and Working Group on Security Sector Reform (WGSSR), 2014.

### **Session 21** (March 22)

#### **China Rising**

The class will analyze Japan-China and the US-China relations and changing balance of power in the region.

#### Required Reading:

- Tan, Andrew T.H. *Handbook of US-China Relations*. Edward Elgar Publishing. 2016. (Chapter 13)

### **Session 22** (March 27)

#### **Student Presentations**

Each student will make a 15-20 minute presentation on their final paper.

### **Session 23** (March 29)

#### **Student Presentations**

Each student will make a 15-20 minute presentation on their final paper.

### **Session 24** (April 3)

#### **Fieldtrip: Meet and Interview the SDF soldiers in Kyoto**

Students will visit Kyoto Provincial Cooperation Office of JSDF and interview the soldiers who are engaged in local recruitment, disaster response, and public affairs.



**Session 25** (April 5)**Future of Japan's Security Policy**

To wrap up the course, the class will examine a possible future scenario of security in the Asia Pacific that Japan may face in the coming years.

## Suggested Reading:

- Katzenstein, Peter J. and Takashi Shiraishi eds, *Beyond Japan : the dynamics of East Asian regionalism*, Cornell paperbacks, 2006.
- Samuels, Richard J., Richard J. Samuels, *Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*, Cornell University Press, 2007.

**Student Presentations**

Each student will make a 15-20 minute presentation on their final paper.

April 10 and 12

No class.