

**Japan's Security Policies**  
Spring 2019  
Kyoto Consortium for Japanese Studies

Instructor: Saya Kiba

Mondays 14:55-16:25(A) and 16:40-18:10 (B)

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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. The class will also discuss anti-militaristic culture of Japan and its influence to public opinion on the Self-Defense Forces.

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, security studies, a sub-discipline of International Relations (IR) and "military sociology" 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.
- 4) Students will be able to understand Japan's anti-militarism and its influence to public opinion to security policies and the Self-Defense Forces.

### **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 5-minutes summary of the paper in class.

- 2) Short paper assignment (10%)

Maximum 3- pages paper assignment must be submitted after three weeks after the class begins.

- 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) and how to deal with it. The paper should cover 1) Japan's current policies, 2) Japan's bilateral and multilateral foreign relations, and 3) Constitutional restriction and Japan's culture of anti-militarism. 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, B, C, 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**

#### **January 21-A Session 1**

##### **Introduction**

The class will review major security challenges that Japan faces today. The class will first watch a short video on the Self-Defense Forces and its history and read recent policy papers.

Required Reading:

- *Defense of Japan (Annual White Paper) 2018*. Digest 1, 2, and 3. <Instructor will provide PDF version.>

Suggested Reading:

- Ministry of Japan website, *Defense Programs and Budget of Japan - Overview of FY2018 Budget*. [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_budget/index.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_budget/index.html)

#### **January 21-B Session 2**

##### **Japan's Self Defense Forces: Basic 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).

Required Reading:

- Eyal Ben-Ari, "Changing Japanese Defense Policies," *Mideast Security and Policy Studies No. 112*, THE BEGIN-SADAT CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY. (2015) <Instructor will provide PDF version.>
- Eldridge, Robert, *The Japanese Ground Self-Defence Force: Search for Legitimacy*, Palgrave, 2017. (Chapter 1-2) <Student assistant will prepare its photocopy.>

Suggested Reading:

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

### **January 28-A Session 3**

#### **Film Screening "Curiosity, Adventure & Love"**

**Irregular class: 13:00 to 14:30 and 14:45 to 16:00**

The class will watch a documentary film on World War Two and Battle for Manila with Director Sunshine Lichauco de Leon.

### **January 28-B Session 4**

#### **JSDF and Society: What is the origin of Japan's anti-militarism?**

The class will read and analyze recent Japanese opinion polls on the SDF and the US-Japan Alliance, discuss the origin of anti-militarism, and prepare for discussion with Japanese students on the following week.

#### Required Reading:

- Sabine Frühstück and Eyal Ben-Ari, "Now We Show It All!" Normalization and the Management of Violence in Japan's Armed Forces," *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter, 2002), pp. 1-39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/4126774.pdf>
- Opinion Survey on JSDF by Cabinet Office, Government of Japan 2018.[in Japanese] <https://survey.gov-online.go.jp/h29/h29-bouei/gairyaku.pdf>

#### Suggested Reading:

- Thomas U. Berger ., "From Sword to Chrysanthemum: Japan's Culture of Anti-militarism," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring, 1993), pp. 119-150. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2539024.pdf>

### **February 4 Session 5 and 6**

At Kansai University Takatsuki Campus)

#### **Discussion with Kansai University Students on the SDF**

The class will meet with students from Kansai University, to discuss if Japan must extend its military capability to defend its own country without depending on the US. They will also discuss what they have learnt about peace and security in elementary school and high school.

#### Suggested Reading:

- Current newspapers and magazine articles (TBD)

### **February 11: Short paper submission deadline (maximum 3 pages)**

Based on your discussion with Japanese students, 1) identify what is the root cause of Japan's culture of anti-militarism, and 2) analyze if public opinion changes in the next ten year, and why? Quote at least two real comments/opinion from Japanese people (friends, host families, other instructors, etc.) Paper must be submitted to <saya\_kiba@yahoo.co.jp> by 17:00.

**February 18-A Session 7****Japan's New Left Movements: An origin of anti-militarism?**

Required Reading:

- Takemasa Ando, *Japan's New Left Movements: Legacies for Civil Society*, Routledge, 2013.

**February 18-B Session 8****Peacekeeping and Risk-taking: Comparing Japan and Germany**

- Kümmel, Gerhard "A Soldier Is a Soldier Is a Soldier!?" in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, Springer. 2003.(Chapters 25)
- Kümmel, 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.

or **Guest Speakers Session** (TBC)

**February 25 at 13:00 Mid-term paper submission deadline**

Based on readings and classes of this course, elaborate the following two questions.

1. Obviously there's an ambivalence between the high social trust to the SDF and the deep-rooted refusal to the use of military force. How could you explain this contradiction?
2. There are widespread doubts in Japanese academia against military studies. Why isn't there an idea of a critical military studies as an instrument to criticize the SDF in more constructive way, to make MoD and SDF more transparent and responsible?

**February 25-A Session 9****Student Presentations**

Students will make 5-10 minutes presentations of their mid-term papers.

**February 25-B Session 10****Peacekeeping and Risk-taking: Comparing Japan and Germany**

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?

- Kümmel, Gerhard "A Soldier Is a Soldier Is a Soldier!?" in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, Springer. 2003.(Chapters 25)
- Kümmel, 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.

or **Guest Speakers Session** (TBC)

<Semester Break>

**March 11-A Session 11****Military Studies in Japan**

Required Reading:

- Atsushi Yasutomi and Saya Kiba, *Military sociology in Japan* (upcoming)

Suggested Reading:

- Christopher W. Hughes, “Japan’s Re-emergence as a ‘Normal’ Military Power,” Routledge, 2005.

**March 11-B Session 12****Public Opinion and Peacekeeping**

Required Reading:

- Paul Midford, *Rethinking Japanese public opinion and Security: from pacifism to realism?* Stanford University Press, 2011.(Chapter 1, 9, and 10)
- James L. Schoff, *Uncommon Alliance for the Common Good: The United States and Japan After the Cold War*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2017. (Chapter 3 “What to make Japan’s Post- Cold War Security Reforms)

Suggested Reading:

- Curran, David and Paul D. Williams. *The UK and UN Peace Operations: A Case for Greater Engagement*, Oxford Research Group, 2016.

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**March 18-A Session 13****Considering Liberal Order**

The class will read recent articles of Dr. Prof. John G Ikenberry (Princeton University) to discuss the future of liberal order after Trump administration.

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. [https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/085D7A99C0C9EFB5F96BE9B096DD9548/S0260210599001795a.pdf/nature\\_and\\_sources\\_of\\_liberal\\_international\\_order.pdf](https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/085D7A99C0C9EFB5F96BE9B096DD9548/S0260210599001795a.pdf/nature_and_sources_of_liberal_international_order.pdf)
- John Ikenberry, “The Myth of Post–Cold War Chaos,” *Foreign Affairs: What Was the Liberal Order? The World We May Be Losing*, March 2017.
- John Ikenberry, “The Plot Against American Foreign Policy: Can the Liberal Order Survive?” *Foreign Affairs May/June 2017*.

**March 18-B Session 14****US-Japan Security Alliance**

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:

- *The Constitution of Japan* (Article 9)  
[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)
- *Defense of Japan (Annual White Paper) 2017*. Section 2. “Constitution and the Basis of Defense Policy,” [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/pdf/2017/DOJ2017\\_2-1-2\\_web.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2017/DOJ2017_2-1-2_web.pdf)
- *Ibid.* Section 3. “Outline of the National Security Strategy”  
[http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/pdf/2017/DOJ2017\\_2-1-3\\_web.pdf](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/pdf/2017/DOJ2017_2-1-3_web.pdf)
- *Japan-U.S. Security Treaty*. <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).  
[http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/anpo/shishin\\_20150427e.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/anpo/shishin_20150427e.html)
- James L. Schoff, *Uncommon Alliance for the Common Good: The United States and Japan After the Cold War*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2017. (Chapter 1 “End of Cold War in a US-Japan Context”)

### **March 25-A Session 15**

#### **Power and Regime**

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. (Introduction, Chapter 1 and 2)

Suggested Reading:

- Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph Nye. *Power and Interdependence* (Third Edition). Longman. 2001.(Chapter 1, 2, and Afterword)

### **March 25-B Session 16**

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

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:

- Saya Kiba, “Duterte’s diplomacy: not hostility, but discomfort with US values,” *PacNet Number 92*, Pacific Forum CSIS, Honolulu Hawaii, Dec 13, 2016.
- *Defense of Japan (Annual White Paper) 2017*. All contents of “Chapter 3 Development of Legislation for Peace and Security and the SDF Activities Since

Legislation's Enforcement" (Section 1 Circumstances of the Development of Legislation, Section 2 Outline of the Legislation for Peace and Security, and Section 3 The Situation of the Self-Defense Forces after the Enforcement of the Legislation for Peace and Security) [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w\\_paper/2017.html](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/publ/w_paper/2017.html)

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.
- 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.

#### **April 1, Session 17 and 18**

##### **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. Participation is mandatory. Students need to review the museum website < <http://www.ritsumei.ac.jp/mng/er/wp-museum/english/index.html>>

#### **April 7, Session 19**

##### **Fieldwork at Open Base Day, Katsura and Uji JSDF Base (optional)**

#### **April 8-A, Session 20**

##### **China: Risk or opportunity?**

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

Required Reading:

- Oliver Stuenkel, *Post-Western World: How Emerging Powers Are Remaking Global Order*, Polity, 2016.

Suggested Reading:

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

#### **April 8-B, Session 21**

##### **Crisis of Alliance Management: Foreign Policies of Japan under Democrat Party of Japan 2010-2012**

Required Reading:

- Ryo Sahashi, “DPJ Government’s Failed Foreign Policy: A Case of Politician-Led Government Gone Wrong,” in Ryo Sahashi and James Gannon eds. *Looking for Leadership: The Dilemma of Political Leadership in Japan*, Japan Center for International Exchange, 2015.
- Satoru Mori, “Political Leadership in Japan and Japanese Foreign Policy: Lessons from the DPJ Government,” Sahashi and Gannon 2015.

**April 12 at 13:00 Final paper submission deadline (5 pages)**

Choose and analyze a particular security risk that Japan may face in the next ten years (any potential crisis situation) and how to deal with it. The paper should cover 1) Japan’s current policies, 2) Japan’s bilateral and multilateral foreign relations, and 3) Japan’s culture of anti-militarism. 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.)

**April 15-A Session 22**

**Reading the latest security guidelines/Policy proposals**

**April 15-B Session 22**

**Wrap-up Session: Future of Japan’s Security Policies**