



CENTRE FOR SECURITY STUDIES

DEFENCE WHITE PAPER PROJECT

JAPAN DEFENCE WHITE PAPER 2021

CHANDNI K. SAIGAL

EDITED BY: MIHIR VIKRANT KAULGUD

About the Author

Chandni K. Saigal is student of M.A in Diplomacy, Law & Business at the Jindal School of International Affairs.

About the Centre for Security Studies

The Centre for Security Studies (CSS) was established in 2020 as the Jindal School of International Affairs' first student-run research centre under the aegis of Prof Dr Pankaj K Jha. Researchers at CSS – through in-depth analysis briefs and events, reports, policy briefs and print publications – explore both regional and thematic topics in the broader field of international security studies. The concept of international security has been expanded to reflect not merely the study of state security, but also include topics like ethnic, sectarian and religious conflict; civil wars and state failure; cyber and space warfare; resource related security issues; the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; defence economics and also the role of ethics or morality in the formulation of security policies. The complexity of these matters is what the Centre for Security Studies attempts to unfold. Please refer to www.cssjsia.com for further details, and follow the Centre's social media platforms for critical news and research updates:



www.linkedin.com/company/jindal-centre-for-security-studies/



www.instagram.com/css_jsia/



<https://twitter.com/Css Jsia>

Important disclaimer

All views expressed in this publication belong to the author and do not reflect the opinions or positions of the Centre for Security Studies. While researchers and editors at CSS strive towards any instances, CSS as an organisation does not take any responsibility for any instance of plagiarism committed by any authors. The onus to ensure plagiarism-free work lies with authors themselves.

WD2207003

The *2021 Defence of Japan* (Annual White paper) includes many firsts, with the Ministry of Defence connecting the stability in Taiwan to Japanese security, climate change being recognised as a security issue, and a chapter being dedicated to US-China ties. The identification of the US-China strategic competition was one of the centrepieces of the white paper. In this context, the paper mentioned the situation in Taiwan is directly important for Japan's security. If one finds Tokyo's long-standing 'reluctance' to mention Taiwan directly as a goal of Japan's defence policy, it is because of this.

Threats in new realms such as space, cyberspace, and electromagnetic domains are also highlighted in the white paper. The paper indicates that a substantial investment must still be made in these domains. Space, cyberspace, and electromagnetic security concerns have benefitted from the establishment of the so-called Space Operation Squadron. It is a relatively small-scale unit, but it has begun to develop operations in Space Situation Awareness (SAA) to monitor and avoid threats in outer space. While the operational ability is low, it will be a critical complement to the United States' capabilities in the same realm. Japan is also strengthening its cyber capabilities, with plans to triple the size of its cyber staff. Finally, the electromagnetic domain is a major component of the Japanese Army's cross-domain operation.

There are three main aspects that the white paper highlights in the summary itself. One is regarding the Chinese coercion through its Coast Guards. Apart from the PLA, there is a major focus on this in the white paper. Second, it talks about Russia, and thirdly it talks about North Korea. These are the three things that are very important from Japan's security point of view. It dwells into a lot of aspects like partnership alliances, and how it matters to the Pacific. These are aspects of Japan's Indo-Pacific approach. So, in case of alliances it talks about transition and change in the US presidency, and how Japan sees that this transition affecting the US- Japan alliance. For example, in 2020 there were a lot of activities by Chinese maritime militia and coast guard in the south China sea and east China sea. The United States of America changed its approach to the region under President Trump, however Japan's white paper defence claims that there is a continuity in the transition even after president Biden came to power. The transition seemed to be something that Japan is looking forward to. So, the approach has not changed after the change of presidency.

There is also mention of the Japanese partnership with India as well. Broadly speaking, the Japanese partners are Australia, South-Korea, and up to an extent, India. So, the white paper dwells upon how these partnerships have functioned in the past, how they function currently and how they will play out in the future.

The white paper also mentions Taiwan, in which situations China and the US are at loggerheads with each other and tensions are increasing in the Indo-Pacific. Japan is preparing its capabilities because of this tension. The White Paper doesn't use words like credible deterrence, but it is implied, since the Chinese themselves have developed a capability which cannot be balanced by any single countries right. Therefore, credible deterrence could only be established if there there is a stronger emphasis on alliances and partnerships. The white paper mentions the number of incursions made by the Chinese Navy and coast guards in Japanese waters. This has the potential to become a major flash point between Beijing and Tokyo. The white paper relates Taiwan to military capabilities and creating deterrence. It also discusses Japan's role in the event of 'reunification' of Taiwan and China, and how its relationship with the US would be affected. Taiwan's independence is highlighted as a natural barrier for Japan.

In terms of Russia, the issues of note, are Russia's focus on deploying modernized weapons including hypersonic weapons. The white paper also acknowledges the increased activity by Russian military in the Russian Far East and on the Kuril Islands. The Japanese defence ministry has published data on Orlan UAVs, and S-400 air defence systems being deployed in the region by Russia. Russia does not see Japan as an adversary remains suspicious of it because of its close cooperation with the US.

Lastly, in terms of the United States, economic security has become the focal point of alliance coordination. During the Suga-Biden summit, both sides agreed to promote the core partnership in terms of economic competitiveness and resilience, for instance, the joint development of 5G and 6G networks. Another example of economic cooperation between Japan and the US pertains to sensitive supply chains starting from the semiconductors.

Bibliography

IVM Podcasts. 2021. "Ep. 626: Defence Of Japan". Podcast. All Things Policy.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=19zCK9Q1vsQ&t=1117s>.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies. 2021. Japan's Defence And Security Challenges In 2021 With Professor Jimbo Ken. Video.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=es9MDEbvqdY&t=1398s>.

Ministry of Defence. 2021. "Defence Of Japan White Paper". Japan.

https://www.mod.go.jp/en/publ/w_paper/wp2021/DOJ2021_EN_Full.pdf