

Part **I**

# Security Environment Surrounding Japan

**Chapter 1**

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**Overview**

**Chapter 2**

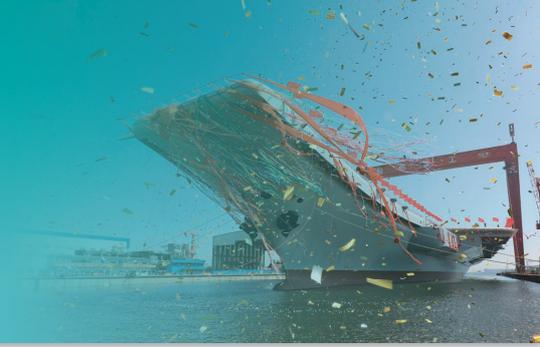
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**Defense Policies of Countries**

**Chapter 3**

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**Issues in the International  
Community**



## Section 1

## Trends in the International Community

The security environment surrounding Japan has become increasingly severe, with various challenges and destabilizing factors becoming more tangible and acute.

Even after the end of the Cold War, interstate conflicts remain in the periphery of Japan. While nations with large military forces are concentrated in this region, a regional cooperation framework in the security realm has not been sufficiently institutionalized. Opaque and uncertain factors such as territorial disputes and reunification issues remain. There has been also a tendency towards an increase in and prolongation of so-called “gray-zone” situations, that is, neither pure peacetime nor contingencies over territory, sovereignty, and maritime economic interests. In addition, there has been a noticeable trend among neighboring countries to modernize and reinforce their military capabilities and to intensify their military activities. In this regard, security challenges and destabilizing factors in the Asia-Pacific region including the area surrounding Japan are becoming more serious.

In particular, North Korea’s further progress in nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles development through its nuclear tests and ballistic missile launches, coupled with repeated provocative rhetoric and behavior that disregard the international community, constitute serious and imminent threats to the security of the region including Japan and of the international community. In 2016, North Korea conducted two nuclear tests and launched ballistic missiles at an unprecedented frequency of more than 20 times. The threat from North Korea’s improved capabilities in the development and use of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles has entered a new stage. Additionally, China’s reinforcement of its military capabilities without transparency, along with active maritime advancements, has been rapidly shifting the regional military balance. Under these circumstances, China’s attempts to change the status quo in the East and South China Seas based on its unique assertions which are incompatible with the existing order of international law, have become serious security concerns to the region

including Japan and to the international community, including the likelihood of increasing the risk of causing unintended consequences due to misunderstanding or miscalculation. Furthermore, unilateral actions to change the status quo and heighten tensions, such as China’s large-scale and rapid reclamations in the South China Sea, establishment of outposts there, and their use for military purposes, leave challenges for the response of the international community, as the actions are further turned into a fait accompli.

In a global security environment, interdependence among countries has expanded and deepened with globalization and rapid advances in technological innovations. At the same time, there is a growing risk that unrest or a security problem in a single country or region could immediately develop into a challenge or destabilizing factor for the entire international community. International terrorist organizations, including the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), continue to remain active. Today, the threat of international terrorism is not confined to the Middle East and North Africa, but is expanding globally. Given that Japanese nationals have also been victims in these incidents, Japan must now



## KeyWord So-called “gray-zone” situations

So-called “gray-zone” situations concisely describe a broad range of situations, that is, neither pure peacetime nor contingencies. For example, they could involve the following circumstances:

- 1) Conflicting assertions between states, etc., over territory, sovereignty, economic interests including maritime interests, and other forms of rights and interests;
- 2) Not relying only on diplomatic negotiation among parties for a party to make its country’s assertions or demands, or to have the other party accept said assertions or demands; and
- 3) Showing physical presence frequently, or attempting or making changes to the status quo in an area related to the dispute by using armed organizations or other means to the extent that it does not constitute armed attack, in order to appeal a party’s assertion or demand or to force acceptance of it.

consider international terrorism as its own issue that must be faced head-on. Furthermore, while Russia has still been subjected to the sanctions by the international community, the outcomes of Russia's changes to the status quo by force or coercion through so-called "hybrid warfare"<sup>1</sup> in Ukraine have taken on an aspect of being entrenched, and it is expected that the international community will make further efforts to improve the situation. In addition, the recent spate of cyber attacks has become more sophisticated and skillful by the day, with government involvement suspected in various attacks. In this context, there are increasing risks to the stable use of cyberspace.

Against this background, President Trump was inaugurated in January 2017 and immediately declared a shift to an "America First" policy agenda. Although it has yet to announce a comprehensive strategic policy on its involvement in the regional security of the Asia-Pacific, the Middle East, and Europe, the new administration has made it clear that it will continue to give priority to the security of the Asia-Pacific region. Attention is now focused on how exactly the United States will deepen relations with its allies and partners, including how policy changes ushered in by the Trump administration, will affect the future policies of other countries. With expanding and deepening interdependence, major countries have a more important shared interest in building a more stable international security environment. Countries with a shared interest in resolving issues are increasingly collaborating to take proactive responses to achieve regional and global stability. For example, the international community is working together to protect the existing international order based upon law, including a free and open maritime order. The coalition and countries such as Russia are conducting military activities against ISIL as part of the "War on Terror." Countries are also engaged in diplomatic efforts at the summit level to find solutions to the ever more complex and divisive regional conflicts.

The multi-polarization of the world continues as a result of shifts in the balance of power due to the extension of the international influence of countries such as China, India, and Russia on the political, economic, and military fronts, and the relative change of influence of the United States. Increases in demand for natural resources, energy, and food stemming from economic growth in emerging countries and a larger middle class are expected to

further intensify the international competition for these resources. Against this backdrop, changes in or denial of the existing regional and international order, or assertions and activities to secure economic interests could become more tangible and acute. This in turn could lead to increases in "gray-zone" situations and regional conflicts in the future.

Additionally, the rapid spread of the Internet and information and communications technology (ICT) networks, including social media – one of the key factors of globalization – have given non-state actors a much greater ability to disseminate their opinions and assertions as well as mobilize supporters, and by extension, have significantly increased their influence on countries and the international community. For example, criticism of a nation sent out by an individual, or extremism disseminated by an international terrorist organization, has tended to propagate and spread explosively or be transmitted across the world by ICT networks. Controlling these activities have become increasingly challenging even for countries like authoritarian nations with strong control over their people, as well as for the international community that strives to contain the operations of international terrorist organizations. As a result, countries have been forced to pay greater consideration to public opinion on domestic governance and management of state affairs. At the same time, the international community is faced with more complex issues which need to be resolved and which are increasingly difficult to address.

In addition, it is believed that national security decision-making is more complex than ever before, as some nations have important economic relationships despite differences in fundamental values and strategic interests as seen in the case of Europe and Russia with regard to the Ukraine issue in 2014, as well as the response of Europe, ASEAN member states, and other countries to China's proposal to establish the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) in 2015.

The security challenges and destabilizing factors in the international community which has these characteristics are complex, diverse, and wide-ranging, and it is becoming ever more difficult for a single country to deal with them on its own. In this context, it is increasingly important for countries which share interests in regional and global stability to cooperate and actively respond to security challenges. Cross-cutting government efforts are also critical to overcome these challenges.

<sup>1</sup> While various explanations have been offered for so-called "hybrid warfare," in this white paper, the term is used to mean "aggression conducted by methods that are difficult to identify definitively as 'armed attack' based on their outward appearance, involving a combination of non-military means, such as sabotage and information manipulation, and military means which are utilized covertly."