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NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY OF JAPAN

ESTRATÉGIA DE SEGURANÇA NACIONAL DO JAPÃO

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In December last year, the government of Japan revised National Security Policy. Representative policies are follows.

Developing efforts centered on diplomacy guided by the **vision of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific**.

Fundamentally reinforcing defense capabilities, including possessing counterstrike capabilities.

Reinforcing comprehensive defense architecture that complements and is inseparable from the fundamental reinforcement of defense capabilities.

Considering revisions of the Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology, its Implementation Guidelines, and other systems in order to promote smooth transfer of defense equipment and technology of high security significance and others.

Introducing active cyber defense and establishing a new organization which will comprehensively coordinate policies in the field of cybersecurity, in a centralized manner.

Significantly reinforcing Japan's maritime law enforcement capabilities, in conjunction with efforts to strengthen its organization.

Promoting economic security policies : In FY 2027, Japan will take the necessary measures to make the level of its budget, for both the fundamental reinforcement of defense capabilities and complementary initiatives, **reach 2% of the current GDP**.

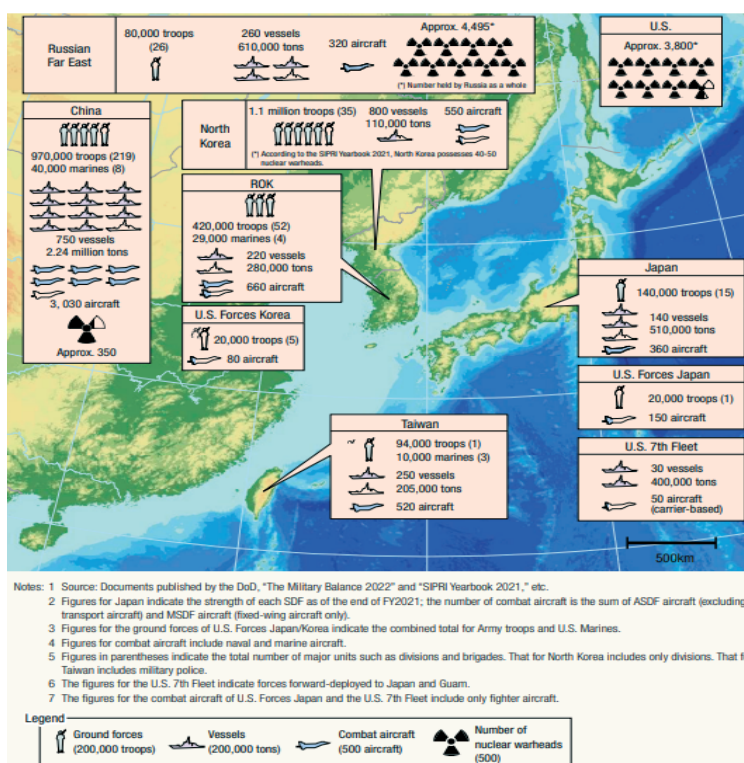
Even for those who have not heard of revised strategy, I assume that many of you heard the news that the budget of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces for 2023 increases to 52 billion US dollars, which is 26% higher than that of 2022 and

that the defense budget reaches 2% of GDP in 2027. I would say that this is one of drastic shifts of our strategy. Over the past thirty years, Japan has maintained an annual defense budget of about 1 percent of its GDP. The 1% limit was established through a cabinet decision made in 1976 to prevent Japan becoming a military superpower. Although later in 1987, the government abolished the official limit of 1%, it remained a powerful unspoken concept so far. However, there are certainly reasons behind the necessity to revise the policy and defense budget.

Today, we are in an era where confrontation and cooperation are intricately intertwined in international relations such as geopolitical competition and responses to global-scale challenges. Japan's security environment is as severe and complex as it has ever been since the end of WWII.

Japan is located on the front lines of activities of Russia, the Korean Peninsula, and China, facing with concerning situations and problems over Taiwan, the East China Sea, the South China Sea and etc. Furthermore, in the vicinity of Japan, military buildups are rapidly advancing, coupled with mounting pressures by unilaterally changing the status quo by force.

Main Military Forces in Japan's Surrounding (Approximate Strength)



Defense of Japan 2022, Ministry of Defense of Japan

According to the US Indo-Pacific Command (INDOPACOM), by 2025, China is expected to militarily outmatch US forces in the region. Some of the numbers are alarming. For example, as for the maritime domain, by 2025, China is expected to have approximately 100 modern multi-warfare combatant vessels, such as the Type 055 destroyer. The Chinese Navy is also estimated to have over 60 submarines, 12 amphibious assault ships, and three aircraft carriers. On the other hand, US Navy forces in the region will be able to field only 12 destroyers or cruisers, ten submarines, four amphibious assault ships, and one aircraft carrier.

Today, I would like to focus on three major challenges that Japan faces, which are Russia, China and North Korea.

Russia's external and military activities have shaken the very foundation of the international order. Here in Europe, there is no doubt that Russia is considered as the most significant and direct threat to security. Japanese Prime Minister Kishida often says that 'Ukraine may be the East Asia of tomorrow and that security concerns in Europe and Asia are inseparable.'

During 21st to 23rd of March, Prime Minister Kishida visited Ukraine and Poland and held the summit meeting with both countries. Prime Minister Kishida expressed to H.E. Mr. Volodymyr Zelenskyy, President of Ukraine his respect for the courage and perseverance of the Ukrainian people standing up to defend their homeland and democracy under the leadership of President Zelenskyy. Prime Minister Kishida, as Japan and the G7, of which Japan is the Chair also directly conveyed our solidarity and unwavering support for Ukraine. He also expressed his respect to President of Poland, H.E. Dr. Andrzej Duda for the great role Poland is playing on the front line as military and humanitarian base for Ukraine.

For Japan, Russian external and military activities in the Indo-Pacific regions are also strong security concern, especially because Russia is doing so, together with its strategic coordination with China. The recent Military cooperation between China and Russia is of great concern. The Trend of military cooperation between Russia and China is gradually changing and expanding from the initial bilateral confidence building stage to 'strategic partnership', which widely appalled to the international community. For example, while the Japan-U.S.-Australia-India summit meeting was being held in May 2022, China and Russia conducted a joint flight for the forth time. It was intended as a demonstration against Japan, the host country of the summit meeting. Two countries confirmed their mutual support for each other's core interests, which includes opposition to 'Taiwan independence' and 'further expansion of NATO'. At the same time, they always keep United States in mind as a common competitor.

Second, China. China's current external stance, military and other activities have become a matter of serious concern for Japan and the international community. China also has an aggressive strategy for its maritime ambitions. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimates that roughly 80 percent of global trade by volume is transported by sea. Of that

volume, 60 percent of maritime trade passes through Asia, with the South China Sea carrying an estimated one-third of global shipping. Its waters are particularly critical for China, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea, all of which rely on the Strait of Malacca, which connects the South China Sea and, by extension, the Pacific Ocean with the Indian Ocean. As the second-largest economy in the world with over 60 percent of its trade in value traveling by sea, China's economic security is closely tied to the South China. Furthermore, there is a geopolitical theory named "String of Pearls" to the network of Chinese intentions in India Ocean Region. Precisely, it refers to the network of Chinese military and commercial facilities developed by China in countries falling on the Indian Ocean between the Chinese mainland and Port Sudan.

China's growing defense budget is also at the forefront of great concern. For more than 30 years, China has sustained high-level growth of its defense budget without transparency, engaging in broad, rapid improvement of its military power with focus on nuclear, missiles, naval and air force. It is said that their defense budget increased 39 times more since 30 years ago. And we have to be aware that the amount of the announced defense budget is considered to be only a part of its actual military expenditures.

Third, North Korea. North Korea's military activities pose an even more grave and imminent threat to Japan's national security than ever before. North Korea is believed to consider that having its own nuclear deterrence is essential to counter the modern conventional forces of the U.S. and South Korea. To this end, North Korea is advancing the development of ballistic missiles as the means of nuclear delivery. They have announced that they will never abandon its nuclear weapons and has repeatedly launched missiles at an unprecedented high frequency. In addition, there is also the possibility it will engage in further provocative action.

I mentioned China as if one of main threats to Japan. However, at the same time, China has been the largest trading partner for Japan for 15 consecutive years and according to Chinese statistics, Japan ranks third in terms of the amount of direct investment to China. As being the world's second-largest economy, its actions are increasingly affecting the international community in many ways. In this context, Stable Japan-China relations are important not only for both countries, but also for the region and the international community.

Having said that, Japan alone cannot secure its security environment. When the international community is undergoing an era-defining change, the cooperation with like-minded countries and partners such as Portugal, EU and NATO is more crucial than ever.

Prime Minister Kishida, and Secretary General of NATO, H.E. Mr. Jens Stoltenberg met in Tokyo on 31 January, this year, after PM Kishida's historical participation in the NATO Summit in 2022 for the first time as Japanese Prime Minister. In the joint statement, two leaders recognized that the security of the Euro-Atlantic and of the Indo Pacific was closely connected and stressed the ne-

cessity of further-strengthening cooperation, in order to respond to the changing.

Furthermore, Japan-U.S.-Australia-India (QUAD) share fundamental values and are committed to strengthening a free and open international order based on the rule of law. The four countries have been promoting practical cooperation in various fields, including vaccines, infrastructure to realize a Free and Open Indo-Pacific, 'FOIP'. Prime Minister Kishida visited India in April and delivered a policy speech about the future of the Indo-Pacific. He stressed at a history's turning point, the concept of FOIP is becoming more important than ever.

Last but not least, cooperation with Portugal. It is worth mentioning that when Portugal held the EU presidency in 2021, EU Council adopted Joint Communication on the EU Strategy for cooperation in the Indo-Pacific. This strategy clearly declared that the EU's engagement with the Indo-Pacific region will be principled and long-term, promoting inclusive and effective multilateral cooperation grounded in a rules-based international order, shared values and principles. As, Japan and Portugal both upholds the maintenance of maritime order as being maritime countries, I believe that we could cooperate more in the security area, especially in maritime security issues.