

A Japanese view of Australia's role in Regional Security



Vice-Admiral Joji Koda (Retd) to the United Services Institute of the ACT on 18 May 2011

Vice-Admiral Joji Koda, MSDF (Retd) previous Commander-in-Chief Japanese Self-Defense Fleet spoke to The United Services Institute of the ACT on 18 May 2011. VADM Koda visited Australia at the invitation of the RAN Seapower Centre to deliver a series of lectures under the Synott lecture program. In a frank and open presentation he gave a personal Japanese view of what he sees as Australia's role in Regional Security. Using the lens of Japan's alliance history he proposes that shared national objectives form the basis of alliances and that the congruence of national interests between Japan and the United States, and Australia and the United States suggests that a third leg of mutual understanding and collective action could be created as a means of underpinning regional and international security in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In essence, he proposes that Australia and Japan cooperate to boost US presence in their contiguous waters. Looking at the rise of new maritime forces in the region, he complements his proposal with an analysis of Japanese (and US Forces Japan) capability development that leads to his concept of mutual action. He contends that this action could be undertaken in a political and security framework that would be to the benefit to Australia's, Japan's and United States' national interests in promoting own and others' security in a challenging international security environment.



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A Japanese View of Australian Role in Regional Security

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Senior Fellow, Asia Center, Harvard University

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Japanese Experience of Alliances

Anglo - Japanese : 1902 – 1921

Terminated by Washington Treaty
Unprecedented success

Tripartite Pact : 1940 – 1945

Lapsed by defeat of the Axis
Unprecedented failure

Japan – USA : 1952 –

Revised in 1960
Unprecedented success

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One way to measure international relation (5 Ms: Experience of Japan)

	Anglo-Japanese	Tripartite	US-Japanese
National Objective M atch	Yes	No Anti-UK/US	Yes
National Interest M atch	Yes	G: Europe ----- J : Asia	Yes
M utual Trust	Yes	No	Yes
M utual Respect	Yes	No	Yes
M ulti-dimensional Distance	Europe-Asia Long but Short UK: Sea Control	EU-Asia Infinite No-S/C	Trans PAC Long-Short US-J: S/C

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National Defense Program Guideline for FY 2011 and beyond (NDPG)

Defense Strategy Document (17 December 2010)

Three pillars

- Own efforts
- **Cooperation with an ally=Japan-USA Alliance**
- Cooperation with the international community
 - **Enhance Cooperation:**
ROK, **Australia**, ASEAN countries and India
 - **Promote confidence and cooperation:**
China and Russia
 - Enhance cooperation:
EU and NATO

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Japan-USA Alliance Significance

For Japan

Passport to International Club

Basis for full spectrum of national activities

National Security/Diplomacy/Economy

For USA-1

Cornerstone of Global Strategies

Hub of Alliance-Networks in the region

4 Alliances/9 Agreements

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Footprint of the Alliance-1

1952 – 1960: Original Treaty

Stationing of U.S. Forces in Japan

Use of U.S. Forces:

In domestic riot/insurgency in Japan

Fear of communist/ism infiltration

Japanese interpretation

Legacy of US (Allied) Occupation

Strong motive for revision in Japan

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Footprint of the Alliance-2

1960: Revised (Current) treaty

3 historical landmarks (J-USA agreement)

- Nov. 1978: Defence of Japan
Concept in Cold-war: Force buildup of JSDF
Better cooperation with U.S. Forces in the Pacific
Delivered final blow to Far East Soviet
- Sep. 1997: Security around Japan
New concept in post Cold-war: Regional role
Security in Areas Surrounding Japan (SIASJ)
- Oct. 2005: Global security
Post 911/War on terror: Global role
Multinational cooperation: Ex=Counter piracy OPS

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Bilateral Military Functions – 1

Strategic Mission Sharing

Mission

U.S. Forces

Nuclear Deterrence

Strategic Offensive Role

JSDF

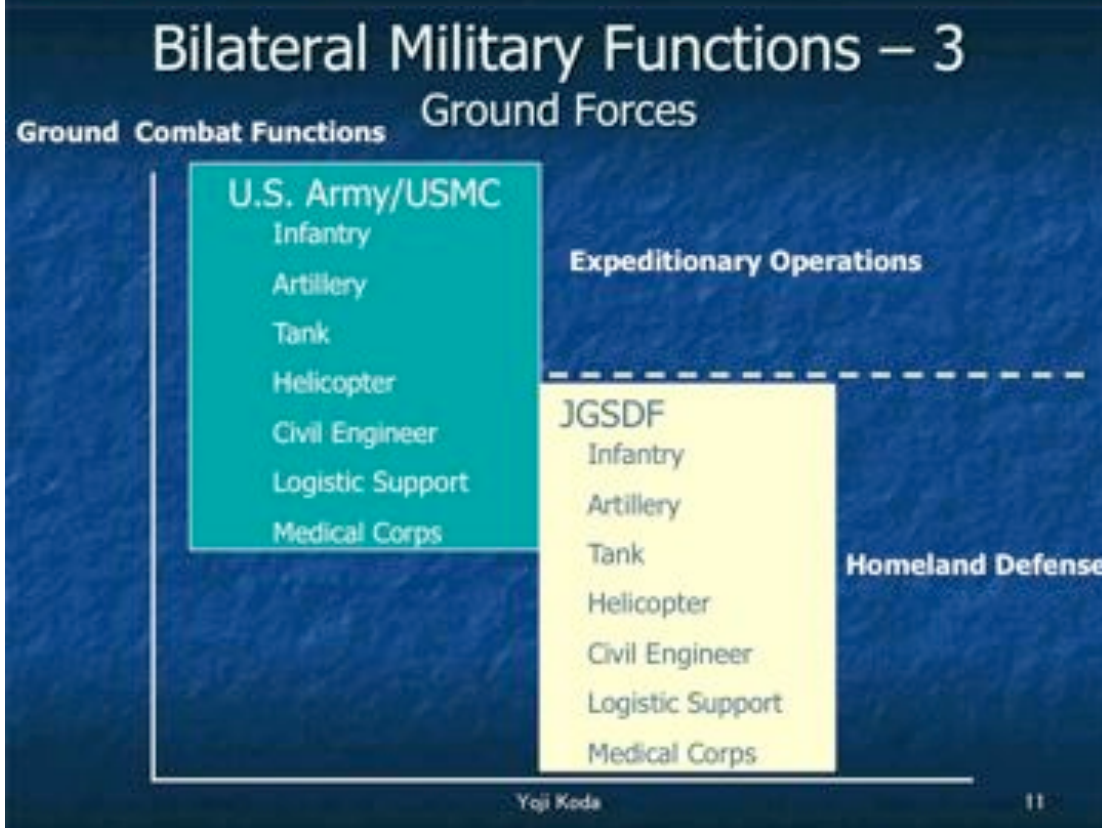
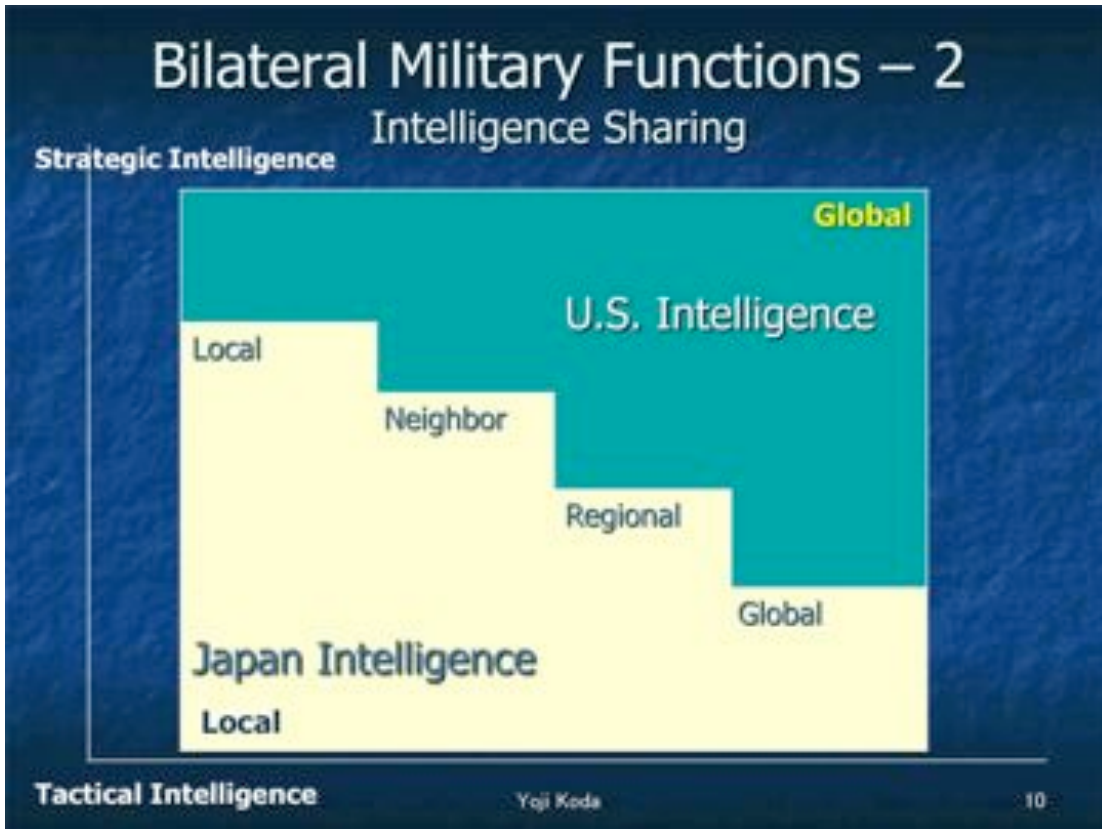
Defence of Homeland

Protection of U.S. Forces

Sea Control / Protection of SLOCs

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Bilateral Military Functions – 4 Maritime Forces

Maritime Combat Functions



Note: SLOCs=Sea Lines of Communication

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Bilateral Military Functions – 5 Air Forces

Air Combat Functions



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Complementary relationship

Strategic Mission Sharing

- Nuclear Umbrella : USA
- Strategic Offensive Role : USA
Strike on Enemy Land/Base/Force
- Strategic Defence Role : Japan
Defence of Homeland/Air-Space
Protection of U.S. Forces in and around Japan
Sea Control in Japanese Waters

“Shield and Spear”

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Japan Self Defence Force (JSDF)

Established in 1954

Under New Pacifist Constitution

JGSDF/JMSDF/JASDF: No Marines

Strategic Defence Concept

Alliance

Deter aggression (Military invasion)

Repel aggression

Complementary role

Shield (JSDF) and Spear (U.S. Forces)

Stationing of U.S. Forces in Japan

SDF

Capable force as an allied partner

Repel aggression by itself: In case of small invasion

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JMSDF

Current strength

Personnel Strength: 45,000

47 Destroyers+16 Submarines+150 Aircraft

4 Escort Flotilla, 2 Sub-Flotilla, 1 Mine Force

7 Air-wings

ASW+BMD Force: Cooperation with U.S. 7th Fleet

Regional Force : Western Pacific

Robust capability: Conventional OPS=2nd Largest/Capable

Future plan (New NDPG)

48 Destroyers+22 Submarines+150 Aircraft

Western-waters Focused Force Posture

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JASDF

Current Strength

Personnel Strength: 48,000

260 Fighters+90 Support Aircraft

6 Air Defence Missile Units (Some: BMD)

28 EW Radar Sites

Dedicated Air Defence Force (Air National Guard)

Future Plan (New NDPG)

260 Fighters+80 Support Aircraft

6 Air Defence Missile Units (All BMD)

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U.S. Forces in Japan

U.S. Army

Personnel strength: 2,000

Support Units/No Operational Combat Units

U.S. Navy

Personnel strength: 6,000 + 13,000 (7th Fleet)

Bases: Yokosuka, Sasebo, Okinawa, **Atsugi**

7th Fleet: HQ, Carrier Strike Force, Reconnaissance Force, Submarine Force, Amphibious Force

U.S. Air Force

Personnel Strength: 13,000

Bases: **Yokota, Misawa, Kadena (Okinawa)**

5th Air Force: HQ, 35 Fighter Wing, 18 Fighter Wing, Others

U.S. Marines

Personnel Strength: 16,000

Bases: Okinawa, **Futenma (Okinawa), Iwakuni**

3rd - Marine Expeditionary Force (3-MEF)

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U.S. Military Bases in Japan



Mainland



Okinawa

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U.S. Forces in Japan: Host nation support

Stable HOST Nation Support

1978: 6.2Bil-Y 2008: 208.3Bil-Y (\$ 2.3Bil)

2 Full Naval bases+6 Air bases

Afghanistan: 100,000+, Iraq: 60, 000, **JPN: 50,000**

Training Ranges and Facilities

Fuel Storage / Ammunition Storage

Logistic Support Capability

Ship Repair Facility

Aircraft maintenance

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Alliance in Jeopardy -1

Past – 1

Nixon shock (1972)

Ambassador Mondale's statement (1996)

Senkaku Is. S-Sec. Clinton's Statement

"Japan-passing" by President Clinton (1998)

9 Days stay in China / Skipping Japan

Removal of Terrorism Supporting Nation (2008)

North Korea

Japanese Abduction issue

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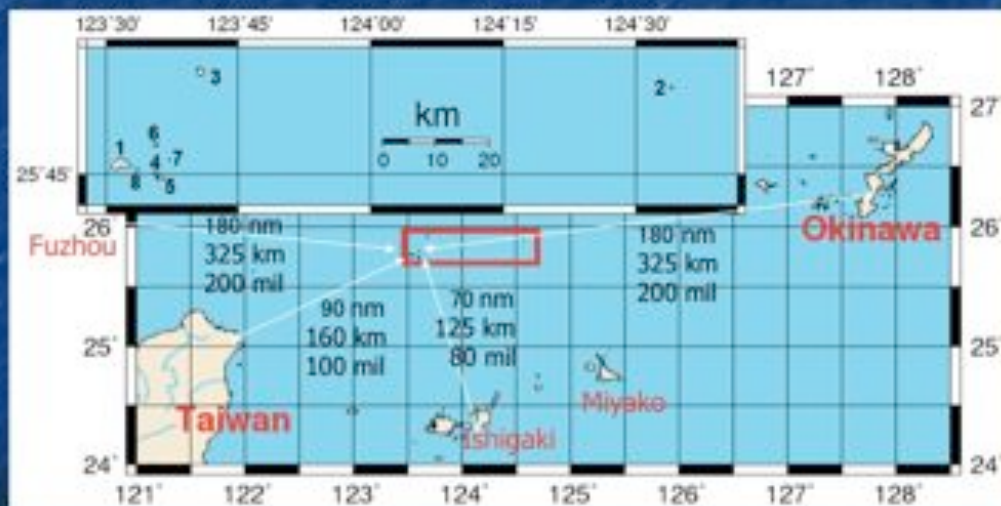
Senkaku Islands-1



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Senkaku Islands-2



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Alliance in Jeopardy -3

Today and Future

U.S. frustration on Japanese **policy**

Decreasing Defense Spending (2000 ~)

Insufficient support on "War on Terrorism"

Slow and invisible national decision making

Insufficient Civil – Military coordination

Japanese anxiety on **credibility** of the Alliance

Nuclear deterrence against North Korea

Senkaku Islands

Is DPJ Government of Japan OK ?

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Alliance in Boost

Aggressive Force build-up in Japan and USA

Last decade of Cold War: 1980 to 1990

Nakasone – Reagan Initiative

Western victory of Cold War

Relief operations of Sumatra Tsunami-disaster

Close coordination: JSDF and U.S. Forces: 1994 to 95

September 11/War on Terrorism

JSDF operations: 2001 to 2010

Ballistic Missile Defence

Successful deployment of BMD/Bilateral Development

Operation Tomodachi: 311 Disaster

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Japan-U.S. Alliance as Common's

For Japan:

Value added Alliance

Security

Full Spectrum of National/International Activities

For USA:

Obligation to defend Japan

Value-added Alliance

Bases: Key nodes to support U.S. Global Strategy

Cornerstone of U.S. Asia/Global Policy

For Regional Nations and International Community:

Stable Japan-USA relation: Key factor and Prerequisite

Balanced relations with China (Engagement)

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PRC and Naval Expansion

Rise of PRC as a Naval Power

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PRC wants Strong Navy

Beijing's rationale (Estimate)

- National sovereignty/Territorial integrity:
From Coastal Waters, EEZ to High Sea
- Economic growth:
Global capability at far distant waters
- Strategic Nuclear power:
Construction of own SSBN force
Protection of own SSBN
Prosecution of USN SSBN
- National prestige:
Multi purpose navy with global capability

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Thoughts-1

PRC/PLAN

Continue to expand

Force strength and Deployment area

Reality

New ambitious program vs. Many shortfalls

Poor self-representation (Political theater):

Sino-centrism (Egocentricity)

DNA of Land power?

Could get backfired someday in the future?

More responsive nation in international arena

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Thoughts-2

USA: Shadow-Bowing?

Don Quixote

Fight against windmill (Illusive threats)

Basic policy

Engage (Politics/Diplomacy)

Preparation for the worst (Military)

Shortfalls of PRC/PLAN=Achilles heels

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Thoughts-3

Key words

- Hainan island and South China Sea
New player: Vietnam
- String of Pearls
Indian Ocean and India
- Strategic Nuclear Arms
ASW in W-Pacific, S-China Sea and Indian Ocean
- AAAD: ASW and BMD
- Island chains
- Carrier program
- Area of Core National Interests

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Thoughts-4

Key Oceans and Seas for PRC

- S-China Sea and E-China Sea: ACNI
- Western Pacific
- Indian Ocean: Strategic Shipping Routes / SLOCs
 - Arabian Gulf
 - African Nations
 - Bangladesh and Myanmar (Bengal bay)
- Arctic Ocean:
 - Future Shortest Route between FE and Europe
 - SOJ-Bering Sea-Arctic Sea-European Waters
 - Seabed Oil
 - USA, Canada, Russia, Denmark, Norway

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Thoughts-5

USA, Japan and Australia

- Cool assessment of PRC/PLAN capability
- Review on
 - Strategy
 - Roles and Missions
 - Key:
 - Naval cooperation
 - in
 - W-PAC, S-C Sea and Indian Ocean

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Japan, Australia and USA



Cooperative posture to support U.S. Presence

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(5 Ms: Experience of Japan)

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5 Ms in Alliance: Japan, Australia and USA

	Japan-Australia	Australia-USA	Japan-USA
National Objective M atch	Yes	Yes	Yes
National Interest M atch	Yes	Yes	Yes
M utual Trust	Yes	Yes	Yes
M utual Respect	Yes	Yes	Yes
M ulti-dimensional Distance	N-S of Pacific Sea Control	NE-SW of PAC Sea Control	E-W of PAC Sea Control

Perfect Match: Single case in the World and History

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Value-added nature of Alliances

JPN-USA and AUS-USA

View points of USA (Estimate)

Geo-location

JPN and AUS

Midway between USA and Middle East/Indian Ocean

JPN : Gateway to Korean Peninsula and PRC

AUS: Gateway to Indian Ocean

US Global Strategy/Military Strategy

JPN and AUS

Unparalleled interoperability

JPN : Bases=Key nodes of U.S. Global/Asia Strategy

AUS: Nation of military action=Key nation

Member nation of USA/UK/AUS/CAN

5 Ms

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Summary (Naval Cooperation)

Naval Cooperation in Key Oceans and Seas

Western Pacific : USN+JMSDF (N)+RAN (S)

East China Sea : USN+JMSDF

Indian Ocean : USN+RAN

Arctic Ocean : USN+JMSDF

**South China Sea : New Framework for
Strategic Alignment
Roles and Missions Review**

South Ocean : RAN

Key New Navies:

Indian Navy and Vietnam Navy

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Japan, Australia and USA



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Vice-Admiral Yoji Koda served in the Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Force (JMSDF) for over 36 years. His appointments include almost every post associated with the development and command of the JMSDF, including those building the growing strategic relationships with Japan's ally, the United States and a range of other countries globally and in the Asia-Pacific. His most recent appointments, before his 2008 retirement, included Director-General of the influential Operations and Plans Department in the Maritime Staff Office in Tokyo, Commander Fleet Escort Force, Director-General of the Joint Staff Office, Commandant JMSDF Sasebo District, and Commander in Chief, Self Defense Fleet at Yokosuka. VADM Koda is a prolific writer on matters Maritime and Strategic, and has written and published a host of articles on Japanese military history and security in both his native language and English, many of them while still serving. He is a graduate of the USN Command College and the JSDF Defence Academy. As a Harvard Fellow, his work specifically focuses on the directions that the U.S.-Japan alliance may be taking in the next few decades and Chinese naval and military expansion. He is an erudite strategic thinker, particularly on the application of naval power, as well as being an engaging speaker. He has been closely involved in the developing Naval, maritime and strategic relationship between Australia and Japan. A regular visitor to Australia as participant in Navy-Navy Talks and now, in retirement a Harvard Senior, in Australia for a lecture tour sponsored by the RAN Seapower Centre.