

A Study of Japan Self Defense Force's Strategic Communication



Japan Air Self Defense Force
Colonel Toshimitsu INOUE

Disclaimer

The views, opinions, and proposals provided in this presentation are solely the presenter's own and thus do not represent the official positions of the Stimson Center, the Government of Japan, or the Japanese Ministry of Defense.

Agenda

- 1 Raise the problem
- 2 About Strategic Communication (SC)
- 3 About Japan Self Defense Force SC
- 4 Survey in the United States
- 5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US
- 6 Study of SC in the Indo-Pacific region

1 Raise the Problem (Okinawa US Base Problem)

Do you know about the Okinawa US Base Problem?

- 70% of US bases in Japan are on Okinawa, covering 15% of Okinawa
- Impression of US base problem in Japan = "Negative" image
- The scandals of the U.S. military in Japan tend to escalate to major problems ⇒ Protest demonstration, rally



Potential weakness of the Japan-US alliance



1 Raise the Problem (Okinawa US Base Problem)

< Simulation >

- 1 In the East Asian region, tensions between Japan and ●● over △△ are increasing
- 2 ●● takes the following actions to hinder US support

< Cyber attack on Okinawa Prefectural Government and Police >

- ⇒ Account takeover of prefectural office and police PR department
- ⇒ Press release of Fake News "American assaults woman"
- ⇒ Okinawa mass media broadcasting
- ⇒ Social confusion caused by protests demonstration and rally
- ⇒ Raising the antipathy of the Japanese against the US military
- ⇒ Dividing Japan and US = Obstacles to US military base operations

How should we deal with this situation that is not an act of war?



Japan-US joint SC response

1 Raise the Problem (China's current status quo change)

How should we deal with this situation?

Responding with Japan-US SC, Japan-US-Australia-India SC

Responding with SC with coastal countries with shared values



1 Raise the Problem (India-Pacific Region)

In the Indo-Pacific region,
Peacetime and Gray Zone SC is
important
SC in one country is insufficient

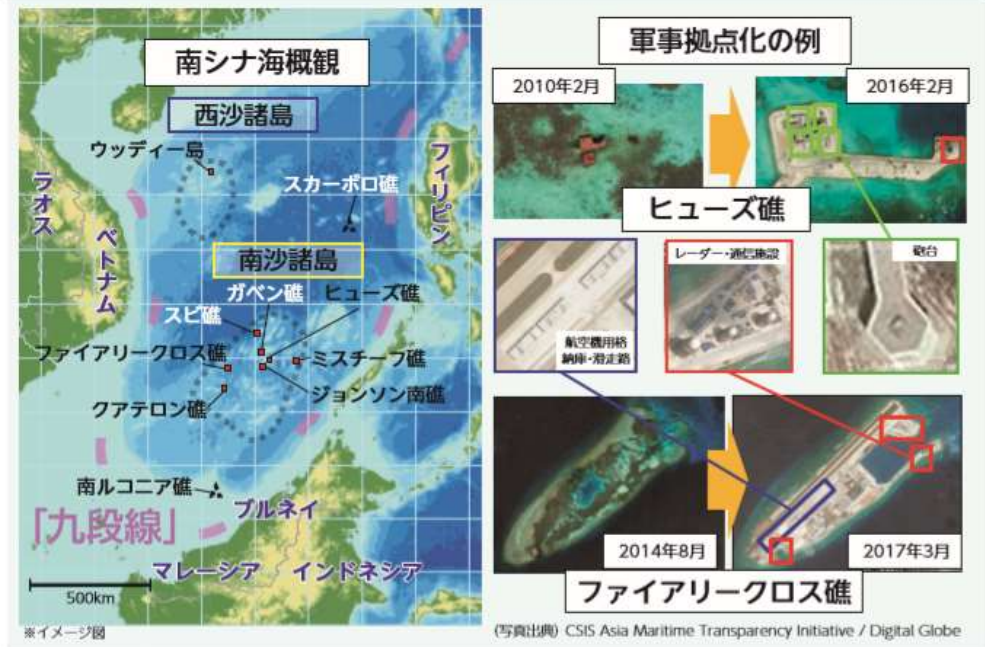
Japan-US joint SC
Multilateral cooperation SC

It is effective to lead this
region by Japan-US joint effort

Japanese SC is still developing
JSDF SC needs to be stronger
JSDF need US military support



図表 I-2-2-7 中国による南沙諸島の地形開発 (イメージ)



2 About SC (Definition)

国名	定義
USA(SC) ※1	Focused United States Government efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen, or preserve conditions favorable for the advancement of United States Government interests, policies, and objectives through the use of coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages, and products synchronized with the actions of all instruments of national power.
USA(CCS) ※2	A process to coordinate and synchronize narratives, themes, messages, images, operations, and actions to ensure their integrity and consistency to the lowest tactical level across all relevant communication activities.
UK(SC) ※3	Advancing national interests by using Defense as a means of communication to influence the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of audiences .
NATO(SC) ※4	The integration of communication capabilities and information staff function with other military activities, in order to understand and shape the Information Environment , in support of NATO aims and objectives .

※1 : Joint

※3 : Joint

※4 : Military

There is no definition of SC in Japan

2 About SC (Points of focus in this research)

< Common point of each definition >

- 1 Achieve the ends set **for national interest**
- 2 **All communication skills are the means**
- 3 **Military power is important means**
- 4 It is essential **to influence the audience**

< Common intent in each countries >

▪ Narratives, Credibility, Assessment

< Items to be implemented in this research >

- 1 Study of JSDF SC approach
- 2 Investigation and analysis of SC in US and US military
- 3 About future JSDF SC
- 4 Study of SC in the Indo-Pacific region

< The focus of this research >

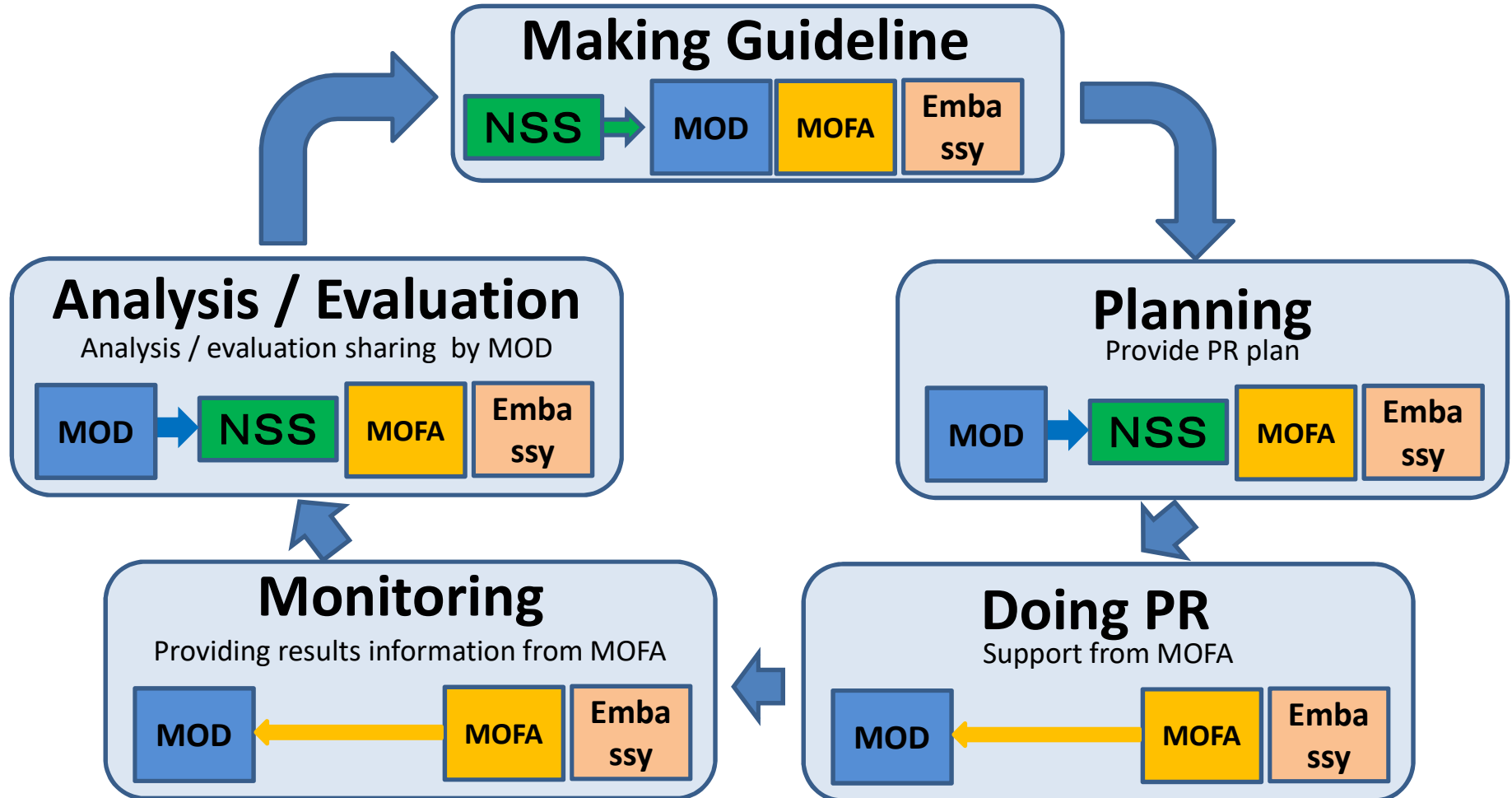
① Ends/Aim ② Audience ③ Means

✕ Narratives, Credibility, Assessment

Opinions from everyone will be reflected in future research

3 JSDF SC(SC CYCLE)

“Strategic communication” in the “National Defense Program Guidelines”
The NSS is leading the efforts for effective PR



This cycle is effective

3 JSDF SC (Case Study)

<C-2 exhibition at the Paris Air Show>

JASDF 航空自衛隊 報道発表資料
(お知らせ) 令和元年6月7日 航空自衛隊 広報部

C-2による国外運航訓練の実施について

標記について、次のとおり実施するのとお知らせします。

1. 目的
欧州、中近東方面等における航空路及び地域特性を把握するとともに、輸送機（C-2）運航要員の国外任務遂行能力の向上を図る。
2. 期間
令和元年6月9日（日）～6月26日（水）
3. 目的飛行場
(1) シェムリアップ国際空港（シェムリアップ/カンボジア王国）
(2) アブダビ空軍基地（アブダビ/アラブ首長国連邦）
(3) ル・ブルジェ空港（パリス/フランス共和国）
4. 参加部隊等
(1) 部隊
航空支援集団 第3輸送航空隊
(2) 規模
ア C-2×1機 約15名（ル・ブルジェ空港）
イ C-2×1機 約15名（アブダビ空軍基地）
5. その他
アブダビ空軍基地等においてアラブ首長国連邦空軍等と部隊間交流を実施するとともに、ル・ブルジェ空港においてパリス国際航空ショーに参加し、フランス空軍等の他参加国空軍等との部隊間交流を実施する。

JASDF 航空自衛隊 報道発表資料
(Press Release) June 7, 2019 Koko-Janta

Flight training abroad by C-2

This is to inform that the above will be implemented as follows.

1. Purpose
Ascertaining flight routes and regional characteristics in the Europe and Middle and New East areas, the Koko-Janta (ASDF) will improve the ability of transport aircraft (C-2) operating personnel to perform missions outside Japan.
2. Periods
June 9 (Sun) to June 26 (Wed), 2019
3. Destinations
a. Siem Reap International Airport (Siem Reap/Kingdom of Cambodia)
b. Abu Dhabi Air Base (Abu Dhabi/United Arab Emirates)
c. Le Bourget Airport (Paris/French Republic)
4. Participating Units and others
a. Participating unit
Air Support Command, 3rd Tactical Airlift Wing
b. Number of participants
A C-2, about 15 people (Le Bourget Airport)
A C-2, about 15 people (Abu Dhabi Air Base)
5. Remarks
Participating units will exchange between units with UAE Air Force and others at Abu Dhabi Air Base and so on. In addition, participation in "33rd International Paris Air Show at Le Bourget Airport" and exchanges between units with the French Air Force and other participating Air Forces.

防衛省 航空自衛隊 @JASDF_FAO

『C-2による国外運航訓練の実施について』令和元年6月9日（日）～6月26日（水）、航空支援集団 第3輸送航空隊は、C-2による国外運航訓練を実施します。
mod.go.jp/asdf/news/houd...
#C2 #訓練



1:58 · 2019年6月7日

防衛省 航空自衛隊さんがリツイート
航空自衛隊美保基地 @MIHO_AB · 6月17日
いよいよですね!!
aviationwire.jp/archives/175802
#航空自衛隊 #美保基地 #パリエアショー #C2 #P1



国産最大のC-2輸送機、パリ航空ショー初参加 P-1と...
aviationwire.jp

6 216 1,170

MIHO Air Base Twitter

JASDF Press Release (Japanese / English)

JASDF Twitter

JASDF Japan Air Self-Defense Force

航空自衛隊 Japan Air Self-Defense Force @jasdf.pao

6月17日から、#防衛省・自衛隊 は、C-2輸送機及びP-1哨戒機(P-1は6月18日まで)を #パリ国際航空宇宙ショー に出展しています。C-2輸送機クルーは #フラン



1,059 11 comments 22 shares

JASDF Twitter

防衛省 航空自衛隊さんがリツイート
防衛省・自衛隊 @ModJapan_jp · 6月20日
6月17日から、#防衛省・自衛隊 は、C-2輸送機及びP-1哨戒機(P-1は6月18日まで)を #パリ国際航空宇宙ショー に出展しています。C-2輸送機クルーは #フラン



Ambassade Japon FRさんと Ministère des Arméesさん

MOD Twitter

Ambassadeur Masato Kitera @AmbMasatoKitera · 6月18日
SALON de BOURGET
La Force Aérienne d'Autodéfense du Japon présente son avion de transport C-2. Sa capacité d'emport et son autonomie sont remarquables. J'ai salué tous les membres de l'équipage qui sont venus de loin.



Japan Ministry of Defense/Self-Defense Forces

France Ambassador Twitter

Effective SC?

3 JSDF SC (Case Study)

<C-2 exhibition at the Paris Air Show>

ENDS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Dispatching C-2 to Paris Air Show⇒ <u>Show Japan's technological capabilities to the world</u>⇒ <u>Strengthen relations with the French and their troops</u>
MEANS	Press conference, posting on website, SNS, PR from overseas diplomatic missions
RESULTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ SNS response is average▪ No coverage by major Japanese mass media (reported on web news)▪ No mass media interest in JASDF website▪ Self-promotion in Oman. (USA: Flight Global, Pioneer Aviation Insight, Air Recognition)

Problems in effective SC

- ① Ends and Audience: match?
- ② Audience: Japanese? World?
- ③ Means: effective?



3 JSDF SC (Case Study)

Ends: Tends to be ambiguous

- To consider public opinion
- To care about likability
- Ends become unclear
- The viewpoint of national interest also fades



What about C2 can be used in the conflicts?

Q. 紛争に加担する懸念はないか

In the case of the Paris Air Show

Ends: Selling C-2 = Very easy to understand

Background: Experience at Dubai Air Show = Negative coverage

→ JSDF becomes cautious about setting the Ends

● Japanese people:

WWII defeat + miserable experience + SCAP(GHQ) → Aversion to war and military

● Mass media:

Sales increased by reporting on the war, but after the war, they thoroughly criticized the war and the military. Some mass media are still in this trend.

● Academia / Research:

Military research is a taboo. "I do not cooperate with war" "I am against peace"

3 JSDF SC (Case Study)

Audience : To whom does JSDF carry out SC?

→JSDF always cares about public opinion

→Audience should be nonspecific

In the case of Paris Air Show

**Audience : European and Middle Eastern military personnel
(equipment sector) and military equipment companies**

Means : Necessary information has not been sent in the right way at the right time

→JSDF always uses the same tools for wide coverage

→We have to think again because the age of 5G, AI, and big data is coming!

In the case of Paris Air Show

Means : Provide C-2 activity video = It is not transmitted only by exhibition



3 JSDF SC (Organization Problem)

< Organizational problems related to SC of the JSDF >

- **Organizational issues**

There is no consistency in the SC activities

- **Human resource and education issues**

Shortage of human resources familiar with SC

Shortage of public relations specialists

Lack of educational institutions = Self-study

- **Issues of cooperation with mass media**

Lack of understanding of mass media

Limited cooperation with reporters

- **Issues of lack of strategic thinking**

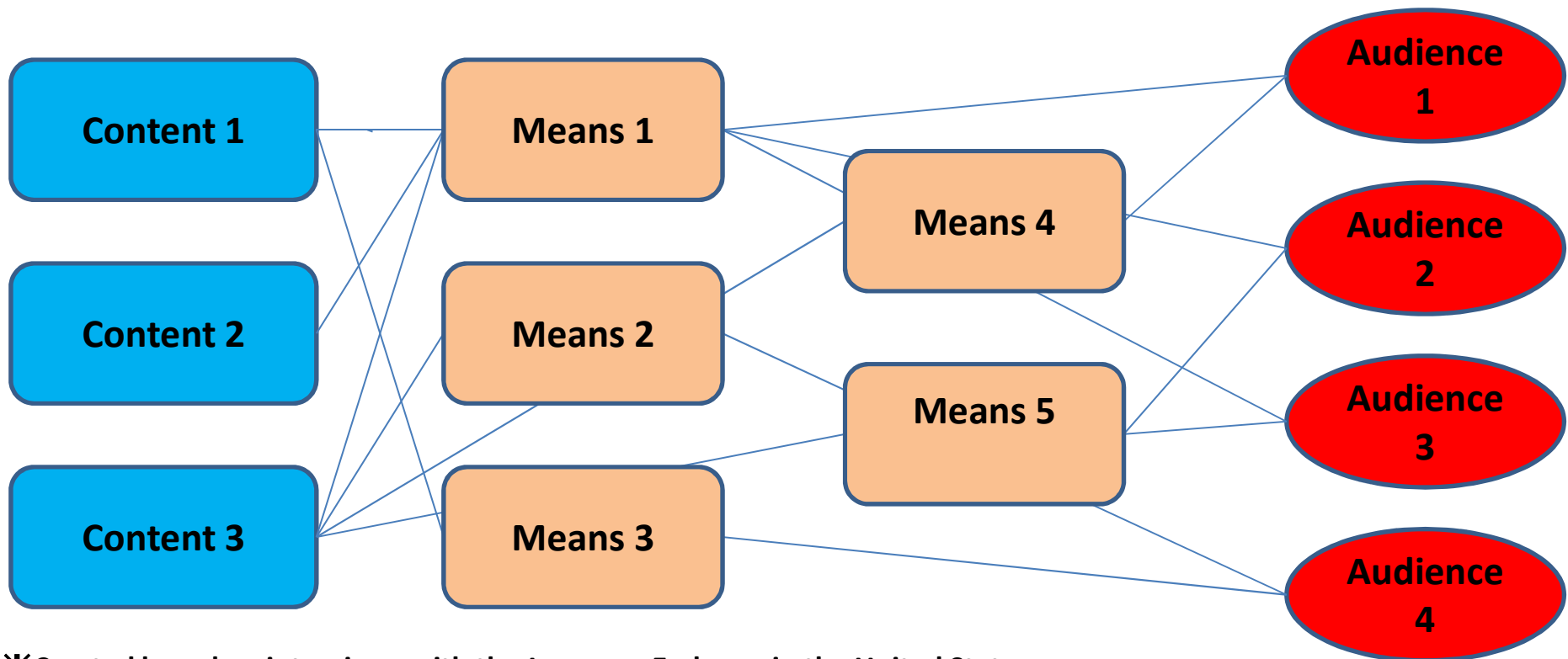
Lack of global and long-term thinking

4 Survey in the United States

WHAT IS OUR GOAL?

Different types of messages, different types of programs, identifying audiences, what type of thinking goes into deciding the content

➔ **Strategy at a multi-layered level is necessary.**



※Created based on interviews with the Japanese Embassy in the United States

4 Survey in the United States

<How Americans get news>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

	In the US, TV is effective for Elderly generations				
18-29	SNS is effective for Younger generations				
30-49					
50-64	Internet is effective for Middle generations				
65+					

<How Japanese get quick (accurate) news>

MIC 2018

	TV	Internet	Radio	Magazine	Newspaper
Average	45.3(55.2)	59.7(21.6)	1.9(1.5)	0.1(0.1)	3.3(18.9)
20-29	28.2(50.2)	69.9(33.0)	0.5(0.5)	0(0.5)	0.5(11.5)
30-40	Internet has more demand than newspapers				
50-59	53.3(58.1)	41.5(15.6)	1.5(2.2)	0(0)	3.7(21.9)
60+	69.9(58.9)	23.7(8.4)	1.7(1.3)	0(0)	4.0(28.4)

※“Created based on interviews with the Japanese Embassy in the United States and own research”

4 Survey in the United States

< Media confidence in political news >

	Newspaper	Radio	TV	Internet	Magazine	SNS
USA ※1	70.3	69.0	66.8	57.5	56.6	35.3
JAPAN ※2	85.4	83.2	81.5	63.1	34.4	31.7

※1 Japan Press Research Institute , " Public opinion survey on media in other countries, Feb 2017" (in Japanese)

※2 Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2018 (MIC 2018)

The reliability of newspapers and TV is high in Japan and US

< Reliability of Internet news in Japan >

MIC 2018

2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
74.4	74.8	73.6	69.0	70.7	65.9	63.1

Internet reliability in Japan is declining

※Created based on interviews with the Japanese Embassy in the United States and own research

4 Survey in the United States

<Information communication media usage in US> PEW RESEARCH CENTER

	Facebook	Twitter	Instagram	YouTube	LinkedIn	Snapchat
Average	69	22	37	73	27	24
18-29	79					62
30-49	79					25
50-64	68	17	22	70	24	9
65+	46					3

In the US, Facebook is effective

In Japan, Line is effective

<Information communication media usage in JAPAN>

MIC 2018

	Facebook	Twitter	Instagram	YouTube	Line	TikTok
Average						10
-19	17	67	58	92	88	39
20-29	47	76	63	93	96	21
30-39						8
40-49						7
50-59	29	25	24	75	85	5
60+						

In Japan and US, YouTube is effective

Japan and US should pay attention to Instagram from now

In the future, images and videos will be effective

4 Survey in the United States

<About SC (Ends, Audience, Means)>

Items	Important Matter
Definition	Joint Publications ⇒Consistency across organizations
Ends settings	Purposes that emphasize national interests Synchronization with NSC guidance Clarity that can be understood without misunderstanding
Audience setting	Focus on Audience ⇒Public opinion and news media are not always Audience
Choice of Ways/Means	Premise that content can be transmitted by any means Limited effectiveness of official government information ⇒Building relationships with influential news media, etc.
Narr	
Fake	
Cou	
Ab	
TV, Newspaper	⇔Policy makers responding by TV and newspaper

There are many reference points such as
Definition, Ends and Audience Setting, Ways/Means

※Created based on interviews with US military

4 Survey in the United States

<About SC (Organization, Human Resources)>

Items	Important Matter
SC Organization	Integration of various functions across services, departments Detail is determined by a set of functions according to situation ⇔ The responsibility should be clarified in Japan.
SC human resource development	General education for officers engaged in SC Professional education tailored to the level at DINFOS University degree in communication field Private program (workshops, seminars, and online)

It is necessary to change the organization for Japanese

<About SC in the Indo-Pacific region>

Items	Important Matter
SC in the Indo-Pacific region	US-Japan Joint SC is important Limitation of response by one country alone Paying attention to the existence of countries with different censorship and control systems

US-Japan Joint SC, Multilateral Cooperation SC is important

4 Survey in the United States

<About the support for the American military>

Items	Important Matters
Overcoming the trend of hating war after the Vietnam War and Iraq War	<p>Continuation of military PR to the public</p> <p>Matters that influenced US military support</p> <p>① Decreased interest in the military due to changes from recruitment to volunteering</p> <p>② Understanding America's position as a global leader due to the end of the Cold War</p> <p>③ Extended support for “first responders” after 9.11.</p> <p>⇒ Due to various factors, people's military support is strong</p> <p>= Clear Ends setting of SC</p> <p>⇔ Recent ambiguous activities of the US military</p> <p>= Not optimistic in the future</p> <p>※ How do we leverage the good image of JSDF in 90% of the public?</p>

Determine the situation in Japan with reference to the US military
Now that understanding of the Self-Defense Forces has advanced
= JSDF explain

※ Created based on interviews with US military, US citizen

5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US (Ends)

1 Creation of SC doctrine

- **Definition of SC** = Premises that the NSC and other ministries and agencies share the same definition
- Strategy and planning from a long-term perspective

2 Clear Ends Setting

- **Prioritizing national interests** and setting military Ends
- JSDF explain from a professional point of view as a military expert
- ✘ **Adapting to the Multidimensional Defense Capabilities**

3 Eliminating Japanese military aversion with reference to the US

- Continue public relations activities
- **JSDF improve public understanding of military**
- **Cooperation with the mass media**
- Reduce the need to explain everything to the public

JSDF claims its place as a military expert!

5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US (Audience)

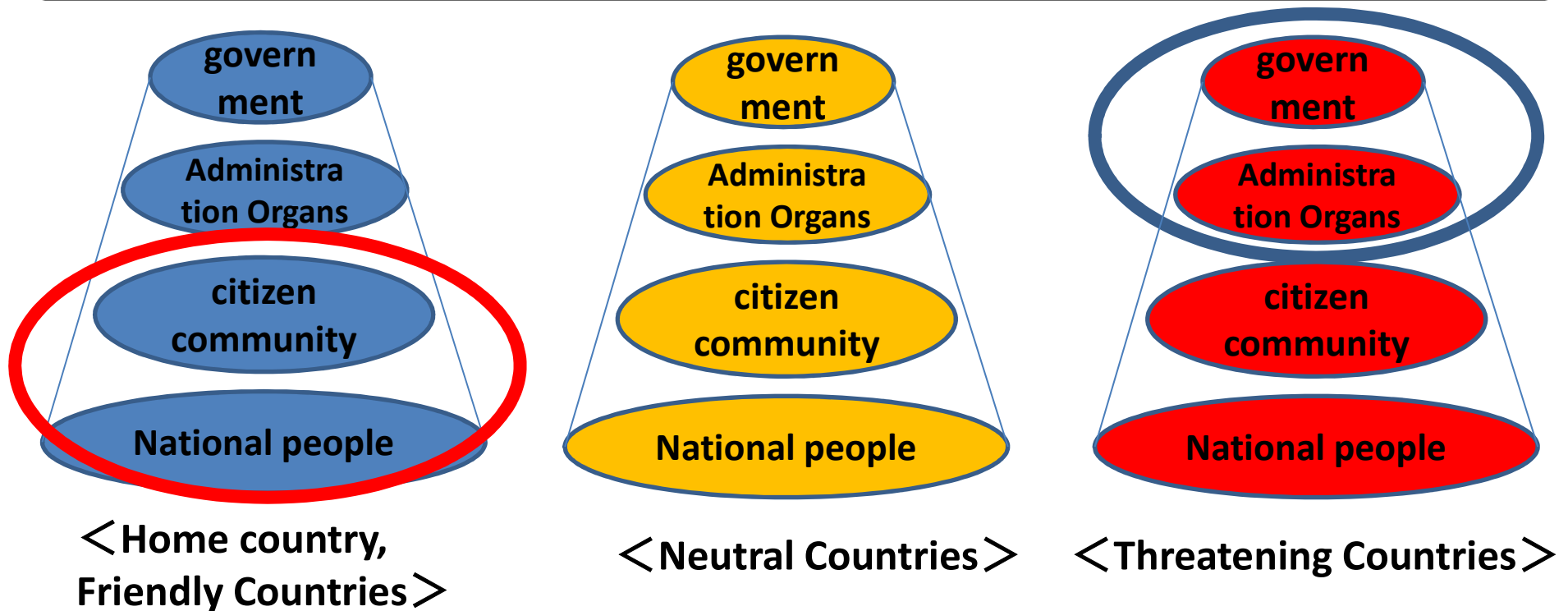
1 Setting **Audience for Ends**

→The explanation to Japanese is not mandatory. Case by Case

→Distinguish between SC and PR

2 Setting Audience Range in **Consideration of Impact and Effect**

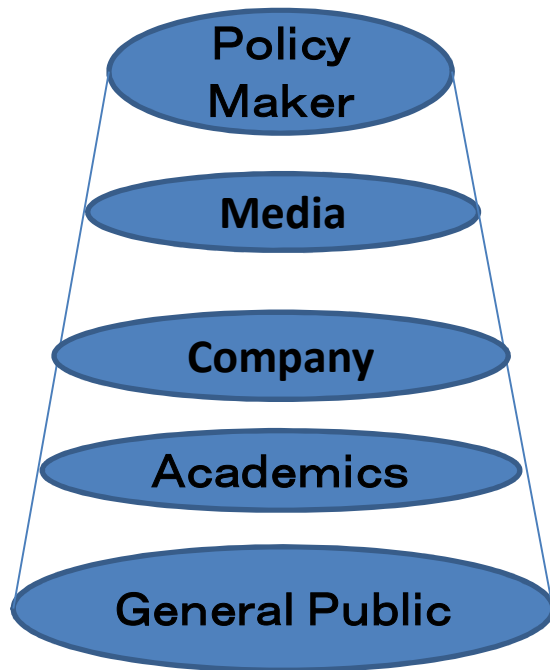
→Sometimes squeezed, sometimes widened



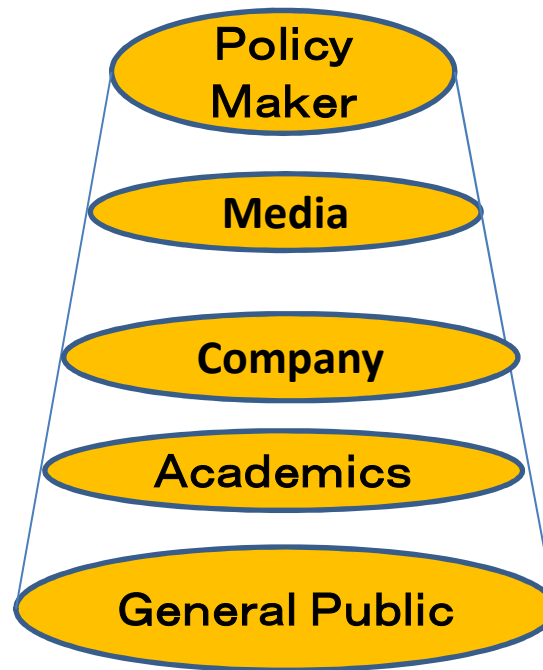
5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US (Audience)

3 Diverse Audience Concepts

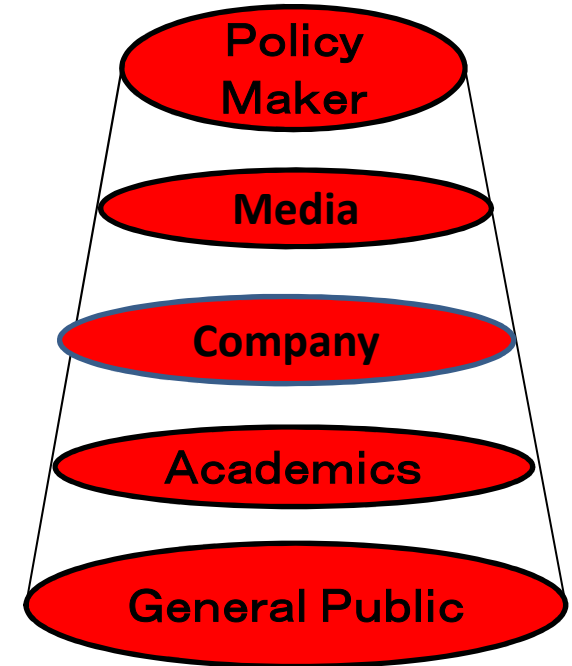
→ In addition to the previous slide,
prepare various models as shown below



< Home country,
Friendly Countries >



< Neutral Countries >



< Threatening Countries >

5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US (Means)

1 Selection of **appropriate Means**

→ For Domestic? International? Threatened Country?

Bloomberg

日本国民にさらに警告を、中国の軍事的脅威が増大 – 米軍当局者

Further warning to the Japanese people! China's military threat increases.

Isabel Keyholds 2019/10/21 17:44

by US military officials



Statements by U.S. officials tend to make headlines in Japan

4 Consideration of the peculiarities of Japan

→ **Narrative is necessary for JSDF**

✕ In the US, reporters make narratives and the public judges.

In Japan, **JSDF create and provide narratives**

→ **Reverse import of information from overseas**

5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US (Means)

5 Dissemination of military matters (Japan-US joint exercises, etc.)
→ Action and PR **with US forces** and **the military of other countries that share common values**

✕ In Japan (America) alone, SC is not effective

6 SC Organization

Establish an integrated support organization within MOD

→ It is more effective to clarify the responsibility

7 SC human resource development

Refer to Defense Information School (DINFOS)

→ Independent of individual capabilities

→ Education support, US military training, SC personnel exchange

8 Outsourcing

→ Utilization of private sector power for future video era

→ Utilization of private sector power for evaluation

→ Overseas information dissemination: hiring of local civilians

9 Continuation of research: SC changes with the times

5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US

◎ Immediately improve the JSDF's SC capability

※ There are many conceptual issues such as change of awareness.

Although there are issues that require time such as human resource development, not many need a large budget.

→ Possibility of quick SC capacity improvement

※ Important thing is whether or not there is a will of change

◎ U.S.-Japan joint effort to improve JSDF SC capabilities

※ In addition to joint exercise, joint PR, JSDF will improve the SC capabilities quickly by conducting training with US troops, educational support by US military, and SC personnel exchanges.

◎ Expand improved SC capability to Indo-Pacific region

※ US and Japan will expand the SC capability improved by US-Japan joint efforts to Southeast Asia countries through capacity building.

→ Multilateral cooperation SC

6 Considerations of SC in the Indo – Pacific region

< Simulation >

- 1 In the East Asian region, tensions between Japan and ●● over △△ are increasing
- 2 ●● takes the following actions to hinder US support

< Cyber attack on Okinawa Prefectural Government and Police >

- ⇒ Account takeover of prefectural office and police PR department
- ⇒ Press release of fake news “American assaults woman”
- ⇒ Okinawa mass media broadcasting
- ⇒ Social confusion caused by protest demonstration and rally
- ⇒ Raising the antipathy of the Japanese against the US military
- ⇒ Dividing Japan and US = Obstacles to US military base operations

How should we deal with this situation that is not an act of war?



Japan-US joint SC response

6 Considerations of SC in the Indo – Pacific region

**1 Ends : To remove “negative” image of US military among Japanese
Countermeasures against fake news**

2 Audience : Japanese nationals

**3 Means : US-Japan joint PR (in peacetime and emergency)
(peacetime)→JSDF provide narratives to Newspapers and TV
→JSDF provide narrative to Internet
→Reverse import information by US military PR in the US
(emergency)→Fake news is quickly coordinated between Japan and
the United States, and accurate information with
credibility is sent simultaneously from both sides.**



Most Japanese don't know the exchange between the US military and the local community and the volunteer activities of the US military.

6 Considerations of SC in the Indo – Pacific region

How should we deal with this situation?

Responding with Japan-US SC, Japan-US-Australia-India SC

Responding with SC with coastal countries with shared values

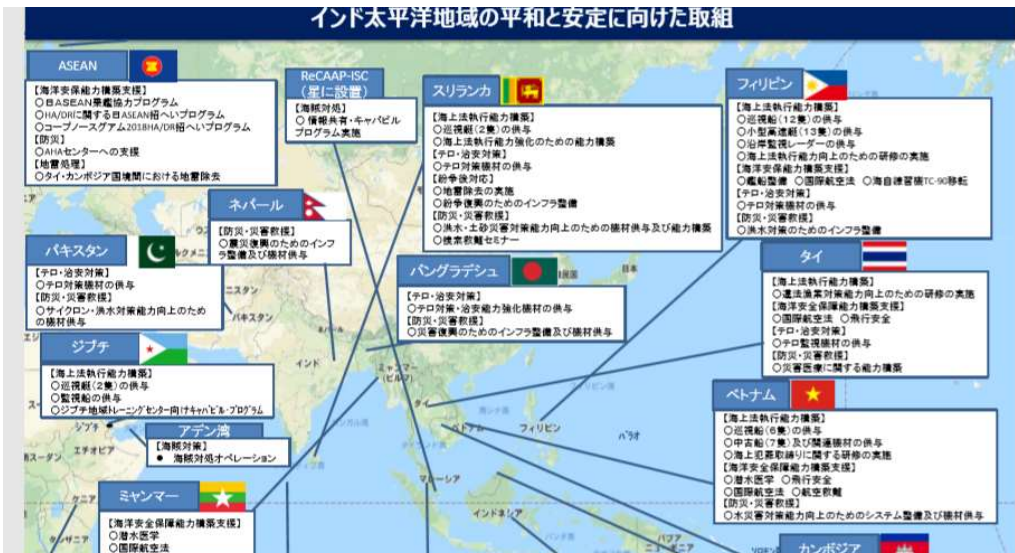


6 Considerations of SC in the Indo – Pacific region

1 Ends: Upset China by FOIP

2 Audience: Chinese Communist Party

3 Means: ① Strong support for US "Operation Freedom of Navigation"
② Strategic port call
③ Continuation of joint naval exercises in the Indo-Pacific



US-Japan-Australia-India-coastal countries SC is important

Use of "Youtube" may reach young people in China, where information control is strict

6 Considerations of SC in the Indo – Pacific region

Rapid improvement of JSDF SC
▪ Efforts by JSDF
▪ Cooperation with US military

**Capacity building in SC field by
Japan and US jointly
in Indo-Pacific region**

**Japan-US joint SC
Multilateral cooperation SC**

**Enhancing deterrence in this region
Deepening the Japan-US alliance
Promotion of multilateral security**



図表 1-2-2-7 中国による南沙諸島の地形開発 (イメージ)

