A Study of Japan Self Defense Force’s Strategic Communication

Japan Air Self Defense Force
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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.
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.
# About SC (Definition)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>国名</th>
<th>定義</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA(SC) ※1</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA(CCS) ※2</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK(SC) ※3</td>
<td>Advancing national interests by using Defense as a means of communication to influence the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of audiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO(SC) ※4</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

※1: Joint Publication 3-61 25 August 2010  
※2: Joint Doctrine Note 2-13 16 December 2013  
※3: Joint Doctrine Note 2/19 Defense Strategic Communication April 2019  
※4: Military Committee 0628 NATO Military Policy on Strategic Communication May 2017
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
“Strategic communication” in the “National Defense Program Guidelines”
The NSS is leading the efforts for effective PR

Making Guideline

Analysis / Evaluation
Analysis / evaluation sharing by MOD

Planning
Provide PR plan

Monitoring
Providing results information from MOFA

This cycle is effective
3 JSDF SC (Case Study)

*C-2 exhibition at the Paris Air Show*

**Effectiveness SC?**
### 3 JSDF SC (Case Study)

#### C-2 exhibition at the Paris Air Show

| ENDS           | • Dispatching C-2 to Paris Air Show  
|                | ⇒ Show Japan's technological capabilities to the world  
|                | ⇒ Strengthen relations with the French and their troops |
| MEANS          | Press conference, posting on website, SNS, PR from overseas diplomatic missions |
| RESULTS        | • SNS response is average  
|                | • No coverage by major Japanese mass media (reported on web news)  
|                | • No mass media interest in JASDF website  
|                | • Selected by some mass media in USA, France, UK, Brazil, Oman. (USA: Flight Global Pioneering 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

**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
# Survey in the United States

### How Americans get news

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>45.3(55.2)</td>
<td>59.7(31.6)</td>
<td>1.0(1.5)</td>
<td>0.1(0.1)</td>
<td>2.3(18.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>28.2(50.2)</td>
<td>69.9(33.0)</td>
<td>0.5(0.5)</td>
<td>0(0.5)</td>
<td>0.5(11.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>53.3(58.1)</td>
<td>41.5(15.6)</td>
<td>1.5(2.2)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>3.7(21.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>69.9(58.9)</td>
<td>23.7(8.4)</td>
<td>1.7(1.3)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>4.0(28.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the US, TV is effective for Elderly generations. SNS is effective for Younger generations. Internet is effective for Middle generations.

### How Japanese get quick (accurate) news

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>28.2(50.2)</td>
<td>69.9(33.0)</td>
<td>0.5(0.5)</td>
<td>0(0.5)</td>
<td>0.5(11.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>33.9(51.8)</td>
<td>65(30.4)</td>
<td>0.4(2.3)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>0.8(14.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>40.1(51.2)</td>
<td>54.9(23.5)</td>
<td>1.2(1.5)</td>
<td>0.3(0)</td>
<td>2.2(19.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>53.3(58.1)</td>
<td>41.5(15.6)</td>
<td>1.5(2.2)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>3.7(21.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>69.9(58.9)</td>
<td>23.7(8.4)</td>
<td>1.7(1.3)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>4.0(28.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Japan, TV and internet are effective for all generations. Internet has more demand than newspapers.

※“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>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>Internet</th>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>SNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAPAN</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>83.2</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

※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>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2017</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>74.8</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Facebook</th>
<th>Twitter</th>
<th>Instagram</th>
<th>YouTube</th>
<th>LinkedIn</th>
<th>Snapchat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In the US, Facebook is effective*

### Information communication media usage in JAPAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Facebook</th>
<th>Twitter</th>
<th>Instagram</th>
<th>YouTube</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>TikTok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>83</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In Japan, Line is effective*

*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)>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Important Matter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Definition</td>
<td><strong>Joint Publications</strong> ⇒ Consistency across organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ends settings</td>
<td>Purposes that <strong>emphasize national interests</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Synchronization with NSC <strong>guidance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Clarity</strong> that can be understood without misunderstanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience setting</td>
<td><strong>Focus on Audience</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>⇒ Public opinion and news media are not always Audience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice of Ways/Means</td>
<td>Premise that content can be transmitted by any means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited effectiveness of official government information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>⇒ Building relationships with influential news media, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Narrative

Fake News, Countermeasures

Abandonment of TV, Newspaper = Utilization of video

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))

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

It is necessary to change the organization for Japanese

### (About SC in the Indo-Pacific region)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Important Matter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SC in the Indo-Pacific region</td>
<td>US-Japan Joint SC is important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limitation of response by one country alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paying attention to the existence of countries with different censorship and control systems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

US-Japan Joint SC, Multilateral Cooperation SC is important
### Survey in the United States

**<About the support for the American military>**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Creation of SC doctrine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td><strong>Definition of SC</strong> = Premises that the NSC and other ministries and agencies share the same definition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td><strong>Strategy and planning from a long-term perspective</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>Clear Ends Setting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td><strong>Prioritizing national interests</strong> and setting military Ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td>JSDF explain from a professional point of view as a military expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td>※Adapting to the Multidimensional Defense Capabilities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3</th>
<th>Eliminating Japanese military aversion with reference to the US</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td>Continue public relations activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td>JSDF improve public understanding of military</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td>Cooperation with the mass media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>➔</td>
<td>Reduce the need to explain everything to the public</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

Home country, Friendly Countries

Neutral Countries

Threatening Countries
In addition to the previous slide, prepare various models as shown below:

- **Home country, Friendly Countries**
  - Policy Maker
  - Media
  - Company
  - Academics
  - General Public

- **Neutral Countries**
  - Policy Maker
  - Media
  - Company
  - Academics
  - General Public

- **Threatening Countries**
  - Policy Maker
  - Media
  - Company
  - Academics
  - General Public

※Created based on interviews with the Japanese Embassy in the United States
5 About Future JSDF SC with reference to US (Means)

1 Selection of appropriate Means
   → For Domestic? International? Threatened Country?

2 Ensure timely communication tools
   → Be responsive to effectively impact Audience

3 Pursuing communication tools for the future
   → Adapting to the Internet and SNS
   → Adapting to the world of data supremacy in the 5G era
   ※ Preparing for video content is essential
   → Considering the use of newspapers and TV for the time being

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

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

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

   - 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


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