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14. ABSTRACT The purpose of this research is to determine Japan's strategic, political, and economic impacts if Japan has a conventional military force versus a Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF) within the Asia-Pacific region. Japan perceives the increasing security dilemma as a threat to Japan's national security. Because Japan feels threatened by its neighbors and wants to increase its military, force to be more offensive rather than defensive to restore an Offense/Defense balance. Allowing the Japanese Self-Defense Force to possess an offensive capability goes against the constitution written in 1947. Therefore, the Constitution needs revision to allow Japan access to conduct offensive operations while defending itself. Japan needs the capability to assist other Asia-Pacific countries as well as their own for future HA/DR missions. The Constitution needs revised allowing Japan access to conduct offensive operations while defending themselves against any threat. After revising Japan's Constitution allowing them to conduct offensive operations, the United States still needs a forward presence within the Asia-Pacific region. Japan provides the United States the best strategic location to remain our Military force within the Asia-Pacific region.					
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United States Marine Corps
Command and Staff College
Marine Corps University
2076 South Street
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068

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The Future Japanese Self Defense Force and the Implications

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AUTHOR:

Major Jeff Horne

AY 14-15

Mentor and Oral Defense Committee Member: Paul D. Gault

Approved: [Signature]

Date: 27 April 2015

Oral Defense Committee Member: Francis Marlo

Approved: [Signature]

Date: 27 April 2015

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Introduction

This year 2015, marks the 70th anniversary of Japan's surrender to the United States, which resulted in the end of Second World War. As such, it has been seven decades since Japan has had an offensive military force. With tensions rising in the Asia- Pacific region, a security dilemma exists between Japan and other Asia Pacific countries. "Japan has taken on a greater international role, within the past decade, it has established a national security, sent forces to Iraq and Kuwait, deployed to peacekeeper missions in South Sudan and Haiti, participated in Operation Enduring Freedom in the Indian Ocean all while the risks and dangers both in the Asia Pacific and across the Globe."¹ Japan has demonstrated its limited military capabilities of assisting and collaborating with other countries while balancing their own security dilemma. Japan's security dilemma stems from the perception of an Offense/Defense imbalance between Japan and its neighbors specifically China and North Korea. Japan perceives the increasing security dilemma as a threat to Japan's national security. Because Japan feels threatened by its neighbors and wants to increase its military, force to be more offensive rather than defensive to restore an Offense/Defense balance.

The purpose of this research is to determine Japan's strategic, political, and economic impacts if Japan has a conventional military force versus a Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF) within the Asia-Pacific region. To examine these impacts, current Foreign Affairs Officers based in Japan analyzed the current tension among Japan's antagonistic neighbors within the region. Additionally, Japan's National Security Strategy, signed on December 17, 2013, is the baseline to identify future military requirements. Finally, the Constitution of Japan signed on May 3, 1947 with proposed modifications and recommendations, including National Security Objectives, by Japanese leadership are used. The strategic impacts of Japan increasing its JSDF

¹ John Kerry, *Kerry at a Luncheon with Japanese Prime Minister Abe*, Washington D.C. (28 April 2015), 2.

into a conventional military force will affect the credibility of the Japanese government within the region and the role the United States will have as Japan's ally. The argument is that the United States will need to maintain a military presence in Japan even after they have an offensive capability due to the strategic location of Japan and for the U.S. to maintain a forward presence within the Asia-Pacific region.

Within the past few years, Japan has increased its maritime capability to mirror the United States Marine Corps, by focusing on sizeable units with Marine Expeditionary Unit (MEU) capabilities. Due to the increased security dilemma in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan may well seek to amend its Constitution to include a robust conventional force. Although this force will protect Japan's National security interests, it has potential to increase existing tensions between Japan and its neighbors.

Historical Background

After Japan's unconditional surrender at the end of War World II, the United States forced Japan to revise its constitution, disbanding all military forces and key positions of military leaders. In 1947, the United States forced Japan to adhere to the current Constitution and defense policy, which included Article 9 of the United States Security Treaty. Article 9 states, "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes."² The Treaty Cooperation Agreement ensures Japan will never again have an offensive military capability and only allowing them to have a defense force for internal security. The defense force can respond to internal treats to Japan and natural disasters. Since that time, the United States has based military forces within

²Congressional Research Service Report, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan *The U.S.-Japan Alliance* (12 Dec 2013), 17.

Japan to provide a force of readiness against any threat within the Asia-Pacific Region. These forces provide a presence per the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA).

Until recently, the Japanese have only discussed minimal modifications or changes to the Constitution mainly Article 9. However, due to rising threats within the Asia-Pacific region, Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is now recommending potential modifications to the Constitution, which would allow the Japanese to increase the size of the Japanese Self-Defense Force. Prime Minister Abe argues the need for a larger Self-Defense Force in order to continue peace, stability, and Japan's prosperity within Asia-Pacific region. Japan's new National Security Policy and National Security objectives recommend that Japan increase its Japan Self-Defense Force capabilities within the next decade. However, due to Japan's pre-World War II history with a strong military, the Asia-Pacific region and the rest of the world do not want to allow Japan to increase its Self-Defense Force. However, due to the ever-changing threat within the Asia-Pacific region and the world, Japan is going to need to increase the size of the Self-Defense Force. Logically Japan wants to develop a conventional military, which will allow it to increase its roles and responsibilities and to equipment its forces to support the ever-changing threat within the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan's limitations within the Asia-Pacific Region

Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has proposed changes to the Constitution especially Article 9 that could significantly influence the Asia-Pacific region and the future of the alliance between the United States and Japan.

Currently Japan's Constitution and Article 9 states, "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling

international disputes will never be maintained.”³ According to Professor Wilborn, at the urging of the United States, the Japan Defense Agency and Self-Defense Forces were created on 1 July 1954 due to threat against Japan.”⁴ During that year, Japan established the Ground Self-Defense forces (GSDF), Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF), and the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF). Since then the Self-Defense force has grown and improved its capabilities. However, as of 2014, Abe proposed to revise Article 9 to state, “main event of the constitutional amendment. Japan already has large, well-equipped Ground, Sea, and Air Self-Defense Forces (the SDF), so the amendment is not so much about having a military but using it. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) would preserve some of the language about international peace, but would otherwise completely rewrite it, starting with changing the title. The title would be, “National Defense Force.”⁵ Under Abe’s propose changes he Japanese Self-Defense Force would become a “National Defense Force” under the command of the Prime Minister and could be deployed for a variety of purposes, including offensive operations in defense of the people of Japan and international peacekeeping missions. Abe is also proposing within Chapter II, Article 9 of the Constitution that, “the Japanese can anticipate the creation of rules protecting national security and establishing military courts.”⁶ The Japanese and the nation would be required to cooperate in protecting Japanese territory and resources. These new proposals create challenges within the Asia-Pacific region because they would give Japan an offensive force trained to conduct offensive operations over the horizon. The credibility of the Japanese is still in question due to their horrible actions during WWII and their neighbors have not forgiven them of these actions.

³ Congressional Research Service Report, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan *The U.S.-Japan Alliance* (12 Dec 2013), 17.

⁴ Thomas Wilborn, *Japan’s Self-Defense Forces, What Dangers to North East Asia*, (1 May 1994), 10.

⁵ Colin P.A. Jones, *The LDP constitution, article by article: a preview of things to come*. (Jul 2).

⁶ Colin P.A. Jones, *The LDP constitution, article by article: a preview of things to come*. (Jul 2)

As security threats within the Asia-Pacific region increased, Japan's Ministry of Defense, Mr. Gen Nakatani, established a defense posture to review these threats and to evaluate the posture of the Japanese Self-Defense Force. According to the Japanese Constitution, "the possession of armaments deemed to be offensive weapons designed to be used for the mass destruction of another country, which by definition, exceed the minimum necessary level, which is not permissible under any circumstances."⁷ The United States must be a major player within Japan's posture review to ensure the Japanese adhere to the Constitution. Prime Minister Abe is under internal pressure to develop a conventional force that can provide a counter attack to any external threat and that can assist other countries within the region with Humanitarian Assistance Disaster Relief (HA/DR) missions. The Japanese people believe they need the means to protect themselves against any threat within the world.

Country Threats Towards Japan

Peoples Republic of China:

The threats within the Asia-Pacific region start with China, whose full military strength is unknown and whose aggressive actions create uncertainty of its intentions within the region. China and Japan's relations are strained and they will remain rivals due to ongoing territorial island disputes; however, as long as the United States remains in alliance with Japan, the tension will remain stable. The United States plays both sides due to its alliance with Japan and its economic ties to China, which owns a lot of U.S. debt. Additionally, Chinese intentions in the South China Sea create tension. In 2013, Colonel Grant Newsham, the U.S. Marine liaison Officer to the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force, wrote a memo discussing the threat within the Asia-Pacific region, which outlines "the South China Sea as territory that China believes they

⁷Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet, *National Security Strategy and Defense Policy of Japan*. (17 Dec 2013), 120.

own.”⁸ China’s intention to control the South China Sea is another reason that Japan’s Prime Minister Abe wants to increase Japan’s maritime capability. The strategic and political result of Japan’s maritime forces patrolling the South China Sea has second and a third order effect, which is another reason the United States, needs to maintain a forward military presence in the Asia-Pacific region. However, Article 9 does give Japan the right to defend itself against any offensive attacks towards its people.

Republic of China:

The relationship between Taiwan and Japan is currently positive, but this relationship antagonizes China. According to Colonel Newsham, “China has made it clear in what they expect in reference to retaking Taiwan, and they see the United States commitment weakening or becoming irrelevant.”⁹ The relationship between Taiwan and Japan is very stable and passive. China has economic ties to both Taiwan and Japan. According to Thim and Matsuoka, “Economics also cannot fully account for Japan and Taiwan’s strong bilateral relationship. Japan is Taiwan’s second largest trading partner, while Taiwan is the fifth largest for Japan. But Taiwan and China as well as Japan and China maintain even more extensive economic ties.”¹⁰ The bilateral relationship between Taiwan and Japan remain positive and China remains neutral at this time.

Democratic People’s Republic of Korea:

North Korea’s current leadership opposes a major threat to the countries within the region and causes issues for Japan and the United States. North Korea threatens Japan annually by testing long-range ballistic missiles by launching them towards Okinawa and the other small Japanese islands. North Korea knows the alliance between the United States and Japan would

⁸Grant Newsham, *Asia Pacific Memo to Japans Ministry of Defense*, (Dec 2014), 6.

⁹Grant Newsham, *Asia Pacific Memo to Japans Ministry of Defense*, (Dec 2014), 8.

¹⁰Thim Michael, Misato Matsuoka, *The Odd Couple: Japan & Taiwan’s Unlikely Friendship*, The Diplomat, 2014.

result in U.S. military action if North Korea attacks Japan. Therefore, North Korea only launches test missiles towards Japanese islands and these threats have become routine. However, if under the proposed changes to Article 9, Japan increases its maritime capability, North Korea could potentially view this increased force as an increased threat to them and could engage Japan. Japan has to ensure it politically engages with North Korea to prevent any aggression towards Japanese vessels in the Sea of Japan. According to Colonel Newsham, “China has a lot of control over North Korea mainly through coercion by cutting off fuel, raw materials, cross-border-trade, and financial links.”¹¹ This example of China’s manipulation of North Korea demonstrates China’s dominance and power within the Asia-Pacific region. Japan has to rely on the U.S. Japan alliance and its political objectives of a pacifist country to counter any friction from North Korea. Japan’s current Self-Defense force cannot alone counter an offensive missile attack from North Korea. Unless Article 9 is, revised Japan must rely on the United States military for security against the North Koreans if the time comes.

Republic of Korea:

South Korea and Japan’s relationship is diplomatic at best considering their history. However, South Korea does have an alliance with the United States, just as Japan does. As long as the United States remains in South Korea, the relationship between Japan and South Korea will remain at peace. Previously, South Korea requested the United States military to move off the peninsula, which increases Japan’s vulnerability to North Korea attacks. If the Japanese increases its maritime capability, the South Korea could benefit from having additional allied troops in the Asia-Pacific region.

¹¹Grant Newsham, *Asia Pacific Memo to Japans Ministry of Defense*, (Dec 2014), 14.

Every year, the United States, Japan, and South Korea participate in a training exercise, which recently has grown in size and complexity. The exercise focuses on the maritime capabilities of an amphibious assault on North Korea. As discussed earlier, Japan is in the process of standing up an Amphibious Assault Vehicle (AAV) battalion, which will enable Japan's maritime force to conduct offensive operations. According to Colonel Newsham, "South Korea and the Japanese Self-Defense Force have a good relationship and would do more bilateral exercises if politicians would allow."¹² Japan and South Korea relationship share fundamental values such as freedom, democracy, respect for basic human rights, common interests in maintaining regional peace and security. Future bilateral training between South Korea and Japan increases both military capabilities for future threats within the Asia-Pacific region. However, "a larger threat would be if South Korea and North Korea unified and as Korea and used nuclear weapons against Japan and other countries within the Asia-Pacific region."¹³ In the meantime, Japan strategically has to demonstrate to South Korea that a larger Japanese maritime force is an asset to both countries. Japan continuing to conduct bilateral training with South Korea will tie into the strategic and political objectives of Japan as a freedom-loving peaceful country.

Japan's Innovation Capabilities:

Since the turn of the 20th century, Japan has been in conflict with many different countries, which today question Japan's justification for increasing the size of its Self-Defense Force. Japan has been to war against Russia, Korea, China, and the United States all in the last century. At the beginning of the 20th century, Japan took an aggressive approach towards developing military innovation focusing on amphibious capabilities. The Japanese utilized

¹²Grant Newsham, *Asia Pacific Memo to Japan's Ministry of Defense*, (Dec 2014), 15.

¹³Grant Newsham, *Asia Pacific Memo to Japan's Ministry of Defense*, (Dec 2014), 15.

lessons learned from World War I to develop a dominant Navy with the use of aircraft carriers. The Japanese expanded their amphibious capability by building its first aircraft carrier, which would change naval aviation forever. Their military innovation and aggressiveness lead to Japan bombing Pearl Harbor during World War II, resulting in the United States entering the war.

Since World War II Japan has maintained a Self-Defense, force to counter threats towards their country and their way of life. Japan has increased their capabilities within the guidelines of their Constitution and Article 9. However, due to lessons learn from the March 2011 Tohoku earthquake, tsunami, and follow on Fukajima Dichi nuclear disaster in Japan the Japanese has increased their capabilities to respond to Humanitarian Assistance Disaster Relief (HA/DR) emergency contingencies. In 2014, Japan assisted the country of Philippines during the typhoon providing a maritime capability off the coast of the Luzon islands. In 2015, Japan is willing to assist to Nepal with the earthquake. Japan's maritime capability provides another viable option to assist in emergency contingencies within the Asia-Pacific region. There are no conflicts within Japan's Constitution to assist another county due to a disaster or an emergency contingency.

Japan's Presence within the Region

Leading up to World War II, Japan demonstrated innovative capabilities that surpass all competition. Due to Japan's past credibility and technology capabilities, most countries in the Asia-Pacific region hesitate to allow Japan to increase its Self-Defense Force to expand into a convention military force.

Prime Minister, Abe, is pushing a new security strategy, that will change the way other countries within the Asia-Pacific region view Japan. Abe wants Japan to have a military force that will increase Japan's regional influence within the region. Allowing Japan to increase their

regional influence in beneficial to the United States; enabling the U.S. with another maritime capability within the Asia-Pacific region. Tension already exists between China and Japan the two most powerful Northeast Asian countries, over territorial disputes of the Senkaku/Diayo islands, which are rich in fishing grounds and other natural resources. After two years of negotiations, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Abe met for the first time to discuss the Island disputes. According to CNN correspondent Jeff Kingston, “since the meeting there have been incidents of saber rattling, radar locking, jet scrambles, incursions of flotillas of trawlers, and Beijing’s declaration of an Air Defense Identification Zone.”¹⁴ The tension will only worsen if Japan had a conventional military that could conduct offensive operations. Of course, social media has generated a negative public opinion between China and Japan. The tension has escalated to a level that could potentially provoke war between the two countries. However, due to the economic ties, dominate technology, and diplomatic interest’s war is not likely. Japan’s focus on shifting from a Self-Defense Force to a National Defense Force raises questions about the future of Japan’s relationship with China.

Japan’s Maritime Capabilities

The March 2011 Tohoku earthquake, and tsunami, followed by the Fukajima Dichi nuclear disaster devastated Japan. This natural disaster quickly overwhelmed the Japanese Maritime Self Defense Force (JMSDF) response and exposed Japan’s lack of capability to respond to a crisis. During Operation *Tomodachi*, the United States “provided over 24,000 U.S. Service members, 189 different types of U.S. aircraft and 24 naval ships to support the tragic disaster.”¹⁵ Four years later, Japan is still recovering from this devastation.

¹⁴ Jeff Kingston, *Xi and Abe talk the ice, but is a China-Japan thaw likely*. (11 Nov 2014). 2.

¹⁵ Eric Johnston, "Operation Tomodachi a huge success, but was it a one-off?", *Japan Times*, (3 March 2012), 3.

Since the Tohoku earthquake, the Japanese have taken an aggressive approach to increasing their MSDF specifically to respond to Humanitarian Assistance Disaster Relief (HA/DR) type of missions. They have used lessons learned from Operation Tomodachi to develop an amphibious capability similar to a United States Marine Expeditionary Unit/Amphibious Ready Group. According to Colonel Newsham “the Japanese built a three-ship task force with two amphibious ships and one destroyer with the construct of a ground component, an aviation component, and a logistics support element.”¹⁶ His insight demonstrates the capabilities of the Japanese forces within very limited time are fully capable of developing an amphibious task force model after the United States Marine Corps.

Japan’s National Security Strategy of 2013.

On December 17 2013, Japan released its new National Security Strategy, stating to the world “their purpose of maintaining the peace and security of Japan and ensuring its survival are the primary responsibilities of the Government of Japan.”¹⁷ Since the ending of World War II and the enforcement of Article 9 of their Constitution, Japan has contributed to peace, stability, and economic growth within Asia-Pacific region and the world. This new strategy is intended to prepare and guide Japan’s National Security polices for the next decade. As Japan’s neighbors have seen in the last decade, Japan has maintained an internal balance within the Asia- Pacific region through leveraging a complex web of institutions in a liberalist framework and relying on the U.S. forward military presence to deter any threat. Since Japan is an island surrounded by water, it relies on maritime trade and economic growth to maintain balance within the region is vital to the success of its new National Security Strategy.

¹⁶Grant Newsham, *Japanese Amphibious Development*. Marine Corps Gazette, Volume 98 issue (12, Dec 2014), 72.

¹⁷ Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet, *National Security Strategy of Japan*. (17 Dec 2013), 1.

Japan has new national interest and security objectives defined within its new National Security Strategy, which outlines Japan's strategic goals. According to Japan's new National Security Strategy of 2013, "the security environment surrounding Japan has become more severe, with threats such as weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles."¹⁸ Japan believes it needs the capability to defend itself from potential new growing threats. Currently, the Japanese Self-Defense Force is not equipped to conduct offensive operations to provide Japan the capability to counter these growing threats. Japan must maintain a maritime presence and conduct bilateral training with the United States military to ensure a strong deterrent against regional threats. This approach ensures free trade and economic prosperity, allowing the people of Japan a safe, stable future. In addition, Japan must continue to demonstrate a peaceful, non-aggressive posture to increase stability and promote its influence within the international community.

Japan's National Security Goals

Being an island nation, Japan has put great importance on maintaining a maritime capability that can protect the country on all sides to ensure open lines of sea commerce and sea maneuver. As such, the National Security Strategy of 2013 accurately states, "Japan has to work on global issues in cooperation with the United States and other partners with shared values such as freedom, democracy, respect for basic human rights, and the rule of law."¹⁹ Because certain countries, such as North Korea, do not abide by these rules or respect for basic human rights Japan has to regional align with the United States to counter any threat towards its borders. Japan must be vigilant and ensure it adheres to its alliance with the United States. Japan still receives resistance from the international community. Knowing the pressures of other countries

¹⁸ Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet, *National Security Strategy of Japan*. (17 Dec 2013), 4.

¹⁹ Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet, *National Security Strategy of Japan*. (17 Dec 2013), 4.

within the Asia-Pacific region, the Japanese government has implemented a strategic approach to promote the notion that since World War II Japan has become a peace-loving nation. Japan as a nation recognizes the humanity and equal rights of the Asia people in its neighboring countries and willing to assist in HA/DR operations as needed. Additionally, upholding the Japan and US alliance since World War II has demonstrated good faith within the region. On September 1 1951, Japan and the United States signed the treaty of Mutual Cooperation, which is still in effect. Japan's national interests are very similar to any other diplomatic country. The Japanese want to their preserve sovereignty, independence and they want ability to defend their country from any outside threat.

U.S. Japanese Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security

The treaty of Mutual Cooperation and security between the Japan the United States signed on September 1, 1951 has ten Articles that both countries must adhere to that will ensure international peace within Asia-Pacific region. Included within Appendix A, are the ten Articles from the agreement. These Articles outline certain obligations for the United States to provide military readiness in the defense of Japan in the Asia-Pacific region. To meet this obligation, the United States has stationed roughly 53,000 troops stationed in Japan at any given time and the United States has exclusive use of 89 facilities throughout the country. In exchange, the United States guarantees Japan's security within the Asia-Pacific region. According to the Congressional Research Report of 2013, "there are issues up for debate which involve relaxing or removing the self-imposed ban on Japanese forces participating in collective self-defense. In addition, leaders in China and South Korea distrust Japan's Prime Minister Abe because of his past statements on Japanese actions in the World War II era. Suspicion from Beijing and Seoul

also complicates Japan's efforts to expand its security role."²⁰ Abe has made vague comments in the past that leave countries such as South Korea and China doubtful that Japan is capable of maintaining a military force without any aggressive offensive nature. According to Kirk Spitzer, a veteran journalist and defense correspondent who interviewed the Prime Minister, "Abe thinks Japan did little wrong in its years leading up to World War II and the wars were needed for colonial expansion, and the Prime Minister sees no reason to apologize now."²¹ Due to the Prime Minister's comments and obvious belief that other nations have wrongly accused of Japan of war crimes, the international community hesitates to allow Japan to increase its military capability. Therefore, the continued presence of the U.S. military in the Asia-Pacific region is crucial for the region and Japan.

Another issue addressed in the Congressional Research Service Report is "despite Prime Minister Abe's drive to upgrade Japan's security capabilities, it remains unclear whether the Japanese public has the appetite to shift Japan's fundamental post-war military posture."²² The Japanese people enjoy their way of life and do not necessarily support an influx of Japanese youths into the military. The Japanese have come accustomed to the United States providing external security and they do not see a need for change.

U.S. Involvement in the Asia-Pacific Region

In 2014, at the conclusion of over fourteen years of war in Iraq and Afghanistan, the United States has shifted its focus from the Middle East to the Asia-Pacific region. This shift of focus has enabled the United States military to increase its footprint within the Asia-Pacific region, especially within the country of Japan. Japan can argue that it needs to increase their

²⁰ Congressional Research Service Report, *The U.S.-Japan Alliance* (12 Dec 2013), 2.

²¹ Kirk Spitzer, *Sorry, But Japan Still Can't Get the War Right*, (20 May 2013), 3.

²² Congressional Research Service Report, *The U.S.-Japan Alliance* (12 Dec 2013), 6.

self-defense forces while the U.S. forces remain in Japan. Japan does need a conventional military with offensive capabilities to balance the region and to increase its presence within the Asia-Pacific region. According to Abe, Japan's needs a larger force due to "the need to expand Japan's role in United Nations related missions and within the Japan-U.S. alliance."²³ Japan's participation in UN related missions demonstrates the capabilities of the Japanese forces and shows Japan's desire to play a larger role in the UN. Japan's desire to participate within the UN during large-scale operations benefits Japan in enabling its force and gain worldwide recognition. Additionally, Japan's offensive capabilities are still questionable to what level they can respond to an attack; allowing Japan to conduct peacekeeping missions within the UN does however reduce the requirement on United States military.

The U.S. and Japan Relationship

Since the United States has been at war for the past fourteen years, the relationship between the United States and Japan has shifted more to a partnership. During the last decade, many of the United States forces based in Japan shifted to fight a two-war front allowing the Japanese Self-Defense Force to take more responsibility for its own defense. Additionally, the United States has enabled the Japanese Self-Defense Force to engage in overseas missions to "include supporting U.S. led coalition operations in Afghanistan and the reconstruction of Iraq, plus they have contributed to global operations in counter piracy patrols which have relieved some of the burden on the U.S. military."²⁴ Japan has also participated in coalition anti-piracy efforts off the coast of Africa, which demonstrated another capability of the Maritime Self-Defense Force. The Japanese Self-Defense Force is fully capable of conducting joint missions

²³Takeshi Yuzawa, *Japan's New Security Strategy: Changing national identity*. (20 Mar 2014), 2.

²⁴ Congressional Research Service Report, *The U.S.-Japan Alliance* (12 Dec 2013), 7.

with the U.S. military. As more bilateral training opportunities present themselves, Japanese forces should take advantage of training with multiple countries to demonstrate their capabilities.

The alliance between the United States and Japan centers on the United States providing security to Japan to counter any threat towards Japan's country or way of life. According to research professor Wilborn, "the U.S. is committed to come to the defense of Japan in the event of aggression is not matched by a Japanese commitment to the defense of the United States in the case of aggression."²⁵ This commitment leaves the United States vulnerable to attacks on United States facilities and equipment based in Japan. North Korea routinely threatens to launch surface to air attacks on Japan, which would force the United States to take action. The Japanese Self-Defense Force cannot conduct any type of offensive operations so any attack upon Japan from North Korea will raise the question of Japan's commitment towards the U.S. and Japan treaty. Since no nation has actually attacked Japan since World War II, this raises questions about Japan's diplomacy within the Asia-Pacific region and the regions fear of the U.S. military forces pre-positioned within it. Forward United States presence in Japan benefits the Japanese because of United States capabilities and the probability of a strike on Japan from North Korea or any other Asia country at this time. However, as the Japanese Self-Defense Force increases its capability, will Japan defend itself with offensive operations in the future? According to Prime Minister Abe and Japan's National Security Strategy (NSS), "there is an emergence of the new principle for Japan to be considered as a national identity and have an international role as well as incremental changes to its security policy since the end of the Cold War."²⁶ Since the end of the Cold War, Japan proactively increased the Japanese Self-Defense Force capabilities and have attempted to deploy there forces around the world to demonstrate its capabilities as an

²⁵ Thomas Wilborn, *Japan's Self-Defense Forces, What Dangers to North East Asia*, (1 May 1994), 8.

²⁶ Takeski Yuzawa, *Japan's new security strategy: changing the national identity*. (20 March 2014), 2.

international asset rather than a threat. The United States has contributed to Japan's new role and has enabled the Japanese to continue developing democracy and establish a leading role within the Asia-Pacific region. Due to the United States and Japan alliance, Japan has increased its Self-Defense Force with minimum to no opposition or tension.

Japan Collaborating With the United States

After Operation Tomodachi, the Japanese realized their HA/DR shortfalls within their Maritime Self-Defense Force, and the Japanese collaborated with the United States to increase their capabilities. Additionally in 2013, “the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force assisted the U.S. in the Philippines during Operation Damayan sending an amphibious task force to support the Humanitarian Assistance Disaster Relief (HA/DR) mission.”²⁷ The Japanese Constitution does not restrict Japan from assisting other countries during a HA/DR crisis. According to Part II of the Japan's Security and Defense Policy, “the government of Japan interrupts that the Constitution does not permit armed troops to be dispatched to the land, sea, or airspace of other countries with the aim of using force; such overseas deployment to troops would exceed the definition of the minimum necessary level of self-defense.”²⁸ More importantly, Japan's interpretation of its Constitution and its willingness to assist neighboring countries during times of crisis demonstrates Japan's need for larger a Self-Defense Force. Japan's strategic goal is to demonstrate its commitment to freedom and peace within the region. Due to the lessons learned from Operation Tomodachi, Japan has developed the capability to support HADR missions within the Asia-Pacific region. During Operation Damayan in 2013, the Philippine government supported Japan's assistance and welcomed its amphibious task force, which is a major objective towards Japan's strategic and political goals since World War II. For the first time within the

²⁷Grant Newsham, *Japanese Amphibious Development*. Marine Corps Gazette, Volume 98 issue (12, Dec 2014) , 72.

²⁸Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet, *National Security Strategy and Defense Policy of Japan*. (17 Dec 2013), 120.

Asia-Pacific region, a Japanese task force was joined a coalition unit to support a HA/DR mission.

New Development with Liaison Officers

For the past sixty years, the United States had forces based in Japan and according to Colonel Newsham, “there has been little interaction between the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF) and the U.S. to improve Japanese capabilities or to create a useful operational relationship between the U.S. Marines and the JGSDF.”²⁹ Not until the past few years did, the first embedded Liaison Officers within the JSDF begin assisting the Japanese with their future development amphibious capabilities. Additionally, the Japanese placed Liaison Officers within the Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) and Marine Expeditionary Brigade (MEB) units. The coordination between the two has just begun at the MEF/MEB levels, and as Japan continues to develop its capabilities, it is going to need the United States partnership to assist with training. According to Newsham, “the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force purchased four-Amphibious Assault Vehicles (AAV) from the Marine Corps for testing and they plan on purchasing another forty to form an AAV battalion.”³⁰ Japan forming an AAV battalion in the future is another demonstration of its amphibious maritime capability. The major use of AAVs is transport troops from ship to shore in an amphibious attack. The new AAV battalion changes the Japanese defense posture and could have strategic and political repercussions in the future. However, Japan’s Constitution does not mention providing an AAV battalion to move troops ashore in need of a HA/DR crisis. Japan’s Constitution specifically states, “Self-Defense Force cannot possess Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) long-range strategic bombers, or attack

²⁹Grant Newsham, *Japanese Amphibious Development*. Marine Corps Gazette, Volume 98 issue (12, Dec 2014), 72.

³⁰Grant Newsham, *Japanese Amphibious Development*. Marine Corps Gazette, Volume 98 issue (12, Dec 2014), 74.

aircraft carriers.”³¹ During World War II, and specifically, the attack on Pearl Harbor the United States learned from the danger of allowing the Japanese to have attack aircraft carriers. It has taken over sixty years for the relationship between the United States and Japan to develop enough to allow Liaison Officers to embed within both militaries. The trust and confidence level between the two countries will significantly influence strategically and politically within the Asia-Pacific region. As the two countries continue to work together and conduct more bilateral training operations side by side other Asia countries will see Japan is no longer a threat to them, but a peace loving country.

Economic Impacts of the Japanese Defense Force

Prime Minister Abe and Defense Minister General Nakatani’s demand for increasing the Japan Self-Defense Force has had economics effects in the country. If Prime Minister Abe had his way, he would have a conventional military force with no restrictions. According to defense correspondent Jonathon Marcus, in 2014, the Japanese people voted “to accept the new unpopular sales tax increase to fund defense spending, which was passed due Prime Minister Abe’s political party.”³² Due to the continue threat from China, North Korea and within the South China Sea, Japan “increased their defense budget to 4.98 billion dollars for 2015.”³³ The new increase in spending fulfils Japan’s desire to increase its Maritime Defense Force and create of a new AAV battalion in the near future. According to Japan’s Defense Minister Nakatani, “Japan intends to purchase twenty Maritime patrol aircraft, five crossover aircraft- which will have both airplane and helicopter functionalities and six stealth fighters, plus early-warning

³¹Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet, *National Security Strategy and Defense Policy of Japan*. (17 Dec 2013), 119.

³²Jonathan Marcus, *Japan approves record 4.98 trillion yen defense budget, Japan boosts defense spending in response to China*. British Broadcast channel, (13 Jan 2015), 2.

³³Jonathan Marcus, *Japan approves record 4.98 trillion yen defense budget, Japan boosts defense spending in response to China*. British Broadcast channel, (13 Jan 2015), 3.

aircraft.”³⁴ These new assets increase the Japanese Self-Defense force capabilities especially the maritime force providing them the capability of offensive operations over the horizon. Japan’s new defense vision and capabilities go against Article 9 of the Constitution. This new vision also could have severe reactions from either North Korea or China in the future. Japan must continue to increase its defense capabilities to counter future threats within the region. In addition, Japan needs to continue to conduct multi-lateral training with Asia Pacific countries, which will broaden the strategic trust from North Korea and China instead of continuing to have disagreeing disputes. Finally, Japan needs to rely on and adhere to the U.S.-Japan treaty alliance.

Conclusion

In conclusion, due to the increased security dilemma in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan probably will seek to amend its Constitution to include a robust conventional force with an offensive capability. Although this force will protect Japan’s National Security interests, it has the potential to increase existing tensions between Japan and its neighbors. Strategic, political, and economic implications exist if Japan increases its Self-Defense force. Currently Japan relies on the United States for protection but Japan’s Prime Minister Abe wants the Japanese Self-Defense Force to have the capability to defend the country against any threat without the assistance of the United States. Therein lies the problem. The current Japanese Constitution prevents Japan from becoming a major military influencer within the Asia-Pacific region. Nonetheless, the Japanese Self-Defense force has realigned its forces to defend the Islands of Japan to counter any threat and to maintain open Sea Lines of Communication and freedom of navigation. Additionally, Japan needs the capability to assist other Asia-Pacific countries as well as their own future HA/DR missions. Allowing the Japanese Self-Defense Force to possess an

³⁴Jonathan Marcus, *Japan approves record 4.98 trillion yen defense budget, Japan boosts defense spending in response to China*. British Broadcast channel, (13 Jan 2015), 3.

offensive capability goes against the constitution written in 1947. Therefore, the Constitution needs revision to allow Japan access to conduct offensive operations while defending itself. Japan needs the capability to assist other Asia-Pacific countries as well as their own for future HA/DR missions. The Constitution needs revised allowing Japan access to conduct offensive operations while defending themselves against any threat. After revising Japan's Constitution allowing them to conduct offensive operations, the United States still needs a forward presence within the Asia-Pacific region. Japan provides the United States the best strategic location to remain our Military force within the Asia-Pacific region.

Appendix A

“Treaty of Mutual Cooperation Between Japan and the United States of America with all the Articles”³⁵

Japan and the United States of America Desiring to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship traditionally existing between them, and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law, desiring further to encourage closer economic cooperation between them and to promote conditions of economic stability and well-being in their countries. Japan and the United States reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and their desires to live in peace with all people and all governments, recognizing that they have the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations. Both countries have considered that they have a common concern in the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, Having resolved to conclude a treaty of mutual cooperation and security, Therefore agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. The Parties will endeavor in concert with other peace-loving countries to strengthen the United Nations so that its mission of maintaining international peace and security may be discharged more effectively.

ARTICLE II

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between them.

ARTICLE III

The Parties, individually and in cooperation with each other, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop,

³⁵ Congressional Research Service Report, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan *The U.S.-Japan Alliance* (12 Dec 2013), 17.

subject to their constitutional provisions, their capacities to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE IV

The Parties will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of this Treaty, and, at the request of either Party, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened

ARTICLE V

Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE VI

For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air, and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan. The use of these facilities and areas as well as the status of United States armed forces in Japan shall be governed by a separate agreement, replacing the Administrative Agreement under Article III of the Security Treaty between Japan and the United States of America, signed at Tokyo on February 28, 1952, as amended, and by such other arrangements as may be agreed upon.

ARTICLE VII

This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE VIII

This Treaty shall be ratified by Japan and the United States of America in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and will enter into force on the date on which the instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them in Tokyo.

ARTICLE IX

The Security Treaty between Japan and the United States of America signed at the city of San Francisco on September 8, 1951 shall expire upon the entering into force of this Treaty.

ARTICLE X

This Treaty shall remain in force until in the opinion of the Governments of Japan and the United States of America there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area. However,

after the Treaty has been in force for ten years, either Party may give notice to the other Party of its intention to terminate the Treaty, in which case the Treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.

Appendix B



Appendix C

1 Major equipment

Procurement type		FY2014 Number procured	FY2015			
			Number procured	Amount (¥100 million)		
Aircraft	GSDF	Tilt-rotor aircraft (V-22)	—	5	516	
		Restoration of transport helicopter (CH-47J)	(1)	—	—	
	MSDF	Fixed-wing patrol aircraft (P-1)	3	20	3,504 (40)	
		Patrol helicopter (SH-60K)	4	2	138 (5)	
		Helicopter trainer (TH-135)	2	—	—	
		Life extension of fixed-wing patrol aircraft (P-3C)	(3)	(3)	11	
		Life extension of patrol helicopter (SH-60J)	(2)	(2)	10	
		Capability improvement of racars mounted on fixed-wing patrol aircraft (P-3C)	(4)	(4)	9 (1)	
		Capability improvement of infrared detection system on fixed-wing patrol aircraft (P-3C)	(4)	(4)	1	
		Fighter aircraft (F-35A)	4	6	1,032 (177)	
	ASDF	Modernization of fighter aircraft (F-15)	(12)	(8)	101	
		Upgrading of on-board NVG of fighter aircraft (F-15)	(1)	(—)	—	
		Improvement of air-to-air combat capability of fighter aircraft (F-2)	Upgrade	(12)	(—)	2
			Parts	(30)	(9)	
		Addition of JDCS function to fighter aircraft (F-2)	(—)	(2)	7 (8)	
		Trial upgrading of fighter aircraft (F-2) with on-board targeting pod	(1)	(—)	—	
		Transport aircraft (C-2)	2	—	—	
		Rescue helicopter (UH-60J)	3	1	49	
		New airborne early-warning aircraft (E-2D)	—	1	232	
		Improvement in capability of Airborne Warning And Control Systems (AWACS) (E-767)	Upgrade	(—)	(—)	156
	Parts		(1)	(1)		
	Addition of air-to-air refueling function to transport aircraft (C-130H)	Upgrade	(—)	(—)	6	
		Parts	(—)	(1)		
Joint Units	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (Global Hawk) system	—	—	154		
Vessel	MSDF	Destroyer (DD)	1	—	—	
		Destroyer (DDG) (Construction of 1 destroyer and purchase the Aegis system of the 2 nd destroyer)	—	4	1,680 (22)	
		Submarine (SS)	1	1	643 (16)	
		Minesweeper ocean (MSO)	1	—	—	
		Submarine rescue ship (ASR)	1	—	—	
		Life extension of Hatsuyuki-class destroyer, etc.	Work	(1)	(—)	0.6
			Parts	(4)	(1)	
		Life extension of Asagiri-class destroyer	Work	(2)	(1)	16
			Parts	(3)	(2)	
		Life extension of Abukuma-class destroyer	Work	(2)	(2)	19
			Parts	(4)	(2)	
		Life extension of Hatakaze-class destroyer	Work	(1)	(—)	9
			Parts	(—)	(1)	
		Life extension of Kongo-class destroyer	Work	(—)	(—)	19
			Parts	(—)	(1)	
		Life extension of Oyashio-class submarine	Work	(1)	(2)	34 (4)
			Parts	(2)	(3)	
Life extension of Kurobe-class training support vessel	Work	(—)	(—)	2		
	Parts	(—)	(1)			
Life extension of Wakasa-class oceanographic research ship	Work	(—)	(1)	4		
	Parts	(—)	(1)			

Appendix D

Procurement type			FY2014 Number procured	FY2015		
				Number procured	Amount (¥100 million)	
Vessel	MSDF	Life extension of Towada-class fast combat support ship	Work	(2)	(-)	7
			Parts	(2)	(1)	
		Life extension of Landing Craft Air Cushion	Work	(-)	(-)	4
			Parts	(2)	(2)	
		Function improvement of short-range SAM system on Takanami-class destroyer	Work	(-)	(-)	20
			Parts	(5)	(5)	
		Improvement in anti-submarine capability of Atago-class destroyer (MFTA)	Work	(-)	(-)	6
			Parts	(1)	(1)	
		Improvement in anti-submarine capability of Akizuki-class destroyer, etc. (multistatic)	Work	(1)	(1)	0.9
			Parts	(1)	(1)	
		Modernization of command system of Asagiri-class destroyer	Work	(-)	(-)	28 (2)
			Parts	(-)	(3)	
		Improvement in capability of Osumi-class LST	Work	(3)	(-)	6
			Parts	(3)	(1)	
Missile	GSDF	Type-03 middle-range surface-to-air missile (SAM)		1 company	1 company	164
		Type-11 short-range surface-to-air missile		1	1	29
		Middle-range multi-purpose missile		18 sets	12 sets	61
		Type-12 surface-to-ship missile		4 companies (16 units)	-	-
	ASDF	Surface-to-air missile for base air defense		-	1	56 (8)
Firearm, Vehicle, etc.	GSDF	Type-89 rifle		6,726	4,217	11
		Anti-personnel sniper rifle		50	-	-
		60mm motor (B)		6	-	-
		84mm recoilless rifle (B)		24	-	-
		81mm motor L16		1	1	0.1
		120mm motor RT		1	2	0.7
		Type-99 155mm self-propelled howitzer		6	6	58
		Type-10 tank		13	10	102
		Light armored vehicle		30	-	-
		Type-96 armored personnel carrier		8	-	-
		Amphibious vehicle (AAV7)		-	30	203
		NBC reconnaissance vehicle		1	-	-
	Vehicle, communications equipment, facility equipment, etc.		¥54.0 billion	-	344 (15)	
ASDF	Light armored vehicle		1	-	-	
BMD	MSDF	Upgrade of the capability of Aegis-equipped destroyers		(2)	(2)	168

3 Changes in number of personnel

● Changes in number of SDF personnel, etc

(Unit: Person)

	End of FY2014	End of FY2015	Increase/ Decrease
GSDF	159,198	158,938	△260
Regular personnel	151,023	150,863	△160
Ready reserve personnel	8,175	8,075	△100
MSDF	45,494	45,364	△130
ASDF	47,073	46,940	△133
Joint Units	1,253	1,253	0
Joint Staff Office	367	368	1
Defense Intelligence Headquarters	1,910	1,911	1
Internal Bureau	40	48	8
Defense Equipment Acquisition Agency (provisional)	—	407	407
Total	247,160	247,154	△6
	(255,335)	(255,229)	(△106)

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