

The Samurai's Rebirth – Japan's  
Increasing “Offensive” Security  
Capabilities

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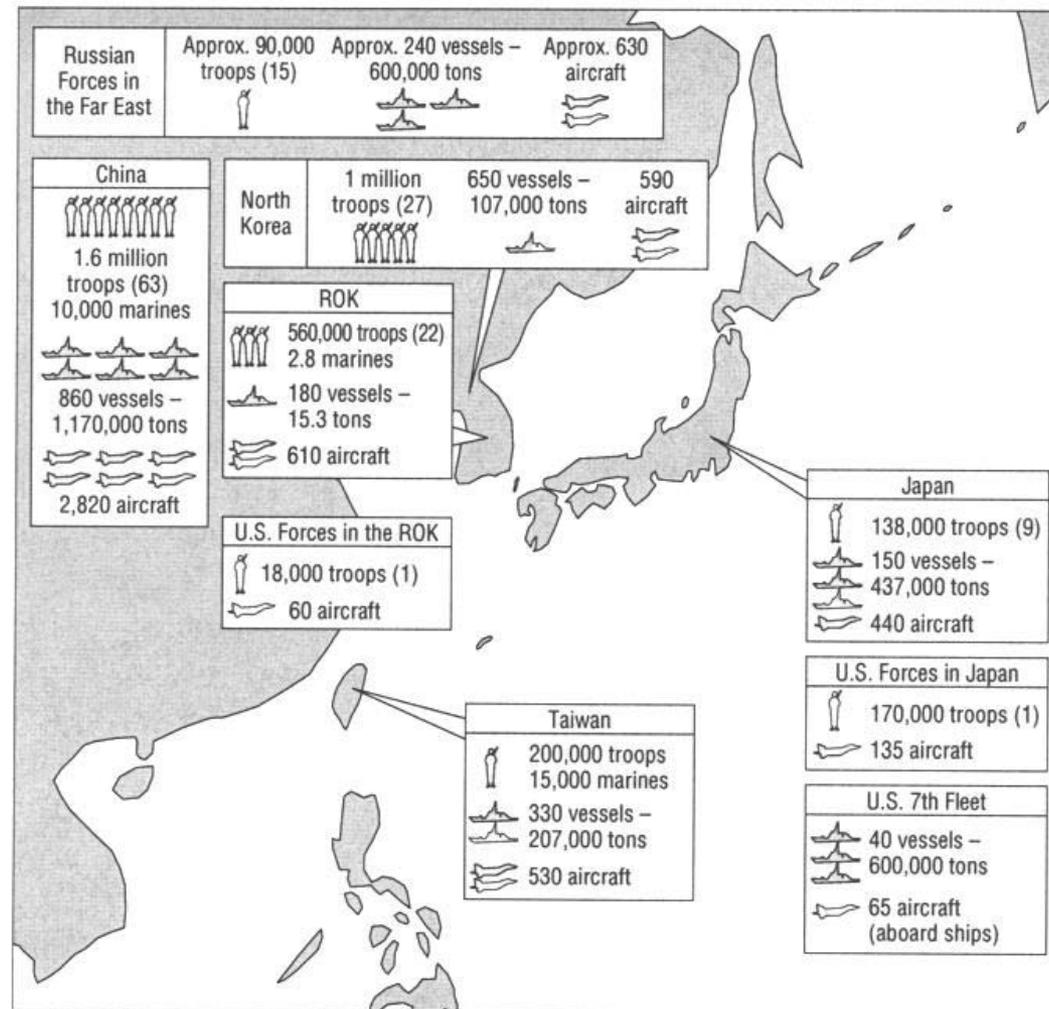
Samurai - circa:  
1870



*JDS Hyuga - 2008*

# Japan's Security Today

- ▣ December 2006 – Defense Agency becomes full government Ministry
- ▣ Rethink Japan's role in a strategically sensitive world?
- ▣ Area of high tensions
- ▣ Korean Peninsula
- ▣ China and Taiwan
- ▣ Russia
- ▣ The United States?
- ▣ Increases in capabilities of neighbors



Notes: 1. Source: "The Military Balance 2008" publications of the U.S. Department of Defense and others (actual numbers as of the end of FY 2007 are shown for Japan)

2. U.S. ground forces in Japan and the ROK are combined figures of Army and Marine Corps personnel

3. Combat aircraft includes Navy and Marine aircraft

4. Figures inside parentheses show the number of divisions

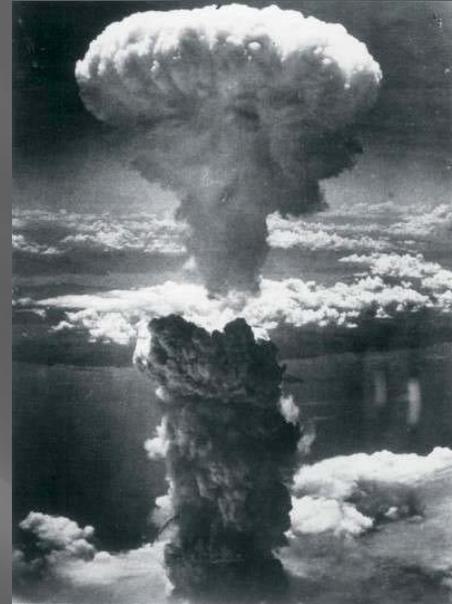
**Legend**

Ground forces (200,000 troops)	Naval vessels (200,000 tons)	Combat aircraft (500 aircraft)
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Source: Japanese Ministry of Defense

# Japan's War Legacy

- ❑ Japan has *not* followed suit in terms of armament
- ❑ Japan's past = tensions and debate of the role of Japan
- ❑ Many remember Japan's militaristic past
- ❑ Only nation in history to suffer nuclear attack
- ❑ Homeland occupied, acceptance of peace
- ❑ Japan has approached re-armament in unique ways



# History

- ▣ Japan rebuilt, now one of world's most prosperous nations
- ▣ Japanese Constitution – Drafted by Allies
- ▣ Article 9 – “Peace Clause”
- ▣ *“forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat of force as a means of settling international disputes.”*
- ▣ Did not deny right of self-defense = re-armament in increments, becoming more “offensive”
- ▣ Weapons for pure “offensive” purposes banned
- ▣ Japan acquiring more capability in face of restrictions
- ▣ How? Why? Reasoning?

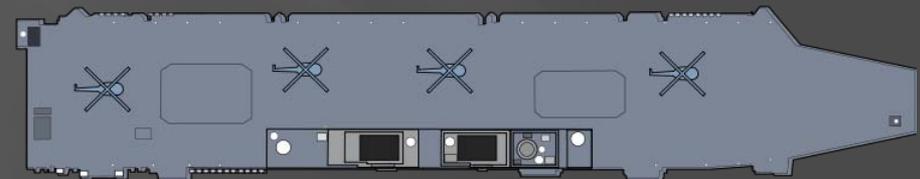
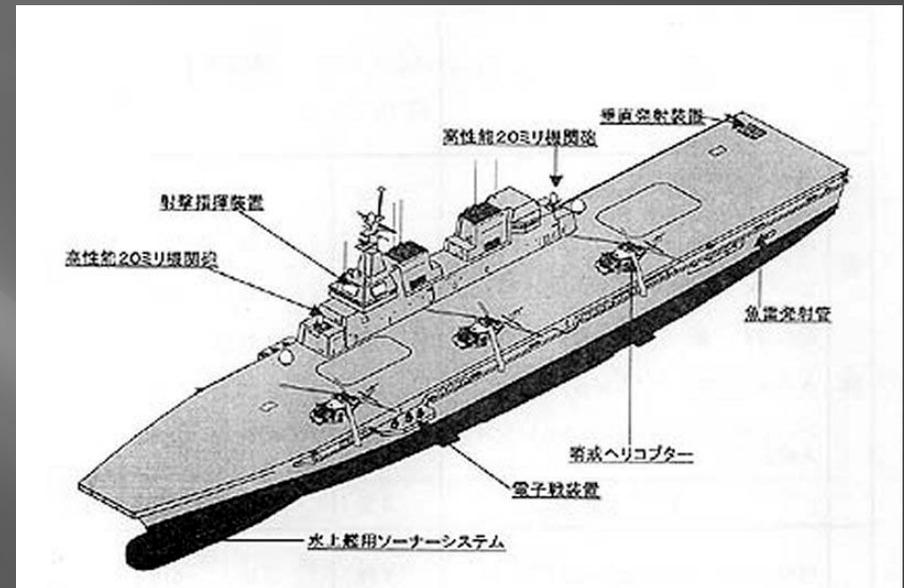
# *Kongo Class Destroyer*



- ❑ Based on *Arleigh Burke* class – U.S. Navy
- ❑ Form major part of JMSDF flotillas
- ❑ AEGIS radar technology
- ❑ Concerns high over acquisition of technology
- ❑ JDS Kongo launched 1993
- ❑ Not equipped to carry Tomahawk cruise missiles
- ❑ Falls under constitutional restrictions
- ❑ Increased capabilities? = Concern and Controversy

# Hyuga Class Helicopter “Destroyer”

- Within constitutional restrictions?
- Forbidden to possess “attack” aircraft carriers
- Violation?
- Defense Agency = Helicopter Destroyer
- Defense analysts = Aircraft carrier
- Increased role - More flexibility
- Strike capability?
- “Offensive” weapon?



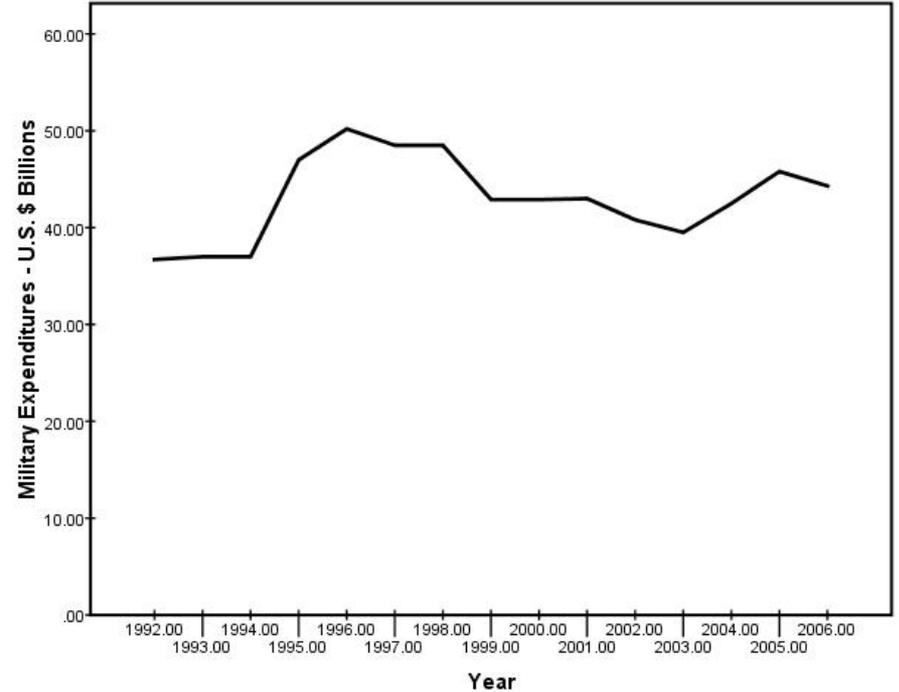
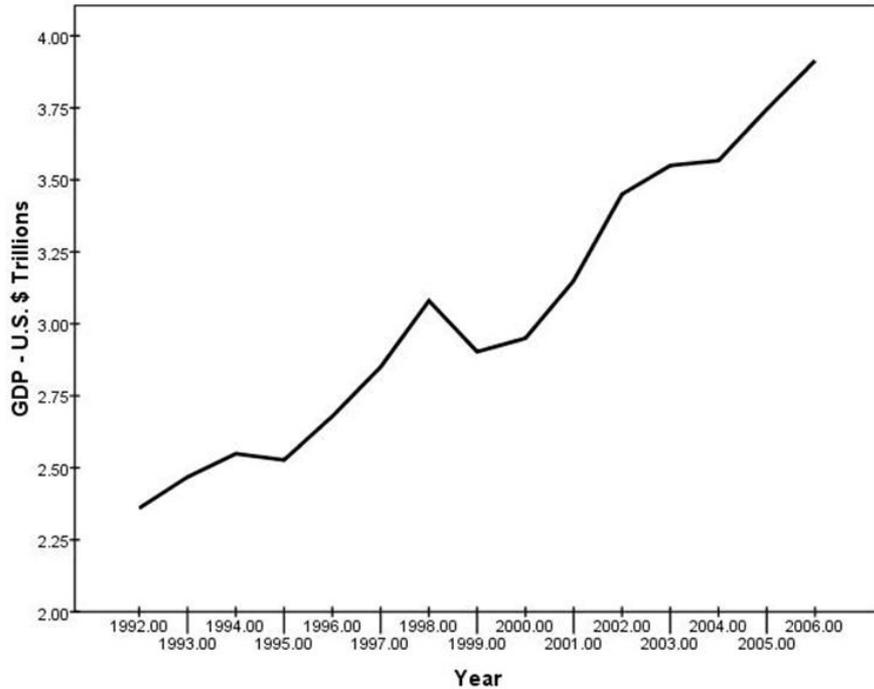
# KC - 767 Air Tanker



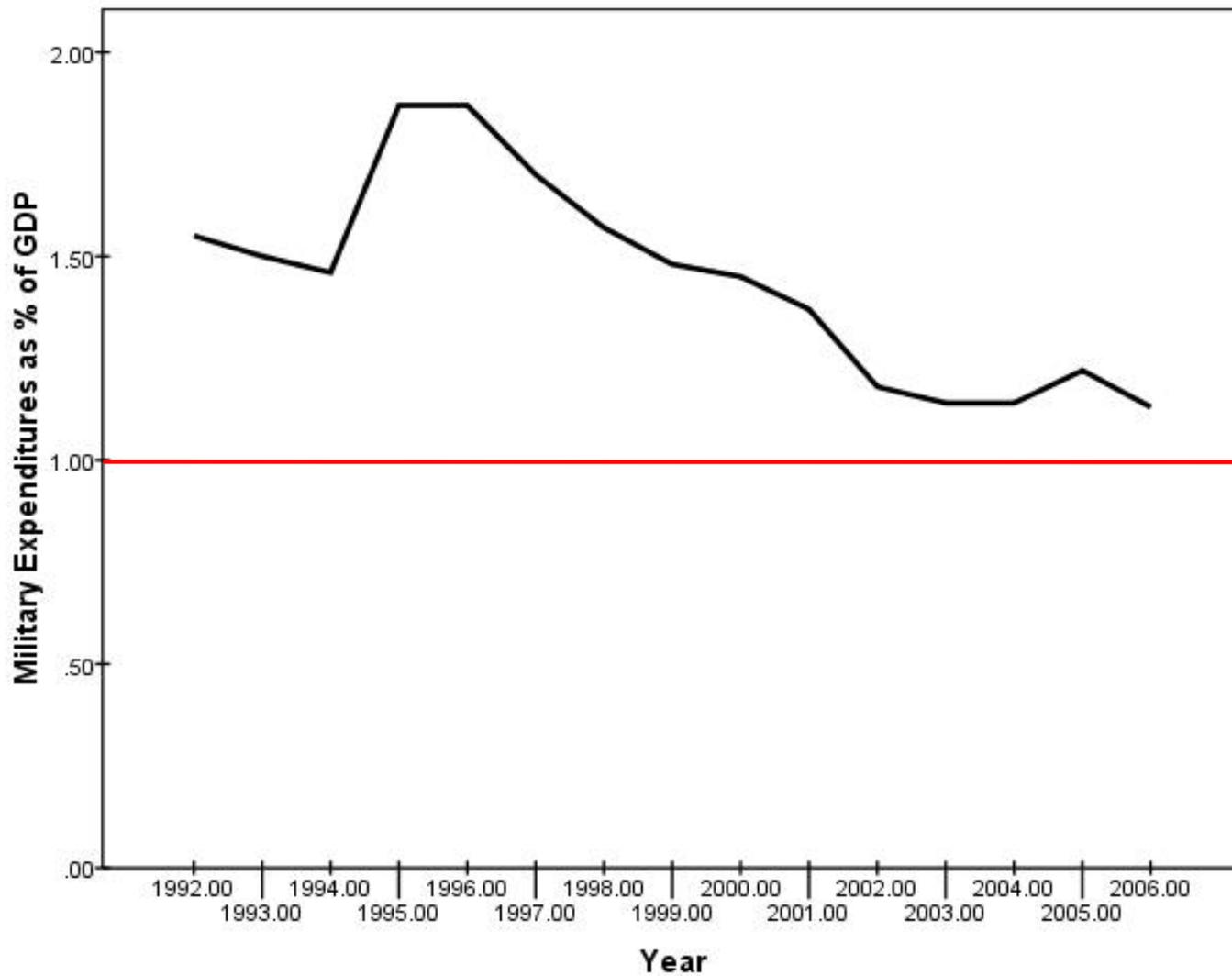
- ❑ 2008 – Delivery of first air refueling tanker
- ❑ Provide JASDF with air refueling capability + troop transport
- ❑ Interoperable with NATO, EU, U.S.
- ❑ Renaissance of militarism?
- ❑ Does not infringe on “exclusive defense” policy
- ❑ Can extend reach of F-15’s, F-2’s
- ❑ China and Korea



# Defense Expenditures



# Defense Expenditures



# Prominent Researchers

- ❑ Glenn Hook (1988) – Japanese anti-militarism eroded, public more inclined to accept re-armament
- ❑ Gregory Corning (1989) – Examined security treaty between Japan, U.S.
- ❑ Policy shaped by pressure from U.S., burden-sharing and nationalist governments
- ❑ Thomas Berger (1993) – Analyzed anti-militaristic culture of post-war Japan
- ❑ Prospect of Japan rearming to a pre WWII state = unlikely in short term
- ❑ Thomas Wilborn (1994) – examine defense policy, determine potential of Japan becoming major military power
- ❑ Focuses on problem of defining “exclusively offensive” weapons

# Methods and Analysis

- ▣ Examine public opinion
- ▣ Views on issues related to defense
- ▣ Defense establishment, perception of threats, culture, government
- ▣ If public identifies threats, has trust in government and defense establishment = less opposition to more “offensive” re-armament
- ▣ Gives government freedom + justification

# Methods and Analysis

- ❑ Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project 2006, Asia Barometer 2004
- ❑ Global Attitudes Project – 15 nation survey, world and domestic issues, some on specific countries
- ❑ Asia Barometer 2004 – Similar to previous data set, questions relating to public opinion on political values, governance, perception of threats
- ❑ Limitations – Global Attitudes Project, low number of respondents
- ❑ Asia Barometer – also suffers low numbers
- ❑ Perform various statistical tests, determine public opinion

# Data Analysis

		Japanese Nationalistic Index				
		Least Nationalistic	Somewhat Nationalistic	Nationalistic	Very Nationalistic	Total
Revision of Article 9	Favor	14 9.7%	43 33.3%	54 37.8%	19 13.2%	130 28.2%
	Oppose	131 90.3%	86 66.7%	89 62.2%	25 56.8%	331 71.8%
	Total	145 100.0%	129 100.0%	143 100.0%	44 100.0%	461 100.0%

Chi Square = 37.643

Cramer's V = .286\*

\* Significance at .001 Level

# Data Analysis

		Japanese Perception - North Korea						Total
		No Threat At All	Not a Threat	Somewhat not a Threat	Somewhat a Threat	A Threat	An Extreme Threat	
Revision of Article 9	Favor	0 .0%	4 25.0%	10 19.2%	19 27.9%	42 30.0%	60 31.4%	135 28.8%
	Oppose	1 100.0%	12 75.0%	42 80.8%	49 72.1%	98 70.0%	131 68.6%	333 71.2%
	Total	1 100.0%	16 100.0%	52 100.0%	68 100.0%	140 100.0%	191 100.0%	468 100.0%

Chi Square = 3.594

Cramer's V = .088

\*Significance at .05 level

# Data Analysis

		Japanese Perception - China				
		No Threat	Neutral	Somewhat a Threat	An Extreme Threat	Total
Revision of Article 9	Favor	8 16.3%	25 19.2%	56 31.1%	39 48.8%	128 29.2%
	Oppose	41 83.7%	105 80.8%	124 68.9%	41 51.2%	311 70.8%
	Total	49 100.0%	130 100.0%	180 100.0%	80 100.0%	439 100.0%

Chi Square = 25.307

Cramer's V = .240\*

\*Significance at .01 level

		Chinese Military Power		
		Good Thing	Bad Thing	Total
Revision of Article 9	Favor	3 21.4%	125 28.3%	128 28.1%
	Oppose	11 78.6%	317 71.7%	328 71.9%
	Total	14 100.0%	442 100.0%	456 100.0%

Chi Square = 0.316

Phi = -.026

\*Significance at .05 level

		China Economy a Good Thing		
		Good Thing	Bad Thing	Total
Revision of Article 9	Favor	83 25.1%	45 35.2%	128 27.9%
	Oppose	248 74.9%	83 64.8%	331 72.1%
	Total	331 100.0%	128 100.0%	459 100.0%

Chi Square = 4.664

Phi = -.101\*

\*Significance at .05 level

# Data Analysis

		Trust in Defense Institution				
		Trust a lot	Trust to a degree	Don't really trust	Don't trust at all	Total
More or Less Govt. Spending - Military and Defense	More Spending	13 20.6%	40 8.0%	7 4.0%	1 4.3%	61 8.0%
	Spend the Same Now	29 46.0%	270 54.0%	66 37.5%	8 34.8%	373 49.0%
	Spend Less	21 33.3%	190 38.0%	103 58.5%	14 60.9%	328 43.0%
	Total	63 100.0%	500 100.0%	176 100.0%	23 100.0%	762 100.0%

Chi Square = 40.706

Cramer's V = .163\*

\*Significance at .01 level

# Data Analysis

		Trust in Parliament				
		Trust a lot	Trust to a degree	Don't really trust	Don't trust at all	Total
More or Less Govt. Spending - Military and Defense	More Spending	0 .0%	21 10.4%	31 7.2%	9 6.3%	61 7.9%
	Spend the Same Now	3 75.0%	123 60.9%	193 45.0%	57 40.1%	376 48.4%
	Spend Less	1 25.0%	58 28.7%	205 47.8%	76 53.5%	340 43.8%
	Total	4 100.0%	202 100.0%	429 100.0%	142 100.0%	777 100.0%

Chi Square = 28.194

Cramer's V = .135\*

\*Significance at .01 level

# Data Analysis

		U.S. Influence			
		Good Influence	Neither Good or Bad Influence	Bad Influence	Total
More or Less Govt. Spending - Military and Defense	More Spending	26 10.7%	22 8.5%	15 5.7%	63 8.2%
	Spend the Same Now	125 51.7%	135 52.1%	112 42.4%	372 48.6%
	Spend Less	91 37.6%	102 39.4%	137 51.9%	330 43.1%
	Total	242 100.0%	259 100.0%	264 100.0%	765 100.0%

Chi Square = 14.413

Cramer's V = .097\*

\*Significance at .05 level

# Results

- ▣ Awareness of external threats
- ▣ Chinese economic power + Chinese military power
- ▣ U.S. = weak threat
- ▣ Culture = not significant
- ▣ Trust in political institutions = influence of Article 9 views
- ▣ Low trust = low regard for defense matters including acquisitions

# Conclusions

- ▣ Answers and questions
- ▣ Gap in perception, lawmakers and people
- ▣ Political elite?
- ▣ Nationalism and China = significant factors towards defense
- ▣ Constitutional Interpretation
- ▣ Interoperability with allies
- ▣ Provoke Fear
- ▣ Building for the future