

The Korean War and The National Police Reserve of Japan: Impact of the US Army's Far East Command on Japan's Defense Capability*

KUZUHARA Kazumi

Introduction

The sudden outbreak of the military offensive by the North Korean Communist Forces on June 25, 1950, had a significant impact on the United States Army's Far Eastern Command (FECOM). In August 1950, three divisions of US troops stationed in Japan were sent to breach the Pusan beachhead, which had been under continuous attack by the North Korean Communist Forces. Since the only remaining division stationed in Japan, the US 7th Division, had been ordered out to take part in the Inchon amphibious assault, by mid-September of that year nothing resembling a military force remained in Japan.

It was against this backdrop that under the direction of the US Military Advisory Group, the National Police Reserve of Japan was formed to fill the country's military vacuum by providing for national defense capability, as well as to serve as a lightly armed national police force. The latter role is illustrated by the original English term used for the force, "constabulary."¹ The entrance of Chinese Communist Forces in battle on the Korean peninsula, however, increased the scope of the threat Japan faced, and FECOM responded by significantly altering the nature of the National Police Reserve, shifting it far more in the direction of a defense force.

Many, including Hiroshi Masuda in *The Birth of the Self-Defense Forces*,² have examined the relationship between the US Army and the National Police Reserve. Here, however, the author will focus on issues that have not previously been the subject of in-depth research: how the Military Advisory Group influenced the formation of the National Police Reserve defense capability, particularly in terms of development and training, and how the National Police Reserve, in particular its reinstated former Japanese military personnel, reacted to and accepted the guiding principles of the US military.

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¹ Yomiuri Shimbun *Sengoshi-han, Sai-gunbi no Kiseski* (The Locus of Remilitarization), (Yomiuri Shimbun, 1981) p. 66. The same term was used in the name given to the South Korean Constabulary, a force formed prior to South Korean independence.

² Hiroshi Masuda, *Jieitai no Tanjo* (The Birth of the Self-Defense Forces), (Chuko Shinsyo, 2004).

I. Formation of a National Police Force

A. Invasion by North Korean Communist Forces and Formation of Japan's National Police Reserve

Despite declaring in his New Year's Day address on January 1, 1950, that the Japanese Constitution does not deny Japan's right to self-defense,³ General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, the FECOM commander, failed to recognize the realities of an increasingly intense Cold War in the Asian theater.

Courier John Foster Dulles, who arrived in Japan on June 17 to negotiate a peace treaty for the United States, advised MacArthur to accept limited remilitarization. Despite this, however, MacArthur remained opposed to the idea. Convinced that the government would be unable to gain public support for such a dramatic policy shift change just five years after the end of the war, Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida continued to steadfastly refuse to remilitarize Japan, citing the Constitution, public sentiment and economic conditions as the basis for his stance.

With the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, however, and the growing military conflict, this position became untenable. Witnessing the fall of the Korean capital, Seoul, and the collapse of four South Korean frontline army divisions on June 28 from the southern bank of the Han River, MacArthur made the decision to deploy US troops stationed in Japan to Korea. The intense changes taking place just next door directly affected the domestic situation in Japan, as well. The Ministry of Justice and the National Police ordered heavy surveillance of movement by foreign nationals and others in Japan by police stations and the Japanese Coast Guard, and for patrols and interdiction inspections to be tightened. The strictest precautions were enacted in the Kyushu region, with an air raid alert issued on June 29 in Itaduke, Fukuoka Prefecture. Finally, on July 8, MacArthur sent a letter to Prime Minister Yoshida ordering the formation of a 75,000-person National Police Reserve and an 8,000-person expansion of the Japanese Coast Guard.

Over the 17-day period between the Osan Battle on July 5, and the exchange with the First Cavalry Division on July 22, the deployed 24th US Division suffered 7,350 troop casualties, up to and including the capture of the division commander.⁴ Reading the Korean War as a global challenge launched by the Communist Bloc, on July 31 the US War Department urged MacArthur to push the remilitarization of Japan in order to prepare for both direct and indirect invasion/attack.⁵

³ "MacArthur's 'New Year's Day Address,'" in Hideo Otake, ed., *Sengo Nihon Boei Mondai Shiryo-shu* (Issues of Defense in Postwar Japan: A Collection, Vol. 1—From Non-Militarization to Remilitarization), (Sanichi Publishing Co., Ltd., 1991) p. 233.

⁴ Army History Research Council, eds. *Kokkyo Kaisen to Chitai Kodo* (Border Battles and Delay Action), (Hara Shobo, 1966) p. 194.

⁵ Hiroshi Masuda, *Chosen-senso Izen niokeru Nihon no Saigunbi Koso* (Concepts of Japanese Remilitarization Prior to the Korean War) (Part 2/Conclusion)" in *Hogaku Kenkyu* (Legal Research), Vol. 72, No. 5 (May 1999) p. 54.

The National Police Reserve was formed on August 10, 1950, according to Government Ordinance No. 260. The National Police Reserve chain of command was modeled after the structure of the US army, with a General Group Chief overseeing four regional units and reporting to the Prime Minister, Ministers of State, and the Director General. Negotiations with General Headquarters, Far East Command (abbreviated hereafter to GHQ) on the organization and mission of this new force continued, with the final form outlined in the document “General Principles”⁶ issued on July 17. Taking the form of a police force established to enforce domestic public order and armed with “such weapons as pistols and other small arms,” the National Police Reserve basically reflected MacArthur’s stance on the matter.

B. “Cover Plan” and its Repercussions

The launching point for the debate as to whether the National Police Reserve of Japan was to be “a military or a police force” lies in a description in the “MacArthur Letter,”⁷ which served as the directive to establish the force. In this letter, he described the Korean War as “violence, chaos, and disorder in a neighboring country,” and deemed the maintenance of public order as the objective behind expanding and enhancing police force strength. However, the preface to the *History of the National Police Reserve of Japan*, edited by the FECOM’s US Eighth Army Military History Section begins with the explicit statement, “From a historical standpoint, however, the formation of the National Police Reserve in Japan was highly significant because the new police unit was actually a military organization.”⁸ The discrepancy between the description in the MacArthur Letter and the FECOM book was thought to stem from the fact that, “since any move to organize a military force in Japan might result in internal as well as external repercussions, the Japanese defense forces would be instituted under a cover plan.”⁹ “For cover purposes, the Public Safety Division, G2, was to be given the appearance of controlling the Police Reserve early in the program,” since “the word ‘Police’ in the title, plus the use of police terminology throughout the organization, was considered sufficient cover for what was intended to be a military force.” Conflict arose when GHQ was forced to accept a police unit in name, despite the understanding that this new military unit would constitute the future Japanese armed force. The Military Advisory Group Chief of Staff, Colonel Frank Kowalski, Jr., later reflected that in light of how this would in fact stymie the sound development of a military force, MacArthur should have revised a portion of the (Japanese) Constitution,¹⁰ pointing out the miscalculation of failing to revise the Constitution as the attitude toward remilitarization

⁶ National Police Reserve of Japan “General Principles,” *Sengo Nihon Boei Mondai Shiryo-shu*, p. 444.

⁷ *Sengo Nihon Boei Mondai Shiryo-shu*, p. 426.

⁸ Office of the Military History Officer HQ AFFE/Eighth Army, *History of the National Police Reserve of Japan* (July 23, 1955) p. 1.

⁹ *History of the National Police Reserve of Japan*, pp. 41-44.

¹⁰ Frank Kowalski (trans. Kinjiro Katsuyama), *Nihon Sai-gunbi—Beigunji Komondan Bakuryocho no Kiroku* (Japanese Remilitarization—The Records of the US Military Advisory Group Chief of Staff), (Chuokoron-Shinsha, Inc., 1999) p. 338.

subsequently shifted. The cover and ambiguity of the makeup and character of the National Police Reserve led to a complicated set of repercussions on both the recruitment and subsequent training of reservists.

C. Recruiting Reservists and Appointing Officers

National Police Reserve recruitment for the lowest, entry-level positions began as soon as the force was about to be established.¹¹ The Japanese Police Headquarters was in charge of initial reservist recruitment, beginning immediate recruitment and setting the first day of enrollment on August 23, 1950. Headquarters began accepting applications on August 13, and testing began on August 17 at 183 locations throughout the country and lasted for one month. By October 12, 74,158 applicants between the ages of 18 and 35 were enrolled in police academies across the country, having successfully competed against more than five applicants for a single opening.

All reservists accepted in this initial round of recruitment were appointed as Patrolman Second Class (Privates), and with no management or institutional infrastructure in place and not a single officer appointed, the force was plagued with anxiety and instability. Although Headquarters had appointed temporary officers who wore armbands as part of their uniforms, many voiced dissatisfaction with the fact that these temporary appointees were chosen for their conversational fluency in English; that preference was given in appointments to those with more years on the police force; and with the lack of transparency with regard to the requirements candidates had to fulfill for eligibility for promotions of rank. It was clear that appointing an officer corps immediately was a matter of the utmost urgency.

The question of where to find these officers was a problem from the outset. Debate on this issue centered on three proposals: the appointment of officers from among former military officers by releasing them from the ban on former military holding public positions; appointing those already holding official positions, primarily police officers; and recruiting officers from among the general public. The US had a strong interest in this issue, and the topic generated intense debate within the US military, as well. Major General Charles A. Willoughby, GHQ G2, charged Colonel Takushiro Hattori, Chief of Operations and Staff Planning in the Imperial Japanese Army, with putting together a list of primary officer candidates. Hattori submitted a list of approximately 400 selected former military officers, but MacArthur ultimately decided that former military officers prohibited from holding public office would not be appointed.¹² The government was therefore forced to seek unit officers from outside the pool of former military officers, and Keikichi Masuhara, Director General and Acting Chairman, set about appointing 1,000 officers. Recruiting for those in

¹¹ The figures in this paragraph are quoted from the Japan Defense Agency Second Human Resource Department *Boshu Junen-shi* (Ten Year Recruiting History), Vol. 1 (Japan Defense Agency Second Human Resource Department, 1961).

¹² Japan Defense Agency Self-Defense Force Ten-Year History Council of Editors, ed., *Jieitai Junen-shi* (Self-Defense Force Ten-Year History), (Ministry of Finance Japan Printing Bureau, 1961) p. 30. In this debate, GHQ G2 Major General Willoughby clashed with Brigadier General Courtney Whitney, Director of the Civil Administration Bureau, who opposed Willoughby's proposal to appoint former military officers.

the officer corps who would be selected from among the general public began on September 16, 1950. Priority was given to candidates with “suitable previous experience in leading and directing subordinates,” and 800 applicants were ultimately selected from among the 13 candidates vying for each position. In a parallel selection process, an additional 200 specially appointed officers were selected upon recommendation from public officials. On October 9, approximately 160 principal staff positions were filled, including deputy chiefs and regional directors, as well as Keizo Hayashi, who was selected from among the Home Ministry bureaucrats to act as the chief and commander of uniformed troops. On October 23, Senior Superintendent Keizo Hayashi officially took charge of the day-to-day operations previously handled by Inspector 2nd Class (1st Lieutenant) Kenshichi Okamoto under the direction of the US Military Headquarters Commander. In this way, the precedent was set for the General Group established later.

At the end of 1950, 52.5% of the National Police Reserve came from military backgrounds, while more than 47.4% entered without military experience. All 5,251 (6.5%) accepted former military officers became reserve officers.¹³ As described above, the initial core staff members upon which the National Police Reserve was organized and operated were not graduates of the Imperial Military or Naval Academies or otherwise commissioned military officers.

D. US Military Advisory Group Direction

Until sovereignty was restored, the National Police Reserve operated under the direction of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP), and the Public Safety Division of G2, in conjunction with the Japanese National Police, was supposed to exercise operational control. The duties, however, of the Military Advisory Group, which was commanding the National Police Reserve, were transferred to the Civil Affairs Section, and GHQ Major General Whitfield P. Shepard, Chief of the Civil Affairs Section Annex (CASA), was made Director of the Advisory Group. In consideration of possible external repercussions, the department was given the title CASA, a move made in the extremely hectic days immediately following the outbreak of the Korean War. The most pressing issue that the GHQ had to address was securing the personnel necessary to deploy in the Korean War, which meant that the initial staff for the CASA was only 405, a group made up of 158 officers, 217 enlisted men, and 30 civilians. (G3 subsequently recognized the urgent need for greater numbers of military advisors, and in April 1952, the staff was expanded to its maximum size of 975, a figure which broke down to 322 officers, 599 enlisted men, and 54 civilians.¹⁴)

The first thirteen-week training phase began at 28 camps in regions throughout the country on August 23, 1950. Table 1 below, “Training Phases and Content,” outlines each

¹³ *Boshu Junen-shi*, p. 119. Young reservists less than 22 years of age (43,551) accounted for 53.8% of the entire force. Since these reservists were 18 years old at the time the war ended, it is probable that most who were 23 years of age or older when they joined the reserves had some prior military experience.

¹⁴ *Jieitai Junen-shi*, p. 373.

training phase, from the first through the sixth, detailing the content and equipment involved, as directed by the CASA.

As this table indicates, training as a police force in public safety and maintaining public order was the primary focus through the third phase, at which point major small arms equipment training was complete. In the fourth phase, which was offered once the peace accord was signed on September 8, 1951, trainees entered special skills training tailored to specific jobs and duties, laying the foundation for developing a specialized military force. Once reservists moved into the sixth phase of training, the National Police Reserve was finally able to conduct regiment-level field actions. In parallel with unit-level training, the CASA also trained core staff, personnel and supply workers at the Ecchujima Academy (personnel and supply workers), Edajima Academy (beginning core staff training; weapons, facilities, communications, etc.), and Tokyo Officer Academy (core staff training designed to train personnel and officers to form the fundamental core of the reserve staff).

Core personnel training began on August 28 at the Edajima Academy and covered weapons training and platoon leader training (a four-week course). Of the first class of National Police Reserve graduates, 320 were chosen for core personnel training based on their military experience and academic history. Of this group, 40 were selected for further training and sent from the Edajima Academy to the Tokyo Officer Academy on September 18. Here they were trained by US military instructors using Japanese interpreters in a Command and General Staff Course (six weeks) to serve as “core officer personnel.” Those who completed this course were promoted to Senior Inspector (Major) and served as battalion commanders or general staff officers.¹⁵

¹⁵ Japan Ground Self-Defense Force Staff College, *Rikujo Jieitai Kanbu Gakko-shi* (Japan Ground Self-Defense Force Academy History) (Vol. 1, 1958), p. 7-8.

Table 1 Training phases and content

Phase	Training stage	Content	Equipment (numbers of)
First phase (13W) Oct. 1950- Jan. 14, 1951	Individual training	Small arms handling, instruction methods, maintenance of public order	Carbines 480 vehicles
Second phase (18W) Jan. 15, 1951- May 19, 1951	Troop training	Small unit training, legal education, instruction methods, target practice	Feb.-Mar.: heavy machine guns, light machine guns, 60mm mortars, 75mm RL From Apr.: M15 (16), M16A1 (48)
Third phase (18W) Jun. 4, 1951- Oct. 6, 1951	Battalion training	Training in new unit formations, public order drills	Jul.: 2,130 vehicles From Sep.: handguns, rifles, automatic weapons, 81mm mortars (450)
Fourth phase (13W) Oct. 8, 1951- Jan. 19, 1952	Service branch training	Training by branches of service, including technical units and management units	(Branch training in medical, engineers, supplies, communications, ordnance, chemicals in US facilities)
Fifth phase (19W) Feb. 4, 1952- Jun. 13, 1952	Battalion training Specialty training	Small unit integration training, heavy armament training in Soumagahara	From Mar.: 89mm RL (443) (Gun, tank, and heavy mortar training in US facilities)
Sixth phase (13W) Jun. 23, 1952- Sep. 30, 1952	Regimental training	Regimental fieldtraining	From Aug.: M24 tanks (40), 105mm Howitzer (154), 15,000 vehicles From Oct.: 155mm Howitzer (58)

Source: Figures and information regarding training phases, content, and equipment compiled from Japan Defense Agency Self-Defense Force Ten-Year History Council of Editors, ed., *Jieitai Junen-shi* (Self-Defense Force Ten-Year History) (Ministry of Finance Japan Printing Bureau, 1961) and other materials.

Although the military advisors directly oversaw the entire range of National Police Reserve operations from personnel to documentation management and supply procurement, training operations were most strictly controlled. Military advisors demanded direct control over all aspects of training, including content, planning and methodology, and would tolerate no autonomy on the part of the National Police Reserve.

National Police Reserve Headquarters analyzes “the reaction among reservists to interference by the US military,”¹⁶ prior to the Japan-US peace treaty coming into effect as follows. The reactions among reservists toward excessive interference by the US military can be grouped into three broad categories: antipathy, appeasement, and apathy. The vast majority of reservists were apathetic to US military interference, with small minorities falling into the antipathy and appeasement camps. The reason behind the antipathy was the perceived frequency with which the US military interfered on too expansive a scale and in too much detail. These reservists resented the US refusal to allow the Japanese autonomy, as well as the frequency with which US commands ignored the realities among Japanese stemming from a lack of respect for the capabilities of the Japanese reservists and a disregard for Japanese people. Many of those in the minority camp who were hostile to US military interference were mid-ranking reservists, from whom anti-American sentiment gradually spread to the general enlisted population. Of these, a large number of former military who applied for the National Police Reserve based on the belief that the reserve would eventually develop into the future Japanese armed forces were hostile to the US military command and quit the reserve. For this, as well as other reasons, the National Police Reserve lost 8,500 reservists, a figure that constituted more than 10% of the entire force, in the one-year period following its formation.

II. Developing Defense Capability Through “Defense Units”

A. Chinese Intervention and the Transformation to Defense Units

On November 25, 1950, a contingent of 300,000 People’s Volunteer Army (hereafter referred to as the Chinese army) troops launched their charge by crossing the Yalujiang River. To MacArthur, full-fledged intervention by China constituted “an entirely new war,”¹⁷ turning this charge into an indisputable attack and prompting expectations of an all-out war against the Communist Bloc. The US-Korean combined forces withdrew in one fell swoop a full 320km to the south, sustaining a total of 12,975 casualties. Based on an understanding that “we are now confronting the infinite power of all of Communist China backed by logistical support from the Soviet Union,”¹⁸ MacArthur viewed the situation with a sense of crisis, saying that “the participation of the Chinese Army puts us at a disadvantage unprecedented in the US history of war.”¹⁹

Unable to curb the abandonment of Seoul to the Chinese Army on January 3, 1951, MacArthur assessed a situation in which the National Police Reserve was in possession of only 75,000 released carbines, and completely reversed his original stance. Declaring that

¹⁶ Japan Defense Agency, Agency History Section, “Sengo Boei no Ayumi (Development of Postwar Defense), (From the National Police Reserve to Self-Defense Force) No. 28—Training”, *Asagumo Shimbun*, May 25, 1989.

¹⁷ Kazuo Tsushima trans., *MacArthur Kaiso-ki* (MacArthur Recollects), Vol. 2 (*Asahi Shimbun*, 1964), p. 281.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

“in light of current conditions, the delivery of equipment and supplies to the National Police Reserve is a matter of critical urgency, as high a priority as any request related to the Korean War, and any delay in this is unacceptable,”²⁰ MacArthur submitted to the US War Department a “List of Weapons Required by the National Police Reserve of Japan.” (See Table 2.) In this list, MacArthur requested a total of 760 tracked vehicles, which included 307 M26 tanks (with a 90mm gun), the only vehicle at the time capable of engaging the T-34 tank (with an 85mm gun), and which represented a typical request for four US infantry divisions.²¹

On January 7, the US War Department responded to the weapons request list by suggesting that the reserves be structured as a light armament division, rather than heavy armament divisions equipped with tanks and howitzers. The following day, MacArthur countered that “Korean light army divisions did not adequately stand up to the North Korean Army backed by tanks” and that “a National Police Reserve without mid-sized tanks, or at least howitzers, would be entirely ill-equipped” to respond to “any and all contingencies including an all-out invasion of Japan by foreign armies equipped and trained in line with the Communist doctrine.”²² MacArthur’s staunch determination on this issue led to the National Police Reserve shedding its “cover” as a police force and transforming itself into an actual defense force. MacArthur was given the grave responsibility of defending Korea from China and preventing the Soviet Union from invading Japan.

The US Joint Chiefs of Staff granted basic approval of MacArthur’s request on February 9. A heavily armed National Police Reserve, however, conflicted with the Far Eastern Commission’s policy of non-militarization, and the US State Department continually delayed taking action so that the approved request failed to materialize. MacArthur’s irritation with these delays and the pressure that he was under eventually brought about an escalation of his rhetoric until he demanded permission to attack the Chinese mainland. This escalation further strained the relationship between MacArthur and the US government and ultimately led to his dismissal on April 11, 1951. Subsequently, however, both the US Military Advisory Group and the Japanese government came to a clear understanding that training in heavy armament would be necessary, and that specialization and skills training for unit operations in each branch would be essential if the force was to be combat ready as soon as these units were equipped.

²⁰ *History of the National Police Reserve of Japan*, p. 206.

²¹ According to the infantry division organizational tables contained in the *Staff Officers Field Manual, Organization, Technical, and Logistical Data*, FM100-10, 1949, a US infantry division consists of a heavy tank battalion with 63 tanks and three infantry regiments with 60 tanks (20 each) for a total of 123 tanks. In terms of the number of tanks, therefore, the list of equipment MacArthur requested for the National Police Reserve included fewer tanks than would equip four US infantry divisions.

²² *History of the National Police Reserve of Japan*, p. 207.

Table 2 List of weapons required by the National Police Reserve (heavy armament)

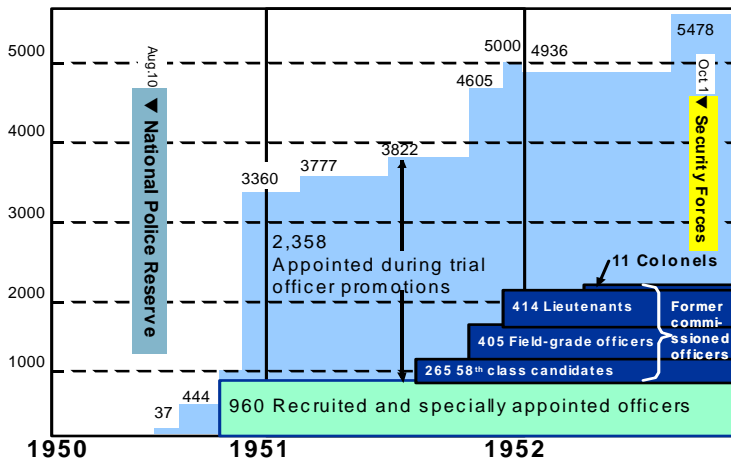
Category	Type and quantity (No. per infantry division)	Total		
Guns	M2A1 105mm Howitzer	228 (54)	304	
	M1 155mm Howitzer	76 (18)		
Antitank weapons	3.5-inch (89mm) rocket launchers	2,198 (465)		
Tanks	M24 (75mm) light tanks	36 (9)	399	Tracked vehicles 760
	M26 (90mm) medium tanks (M46)	307 (123)		
	M4A3 (76mm) medium tanks	25		
	M45 (105mm) tanks (M46)	31 (12)		
Support tanks	M32 tank recovery vehicles	41 (34)	91	
	MTng Dozer tanks	50		
Self-propelled anti-aircraft guns	M16 (12.7mm x 4) self-propelled anti-aircraft guns	135 (32)	270	
	M19 (40mm x 2) self-propelled anti-aircraft guns	135 (32)		

Source: Osamu Ishii, et. al., “C52610 CINCFE Tokyo to Departure of Army,” *US Joint Chiefs of Staff Files 1948-1953*, Vol. 12 (Kashiwa Shobo, 2000), pp. 324-325.

Officials began to examine the issue of releasing former military personnel for enrollment in the National Police Reserve. Having determined that second lieutenants enlisted in the Japanese military immediately before the war ended and were therefore the least likely to be influenced by that mindset, recruitment from the Imperial Military Academy’s 58th class began on February 11, 1951. On June 1, 245 selected students were enrolled in national level schools as the first class of reserve candidates and, upon completion of “reserve officer training,” were appointed Inspector First and Second Class (1st and 2nd lieutenants). As predicted, however, these graduates lacked the practical experience and adequate expertise to make quality mid-ranking officers.

As the release of former military personnel continued, recruitment moved on to the second stage, that of enlisting former majors and lieutenant colonels from among cadets of the 53rd class and later. On October 1, 405 field-grade officers were appointed as Senior Inspectors and Superintendent Second Class officers (equivalent in rank to Major or Lieutenant Colonel). Finally, recruitment moved into the third stage, with the appointment of 407 company officers on December 5. Through the process described above, more than 1,000 former commissioned officers had been reinstated in the National Police Reserve by the end of 1951, and reinstated military officers accounted for one in five of the approximately 5,000-person reserve officer corps. (See Figure 1.) At about the time that the reserve began its intensive officer corps training, the Korean War was exhibiting a new wave of change.

Figure 1 Number of former commissioned officers in officer corps



Source: Compiled based on figures from Japan Defense Agency Second Human Resource Department, *Boshu Junen-shi* (Ten Year Recruiting History), Vol. 1 (Japan Defense Agency Second Human Resource Department, 1961).

B. Threat of Soviet Military Invasion and Reinstatement of Former Colonel-Level Officers

On April 12, 1951, as tension continued to build on the Korean Peninsula, General Matthew B. Ridgeway, who had headed the US-Korean Army as 8th Army Commander, was appointed to succeed MacArthur following his dismissal. The April attack by three Chinese army units (nine divisions) began ten days later, on April 22. This was a relentless full-on attack by the Chinese, unconstrained by the number of casualties in their own ranks, and left the US-Korean combined forces no breathing room or time for reorganization. The fear of a full-scale war turned to reality due to three factors: first, invasion by the North Korean Army; second, invasion by the Chinese Army; and third, the possible impact of full-scale intervention by the Soviet Army.

A May 9 report to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff²³ suggested a possible invasion of the Japanese mainland by the Soviet Union. The strength of the Soviet Far East Army was estimated at 35 divisions, including combatant units made up of 70,000-100,000 Japanese. The Soviet Navy was thought to be armed with multiple submarines, and the Air Force 2,200 fighter planes, 600 attack planes, 1,700 bombers, 500 transport planes, and 300 reconnaissance planes for a total of 5,300 aircraft. High-ranking officials in Washington recognized the significant possibility of a full-frontal attack by the Communist Bloc between

²³ “Report by Joint Strategic Survey Committee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Transfer of Certain Non-Military Functions in Japan to the Department of State (May 9, 1951),” in: Osamu Ishii, et.al., *Amerika Togo Sanbo-honbu Shiryo 1948-1953 nen* (US Joint Chiefs of Staff Files 1948-1953), Vol. 5 (Kashiwa Shobo, 2000), pp. 185-188.

August and September 1951, reporting with maximum urgency that this possibility was to be viewed as clearly impending potential enemy action.

Reacting to the crisis and considering the need to balance preparedness on both the Asian and European fronts, the US Department of Defense began relocating the 16th Corps (the 40th and 45th National Guard Army Divisions) from the US mainland to Japan in April 1951 in order to reinforce Japanese defense capability against the Soviet Union. These units were charged with the defense of Hokkaido and Aomori on May 10.

Ridgeway feared that unanticipated causes would bring about an all-out war with the Soviet Union, and just days after the corps arrived, reconnaissance planes began patrolling the skies over Hokkaido, the island with the highest likelihood for invasion. Ridgeway's greatest worry in the Korean War was the military crisis posed by the tragic lack of leadership in the Korean Army.²⁴ In the activities of National Police Reserve commanders and the chain of command, Ridgeway saw a similar danger of a paralyzed leadership in commanders with no training other than in politics.

In a May 23 report to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Ridgeway wrote that if the same ranks of former Japanese military personnel continued to be released, thousands of officers up to and including the rank of major would be at our disposal, but we will not be able to fill the highest staff positions with reservists able to perform as high-ranking commanders and staff personnel. He further revealed his concern that for the next two or three years, we would have to depend on troops (National Police Reserve) assisted by high-ranking staff lacking adequate skills, and if the Soviet Army launched an attack during this period of time, the US military would pay an even higher price in troop losses. He suggested that steps must be taken immediately to release former Japanese army and navy men up to and including the rank of colonel and navy captain.²⁵ Ridgeway was strongly convinced that without these officers available to us, the National Police Reserve forces would have an incredibly difficult time acquiring the level of combat readiness as an army division as quickly as we require.²⁶

In response to Ridgeway's request, the GHQ agreed to call up Secretariat Director Katsuo Okazaki and to reinstate field-grade officers up to and including the rank of colonel. Okazaki was concerned about the stark dissatisfaction expressed by the Hattori Group with regard to the situation at the time, explaining that Prime Minister Yoshida and others in the Japanese government objected to the reinstatement of officers at the rank of colonel. Accepting this argument, the US agreed to leave the responsibility for studying the issue of officer release and determining which ranks were to be reinstated to their Japanese counterparts.²⁷

²⁴ Matthew B. Ridgeway (trans, Masami Kumagai), *Chosen Senso* (The Korean War) (Kobunsha, 1976), p. 230.

²⁵ "such broad administrative interpretation thereof as would permit the release of officers up to and including the ranks of army colonel and navy captain," *History of the National Police Reserve of Japan*, p. 166.

²⁶ *History of the National Police Reserve of Japan*, p. 166.

²⁷ Shingo Nakajima, *Sengo Nihon-gata Seigun Kankei no Keisei* (Development of Postwar Japan-Style Politico-Military Relations), *Gunji Shigaku* (The Journal of Military History), No. 133, June 1998, p. 28.

The decision was ultimately made to reinstate field-grade officers up to and including the rank of lieutenant colonel, and these steps were completed by October 1952. The reinstatement of former officers at the rank of colonel, however, was strongly opposed by civil service employees at the National Police Reserve headquarters,²⁸ and consideration of this matter was given low priority.

For these reasons, the final hurdle to be overcome, the reinstatement of colonels as officers, was not cleared until July 1952 in time for the scheduled expansion of the National Police Reserve to a Police Reserve Force. Recognizing the need to reinforce Japan's national defense capability by restoring the country's autonomy, Prime Minister Yoshida rescinded his past objections to the participation of former military in the National Police Reserve²⁹ and gave the Japanese government the green light. The decision was then made to reinstate 11 former colonels (Imperial Army Academy Classes 34-39), and the Police Reserve Force was expanded to an 110,000-person force. On July 14, 1952, Superintendent First Class officers (colonel) were appointed as generals. These appointments, in conjunction with the approximately 400 field-grade officers that had already been reinstated, helped Japan develop its combat preparedness by building an organized command structure.

C. Advanced Heavy Armament Training and Heavy Armament Releases

On December 3, 1951, the year in which the US signed the Treaty of Peace with Japan, a US Joint Chiefs of Staff report³⁰ described the role of the Japanese Defense Force as cooperating with the US to maintain Japan's defense against foreign enemies, an indication of US expectations that this would be a defense force with which the US would cooperate.

The substantial shift from a police to a defense force required the operation of massive equipment, and establishing a system for heavy armament training became a matter of great urgency. For this reason, Prime Minister Yoshida and Ridgeway met multiple times beginning in 1952, and the Prime Minister based his discussions on the premise that training with heavy armament would take place on US military bases. The UK, Australia and other allied nations gave their approval for these exercises the same year, and on March 12, the decision was made by the National Police Reserve HQ to establish the Soumagahara Special Training Unit to train Japanese troops to handle heavy armament. At the time, the largest weapons used by the National Police Reserve had been 81mm mortars. Without waiting for the restoration of Japanese autonomy that would come into effect with the Japan Peace Accord on April 28, training with such heavy arms as tanks and howitzers was launched on April 7.

Training estimates compiled by the GHQ G-3 projected that training on this new equipment could be completed and at a level of combat readiness within nine to 11 months if currently underutilized resources (former military personnel who are prohibited from

²⁸ Kowalski, *Nihon Sai-gunbi*, p. 211.

²⁹ Interviews with Eiichi Tatsumi, *Sengo Nihon Boei Mondai Shiryo-shu*, p. 507.

³⁰ US Joint Chiefs of Staff, "High-Level State-Defense Mission of Japanese Forces, JCS1380/127", *Amerika Togo Sanbo-honbu Shiryo*, p. 99.

holding public positions) are reinstated, or if the majority of the general vehicles supplied are assembled with materials from the US rather than Japan.³¹ It was understood that the degree of progress made in training would depend on the ability to supply vehicles and release former military officers. In terms of hiring personnel, a staff expansion of 110,000 was scheduled for August 1952, and an additional 1,915 were selected from among the 11,500 people applying for positions filled through general recruitment (8,444, or 73.3%, of whom had a history of military experience). It was in this manner that instructors were secured, and vehicles released from the US or purchased domestically.³² An integrated system was also put in place to secure equipment and train troops.

Prior to this, assistance in equipping the National Police Reserve was given through the Special FECOM Reserve Program, and the GHQ through military advisors granted temporary custodial responsibility for a portion of this equipment to the Reserve. Unlike purchases of conventional firearms and general vehicle supplies, however, the purchase of heavy armament required special authorization from the president.

The requests for heavy armament by MacArthur originally made at the start of 1951 were approved at the end of July 1952 in a memorandum entitled "Release of Heavy Armament to the Japanese National Police Reserve"³³ and timed to coincide with the preparations being made for the formation of a 110,000-person Police Reserve Force. The first heavy arms reserved in this memorandum were leased in August, and the Police Reserve Force, which was established on October 1, 1952, was fully equipped with 156 105mm Howitzers, 72 155mm Howitzers, and 190 tanks by the end of that month.

As is evident from the above, the GHQ through its military advisors provided the National Police Reserve with both physical and psychological assistance as it developed. In a March 24, 1952 directive to all military advisors, the US declared that its military advisors would no longer have any commanding authority over Japanese forces once autonomy was restored on May 3. Thus, the supervisory and command role of the military advisors as an occupying force ended, and at the request of the Japanese government, their role shifted to that of consultants to commanders of dispatched units stationed in the US.

With the restoration of autonomy and the formation of the Police Reserve Force, Japan became an independent nation with the capability to defend itself. The question remains, however, as to the repercussions from the GHQ occupation over this period, and whether this impact was merely superficial or in fact substantial. The following section examines these questions from the perspective of military strategy.

³¹ General Headquarters, Far East Command, "Keisatsu Yobitai no Jubushoka (Building a Heavily Armed National Police Reserve)," *Sengo Nihon Boei Mondai Shiryo-shu*, p. 284.

³² As of July 1951, a total of 2,130 vehicles had been purchased, with only an 18% achievement of the level of replenishment, which had been set at 65% of a US infantry division. By the end of 1951, however, 280 domestically manufactured vehicles (Isuzu) had been contracted for, and a series of US military vehicles began to be leased in January 1952. Supplies of guns, tanks and other equipment also increased continuously from July of that year. At the end of August, when the reserve was reorganized into the Police Reserve Force, the authorized allowance of equipment was doubled from 7,700 self-propelled vehicles to a total of 15,000.

³³ "Release of Heavy Armament to the Japanese National Police Reserve, JCS 1380/146 Decision (21 July 1952)," *Amerika Togo Sanbo-honbu Shiryo*, pp. 206-212.

III. Impact of the US Army's Far East Command

A. Adopting US-Style Leadership and Building a New Military Mindset

As detailed above, every aspect of the National Police Reserve, from organization and equipment to the terminology used in manuals and the codes used in parts catalogues, was co-opted from the US military. Beyond this, however, we must examine the impact the US military had on the style of leadership employed by Japanese forces, particularly with regard to the basic mindset of the troops and the manner in which they were commanded.

The US military values rational, democratic leadership (deemed persuasive leadership), which is built on a cornerstone of democratic principles. This starkly contrasts to the authoritarian style of leadership that had been employed by the Japanese military in the past based on the absolute authority of the Emperor. This distinct disparity naturally raises doubts as to whether democratic leadership could have been instituted at a time when democracy had not yet taken root in the country as a whole.

The 1949 version of *Field Service Regulations, Operations*³⁴ (abbreviated as *Operations* below) notes that, "Strong men, inculcated with a proper sense of duty, a conscious pride in their unit, and a feeling of mutual demoralizing influences of battle fare better than those imbued only with fear of punishment or disgrace" (Section 83). This clearly suggests that a democratic military force understands the specific roles played by members of the force at all levels down to the individual infantryman.

This style of US military leadership significantly shaped the Japanese orientation, which prior to this contact would have been classified as more heteronomous than autonomous. As a newly formed organization, it was important at that time that the National Police Reserve create a structure with a strong emphasis on independence and build an organization with the autonomy to maintain discipline through individual attentiveness. This was crucial because the reservists were nonmilitary public servants employed by the federal government, rendering the National Police Reserve a military organization unable to be ruled military-style.

Prime Minister Yoshida expressed his hope that the new national military structure would be "divorced both systemically and at the human level from the former Japanese military and that, with US assistance, a 'democratic military force' will be conceived."³⁵ It was in this context that Senior Superintendent Keizo Hayashi's first task was to establish a foundational National Police Reserve mindset. The Senior Superintendent felt that the state and its people would take the place of the Emperor for the defense force and called for "the basic philosophy of the National Police Reserve to be rooted in a spirit of patriotism and a love of the Japanese people."³⁶ As a national defense force, the National Police Reserve was

³⁴ Department of the Army, *Field Service Regulations, Operations* (August 1949).

³⁵ Sumio Hatano, Susumu Sato, "Ajia Moderu toshite no Yoshida Dokutorin (The Yoshida Doctrine—An Asian Model)," *Gunji Shigaku* (The Journal of Military History), No. 156, March 2004, p. 13.

³⁶ Keizo Hayashi, "Sokan Shunin ni Saishite no Kunji (Protocol for the Inauguration of the Director General), (October 1950)," *Sengo Nihon Boei Mondai Shiryou-shu*, p. 489.

given the protection of the public and serving the public trust as its supreme responsibility. The expectation appeared to be that the transformation that had resulted in the military of modern Western history, a transformation that took place over a great many years and reshaped military forces charged with serving a monarch to ones whose mission was to serve the people, would take place virtually overnight.

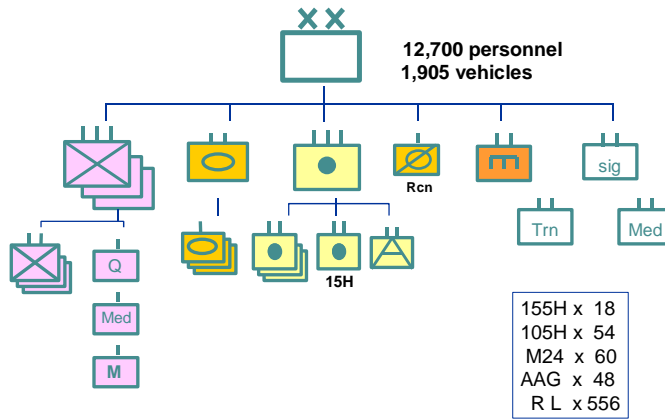
While it was relatively easy to set the goal of forming a “police reserve dedicated to serving the people,” establishing this as the fundamental mindset of troops, who in actuality had little contact with the public they were to serve, would be more difficult. Officials became aware of the need to resolve this lack of contact by seizing every opportunity to serve the public, whether that be disaster relief, public construction works, supporting agriculture by helping farmers, or assisting with any variety of national events. This commitment to public service would in fact lead to a Self-Defense Force that was loved by the Japanese people. Rather than a mere formality, these steps taken independently by the Japanese defense force commanders themselves clearly served to incorporate the democratic leadership style of the US military within the very nature of the troops and their mission.

(2) Enhancing Organization and Equipment and Adopting Military Strategy

This section summarizes the impact of the GHQ on the National Police Reserve from the viewpoint of organization, equipment, and military strategy. Organization, equipment, and strategy are integrated elements, and understanding how Japanese troops came to adopt US philosophies and methods requires comparison with the concepts behind the former Japanese military’s organization, equipment, and strategies.

The basic difference between the Japanese and US militaries’ concept of operations lies with the different premises on which combat readiness and strength are based in the two cultures. In contrast to the US military, which was premised on superior combat strength, the Japanese Army based its view of combat readiness on the premise that “troops who are fully committed in spirit to the battle have the advantage over those with only physical strength” (*Operations Planning and Supervision Procedures*, Overview Section 2). This philosophy drove the Japanese Army to depend more on spiritual readiness than physical strength and more on the human aspect of war than hardware, resulting in an organizational and equipment structure based primarily on the infantryman and lacking adequate strike capabilities that combined firepower and mobility. A clear comparison of the unit configurations of Japan Ground Police Reserve Force regional units, based on the US concept, with those of the Imperial Japanese Army, the US Army and the Soviet Army (Figure 2) and their respective combat capabilities (Table 3), is provided below.

Figure 2 Regional unit configurations



Source: Compiled from *Kankutai Oyobi Konseidan no Senryoku Bunseki* (Analysis of Combat Capability of Regional Forces and Combined Brigades) (National Defense College, 1958). Regimental Combat Teams are formed by assigning field artillery battalions and tank companies to infantry regiments, thereby creating combat teams. Excluding the self-defense antitank weapons of the 475 field artillery regiments and other divisions, the 117 antitank weapons held by regional units break down to 81 89mm rocket launchers and 36 75mm recoilless rifles. The total number of anti-aircraft guns stood at 24 M19 anti-aircraft mechanized guns (40mm × 2) and 24 M16 self-propelled anti-aircraft machine guns (12.7mm MG × 4).

Table 3 Regional infantry division comparison of combat capability

Category	Personnel	Guns	Shell volume (t/m)	Tanks	Anti-tank	Anti-aircraft	No. of vehicles	Personnel per vehicle
Imperial Japanese infantry division	14,640	36	4.4	0	12	0	410	35.7
Regional units	12,700	72	13.4	60	117	144	1,905	6.7
US infantry division	17,156	72	19.6	135	138	192	2,665	6.4
Soviet sniper division	11,943	60	17.0	52	109	61	2,113	5.6

Sources: The comparison of combat capability between regional units and US and Soviet divisions is cited from *Kankutai Oyobi Konseidan no Senryoku Bunseki* (Analysis of Combat Capability of Regional Forces and Combined Brigades) (National Defense College, 1958). The comparison of combat capability with former Imperial Japanese infantry divisions was formulated by adding the figures for shell volume (bullet quantity) to the figures provided in the organizational table for the Third Unit, 16th Army Division (artillery regiment: 38-type 75mm field gun battalion, 12×2; 91-type 10 Howitzers, 12×1, with the exception of small firearms ammunition) cited in Etsu Kawata, Toru Maehara. *Nihon no Senso* (Japan's Wars) (Hara Shobo, 1982), Chapter 2, p. 9.

Namely, regional Japanese units boasted twice the artillery firepower, three times the quantity of discharge bullets at maximum discharge speed per second, and roughly five times the vehicular mobility of former Imperial Japanese Army divisions. The dramatic improvement in the anti-armor firepower and anti-aircraft capabilities essential to oppose the Soviet Army was particularly remarkable.

Regional units were equipped to match Soviet sniper divisions both qualitatively and quantitatively, and the integrated adoption of US military concepts regarding organization, equipment and operations brought about a historical modernization of combat capability for the first time since Japan first raised an army.

With regard to the Japanese philosophy of military strategy, the Institute of Historical Research,³⁷ the Hattori Group think tank and the largest active organization of former Japanese military officers issued a substantial report³⁸ in March 1951 that summarized

³⁷ Following former Colonel Takushiro Hattori's resignation from the GHQ Division of Data Information & Research and Reinstated Military Personnel in 1952, the Hattori Group established the Institute as an organization for those interested in the study of issues of national defense. Hattori himself served as Director, and staff members Kumao Imoto and Susumu Nishiura joined the National Police Reserve as Superintendents First Class (1st lieutenant).

³⁸ Institute of Historical Research document, *Kyurikugun Tenrei Oyobi Senryaku Senjutsu Narabi ni Tosui Shiki ni Kansuru Shiso Chukaisei Mata wa Zoho wo Yosuru Kihonjiko ni tsuite* (Basic Items Required to Amend or Expand Former Military Models, Strategies, Commands and Leadership Concepts), March 1951,

former Japanese military models and strategies. This document described a new “national defense force that would provide an opportunity to humbly reflect on past action, to fearlessly and forthrightly correct errors that had been committed, and to fill the void that has been left,” and should be viewed as a manifestation of the self-reflection taking place among former Japanese commanders. The document cites five general changes to be made: “(1) greater emphasis on rationality and objectivity; (2) greater emphasis on physical and technological strength; (3) integrated commands to enhance organizational strength; (4) greater emphasis on strategic preparation; and (5) a restructuring of the duty-casualties/damage relationship.” In addition, the document also referred to 17 items specifically related to military strategy, which included “eliminate the emphasis on immediate strategic action and immediate decision-making;” “revise concepts based on mobility-oriented strategies;” and “revise infantry-dependent structure.” All of the items cited by the think-tank for consideration were consistent with US military strategic concepts. It is in this context that the adoption by the Japanese of the US military style of organization, equipment, and strategy should be viewed as occurring both naturally and in an integrated manner.

(3) Adoption of US Military Strategy for Building a Common Mindset

The core officer training conducted on the initiative of the National Police Reserve began at national level schools on June 1, 1951, and was then expanded to officer academies in October 1952. The director of the national level schools at the time later recalled that studies and practical drills were “the special mission of the chief of staff and based on learning US military methods in an environment free of prejudice and preconceptions,” and that “the mindset of the US military staff officers was focused on the analysis and selection of specific courses of action, the most impressive aspect being the exhaustive pursuit of rationality and the adoption of induction procedures.”³⁹ This training emphasized education on the mindset behind military strategies based on the *Updated US Military Manual*.⁴⁰

Military Archival Library of the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS). In addition to an introduction of five items, this document also reflects on the following 17 strategic items:

(1) Eliminate the emphasis on immediate strategic action and immediate decision-making; (2) revise concepts based on mobility-oriented strategies; (3) correct ongoing disregard for defense; (4) revise concepts behind prioritization; (5) illuminate concepts of sudden attack, battle opportunities, and capture; (6) prioritize vertically integrated combat readiness; (7) emphasize the need for objectivity in assessing combat conditions; (8) reevaluate the primary objective of aggression; (9) eliminate the emphasis on the waging of decisive battles outside of Japanese territory against an enemy within its own territory; (10) develop the concept of defending Japanese territory in decisive battles designed to prevent an enemy from landing on Japanese territory; (11) place greater emphasis on anti-tank battles; (12) revise the infantry-dependent military structure; (13) revise the concept of attacks led by frontline infantrymen; (14) place greater priority on intelligence services; (15) increase emphasis on military logistics; (16) place greater emphasis on communications; and (17) revise concepts behind marketing strategies.

³⁹ National Police Reserve Officer School, Second School Director, Tomio Kanou, “30 *Shunen ni Yosete* (In Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary),” Committee to Compile a 30-Year History, ed., *Kanbu Gakko Sanju Nenshi* (Thirty-Year History of Officer Schools), (Ground SDF Officer School, 1982), p. 21.

⁴⁰ The 1949 edition of the basic manual, *Field Service Regulations-Operations* FM100-5, was translated and distributed in October 1952 when the National Police Reserve was restructured as the Police Reserve

The most immediate influence the US military had on Japanese forces came in the form of the series of US military manuals (a total of 64), which were used to lay the groundwork for training. Of the manuals used, two covered the fundamentals: the 1949 edition of *Operations* (FM100-5) and the *Staff Officer's Field Manual* (FM101-5). Both of these manuals outlined US military field operations and were used at the time as common manuals shared by the US military and Japan Self-Defense Force.

The mindsets behind what forms the cornerstone of military strategy were distinctly different in the US and the Japanese militaries. In terms of situational assessment, the Japanese military “places duty as the cornerstone [of strategy], collecting and carefully evaluating a variety of data, including the condition of the Japanese troops, the enemy’s spiritual and psychological commitment, topography and weather conditions” (*Operations Planning and Supervision Procedures*, Section 8). While the US and Japanese militaries generally looked at the same factors for situational assessment, the goal of the Japanese style of assessment was to reach decisions in the face of potential battle from a “continually active position in relation to the enemy” (*Operations Planning and Supervision Procedures*, Section 7). Rather than striving for objectivity, this method of deductive thought emphasizes necessity. Combined with proper discipline, however, these assessments rarely led to decisions based in subjectivity or intuition.

By contrast, situational assessment by the US military utilizes a prescribed form of commander and staff officer task actions. According to this protocol, an estimate based on the *Guidelines* prescribed by the commander must be submitted to staff officers to be comprehensively evaluated before a decision is made. An inductive method emphasizing the feasibilities of execution, this style focuses on equal consideration of commander and staff officer opinions and seeks more objective and rational decision-making.

Given the dramatically different, almost polar opposite, philosophies between the Japanese and the US, how did the US mindset with regard to situational assessments come to be adopted by the Japanese forces? This can be attributed to Japan’s development of its own unique concept of military strategy following the Japan-Russo War, as well as the fact that the Japanese and US militaries could both trace their roots to the same geographical soil. Namely, the army of the Meiji period learned map maneuvers, war games staff drills, and other logistical exercises from German General Staff Office advisors, and the US Army also incorporated much of what it learned from the German General Staff Office system. Accordingly, with the enhanced military strength that came with the improvement in organization and equipment, Japanese reservists, including those who came from military backgrounds, were able to find enough common ground for the flexibility to adopt US-style military methods and strategies, even at the initial formation of the National Police Reserve.

There was no dissension in March 1955 with emphasizing the US military mindset in developing guidelines on compiling new military manuals for the Japanese force, since it was agreed that the Japanese military mindset of the past should not be reinforced. With the

Force. The revised edition of the operations manual, *Larger Units* FM100-15 (October 1952), was made available in March 1953, as was the *Staff Officer's Field Manual* FM101-5 and the *Staff Officer's Field Manual Organizational, Technical and Logistical Data* FM101-10, August 1949.

outbreak of the Korean War, however, the situation moved into a new phase in relation to the battle of ideas, psychological warfare, guerilla warfare and countering local inhabitants, with rear guard, supply inventory and other elements involved in civil war surfacing at the time. Specifically, in terms of the possibility of supplying ammunition and other logistical issues, there were real questions as to whether the Japanese forces could execute maneuvers at the same volume as the US military. In light of these changing conditions, a Japanese style of assessment emerged that incorporated island topography, climate, cultural identity and other elements unique to Japan and emphasized this identity in the area of strategy. The US military mindset rooted in European topography and designed for a foreign conquering force became less dominant, and debate arose around which of these two different methodologies should be adopted. Ultimately, however, given that the Japanese forces and US military would be participating in joint maneuvers, a Japan-US combination of an eclectic nature was outlined in *Field Regulations Section One (Draft)*, which was initially compiled in January 1957. Even so, this issue continued to be the subject of debate.

This ideological dispute between the Japanese and US styles was not resolved until around 1961, when it took the form of a debate between the former head of the Officer Academy, Kumao Imoto, who urged that training integrate Japanese-style military strategy, and the new head of the Officer Academy, Yota Shingu, who pushed for a pure US-style military strategy. At this point, Chief of Staff Ichiji Sugita stepped in to bring a conclusion to the heated debate between these two men, deciding clearly in favor of adopting a purely US-style military strategy.⁴¹ All three of the men who led this debate were members of the group of 11 Colonels who were reinstated and played decisive roles in building the strategic concepts on which the Japan Ground Self-Defense Forces stand today.

Conclusion

Although, as the occupying force in Japan, the US military prevented the Japanese from taking steps toward remilitarization themselves by enacting thorough and comprehensive non-militarization measures, the outbreak of the Korean War significantly shifted the US stance in favor of prompt remilitarization. Urgent requests for equipment by two GHQ generals prompted by Chinese intervention and the threat of Soviet participation in the war pressured the US government to arm the National Police Reserve with heavy armament, paving the way for the reinstatement of Japanese former officers and preparing for greater compact capability as a Defense Force.

Although the reinstatement of former military personnel caused concern that former Japanese military concepts would reemerge, serious circumspection on the part of former soldiers as to the reason for Japan's defeat served instead to promote training in the advantages of the US military mindset despite the enormous disparity between the two concepts. This laid the groundwork for a better-organized and better-equipped Japanese

⁴¹ Tadashi Watakabe, "Shikan Senshi—*Jieitai Yowa* (Glimpses of History—SDF Gossip)", *Gunji Shigaku* (The Journal of Military History), No. 156, March 2004, p. 73.

force, as well as a newfound possibility for the proactive adoption of US-style military strategy and concepts. It was the commonalities between the Japanese and US perspectives and mindsets that laid the foundation for the Japan-US combined forces of today.

Once Japanese autonomy was restored, the Police Reserve Force became the National Defense Force both in name and practice. The issue then became how to mold a basic mindset and build unique strategies and concepts as a National Defense Force that would differ from both the US military and the Japanese military of the past. This fundamental question is still very much relevant today.