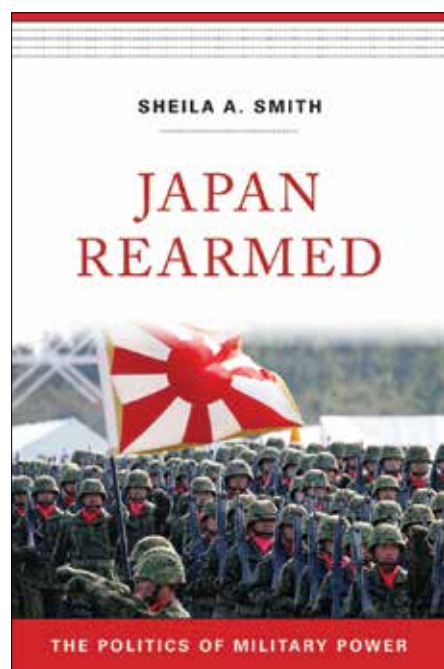


resurgence of the Islamic State. *Small Arms* is one of only a few pieces of scholarship to examine the long-term challenge of children in terrorist organizations. While the authors admit much remains unknown, this book is an excellent dive into an underexamined issue and a must read for those working to end generational cycles of violent extremism. JFQ

Kira I. McFadden is a Research Analyst in the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University.



Japan Rearmed: The Politics of Military Power

By Sheila A. Smith
Harvard University Press, 2019
352 pp. \$29.95
ISBN: 978-0674987647

Reviewed by Nathaniel L. Moir

According to the June 2019 Indo-Pacific Strategy, the U.S.-Japan alliance is the cornerstone of peace and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific. The strategy also explains why it is imperative that the U.S.-Japan

alliance adapt to meet the challenges that threaten our security and shared values. *Japan Rearmed: The Politics of Military Power* examines how Japan is responding to the challenges of Chinese military modernization, a rogue regime in North Korea, and environmental crisis by improving the Japanese Self Defense Force's (SDF) joint structure and, politically, by adapting the Japanese constitution to support the SDF's engagement in the Indo-Pacific and beyond. As the book makes clear, the security interests of the United States and Japan are closely intertwined.

Sheila A. Smith, a Senior Fellow for Japan Studies at the Council of Foreign Relations, analyzes Japan's position as a cornerstone of the Indo-Pacific alliance. Smith is objective in her assessment of the alliance, and the book is unique in its focus on the relationship between the SDF, Japanese politics, and Japan's alliance commitments. It is an exemplary work, drawing on an array of primary sources, government documents, and a deep understanding of Japanese history to produce a comprehensive and engaging analysis. The only substantive criticism one might levy is the sparse assessment of changes in the U.S.-Japan alliance as a result of the Vietnam War and rapprochement with China after 1972. Readers unfamiliar with those events will benefit from her suggested reading list.

Established in 1954, Japan's SDF faced restrictions against collective security participation and offensive operations because of Japan's actions during World War II. While Smith provides enough history to contextualize contemporary advancements, her focus centers on explaining how Japan is adapting to new threats, primarily through constitutional interpretations that permit increased collective security cooperation. These changes are evolving quickly as Chinese and North Korean threats to Japan metastasize. As a result, Smith emphasizes the evolution of the SDF and regional alliances after 1989.

The end of the Cold War complicated the U.S.-Japan alliance. For

decades after World War II, the United States provided Japan with security guarantees in exchange for basing rights and economic assistance. Smith's diagnosis suggests that historic cooperation is now called into question because of the changing threat environment and current alliance structure. The U.S.-Japan alliance differs from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the U.S.-Republic of Korea alliance because the U.S.-Japan alliance has no combined command structure or contingency plans. Moreover, the SDF's ability to adapt remains constrained by lack of command structure and planning, let alone by restrictions against using military force. Politicians, especially Prime Minister Abe Shinzo, seek to alter this through revisions to the 1947 constitution. However, modifications, even new interpretations, are strenuously disputed in the National Diet of Japan.

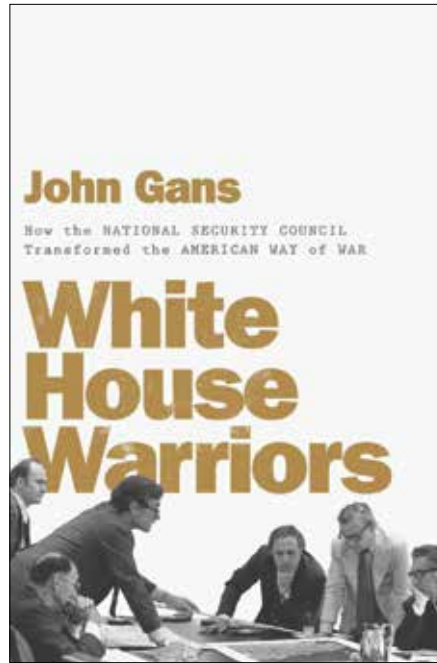
The Japanese constitution's Article 9 is the central legislative guidance for civil-military relations and the regulation of military force. It states that the "Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right." During the Cold War, Japan could rely on U.S. nuclear deterrence to provide national security, so revising Article 9 and deploying the SDF was largely unnecessary. Today, however, changes in the threat environment have forced debate in the National Diet concerning not only reinterpreting Article 9 but also creating the laws required to permit the SDF to deploy beyond the Japanese archipelago. The SDF's support for Iraqi reconstruction demonstrates how Japanese law adapted in the past and may adapt again for future deployments. This issue of deployment, along with greater responsibilities and self-reliance for the SDF, are central debates in Japan today.

While Smith devotes ample attention to the Chinese and North Korean threats, she also provides a unique look at the role of the SDF in environmental crisis management. This aspect is central for arguments underpinning efforts to revise Article 9. The Great Hanshin earthquake of 1995, the Fukushima nuclear disaster, and the recent devastation

of Chiba by a typhoon in October 2019 have necessitated broader interpretations of national security that require the capabilities of the SDF in ways the architects of Article 9 did not envision. Smith argues convincingly that Japan's ability to increase its crisis management capability will entail SDF expansion and greater freedom of action. These changes are not uncontested politically but are emerging out of necessity and come with broad implications for the U.S.-Japan alliance.

Japan Rearmed is not prescriptive, but Smith does an extraordinary job of offering a diagnosis of the many challenges ahead for the SDF and U.S.-Japan alliance. For national security professionals and those in the joint force focused on the region, *Japan Rearmed* is the most authoritative account available on the SDF, its political, organizational, and legal challenges, as well as a reminder of the importance of U.S.-Japan cooperation in the Indo-Pacific. JFQ

Dr. Nathaniel L. Moir is an Ernest May Postdoctoral Fellow in History and Policy in the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.



White House Warriors: How the National Security Council Transformed the American Way of War

By John Gans
Liveright Publishing Corporation,
2019
299 pp. \$28.95
ISBN: 978-1631494567

Reviewed by Edward G. Salo

O ver the past several years, the position of the National Security Advisor has been subject to sensational media attention. From war hawks to war heroes, recent national security advisors routinely command the headlines. While media attention centers on their singular power to shape foreign policy, we have ignored the members of the National Security Council (NSC) staff who work tirelessly behind the scenes to craft that policy. In *White House Warriors: How the National Security Council Transformed the American Way of War*, John Gans explores how the NSC staff evolved from a group of clerks tasked with recording meetings and passing proposals to a cadre of national security professionals, sometimes wielding

extraordinary influence on American foreign and national security policy.

Gans, a former chief speechwriter for Secretary of Defense Ash Carter, draws on interviews, oral histories, and declassified archives to provide a meticulously researched insider view of the NSC. Gans explores its evolution and growing influence from the trials of the Truman administration to the tribulations of the Trump administration. He spotlights the NSC staff during critical moments in history, using case studies to examine the influence of regular staff on the development of national security policy and raising perennial questions about the efficiency and structure of the organization, as well as the centralization of power and the need for greater transparency.

The case studies aptly demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of different staff compositions and organizational types. Gans argues that effectiveness depended on a manageable size and diverse mixture of officials (staff on temporary duty from the military, intelligence, academic, and diplomatic communities, etc.) with an effective National Security Advisor. Gans highlights General Brent Scowcroft, the only man to be National Security Advisor under two different Presidents, as running the most effective NSC. Scowcroft had served on the Tower Commission investigating the Iran Contra scandal, which resulted from the NSC overstepping its role, a concern that has persistently dogged the NSC. Gans also points to the NSC in the second term of George W. Bush's administration as successful, highlighting its instrumental role in guiding the Surge in Iraq. While other administrations had some success, many were crippled by either micromanagement, an ineffective National Security Advisor, or distrust among the Cabinet-level departments that inhibited effective coordination.

In addition to his comprehensive organizational analysis, Gans succeeds in putting human faces on an otherwise obscure piece of the national security enterprise. For example, he highlights the work of Richard Haass, a regular