

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

In the era before World War II, Japan had its great time, especially because of its economic sector, the party cabinet system and the diplomacy based on international cooperation especially with the United States (US) implemented during most of the 1920s¹. The world recognized that Japan has been transformed into a strong and modern state and the position of Japan in major powers of the world aligned with the State in the West at that time (Michael, 2004). Japan has made progress in the fields of industry, commerce, education and the armed forces. Japan had changed from traditional country into an industrial country that developed rapidly becoming a strong country. Japan began to involve itself into international world and had conflicts with other countries (such as Korea and China). According to the Michael R. Auslin, modern international history of Japan began on July 29, 1858. Japan started practicing political imperialism as west countries.²

¹Kenichi Ohno, "the economic development of Japan" (the path travelled Japan as a developing country), page 14, Yuhikaku Publishing Co. Ltd., Tokyo, 2005.

²Michael R. Auslin, "Negotiating with Imperialism" (the unequal treaties and the culture of Japanese Diplomacy), United States of America, 2006. Accessed from https://books.google.co.id/books?id=bS3w6tGiraEC&printsec=frontcover&dq=negotiation+with+imperialism+book&hl=id&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjY1-OI9O_QAhWHI5QKHRw5B8YQ6AEIGzAA#v=onepage&q=negotiation%20with%20imperialism%20book&f=false . accessed on 19 January 2016

The imperialism of Japan was bringing in progress quite rapidly to the Japanese in various sectors. At first, Japan wanted to manage to become a developed and modern country as well as could be equal with other western countries. However, then it raised the desire and ambition of Japan to do imperialism against others. The greatness of Japanese development as a modern state and the first industrial country in Asia brought unwanted effects instead. Such advancements were accompanied by rapid population growth. Japan was a small island and poor in natural resources. As the way out, the Japanese initially took immigration policy. However, because the other countries closed their doors for the Japanese immigrants, it made Japan angry and also wanted to own land. Supported by the powerful and modern military weapons, Japan began to perform military adventures disturbing the world. The problem of overcrowding became early difficulties of Japan and became a cause factor of the Japanese imperialism in Asia.³

Japan had the ambition to become the major world power and to have control on China. Japan hoped that its support for the allies during World War I would make it acquire additional territory when Germany stripped colonies. However, the Japanese contribution was so small during World War I, that it was impossible to be given with the huge rewards. Japanese intentions to dominate the Chinese were regarded as a threat to the United States that was conducting "open door approach" towards China as a way to increase trade. Japan got the right by

³Faktor Faktor yang Mempengaruhi Jepang Sebagai Negara Imperialisme, <http://www.astalog.com/6171/sebutkan-faktor-faktor-yang-mendorong-jepang-sebagai-negara-imperialisme.htm>, accessed on 19 January 2016.

the peace treaty to take control on the former Germany trade concessions, but the Japanese got protested by China and was disliked by the US. The main reason why Americans did not like the Japanese peace treaty obtained was actually because the American was afraid that sooner or later Japan would be a threat to American interests in the Pacific. To limit the Japanese behavior, the Japanese was invited to attend a naval conference in Washington in 1921-1922. In the conference the ship size of the naval country allies was determined, in which each naval vessel size and the number of the ship were limited. The conference happened because the Americans wanted to prevent the start of the race with the Japanese naval forces.⁴

Some of the problems that Japan faced eventually made a lot of Japanese people turn to the extreme parties. Some parties were still oriented on the belief that China was the future of Japan and when Japan could take over China it could make Japan got the benefit and could overcome various problems of Japan itself. It is because if Japan could take over the China, it would raise the position of Japan in the eyes of the world and Japan could have economic benefit also. Basically, Japan was experiencing economic problems caused by population growth. It made the Japanese in a difficult position, and unemployment and poverty had increased. Therefore the Japanese was looking for ways in order to resolve the problems they were facing.⁵

⁴David Jordan, *Kronologi Perang Dunia II* (Jakarta: PT.Gramedia, 2015), page. 131-132

⁵Ibid, page 132

Since Japan got some problems, it was figuring out how to solve the problems. Eventually, Japanese nationalist thought to cast their eyes to Manchuria. Japan would like to expand the influence of Japanese in Manchuria solely for the benefit of Japan in order to be able to strengthen the position of Japan in the international world and Japan also wanted to resolve its economic problems. Japan had future goals such as becoming a great country. The Japanese believed that military force was the only one way to realize the dream of Japanese who want to become a great country.⁶

With regard to the desire of the Japanese to be the great state, Japanese wanted to take over the Manchuria. However, the Japanese knew that their intent would be tripped by western countries. The Japanese successfully managed and took over Manchuria, and Manchuria was influenced by Japan in September 1931. After knowing the behaviors of the Japanese that were ruthless and ambitious, nation league finally lodged a protest against the Japanese. However, Japan responded by walking out of the race nation league in March 1933 and other countries were confused by the decision taken by the Japanese. After being out of the league, the Japanese found Manchukuo, and Manchukuo was a puppet state in the territory of Japan. Japan was increasingly ambitious and brutal, and the foreign policy of Japan was becoming an international concern. After that, the Japanese surprised international world because in April 1934 Japan issued a statement that only Japan that could responsible for the matters of international relations and military security in the Far East, that the region was under the

⁶David Jordan, Loc.cit.

influence of Japan, like what was done by the United States during 1823. According to David Jordan, Japan also wanted to cancel the Washington agreement in 1936. By cancelling the agreement, Japan could build ships as many as they wanted with the appropriate size of ships. Japanese desired to have no intervention or regulation of other parties. Because the behavior of Japan had been outside the limits, then the United States and the international community no longer put their sympathy towards Japan but it did not care about it. After that the Japanese became more ambitious to realize their future goals, which was to become a great Japan.⁷

Finally, Japan joined Germany and Italy in 1940. Because of the joining Japan to Italy and Germany it made the relations among Japan, USA and United Kingdom (UK) go bad. Japan only had two choices whether following the USA or against the USA. However, Japan decided to be with Germany and Italy because Japan had its goals at that time. Japan had to do its strategy to get its goals.

Joining Germany and Italy was a part of the strategy of Japan because Japan wanted to join the powerful countries for making its own state safe. In an agreement, Germany approved the intention of Japan to create an empire in the Pacific. At that time Japan could take over the Pacific and against China.

Japan and US held talk that Japan should withdraw troops from Vietnam and China but it was a deadlock and failed. It was Japanese reaction to fail of the talks which took up in arms against the US. Japan continued to fight the US

⁷Ibid

during the World War II because they both wanted to take over the Pacific, until Harry Truman the President of US at that time decided to use the weapons, A bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6 1945, which killed half of the 300,000 inhabitants of the city. President Truman warned Japan if they did not surrender unconditionally there would be more cities fired as Hiroshima. On August 9 1945, the US bomber dropped another bomb in the city of Nagasaki, killing about 40,000 people. It really hit Japan and made it surrender unconditionally on August 14, 1945 and ended World War II.⁸

After the end of World War II, Japan was in a difficult period of time. Asian countries especially that had been colonized by Japan did not respect anymore to Japan because Japan also did the persecution and annihilation. Japan was considered as having violation on human rights and caused devastation in other countries. Japanese invasion in World War II was so great and Japan had destabilized the world. The World War II had impacted throughout the world, and the international world changed the view about Japan. Japan was a country considered as cruel and destroyed other countries. The international world did not want to be associated with Japan at that time because of the bad image of Japan.

At that time the Japanese people suffered and also got the absolute defeat in the eyes of the world⁹. The image of Japan in international world was no longer good and it made Japan wanted improve their image.

⁸ ibid

⁹“Perkembangan Ekonomi Jepang Modern”, page 66.

The rejection to be associated with Japan was one of the impacts of the Japanese massive atrocities to other countries especially to China, Korea and Japan's colonized countries such as Indonesia. Japan was not in good relationship with these countries after all. Japan has made the relationship among China, Korea and other countries were going strained and not good. Actually there are many countries that have been collapsed because of Japan, such as China, Korea, Indonesia, and many South East Asia countries.

One of the impacts from what Japan has been done was that China would keep the bad relationship with Japan if Japan had not apologized and also had not admitted all the things that Japan has been done to China. China also had made a movement about "anti-Japanese sentiment in China" because Japan had killed many Chinese people and has been recognized as a foxy country that wanted to take over other countries and also had a brutal behavior. China communist took the opportunities from the Japanese defeat in World War II, and China could loose of their country from Japan. In addition, the communist had strategy to take the control and tried to release from Japan as the country that dominated China. One of the most traumatic occurrences during the war was the invasion of the capital of Nanking. Japan killed a lot of Chinese people and it could not easy to be forgiven by China. Because of Japan's war time activities and action, after the war Japan has made itself such a negative state.¹⁰

¹⁰Alisa Batchelor, "Exploring Anti Japanese Sentiment in China", https://concordiacollege.edu/files/resources/exploitingantijapanesesentimentinchina_batchelor.pdf. Accessed on Sept 29 2016

Japan's colonized countries especially in South East Asia, such as Indonesia got such a traumatic condition by the name of Japan. As already known, Japan has made its country recognized as a cruel country, other nations killer, other state land invaders, thieves of natural resources and also a brutal country that could do anything for getting what it wanted. All the things that have been done by Japan to the Japan's colonized countries made them regard Japan as cruel and also an evil country. For example what Japan has been done to Indonesia is really hurting. Indonesian people have thought that the Japanese colonial period was the most horrible one. Japan only colonized Indonesia for three years but it was more frightening than the Dutch colonial in Indonesia for 350 years.

Japan had a bad image in the international world post World War II. Japan realized that it would be bad if Japan did not have relations with other countries. Then, Japan tried to rebuild their image and to get their good image back. The hard power that had been done by Japan made it get the bad image, and it finally realized that Japanese had to stop the hard power that they used as its public diplomacy and then Japan focused on the soft diplomacy as their new strategy.

Japan has so many unique and interesting cultures. Japanese culture as one of interesting things from Japan itself and to spread the culture, Japan has a movement called "Cool Japan" or "Japan's Gross National Cool", and manga and anime as parts of tools from "Cool Japan" itself. To gain its interest, Japan uses its culture as a tool of diplomacy.

Manga and anime are originally from Japan. Manga and anime are two different story telling media. They are closely related but they are ultimately different. The simply explanation about both manga and anime, manga is Japanese comic and most of manga books are typically in black and white. Basically, manga is also usually used as the basis of anime but not every anime is made of manga, and manga is never made of anime. Anime is animation that is originally from Japan, and anime can be explained as the Japanese animated cartoon videos. Most of anime cartoons are made of popular manga.

B. Research Question

How could manga and anime as part of “Cool Japan” rebuild the image of Japan to the international world post World War II?

C. Purpose of Research

This research aims to identify and to provide information on what Japan did to conduct the soft diplomacy as its public diplomacy using manga and anime as the tools of “Japan’s gross national cool” or also called as “Cool Japan” to spread the Japanese culture around the world in addition to rebuild the image. The writer also wants to provide information about the international response towards the efforts of Japan on public diplomacy to improve the image of the country in international world.

D. Theoretical Framework

For answering the research question, this research will use the public diplomacy theory from Edmund Gullion and other theory from the U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms (1987) The writer also uses another concept of soft power from an expert like Joseph S. Nye, Jr. as written in his book Soft Power in American Foreign Policy. All of them will further help to analyze this thesis.

1. Public Diplomacy

- a) "Public diplomacy...deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications." (Edmund Gullion)¹¹
- b) According to U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms (1987).
"Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television."

In this globalization era, people around the world easily see the global condition without significant obstacles. Advanced technology and communication system like social media are the factors why the conditions of the world and the

¹¹Ivan Willis Rasmussen, "Towards a Theory of Public Diplomacy (a quantitative study of public diplomacy and soft power)", The Fletcher School (Tufts University), page 4, 2009. (Rasmussen 2009)

global issue are widely known by the people. When an issue is surfacing, people around the world can easily know it through the communication system or social media and they can also give their responds to the issue, and these issues are including the foreign relations of states and foreign diplomacy of a country. Courtesy to the advanced technology and social media, the people can easily express their agreement or displeasure toward a global issue.

Nowadays, with the advanced technology and communication system, people from the different states can easily communicate with each other beyond the state borders. The people can easily gather their thoughts on the foreign policy of their country and create broader response towards the foreign policy of the state. With the democratization in the world, of course the opinion of the people should be taken as one of the considerations in the decision making process, since the people are the main actors of democracy. Because of this, the people or the public started to have their own roles in the decision making process of a state, including the foreign policy of a state. As stated in the theories above, public diplomacy is the diplomacy where the opinion of the people is taken into consideration in the decision making process. Non-governmental people have their own roles in the process and it is not only about hard power. Public diplomacy relies mostly on the soft power of the states, like cultural sectors, education, exchanging scholars or information, and the involvement of mass media.

The theory of public diplomacy tells that what should be there deals with the influence of public attitude and it can be explained as an interaction of private groups and interests in one country to another. The private group in this case or interests refers to anime and manga lovers group (*otaku*).

One country to another refers to Japan as the anime and manga country to influence other people in international world. As the theory says, there should be there is an impact to the foreign policy and Japan also has a foreign policy about the national branding and promoting and after all the theory also tells that there should be someone as diplomat for making communication and it is all about the communication for promoting or influencing others.

Anime and manga lovers mostly will create a group with the people around the world in social media, such as Facebook or only with friends around with the same interest in manga and anime. They communicate to each other in one country or with other groups in other country only for talking about manga and anime. Based on the theory, the communication among the private groups also can make them as a diplomat for Japan itself for promoting about the Japanese culture and groups from another country can be as foreign correspondent that can give the response, feedback, comment or at last be a part of Japan's national movement to spread the Japanese culture.

The communication is also the important thing for doing public diplomacy. The theory mentions about the interaction among private groups that can give the impact to the policy. Public diplomacy refers to the effort of government to influence international opinions on its national or foreign policies for targeting the

media or group of citizen. Japanese government is focusing its attention on cultural diplomacy instead of cultural exchange. Japanese government policy for international cultural exchange appears increasingly gearing towards fulfilling national political objects. Japanese government also supports “Japan’s Gross National Cool” or “Cool Japan”, a national movement to encourage the Japanese people to fully exercise their voluntary creativity in the international community. Cool Japan includes Japanese culture and products such as animations, manga, characters and games. A movement to promote the Japanese culture through the international world, Japanese government built an institution to support the “Japan’s Gross National Cool” namely Japan Foundation.

Japanese government built the Japan Foundation and did the programs about influencing public opinion in other countries and also informing others about Japanese culture and also “Cool Japan” as a movement about promoting the Japanese culture towards the international world by using soft power. In this era people love to see the global condition by using simple way and also do communication by using modern ways such as media devices. Media is the place for getting the information or issues and also can be used for giving the response towards issues and information. Nowadays people tend to enjoy communicate by using media.

Public diplomacy that was known by people in the previous era was using hard power which was refined to the traditional way. However, based on the phenomenon of modern era people do not love to use the traditional ways. They love to use soft diplomacy more than hard diplomacy for doing public diplomacy.

In this globalization era, how government conducts the public diplomacy by the way the government sponsored programs is intended to inform or to influence public opinion in other countries by using the media for publication in modern ways loved by people such as motion pictures, radio and television. The public diplomacy used by the country is to show the positive image of the country and to influence the opinion of the public.

The theory of public diplomacy fits with the case of Japan that wants to rebuild its image to the international world. “Japan’s Gross National Cool” or “Cool Japan” is a national movement for promoting the Japanese culture through the world. Manga and anime are two of popular things from Japan. Because of being a part of “Cool Japan” like in the theory, manga and anime are supposed to be supported by the government. In this case Japanese government shows the effort to support by making an institution, called Japan Foundation. Japan Foundation has been existing in many countries to support the spreading and promoting Japanese culture to the international world.

Basically, by using the public diplomacy, Japan wants to improve its image in the international world, to resolve conflicts among states and to rebuild opinion of the public on the image of Japan. For doing public diplomacy, it needs actors and it can be done by government to government and also by people to people. Japan has chosen soft power more than hard power as its public diplomacy.

Japan uses manga and anime as its soft power for doing public diplomacy. Manga is Japanese animated cartoons, and anime is usually hand-drawn, but

techno-trends have introduced computer assisted illustration into the genre. Like manga, anime has huge followers in other countries, gaining worldwide recognition¹². Manga and anime always show how Japan is like from the positive side such as Japan is a cool country. Japan has so many interesting things, places and then Japan also has beautiful culture. Manga and anime show about Japan away from the word of aggressive or war. Japan tries to pull back the attention of the world and to promote its country by using manga and anime. Other countries finally give good response to the efforts of Japan because manga and anime mostly show the positive things of Japan such as Japanese culture, the lives of Japanese people and other positive aspects of Japan that help Japan to rebuild their image from the bad to the good. Actually, anime and manga also help the country to gain national interest such as contributing to increase the national economy. In addition, by using public diplomacy Japan had improved the image of the country to the international world.

The writer will use the theory to explain how Japan could be successful to rebuild the image. By using this theory the writer will explain how Japan has taken the advantages of the anime and manga popularity as their tool of Japan for doing public diplomacy. The public diplomacy theory will help to describe how Japan could change its image in international world. Public diplomacy also can help the writer to describe, how could Japan influence the opinion of the public. The writer wants to show about international responds toward manga and anime

¹²KCP International, Japanese Language School, (KCP INTERNATIONAL 2016)<http://www.kcpstudentlife.com/culture/anime-and-manga/>. Accessed on 24 January 2016

and this theory also will help the writer to explain how Japan could be successfully to rebuild its image by using anime and manga.

2. Soft power (concept)

“Soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from attractiveness of country’s culture, political ideas, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft diplomacy is enhanced” (Joseph Nye)

Soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. In the concept of soft power, attraction is the important thing that should be owned by the countries, if they want to get what they want. Because soft power itself uses the soft things to attract people, basically to get the intention from people, the country should own attractive things. When people around the world have been attracted by the country, it will give the opportunities for the country to get what they want. Cultures can be one of the attractive factors and it can make people interested. When the policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, the soft diplomacy is enhanced. The policies in the soft power should be something that can be approved by others, and to make the policies can be seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, it should be in accordance with the tastes of the people and also it should be interesting for people. When the policies are legitimated, a country can make something more to get what they want.

Based on soft power concept from Joseph Nye, it tells that soft power focuses on attractiveness of countries, including culture, political ideas, and policies. Japan has so many things as its attractions such as anime, manga, video

games, arts and many more. Manga and anime are two of popular things from Japan in other countries and they are such attractive things that can be used for Japan to get what it wants by using attraction to do soft power.

Manga is a comic book and anime is a cartoon that contain of stories. Manga and anime are two of Japanese attractiveness. The concept of Joseph Nye mentions that the appeal of the state owned could also be a tool for the promoting or spreading the culture. Moreover, the manga and anime have many stories that contain culture. Japanese anime and manga are not immediately recognized as appeal that shows the culture of Japan because manga and anime are only like unnecessary thing. However, besides the story in manga and anime strongly contains culture, they also show how Japanese culture and cuisine are, also about the good image of Japan that can influence the readers want to know about Japanese culture and also want to learn about Japan. That is why anime and manga can be regarded as a tool in the dissemination of Japanese culture because actually the main point of the soft power concept is to attract others with what they have and when the attraction can attract people it means the soft diplomacy has been successful.

In this case, Japan has the attractive things that can attract people, like manga and anime as the two of Japanese attraction. When they already become popular in the international world, Japan can put the strategy to spread the culture and also the mission by using manga and anime as the tools of soft diplomacy.

Soft power may also be described and be conducted through culture as a tool, spreading the culture to the other countries and trying to influence behavior of the people then, it uses the soft power for spreading the culture. Soft diplomacy about spreading the culture can be described as actions in promoting the country by the attractiveness and influencing the people.

The changing attitude of the Japanese government toward the role of culture in international relations of Japan has been overwhelmingly supported by the domestic audience. Intellectual and popular discourse in Japan are generally supportive of the idea that the export of culture can play a diplomatic role in healing the wounds inflicted by imperialistic past of Japan by presenting a friendlier image of the country abroad (Otmazgin 2011: 318-319)

Japan uses the soft power concept for spreading the culture by using manga and anime and Japan takes advantages on the soft power concept for promoting its country and shows the positive things of the country in manga and anime to get national interest of Japan. Cultural diplomacy as its soft diplomacy used by Japan can make Japan successfully rebuild the image of country from the previous era as bad country to the peach loving country, because Japan does the cultural diplomacy in good way and it brings the good vibes for Japan. Now most people, especially young generation start to love Japan because of the success of Japan in doing the culture diplomacy by using manga and anime.

The writer uses the concept of soft diplomacy to analyze how Japan conducted the spreading of culture or known as cultural diplomacy with anime

and manga as its representative to get interest of Japan. The concept of soft power it does really fit to the case of Japan that wants to rebuild the image of “Cool Japan” and uses manga and anime as the one of the tools. Japan national interest actually for rebuilding its image and increasingly, economy and this concept of soft power will help the writer to analyze how could anime and manga could tools for doing soft diplomacy and spreading the culture of Japan.

Japan utilizes something that can attract the attention of the international public which refers to soft diplomacy. Japanese wants to get their goal, repair its image by using culture as a form of Japanese manner attracting worldwide attention. Japanese government is very serious in using culture as a tool of diplomacy. They even told the foreign ministries to work together with Japan Foundation which is under the Japanese government agency. They are all forms of Japanese efforts to introduce their culture to the International public because basically manga and anime are very popular around the world. And as manga are very popular in international public so they create their image in manga and anime that change public view.

E. Hypothesis

Based on theoretical framework, the hypothesis is as follows

1. Japan uses the “Japan’s Gross National Cool” or “Cool Japan” as the way to do public diplomacy by using the soft power and spread the culture through manga and anime as the two of the tools of soft public diplomacy Japan.
2. Japan puts the strategy and also the mission to spread the culture by using the popularity of manga and anime as Japanese attraction as the tools of soft diplomacy in international world.
3. Japanese government build the Japanese foundation as the Japanese institution and Japan External Trade Organization for promoting the Japanese culture and spreading the culture around the world to improve and to introduce the Japanese new image as peace-loving country in the International world by using manga and anime as their soft power in public diplomacy in national branding.

F. Method of Research

1. The method used to describe the subject of this research was descriptive method. Descriptive method is a method of writing that describes the circumstances that occur in a matter that is discussed. Then, to collect various data needed, the writer used the method of literary study. Data and information used in this thesis are were obtained from book, textbooks, articles, journals, paper and electronic publications.
2. The next method was data Analysis data. Every data and facts already received should be analyzed with the theory. It was because the theory, data, and fact should be related each other.

G. Organization of Writing

The systematics of writing

Chapter 1: This chapter contains explanation about Background, Research Question, Purpose of Research, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Method of Research an writing organization.

Chapter 2: This chapter contains explanation about the history of Japan before and during World War II and the defeat of Japan at the end of World War II

Chapter 3: This chapter explains about Japan's Gross National Cool and Japan Foundation about manga and anime.

Chapter 4: This chapter describes about how manga and anime could be a tool of national branding of Japan

Chapter 5: Conclusion