

CHAPTER II

JAPAN'S IDEAL PACIFISM AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter aims to explore the origin of Japan pacifism and its implementation. It includes the history about Japan rising militarism in 1930s that was shifted into pacifism after the end of World War 2. This chapter also explains the implementation of the pacifism and the benefits Japan earned by nurturing pacifism for decades.

A. Origin of Japan Pacifism

Japan was not designated to be a pacifist country at first but having a long historical background behind that. The most significant period to trace back Japan pacifism is the time before World War 2 occurred, or in precise in 1930s where militarism and ultra-nationalism was highly shaping Japan behavior in global community. Japan imperialist and militarist behavior in global community occurred during the 1929 Global Great Depression and The London Naval Treaty in 1930. The Great Depression caused a severe crisis in the world, including Japan worse economy during that period while subsequently territorial expansion was seen as the most effective solution for the crisis at that time (Mauriello, 1999). Hence, the military influence took the high level of control within the government. It was known that the navy and army officers were occupying the essential position in the government, including in the prime minister office.

Added by the murder of Prime Minister Hamagumi Osachi in November 14th 1930 in the issue of ultra-nationalist dissatisfaction of The London Naval Treaty. The Prime Minister was assassinated by an ultra-nationalist as he failed in negotiating a higher Japan bargaining position on the possession of naval weapon against United States (Mauriello, 1999). Prime Minister Hamagumi Osachi later passed away in 1931. The militarism of Japan was growing ever since, approaching World War 2.

During the 1930s, Japan militarism and imperialism grew to the extent that Japan expanded its territorial occupation to Indochina and Southeast Asia in the aim for resource reserve. This Japan imperialism, which based on “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” concept, was highly condemned by the western allies, since it took away western occupied lands such as Dutch East Indies (Giles, 2015). This condemnation was manifested into an economic embargo toward Japan by United States, United Kingdom, and Canada to deter Japan expansion in Indochina (Townsend, 2011).

Japan nationalists saw this embargo as an act of aggression by the western allies, letting Japan economy into stagnation. Seeing dilemmatic choices between letting its economy falling down or giving up the occupation to end the embargo, Japan decided to respond the embargo by preparing itself for war against the western allies (Higgs, 2006). Finally on December 7th, 1941, Japanese army attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii as it was a central United States military base in the pacific region. At the same time, Japan also fought Commonwealth forces in Hong Kong and Malaya.

The war was on its way to an end as the United States, supported by allies block, dropped atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively on August 6th and 9th, 1945. However, the peace was not directly reached. About 70.000-80.000 Hiroshima citizens were dead by the 12.5 kilotons of TNT dropped by American B-29 bomber plane , while Japan central government was not doing anything about it until 3 days later another bomb destroyed Nagasaki (Koch, 1999). The peace was reached when Tenno Heika Hirohito stated to stop the war as it is the best way to save Japanese society from the worse destruction (Ojong, 1957).

On August 15th 1945, Japan agreed to sign Postdam Declaration under the condition where Hirohito Emperor was not toppled down from its throne. Postdam Declaration was a declaration stating that The United States President, The Republic of China President and Great Britain Prime Minister had agreed that Japan needed to be given an opportunity to end the war by unconditionally surrendering. Postdam Declaration

itself was issued on August 2nd, 1945 in which Japan clearly refused since it was contradictive with Japanese value of honor to never surrender (Ojong, 1957). Officially, Japan surrendered on August 15th, 1945. Since the date, Japan had been under United States occupation.

United States occupation was the turning point of militarist and imperialist Japan starting to transform itself into a pacifist Japan. In immediate yet early period of occupation, United States was directly aimed for domestic political reform (democratization), economic reconstruction (capitalism injection) and international political rehabilitation (demilitarization) (Tsuneo, 2000). Two weeks after the end of the war, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) headed by Douglas MacArthur arrived in Japan. Douglas MacArthur himself arrived in Japan on August 30th 1945, two days after the Allied troops' arrival and established allied powers general headquarter (GHQ) in the Dai-Chi Mutual Life Insurance Building across the across the imperial palace on September 8th, 1945 (S.Large, 1992). He later gradually stationed 430.000 Allied troops in Japan by November 1945.

The major United States agenda on this occupation was to establish a pacifist Japan. Pacifism by concept, as introduced in the 10th International Peace Conference in 1902, means a practical belief that war is wasteful and ineffective; hence pacifist actor will project its rejection toward any involvement in any war (Ethics Guide : Pacifism, 2014). This demilitarization agenda by United States was disarmament of Japanese war machine and formulation of the new Constitution which on effect on May 3rd 1947. In the term of security constitution, the most vital one was the Article 9 as the fundamental manifestation of the pacifism.

This article later shaped Japan basis of its foreign policy and behavior in international community for the subsequent decades. Basically, this article is consisted of 2 preambles: (1) *“Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as*

means of settling international disputes..” and (2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.” (The Constitution of Japan : Article 9, 1946). The first preamble represented that the shifting militarist Japan into pacifist one would involve the absence of violence by “*Japanese people*”, which means the attempt to create peaceful manner is created by individual citizen and collectively by the Japanese people as a whole (Kimijima, 2005). While the second preamble implies that to achieve that peace Japan, represented also by its central government, would not engage in any war by any means, supported by the fact that Article 66 of the constitution also prohibits military personnel to sit in politics, such as being prime minister or minister (Maki, 1990). The pacifism is implemented into four “never again principles” mentioned below:

- a. *Never again utilize military means as the main option to accomplish aimed domestic or international goals*
- b. *Never again have the homeland experience mass domestic bombing*
- c. *Never again allow military institutions or military officers to exercise a veto on public policy or to confront civilian politicians, bureaucrats or business leaders with life threatening ultima or political military fait accompli.*
- d. *Never again slight the importance of superior technology and the capacity to produce large quantities of advanced weapons with high quality control.* (Wilborn, 1998)

B. The Further Implementation and Benefits

The three major benefits and implementation from the pacifism mainly lies on 3 aspects; (1) the security umbrella by robust United States-Japan alliance, (2) Japan focus and advancement of economy by Yoshida Doctrine and (3) support

from Japanese society that was traumatic of the destruction of the war.

1. United States Security Umbrella

It was known that in exchange of Japan military disarmament, United States had been acting as the protector of Japan by establishing military bases in Japan mainland since its occupation after the end of World War 2 . Even at the end of United States occupation in 1952, United States was still in charge for Japan security. As mentioned in San Francisco Treaty in 1951 on security agreement, Japan would grant United States the maintenance of its military bases in Japan with the aim for nurture the stability in The Far East, as it went on effect on April 28th 1952 (Tsuneo, 2000). Even though the occupation of United States in Japan was officially ended, under San Francisco Treaty the part of Ryukyu Islands including Okinawa was still under United States control as its military base (Riyanto, 2011). It was an early point of Japan – United States robust alliance development ever since.

The first tangible development of the alliance was in 1960 when the United States – Japan Security Treaty was revised. The revision consisted of an idea that afterwards United States and Japan is equally responsible to help each other to maintain the security in that region. It was mentioned in both article 6 and article 9 within the United States – Japan Security Treaty in 1960:

“Article VI

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

1952, as amended, and by such other arrangements as may be agreed upon.

Article IX

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

(Japan-U.S. Security Treaty , 1960)

There are basically two changes in the treaty; (1) the termination of the 1951 security treaty mentioned in article 9 and (2) the creation of “a separate agreement” for the security relations mentioned in article 6. The separate agreement was known as “*Agreement Under Article 6 of The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation And Security Between Japan And The United States of America, Regarding Facilities And Areas And The Status of United States Armed Forces In Japan*” . The agreement consisted of a demand for Japan for a more participation in the security maintenance as mentioned in its Article 3 verse 1:

Article III

“Within the facilities and areas, the United States may take all the measures necessary for their establishment, operation, safeguarding and control. In order to provide access for the United States armed forces to the facilities and areas for their support, safeguarding and control, the Government of Japan shall, at the request of the United States armed forces and upon consultation between the two Governments through the Joint Committee, take necessary measures within the scope of applicable laws and regulations over land, territorial waters and airspace adjacent to, or in the vicinities of the facilities and areas. The United States may also take necessary measures for such purposes upon consultation between the two Governments through the Joint Committee.”

(Agreement regarding the Status of United States Armed Forces in Japan , 1960)

On the second preamble of the article, it is mentioned that Japan and United States had agreed and committed to provide Japan with an ability to “*take necessary measures within the scope of applicable laws.....*” in the safeguarding and control of the territory. It showed that the alliance got firmer by the more proportional role shared in the alliance without making Japan as militarily active as before. By this alliance, Japan later grew into a more confident bilateral partner as this alliance survived the turbulence during the Cold War such as United States Vietnam War lost in 1975 and the global oil crisis in 1973-1974 (Tsuneo, 2000). Until this thesis is being written, this treaty is still bonding the two parties tightly with over 50,000 United States troops stationing in Japan and authorized to access 89 military facilities within Japan (Sugg, 2016).

In security matters, this alliance tangibly benefits Japan that lived under pacifism after World War 2, or even after Cold War ended. During the Cold War intense tension, United States was also providing exclusive protection toward Japan. One of the most tangible facilities United States provided was “The Guideline for Japan-United States Defense Cooperation 1978” that specifically aimed in response to the threat of Soviet Union, a communist leading state located right in the north side of Hokkaido, Japan (Przystup, 2015). It was also mentioned in the guideline that United States would provide Japan with a nuclear umbrella to deter the outside threat in the region (The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, 1978).

The exclusive protection still goes unchallenged even after the fall of Soviet Union since the threats are changing in form. The grand benefit that Japan gained from the United States security umbrella is, using United States hegemony, the exclusive protection against the surrounding assertive threats. It was reflected in the updated Guideline for Japan- United States Defense Cooperation in 1997. Updated from its old

version in 1978 during the Cold War, it recognized the urgency to improve the bilateral security cooperation due to the instability in Asia-Pacific that persists even though Cold War has ended as mentioned;

“The aim of these Guidelines is to create a solid basis for more effective and credible U.S.-Japan cooperation under normal circumstances, in case of an armed attack against Japan, and in situations in areas surrounding Japan. The Guidelines also provided a general framework and policy direction for the roles and missions of the two countries and ways of cooperation and coordination, both under normal circumstances and during contingencies.”

(The Guidelines For Japan-U.S Defense Cooperation, 1997).

People’s Republic of China maritime expansionism and Democratic People Republic of Korea nuclear project development have been the major reasons for United States to nurture the security umbrella for Japan through the alliance improvement (Chanlett-Avery & Rinehart, 2016). The security umbrella has provided Japan with a legitimate protection, especially from its ‘rival’ People’s Republic of China as its both civilian and military leaders had officially stated that People’s Republic of China; (1) respects the United States presence in the Asia-Pacific region, (2) never intends to challenge United States presence and (3) welcomes the United States constructive role in the region (Goh, 2011).

2. Japan Economic Miracle

In economic aspect, the pacifism had granted Japan on the extraordinary economic development that was often called as “Japanese Economic Miracle”. It is an economic advancement had by Japan started from the administration of postwar Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru that strategically took advantage from United States security umbrella. He, under Yoshida Doctrine, combined political realism and economic pragmatism by using United States security umbrella to focus on economic development. As pacifist Japan

did not have to allocate much budget on military hence it could be used for industrialization (Chung-in & Han-kyu, 2000).

The economic democratization of United States also played an essential role for Japan to develop its economy under the new values introduced by United States under its occupation. Under United States occupation, economic reform was one of the turning points of the postwar economic advancement or later called as miracle. The four economic reform agenda were *zaibatsu* dissolution, fair market rules, agrarian reform and labor market reform. Cited from “*Postwar Development of Japan Economy: Development, Japanese/Asian Style*” in 2007 by Shigeru Otsubo, the four economic reform is explained below:

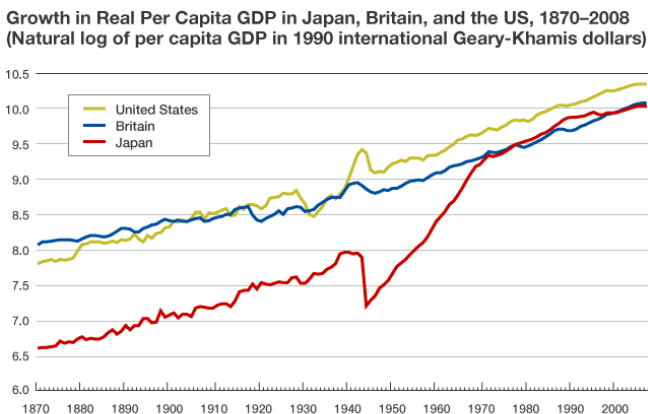
- a. *Zaibatsu* was several big conglomerates companies of Japan centralized economy on that period that was controlled by sharing-holder company. Its dissolution in 1945 was aimed to avoid the economic monopoly by several gigantic conglomerates. The big companies controlled by sharing-holder companies were prohibited ever since. Among the biggest *Zaibatsu* there were *Mitsui*, *Mitsubishi*, *Sumitomo* and *Yasuda*. These conglomerates were the central economic power for Japan during the wartimes, as it funded Japan for weapons.
- b. Fair Market Rules, introduced in 1947, was aimed to secure the market competition transparency. It was adopted from United States legal economic management as it imported Anti-trust Law and Securities Exchange Law to Japan economic system.
- c. Agrarian reform in 1945 was a policy of United States, as the occupier of Japan, to purchase the land of landlord that had excessive size of land. It was later sold back to Japan tenant farmers in a normal price. Later the amount of tenant farmers in Japan decreased from 46% to 10% as the number of independent farmer increases.
- d. Labor market reform in 1945 was the establishment of Labor Union Law, Labor Relations Adjustment Law, and

Labor Standards Law. The labor movement was legalized and labor union was nurtured.

(Otsubo, 2007)

The postwar pacifism and democracy has generally put Japan into an advance economic development, even challenging United States at that time. By this philosophy, Japan had appeared to be a competitor to United States domination in the global economy. During the 1950s, United States economic power covered about 50% of the entire economic asset worldwide then in 1980s it dropped into 20%, while Japan had been able to bounce back to carry its 2% economic coverage in 1950s to 10% just within that decade (Bey, 1990). Below is the diagram of Japan real per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) compared to United States and Great Britain:

Diagram 2 2.1 Japan Real GDP Growth



Source: The Maddison-Project
(<http://www.ggd.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm>, 2013 version).

nippon.com

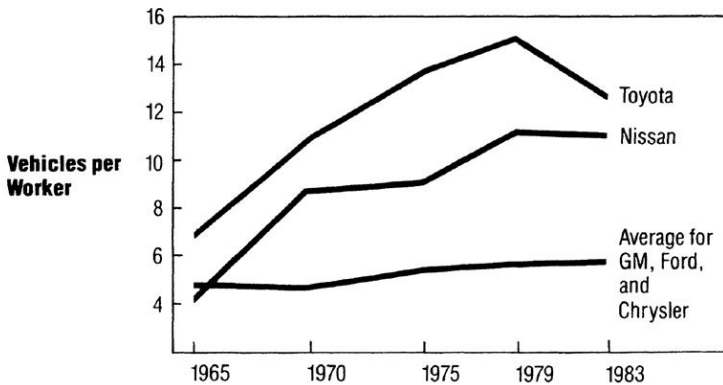
Source : Tetsuji, O. (2015, February 9). *Lessons from the Japanese Miracle: Building the Foundations for a New Growth Paradigm*. Retrieved December 5, 2017, from Nippon.com: <https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a04003/>

Based on the diagram above, we could see that the economy of Japan since 1870 had been rising until the pre-war era in 1940 until it dropped after the end of World War 2. This

occurred due to Japan militarist philosophy of *fukoku kyōhei* that means “enrich the country, strengthen the military” (Tetsuji, 2015). The postwar Japan economic bounce presented in the diagram was caused by the United States-led economic reform and Yoshida Doctrine, abolishing all pre-war feudal barriers and more strategic allocation of resources (Hayashi & Prescott, 2008).

Not only Japan economic miracle impacted to the Japan macro economic advancement, it also led Japan to be a leading technology and automotive industry innovator in the global economy during 1970s. During the decade, Japan automotive companies like Toyota and Nissan was reported to overshadow American Cars such as Ford, GM and Chrysler as Japanese products were more innovative and productive as shown below:

Diagram 3 2.2 Japan-United States Companies Productivity Comparison



Source : Cusumano, M. A. (1988, October 15). *Manufacturing Innovation: Lessons from the Japanese Auto Industry*. Retrieved December 5, 2017, from MIT Sloan Management Review:

<https://sloanreview.mit.edu/article/manufacturing-innovation-lessons-from-the-japanese-auto-industry/>

Based on this development of industry, Japan was called as “Japan.inc” as it showed a high integration of government and business parties to boost up Japan economy. This nickname due to Japan achievement in industry was caused by its extraordinary ability to integrate the complex business organization better than any industrial nations (Drucker, 1981).

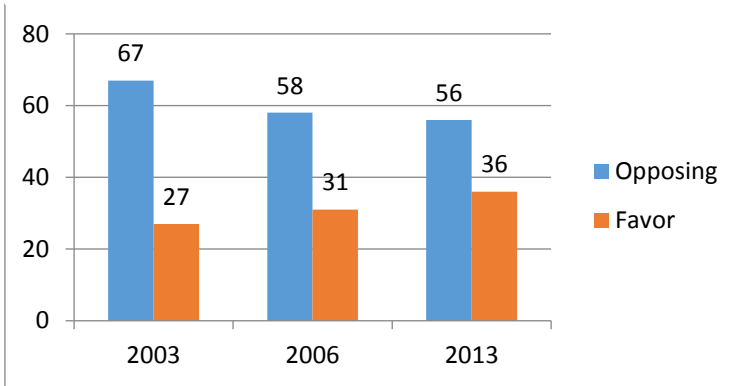
3. Japanese Support for Pacifism

The most fundamental aspect that strengthens the Japan national identity as a pacifist country is indeed the society voice and support for it collectively. This philosophy had shaped Japanese mindset of being a pacifist and anti-war, and also anti-militarist. Whenever Japanese government is pushed to make any non-pacifist behavior, the public of Japanese is always shown its rejection toward it. It was because Japanese postwar generation understood that the absolute obedience toward the militarist government policies may lead to a disaster, like what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Simpson, 2014).

Japanese public voice is very powerful, especially in the matters of militarization. It was started in 1960, when Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi tried to make a militarist agreement with United States. As Japanese society was afraid to be dragged into Vietnam War, Japanese society was able to gather 300,000 people to conduct a student uprising, led to the resignation of the Prime Minister (Torio, 2015).

It was reported that during the 1980s-1990s the polling of Japanese support for pacifist policy or against militaristic policy was 70-90%, showed a high support of pacifism (Sadadi, 2014). Even in the year 2000s, the rejection toward Japan plan to remilitarize or having an active military was still high and being dominant opinion among Japanese society as the table by Pew Research Center survey below shows:

Diagram 4 2.3 Japanese polling regarding Japan remilitarization



Source : Kohut, A. (2013, July 11). *Japanese Public's Mood Rebounding, Abe Highly Popular*. Retrieved December 5, 2017, from Pew Research Center: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2013/07/11/japanese-publics-mood-rebounding-abe-strongly-popular/>

C. Japan Self-Imposed Partial (1967) and Total (1976) Military Export Ban

Pacifism has been a holistic philosophy for Japan behavior from its bottom to top society, from the civil society until the central government and decision maker. Japan pacifism was also manifested into its commitment to not distribute Japan made weaponries by self-imposed military export ban in a very strict manner. According to Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs document on Japan's *Policies on Arm Export*, Japan has been establishing a gradual military export ban policies since 1967 comprehensively and holistically as partially cited below:

“Japan's Policies on the Control of Arms Exports

1. *Under The Three Principles, “arms” exports to the following countries or regions shall not be permitted:*
 - (1) *Communist bloc countries*
 - (2) *Countries subject to “arms” exports embargo under United Nations Security Council’s Resolutions and*
 - (3) *Countries involved or likely to be likely involved in international conflict*

The Three Principles have been the basic policy concerning Japan's "arms" exports since they were declared at the Diet session in 1967.

2. *Subsequently, in February 1976, the Government of Japan announced the collateral policy guideline at the Diet session that the "arms" exports to other areas not included in the Three Principles will be also restrained in conformity with Japan's position as a peace-loving nation. In other words, the collateral policy guideline declared that the Government of Japan shall not promote "arms" exports, regardless of the destinations.*

6. Based on other relevant laws, the Government of Japan also deals with in a strict manner:

- (1) *direct overseas investment for the purpose of manufacturing "arms" abroad, and*
- (2) *participation in the overseas construction projects of military facilities.”*

(Japan's Policies on the Control of Arms Exports, 2013)

These 3 chosen points from the policy above basically told us two different processes of self-imposed military export

ban in 1967 and 1976. On point 2, we could understand the fact that Japan was partially banning military export in 1967. It would still export weaponries to any country which was not listed to the three characteristics. While 9 years later, Japan to reach its vision as a peace loving nation, would restrain itself from military export regardless the destination. In other words it was a total ban. In point 6, it was a specifying point to explain the deeper meaning of “restraining” from military export. It stated that Japan will also not involve itself in any kind of military industry development within the state and overseas. The 1967 military export ban regulation was issued under Prime Minister Eisaku Sato while the extended one in 1976 was passed under Prime Minister Takeo Miki (Aoki, 2014).

D. Japan’s Pacifism Regressive Change: 2014 Japan Military Export Ban Lift

Despite of the exclusivity earned by Japan through its pacifism, the dynamics and change toward the pacifism implementation was inevitable, including the ones against that principle of pacifism tenet itself. On this subchapter, this undergraduate thesis would explore and describe the changing pacifism of Japan under the conservative administration of Shinzo Abe. It includes the description of the new Three Principles of Arm Export in 2014 and militaristic tenet shaping that policy.

In 2012, Shinzo Abe came back to his office as prime minister for the second term after first elected in 2006. In 2012 his party, Liberal Democratic Party saved an absolute advantage over its opposition party, Democratic Party of Japan. Ever since, the Japan parliament and high politics was dominated by conservative tenets as Shinzo Abe himself was a conservative. Under conservative tenets, Shinzo Abe and his political supporters aimed to bring Japan back as a “normal” country in a sense of a less restriction of passing militaristic policies and conducting more autonomous military activities. In achieving those, Shinzo Abe gradually remilitarize Japan to champion that ambition. One of the boldest militaristic

policies of Shinzo Abe during his second tenure was the revoke of the decades-long self-imposed military export ban. The new Three Principles consisted several points as mentioned below:

The Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology

“2. While maintaining its basic philosophy as a peace-loving nation that conforms to the Charter of the United Nations and the course it has taken as a peace-loving nation, Japan will control the overseas transfer of defense equipment and technology based on the Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology. Main contents of the Principles are as follows;

- (1) Clarification of cases where transfers are prohibited (the First Principle)
Overseas transfer of defense equipment and technology will not be permitted when:

 - i) the transfer violates obligations under treaties and other international agreements that Japan has concluded,*
 - ii) the transfer violates obligations under United Nations Security Council resolutions, or*
 - iii) the defense equipment and technology is destined for a country party to a conflict (a country against which the United Nations Security Council is taking measures to maintain or restore international peace and security in the event of an armed attack).**
- (2) Limitation to cases where transfers may be permitted as well as strict examination and information disclosure (the Second Principle)
In cases not within (1) above, cases where transfers may be permitted will be limited to the following cases. Those cases will be examined strictly while ensuring transparency. The transfer contributes*

i) to active promotion of peace contribution and international cooperation, or

*ii) **Japan's security.***

Significant cases that require especially careful consideration from the viewpoint of Japan's security will be examined at the National Security Council (NSC). As for the cases that were deliberated at the NSC, the Government will disclose their information in accordance with the Act on Access to Information Held by Administrative Organs (Law No. 42 of 1999).

(3) Ensuring appropriate control regarding extra-purpose use or transfer to third parties (the Third Principle)

In cases satisfying (2) above, overseas transfer of defense equipment and technology will be permitted only in cases where appropriate control is ensured. More concretely, the Government will in principle oblige the Government of the recipient country to gain its prior consent regarding extra-purpose use and transfer to third parties."

(The Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology, 2014)

By revoking the ban, Japan would be able to export/transfer military weaponries and conduct military joint development outside the country. This military export would be managed under the new Three Principles that were first drafted in 1967. What changed from the policy was the fact that the new ones, on the Second Principle, reflected more on Japan's insecurities among its surrounding despite of only aimed to contribute in creating more peaceful world (The Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology, 2014). Therefore, this policy could be seen as the regressive change of Japan pacifism.