

## **CHAPTER II**

### **JAPAN'S MILITARY DYNAMIC**

In this chapter, the author would like to explain the history of Japan's military. The military condition of Japan has experienced some military dynamic. Japan's military dynamic mostly can be seen especially before the World War II and after World War II. Firstly, in the aggressiveness of Japan military before the World War II until the defeat of Japan in World War II that adopted the pacifism. The military in Japan was referring to the ideology of Japan's empire which means that military must dominate the social and political of the state which also as a power state. However, this chapter will explain the dynamic of Japan's military.

#### **A. History of Japan's Military before World War II**

Japan is the one of the country in the world which had an experience in the changing of its defense and state security. In Japan military historical background, especially when Japan was in the Meiji Restoration era, this restoration was impacted Japan's military. At the beginning of the Meiji governance, they saw that Japan was as a state that threatened by the Western imperialism and one of the main triggers in deciding a "*Fokoku Kyohei*" policy in Meiji government was to develop the economic foundation and the industrial. However, Meiji Restoration was as a restoration of the emperor's power in order to strengthen Japan toward the threat of the colonialist power in that time.

This restoration also aimed to combine between the "Western advancement" with "Eastern" traditional values. The impact of Meiji Restoration was the industrialization implementation in Japan as a modal to attempt the raising of Japan as a military power form. Therefore, the strong military can be built to defend Japan against the external power. Besides that, in Meiji era also implemented the universal conscription which was introduced by Yamagata Aritomo (Mauriello, 1999). This condition was also allowing the

military to indoctrinate some people from the different social background by the patriotic-military value and the concept of allegiance without any doubt to the Emperor as the basis of Japan state (*Kokutai*). Yamagata was influenced by the Western value such as adopting the political idea from the success of Prussia (German Empire in the past). He also supported the expansion of the overseas military in that time.

It is common to describe that Japanese society at that time was as a militaristic society. In the World War I, Japan had a small role in the battle since Japan joined with the allied forces. But after the war, the economy of Japan was getting worse because of the big earthquake in 1923, so that the best solution toward Japan's condition in that time was by committing the territorial expansion. Since that condition occurred in Japan, Japan was known as an aggressive state in having some interactions toward other states in the world because of its interest which was as an expansionist state. It was also caused by its effort in order to achieve its desire to be an Asian leader state. One of Japan's roles in that time was the existence of the full military control of China's government which became Japan's target in expansion plan. Beside it, there were a lot of Japanese people which immigrated to China. It made Japanese soldier then occupied China in the next year which is in 1931.

Meanwhile, the imperialism defined as a policy which aimed to control other states. The rise of imperialism in Japan occurs as turmoil in the rest of the world unfolded (Mauriello, 1999). However, the imperialism in Japan was not only as a response toward the external conditions. After the World War I, Japan had an obsession to be a superior country in the world. However, it implemented because of the historical background which is in the era of Meiji Restoration which came up fully with a slogan "Let's attack Korea" (Mauriello, 1999). Until Japan's position as a center in the universe was restored, Korea was to be conquered, occupied, exploited, and used as a base for an advanced into China (Mauriello, 1999). Japanese military history was such experiencing some courses as

follow; it began from Meiji Restoration that might be competing with the western power and value, built a modern soldier, introduced the universal conscription, and totally demanding in obedience of its people to the state.

## **B. The Aggressiveness of Japanese Military in World War II**

Japan was known as a state which had strong military power and a military aggressive state during the World War II. Japan's involvement in World War II began by the signing of Tripartite Pact with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy on September 1940. In addition, Japan involved in World War II with the limited goals. The main goal was to enforce in producing the resources in Southeast Asia region and much of China and in order to emerge "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" which was as a Japanese hegemony under role (World War 2: The War Against Japan, 2011). In 1941, in order to achieve the hegemony, Japan toward East Asia had an operational strategy which triggered Japan to start the war. Moreover, Japan believed that it was necessary to destroy and neutralizing the US power in Pacific in order to secure its strategic flow which open if it moved from south to east to occupy Malaya, Philippine, Wake Island, Guam, Thailand and Burma as a defensive perimeter form (World War 2: The War Against Japan, 2011).

Meanwhile, the aim of Japan sent its army to Indochina was also to seize the territory from the French occupation. The United States which is a French alliance then responded Japan's effort to seize Indochina by giving economy sanction to Japan which was oil and steel embargo. After the embargo from the US, Japanese government under Hiromoto decided to respond US action toward Japan by using of military power. In 1941, Japan made an attack on the military basis of the US Navy in Pearl Harbor in Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaii without any warning before to the US. In the early morning before the attack, the US captured fighters radar which headed to Oahu, but the US military thought that they were its airforce plane

which been arrived. But then, unexpectedly, Japanese military forces made an attack through sea and airlines with the ship of United States Navy as an attack target. The Japanese attack was led by Navy Commander Isoroku Yamamoto and Minoru Genda Captain as a strategic planner of the attack and also Mitsuo Fuchida as a code sender which the military attack occurred for 1 hour 15 minutes (The National WWII Museum, 2011).

And then, one day after the attack, President of US, Franklin D. Roosevelt asked the US Congress to declare the war toward Japan, knowing that not a whole of US armies successful to be destroyed. Commander Yamamoto as the leader to attack Pearl Harbor stated that there would be a potential of back attack that would be done by the US to Japan. Commander Yamamoto prediction then became true. On June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1942, the US revenged Japan attack by drowning Japan's 4 aircraft carries. And then the climax was on August 1945, US dropped the bomb in 2 cities of Japan which is Hiroshima and Nagasaki which damaged both cities ruined at a glance, and also there were around 2 million Japanese civilians dead and gave a big loss to Japan (The National WWII Museum, 2011).

However, the military of Japan reached its peak at the end of 1930's but it ended when the occupation of the US was followed by the defeat of Japan. Japan experienced its defeat after 2 bombs that were dropped by the US in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a tragedy that forced Japan to surrender unconditionally to the ally on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1945. After that, Japan began to adopt the democracy. The attack tragedy of the Japanese military to Pearl Harbor was the most remarkable attack that had been done by the Japanese military. That attack showed how aggressive Japanese military it was during the World War II. Recorded that before the involvement of Japan in World War II, Japan also had been show its aggressiveness, such as its involvement in some international conflicts which used its military forces in Sino-Japanese War in 1894 against China, and also in Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905 against

Russia and also had a territorial expansion by doing an imperialism in Dutch East Indies, British Singapore, New Guinea, Philippine, and some regions in Pacific (Horner, 2011). By strong-armed military capacities in that time, Japanese military was recognized about its power and its aggressiveness even by European countries that involved in World War I. The victory in war and success in expansion efforts and recognition of the world of its military power increased Japanese confidence to not hesitate to engage in World War II (Asia For Educators, 2009).

### **C. Japan as a Pacifist Country after World War II**

The defeat of Japan in World War II impacted significantly whether in materials or even psychologically. In materially, exactly the defeat in World War II had been bringing Japan in a big loss. Japan might pay and gave a compensation for the damage that was caused by the war, and also Japan might fix the damages because of the war. Therefore, this compensation caused the bankrupt that threatened Japan economy. Meanwhile, in psychology side, Japan defeat made a deep trauma to the eeriness of the war itself. In addition, it brought Japan to a realization and recognition of a behavior failure and perspective in the past which too oriented to the development and utilization of the military forces only. Japan had a downfall totally in World War II, the downfall became a seed of the anti-military behavior in majority Japanese civilians (Navarro, 2010).

The US as the winner in the war saw that Japan was as fascism state with aggressive military and expansionist so that Japan was viewed as a threat to the international security and also became a threat for US interest in the future. For those reasons, US tried to place Japan in a situation where Japan could not be capable to rebuild its military forces. Therefore, the US implemented a policy to Japan by having an arrangement of the anti-military clausal which one of the rules toward Japan is the restriction of the ownership and the development of the military forces. Beside it, Japan might

accept that Japan was fully under control by the US particularly in the military term. All of the war potentials that was owned by Japan might be revoked or as demilitarization, this restriction of the military activity stated in new Constitution 1947, which is in Article 9 (McArthur, 2009). Moreover, the defeat of Japan in World War II was as a mark of the end of the war.

The defeat in World War II brought Japan in the changing of the Japan security figure. Japan military previously acted aggressively, but after its defeat in World War II changed its policy became pacifism as a response to the international security situation. By adopting the principle of pacifism contained in Article 9 of the Constitution, Japan formed Self Defense Forces (SDF) which is as a military force whose role is restricted, it is not as an offensive troop but as a defensive or martial army.

Japanese pacifism was proven by some of the documents which were as a base and factor of the pacifism policy validity. The documents are also used as guidelines for Japanese leaders, such as Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru who then decided policy principles by Yoshida Shigeru on the basis of Article 9 of the Constitution known as Yoshida Doctrine (Bendini, Policy Department, Directorate-General for External Policies, 2015).

#### 1. Article 9

After Japan surrender to its ally, the losing statement was actually as a protection form to the Japanese society. The trigger was caused by the bombing in Hiroshima and Nagasaki which were destroyed by the US. After its defeat, Japan was under control by Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) which be led by Douglas MacArthur which more than 430.000 armies were occupying Japan (Navarro, 2010). SCAP built a foundation after the war toward Japan and this was guided by 2 goals of the main policy which are demilitarization and democratization. The main activity of SCAP occupation was to the

disarmament of Japanese military, political cleansing, *zaibatsu* dissolution, agriculture reform, and most importantly, the preparation and announcement of the new constitution (Navarro, 2010). Japan was ordered to amend its constitution which is Imperial Constitution 1889 (Meiji Constitution).

There is one chapter in the New Japanese Constitution which marks the commencement of Japanese pacifism, namely Article 9. Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution reads as:

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 a means of settling international disputes* (Library of Congress, 2015).
2. *In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as another war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized. (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet)* (Library of Congress, 2015)

Article 9 is interpreted by the first paragraph, which namely that the Japanese no longer recognize war as well as the threat and use of weaponry as an instrument of international conflict resolution. While the second paragraph is understood to mean that in order to achieve the objectives set forth in the first paragraph, Japan will not maintain the armed forces, whether land, sea and air and anything else that could pose a potential war. This Article 9 marks the beginning of Japanese pacifism or demilitarization policy which also becomes

the foundation of the Japanese government in making policy, either domestic or foreign policy, especially related to military policymaking.

## 2. San Francisco Treaty and U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty

San Francisco Treaty and US – Japanese Treaty in 1951 are also becoming other foundations as a guideline of the Japanese government in deciding its policy. Yoshida Shigeru became a representative of Japan in signing this treaty. This treaty became a mark of the end of SCAP occupation in Japan. San Francisco Treaty is an agreement and treaty of peace which was signed by 49 states including Japan. The content of this treaty is that the parties signing the agreement will keep the peace and not attack each other, either Japan or the US (Price, 2001).

Meanwhile, US-Japanese Security Treaty is a bilateral treaty between Japan and US which also be signed on September 8<sup>th</sup>, 1951. This treaty discusses the security cooperation among both countries. The main of this treaty contains is that Japan security in external will guarantee by the US military, and Japan provides the military basis to US in Japan region.

## 3. Yoshida Doctrine

Yoshida Doctrine is a doctrine of the decision making that brought by Yoshida Shigeru. According to Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru's policy, Yoshida had an initiative for Japanese postwar recovery, which it is consisted to focusing the economic resources of Japan production which support in well-trained workers while adopting US stance in the security and international issues (Price, 2001). Yoshida Shigeru was the first Prime Minister that chosen after the defeat of Japan in World War II.

By the guidelines of Japan Constitution in Article 9 and US-Japanese Security Treaty, Yoshida Shigeru decided to use economic strategy to recovery the



condition within Japan. Yoshida Shigeru declared 3 principles in decision making as follows: (1) minimize the ability of Japanese military, (2) depends on US military, (3) emphasize economic development, these principles came to be known as Yoshida Doctrine. (Wilkins, 2010).

In addition, the Yoshida doctrine policy also led to the economic growth as a continued in order to guide Japanese economic and foreign policies for the decades (Japan Places, Images, Times and Transformation, 2010). However, this condition was considered as driving forces behind the economic growth of Japan. It also was caused by the US primary objective to Japan is demilitarization, and next two were disarmament and decentralization of the economy through the dismantling of powerful economic groups (Tarnoff, 2006). After that, Japan raised with its new economic power and the improvement of the industrial sector, which then Japan is as a Superior State. Japan was focusing to boost its economic development as a recovery and reconstruction of its state development instead of its defensive military. Yoshida doctrine has led to several decisions that make Japan a passive role in its military affairs. These policies are (Hughes, 2017):

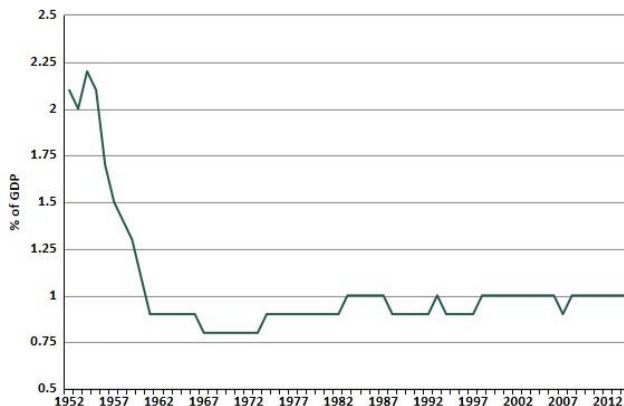
- 1) No overseas deployment of Japan troops.
  - 2) No participation on collective self-defense arrangement.
  - 3) No power projection capability.
  - 4) No nuclear arms.
  - 5) No arms export and no sharing of defense-related technology.
  - 6) No more than 1% of GDP for defense expenditure.
  - 7) No military use of space.
4. 1 Percent Limitation

In the highlight implementation within the Yoshida Doctrine, Japan might only spend the military

expenditure which restricted around 1% of GDP only as an obstacle imposed by the Japanese constitution at the end of World War II. Japan adopted the constitution in 1946 to release the war as a means to resolve international disputes. Thus military spending is limited to internal goals, purely self-defensive only.

The decision of Japanese government in spending 1% military budget was not done without any reason, which means that the origin of the decision can be looked back to 1958, which is when the government was still influenced by the trauma of the wartime activities associated by national security and also as an attempt to satisfy the anti-communist (and anti-Soviet) strategy toward US (Wright, 2016). Those three principles also unwittingly contributed to the environment in which Japan can then limit its defense activities. Meanwhile, 1 percent limitation in military expenditure can be considered as driving forces behind the economic growth of Japan. Japan raised with its new economic power which appropriates to the Article 9.

**Figure 2.1 the Japanese Military Budget Data**



Sources: (World Data Atlas, 2014)

The 1 percent limit should be a “standard” or a “less than” restriction, which means that it may seem a minor word choice, but it could lead a major difference in the Defense Agency’s annual budget (Wright, 2016). Limitations were such an important policy to the Liberal Democrat Party until Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone ignored it by issuing a military budget of 1.004% of GDP in 1987, along with a statement that Japan’s peace defense in the budget will not run much higher in the future (Wright, 2016). In fact, defense budgets exceed 1% of GDP in just two other cases – the year of 1988 at 1.013% and the year of 1989 at 1.006% (Wright, 2016).

The 1 percent concept has another impact on Japan’s security policy, which had a result that Japan could not export weapons. In Japanese constitutional interpretation exactly states that Japan could not have a role in any military activity that appears to be unrelated to its own defense, which has consequences for Japan’s security policy, defense industry, the sharpness of arms exports, regional events, and capacity to build post-Cold War capabilities.

However, Japan is constantly losing the opportunity in order to build the greater regional security defenses, defense capabilities, and defense partnerships with its neighbors. It is because of the policy of restrictions which combined with the control of arms exports, contributed in Japan that could not fully provide its own prevention and was unable to address its regional neighbors through defense exchanges and defense-related activities. Although Japan had the largest economy in Asia with such an enormous order over most of this period, it failed to spend money on its prevention, capacity building and defense equipment during the last days of the Cold War

and early Cold War, all activities that could affect Japan's neighbors in Asia South and Southeast Asia.

#### **D. The Increasing of Japan's Military Budget under Shinzo Abe**

The military dynamic of Japan keeps moving, from a situation from the militaristic societies of Japan before World War II, until Japan suffered defeat in World War II and it was forced Japan to finally adopted the 1947 constitution in article 9 that made by the US. Japan again raised the issue of militarism with the Shinzo Abe government that interpreted article 9 in the 1947 constitution as a response to the regional dynamic issue in East Asia, particularly by the increasing of North Korea and China's military power.

Japan government also decided a changing policy which is about the status of Japan Defense Agency and changed become Japan Ministry of Defense. A significant transformation was located in the decision making which related to the Japan defense. In arranging the military budget of Japan, it will be proposed to the cabinet by the Cabinet Office and after that Cabinet Office admits the budget proposal to the Ministry of Finance. In responding the rising of North Korea and China, Shinzo Abe also decided to increase and rearranging the military budget. The existence of the policy shifting in the defense of Japan more focused on the spending to practice, intelligence and preparedness capabilities. The increasing of the military budget is also for missile defense procurement and a new generation of non-nuclear submarine generation and development projects that are quieter and more resistant to attack and more sophisticated sonar capabilities.

With the reelection of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and the overwhelming vote for his program of economic growth, change – including constitutional change – is expected to come to Japan. The implications are huge, not only for Japanese society but also for markets, defense technology and spending, and all of the related second derivatives (Kotok,

Defense Budgets and Markets & Japan, 2016). Shinzo Abe's government seeks to raise and reorganize defense budgets in order to strengthen the alliance with the United States, the government approved the creation of the National Security Council, and also passed a new security law aimed at revoking the prohibition imposed by Japan on exercising collective self-defense rights. This also aims to seize the momentum caused by the dynamics of changing regional forces to get closer to "escape from the post-war regime" (Matsuoka, 2013).

A proposed revision of the Japanese constitution, which has not changed since 1947, symbolizes as a purpose of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party to bring a more autonomous role for Japan in both security alliances with the US as well as an international actor. Although Japan had the largest economy in Asia in this period, Japan has some problems which made Japan has been failed in order to spend its budget as prevention, capacity building, and defense equipment during this time. It is very difficult to imagine how a strategic picture in Asia would be if Japan now had better-funded defense tools, expedition capabilities, strong export-defense relations with its neighbors, and closer military-to-military ties other Asian countries.

In essence, Prime Minister Abe now has a voice to change the constitution so Japan can become more active in its military operations. Japan's military stance has long been a key issue for Abe. In view of the increasing of Japanese military capability, the Japanese Self-Defense can be used as an indicator to measure the increase in military capabilities. It makes Japan into 24<sup>th</sup> place with the world's largest armed forces and with annual military spending of more than 50 billion USD and puts Japan ranked 7<sup>th</sup> in terms of military spending (McCurry, *The Guardian*, 2015). In addition to the expanding JSDF mission, Japanese military budget is experiencing growth and improvement as evidenced by a significant increase from 2006 to 2014. Shinzo Abe also stated that he will not spend the military budget as much as below one percent of the nation's economy, which means that is as a

reaffirming of the commitment of Shinzo Abe in order to go further as a form of postwar transformation to the governments by making the military forces become more active (Kaneko, 2017).

**Figure 2.2 the Increasing of Japan's Military Budget**



Sources: Trading Economic

Shinzo Abe announced that he would no longer keep to the 1 percent of gross domestic product limit on military spending. However, the implications for Japan's budget include an increase in military budget, from 1% of GDP to upwards of 2 or 2½% of GDP (Kotok, Defense Budgets and Markets & Japan, 2016). Japan's defense budget is significantly increased since Shinzo Abe's cabinet approved a record of 812 USD billion budgets for the coming fiscal year,

including a record of the military budget of 42 USD billion (Telesur, 2015). From the data above shows that military budget in Japan increased to 41569 USD Million in 2016 from 41103 USD Million in 2015 and the military budget in Japan averaged 27022.68 USD Million from 1952 until 2016 (Trading Economic, 2016). However, the Japanese government announced that recently it was biggest military budget ever.

By the whole discussion in this chapter, starting from the history of Japan's military before World War II, until Japan's military under Shinzo Abe can be seen that Japan begin to show its consistency in beginning the military and defensive direction from passive to active. Those facts show that there are significant transformations in Japan's defense policy, particularly in the increasing of military budget under Shinzo Abe. The transformation began by the demand from the US and then from the international context which always changed and finally, it triggered Japan to be more in increasing the military capability, and one of the ways is by increase of the military budget. So that, this further proves that Japan seems to have a focus on continuing to create a more active military capability.