



Japan:  
Foreign Policy in a state of flux  
& New government of Japan

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# Security policy

# Background of Security of Japan

## Pre-war world

- ◆ Japan was recognized as a dominant power within Asia
- ◆ A permanent member of the Security Council of the League of Nations (former UN) from 1920 until 1933
  - Japan was not allowed to join the UN until 1956

## Post war Japan

The 1947 Constitution of Japan banned the Japanese from re-arming

# Yoshida Doctrine

(Postwar Prime Minister Yoshida)

## Yoshida's approach to foreign policy

1. Economic growth – to win peace after losing the war
2. Maintain only a small, lightly armed forces for Self defense
3. Rely on the US for security guarantee

# Japan's nuclear policy (by Prime Minister Kishi)

1. Reliance on the US nuclear umbrella
2. Commitment to three non-nuclear principles (not to produce, possess or have them on Japan soil)
3. Promotion of worldwide disarmament
4. Development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes

## Three principles for arms exports (prime minister Sato in 1967)

- ◆ Not to export arms to the communist bloc
- ◆ No to export arms to countries covered by a UN arms embargo
- ◆ Not to export arms to countries involved in armed conflict

This was later developed by Prime Minister Miki to a ban on all arms exports.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)  
1976 Japan signed the treaty

# Threats to Japan's security

## ◆ North Korea

- ❖ North Korea's Taepodong launch in 1998
- ❖ Infiltration of North Korean spy ships in 1999
- ❖ Nuclear weapons program
- ❖ Abduction

## ◆ China

- ❖ China is unlikely to inflict a direct attack on Japan, except for China's military intervention in Taiwan affair (i.e. Taiwan's independence) would threaten to Japan's security)

# Security related Domestic laws

- ◆ 1992 Peacekeeping Operations Bill
  - ◆ Dispatch of the SDF to overseas for a non-combat role
- ◆ 2001 Anti-terrorism Measures Law
  - ◆ This enabled the SDF to give logistic assistance to the US-led forces in the Indian Ocean ⇒ The Cabinet endorsed to extend for one more year
- ◆ 2003 Emergency Legislation



# Emergency Legislation (2003)

1. The Armed Attack Situation Law or Armed Attack Contingency Law: The government is given more powers to respond to a foreign military attack on Japan or perceived threats of such an attack (武力攻撃事態対処法)
2. The Revised Self-Defence Law: This allows to loosen some restrictions to facilitate the mobilization of the SDF including the use of weapons (自衛隊改正法)
3. The Revised Law on the Establishment of the Security Council of Japan: The Home Affairs Minister and others will be included in the council and they are required to setup of a panel to respond to an emergency situation (安全保障会議設置改正法)

# Constraints on expanding the military

## ◆ Public opinion

- ❖ There is little public support for a combat role for the SDF

## ◆ Article 9

- ❖ The article preclude any military establishment

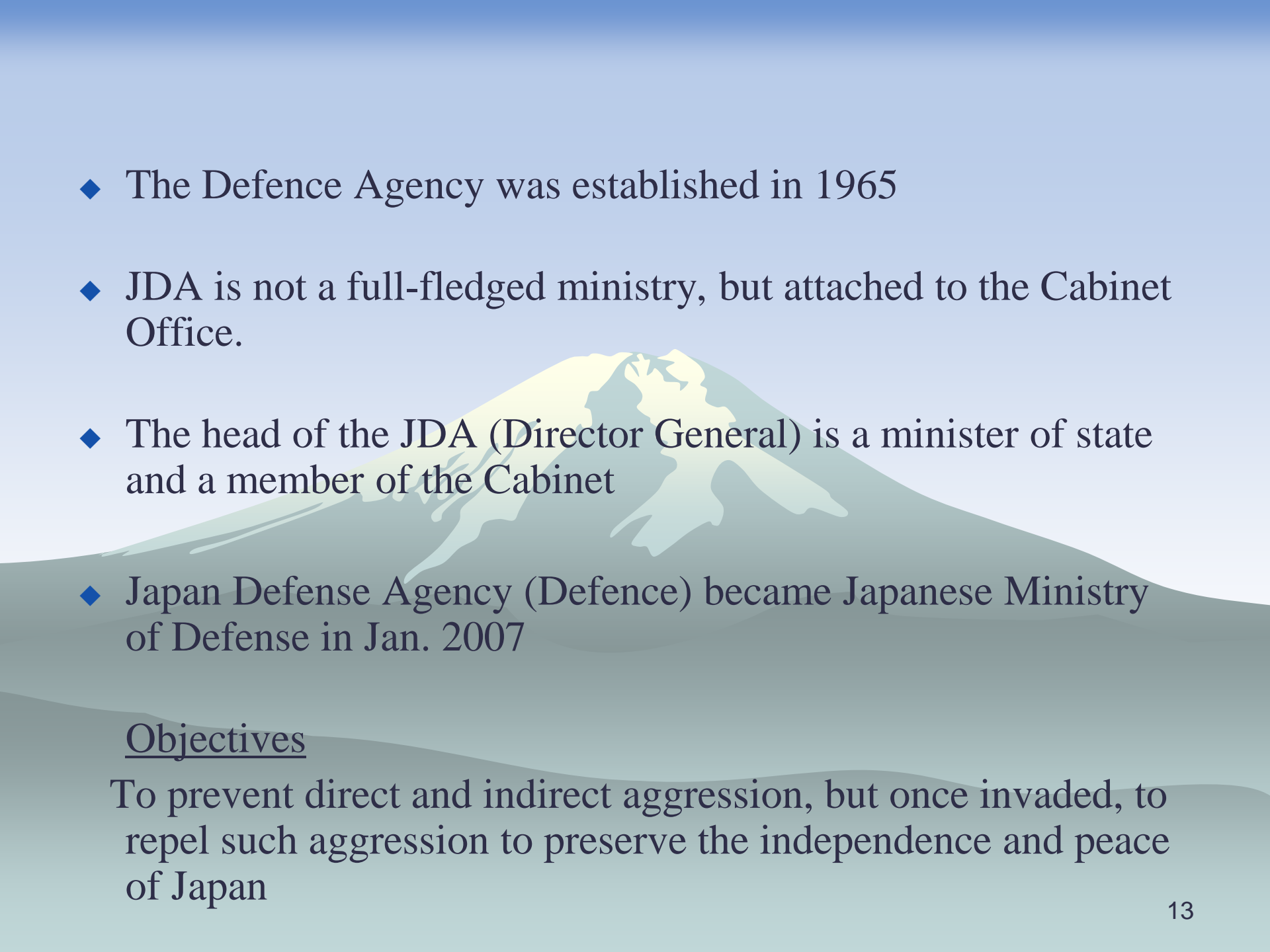
- ❖ If Japan want to avoid a major military buildup, Japan has little choice but to rely on the armed strength of the US.

# New moves

- ◆ Japan signed an agreement in 1983 permitting defense technology transfer with the US
- ◆ Enforcing missile defense capabilities
  - ❖ Concern over North Korea's ballistic missile and nuclear crisis
  - ❖ To meet US demand to further promote bilateral cooperation in the missile defense
  - ❖ To build a missile defense shield against China's ballistic missile – long term goal
  - ❖ Review on Japan's arms export ban with the idea of revising it (JDA director stated this remark in 2004)

A stylized, layered illustration of Mount Fuji. The mountain is depicted with soft, overlapping layers of light green and yellow, creating a sense of depth and atmosphere. The background is a gradient of light blue and white, suggesting a clear sky. The overall style is clean and modern.

Japanese Ministry of Defense (2007)  
(Former The Defense Agency of Japan (JDA))

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- ◆ The Defence Agency was established in 1965
  - ◆ JDA is not a full-fledged ministry, but attached to the Cabinet Office.
  - ◆ The head of the JDA (Director General) is a minister of state and a member of the Cabinet
  - ◆ Japan Defense Agency (Defence) became Japanese Ministry of Defense in Jan. 2007

### Objectives

To prevent direct and indirect aggression, but once invaded, to repel such aggression to preserve the independence and peace of Japan

# Defense expenditure

US\$ per capita	1985	2001
US	1,631	1,128
UK	852	583
France	895	553
Russia	N/A	440
Japan	269	310
North Korea	308	91
China	29	36

Although Japan possesses sizeable military assets, it ranks the fifth defense spender (Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies (2002))

# Self Defense Forces (SDF)

- ◆ SDF was established in 1954
- ◆ Army, navy and air force under the supervision of the Director general of the Defense Agency.
- ◆ Exclusively defense oriented
  - ❖ Can only act if attacked
  - ❖ Must take minimum actions required for defense
  - ❖ Size of capability must be limited to the minimum necessary for defense (no offensive and strategic weapons)

In International law, 'Self-defense' covers both individual and collective defense, but Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan is usually viewed as meaning that only acts of individual defense are permissible.

## Role of the SDF (Since 1979)

1. To maintain an adequate surveillance posture
2. To act and take the steps required to respond to domestic insurgency
3. To rebuff cases of limited and small-scale aggression
4. To effectively function in the fields of command communication, transportation and rescue
5. To carry out extensive education and training of SDEF
6. To carry out disaster relief operations



# Legislation concerning SDF activities and the activities of the US forces

- ◆ The SDF can provide the US forces with supplies such as weapons and ammunition and services free of charge.
- ◆ The Japanese government will be required to compensate the public and local authorities for damages and losses resulting from the activities of the US military.
- ◆ The Prime Minister can allow the US military to use privately owned land or structures if he deems it necessary should Japan come under attack.

# The Japan-US Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA)

- ◆ Signed February 2004
- ◆ This revision allows the SDF and US forces to expand the scope of exchanging goods and services to Japan's emergency situations, international contributions and large-scale disasters.
- ◆ Allows the SDF to supply ammunition to US forces in the event of an armed attack or an expected attack on Japan.

# The Japan-US Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (Cont')

- ◆ Allow the US and Japan to exchange services in Japan-US joint training, PKO, humanitarian and international relief activities and situations in areas surrounding Japan.

Allow two countries to exchange food, fuel, clothes and military parts and services such as transporting troops and repairing vehicles.

- ◆ Not allowed to provide each other with weapons and ammunition.

A stylized illustration of Mount Fuji, the highest mountain in Japan, centered in the background. The mountain is depicted with a yellowish-green peak and a dark green base, set against a light blue sky. The foreground consists of several layers of dark green, wavy shapes representing rolling hills or a misty atmosphere. The overall style is clean and modern.

# The Constitution of Japan

# Comparison

	Meiji Constitution (1889)	Post-war Constitution (1947)
Drafted by	Enacted as part of the Meiji Renewal, abolished after World War II	Allied Occupation at the direction of General Mac-Arthur in 1946, has not been amended since then
Sovereignty	Emperor (claimed to rule by divine right)	People
Emperor	Held supreme power	De facto head of state, ceremonial figurehead
Rights/System	All popular rights were circumscribed and the duty of people to serve and obey Emperor was absolute, imperial system	Parliamentary system of government, guarantee of certain fundamental rights, strict separation of state and religion, liberal democracy
Central policy	Imperial order	Pacifism, no possession of any armed forces, abolishment of feudalism

## **Article 9      RENUNCIATION OF WAR**

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.

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.

# Constitutional Amendments

The revision covers **four major areas**

1. **Guarantee of Fundamental Human Rights**
2. **Fundamental and Organizational Role of Politics**
3. **Japan's Role in International Society**
4. **Local Autonomy.**

# Implications of Article 9

- ◆ After adoption of the Constitution of Japan, the US had a desire for Japan to take a more active military role in the struggle against communism.
- ◆ Reinterpreted as 'renouncing the use of force in international affairs, but not renouncing a national right to self-defense
- ◆ Prohibits maintaining a military for warfare, though Japan possesses a self-defense force ⇒ discord between the SDF and Article 9 (must be addressed clearly)
- ◆ Troubling prospect for Asian neighbors wary of a revival of Japanese militarism in the region



## Debate on major issues by the ruling and opposition parties

	LDP & Komeito	DPJ
Timeline	Expected to endorse the LDP Constitution panel's draft amendment on 22 November 2005 (party's 50 <sup>th</sup> anniversary)	Compile a Constitution revision bill in 2006
SDF and International cooperation	<p>Calls for a permanent law for international cooperation, establish the SDF military credential</p> <p>The role of military would be specified to deal with Self defence, international cooperation and contingencies</p>	<p>SDF dispatch to Iraq is problematic.</p> <p>Calls for legal restraints to control the SDF through changes to Article 9.</p> <p>SDF should be reorganized into a reserve force for the UN (Ozawa group)</p>

<p>Self defence, Collective self-defence</p>	<p>Support both self-defence and collective defence</p>	<p>Support both self-defence and collective defence (Maehara)</p> <p>Against the right to collective self-defence because it is banned by Article 9 (former Japan Socialist Members)</p>
<p>Collective security</p>	<p>Support collective security (it is guaranteed under international law (UN Charter 51).</p>	<p>Support collective security (Majority)</p>
<p>Article 9</p>	<p>Retain or reword the war-renouncing Article 9, Clause 1, but to change Clause 2</p> <p>Komeito contends that Article 9, Clause 1 and 2 should be retained</p>	<p>Retain the war-renouncing Article 9, Clause 1, but to scrap Clause 2 to clarify the right of self defence</p>

# The US-Japan Security Arrangements

A stylized illustration of Mount Fuji, the highest mountain in Japan, is centered in the background. The mountain is depicted with a yellowish-green peak and a dark green base, set against a light blue sky. The overall style is minimalist and graphic.

# Mutual Security Treaty

## (US-Japan Defense relationship)

- ◆ Japan agreed to the stationing of American troops in Japan
- ◆ The US presence in Japan is governed by a Status of Forces of Agreement (SOFA)

# US-Japan Security Treaty

- ◆ To prevent Japan from posing a threat to peace by denying Japan the right to develop a military (This is by placing Article 9 in the Japanese constitution)
- ◆ To secure the Sea Lanes of Communication around Japan up to 1,000 miles out
- ◆ Japan depends on the US for military enforce beyond the areas surrounding Japan

# **New Guidelines for US-Japan Security Defense Cooperation (1997)**

- ◆ Greater sharing of intelligence information
- ◆ Collaboration between US and Japanese forces during UN PKO and humanitarian operations
- ◆ Bilateral defense planning and exercises

A stylized, layered mountain range in shades of green and blue, with a bright yellow and white peak in the center. The background is a light blue gradient.

# Foreign policy

# Major issues

- ◆ Two main pillars of Japan's foreign policy
- ◆ Japan's international contribution
  - ❖ Economic aid (ODA)
  - ❖ PKO activities
  - ❖ Humanitarian aid (SDF dispatch to Iraq)
- ◆ Japan's quest for UNSC permanent membership
- ◆ Free Trade Agreements



# Two main pillars of Japan's foreign policy

- ◆ UN centrism (UN centered diplomacy)
- ◆ US-Japan alliance

# Japan's PKO and participation

- ◆ UN Charter does not oblige Japan to contribute military to PKO
- ◆ Japan's PKO has always been non-military participation i.e. protection of human life, election monitoring, humanitarian aid, post-conflict economic rehabilitation

1992: UNTAC Cambodia (removal of mines)

1993: Mozambique (50 personnel)

1996: the Golan Heights

1994: Zaire

# Japan's PKO

## Criticism

*Japan's involvement in PKO is linked to Japan's bid for permanent Security Council Membership!*

# Japan's International Contribution

It has been influenced by '**Gaiatsu**' (Foreign Pressure) and **the Gulf War, 1991**

i.e. US pressure → active role and military role for Japan (1990s)

## International Peace Cooperation Bill (PKO Bill) – 1992

SDF is allowed to participate in all non-military PKOs, including supervising elections and transporting refugees.

## Lessons from the Gulf War, 1991

- ◆ Despite massive monetary contribution of USD\$13 billion, Japan experienced severe international criticism and loss of face.
- ◆ Engaged mainly in mine sweeping activity

**Japan offers money but not blood!**

# SDF dispatch to Iraq

- ◆ Up to 600 Ground Self-Defense Force troops have been stationed in Samawah in southern Iraq since early 2004 to repair schools and roads and provide clean water and medical aid.
- ◆ About 200 Air Self-Defense Force troops stationed in Kuwait are transporting goods and U.S. military personnel to and from Iraq.

The background features a stylized illustration of Mount Fuji, a prominent snow-capped mountain, rendered in shades of green and yellow. A map of Japan is overlaid on the mountain, with the text 'Japan's quest for UN permanent membership' centered over it. The overall aesthetic is clean and modern, with a light blue gradient sky above the mountain.

# Japan's quest for UN permanent membership

# What is the Security Council ?

Purpose:

- ◆ Maintenance of international peace and security
- ◆ Investigate any dispute or situation that could lead to international friction
- ◆ Recommend methods for adjusting disputes and terms for settlement
- ◆ UNSC alone has the power to make decisions which all Member States are obliged to accept and carry out.

Five UNSC permanent members (P5) with veto rights :  
US, France, UK, Russia and China – veto power

10 non-permanent members: two-year terms on a rotational basis

# UNSC reform

## Major issues for the reform

- ◆ Veto power – Should new Security Members be allowed to have the veto power or veto power itself should be eliminated?
- ◆ Expansion of UNSC membership:  
Is their need to expand UNSC permanent membership? If so, who are qualified?

Possible candidates for the membership (Japan, Germany, India and Brazil) and the opponents

- ❖ Japan vs. China and South Korea
- ❖ Germany vs. Italy
- ❖ India vs. Pakistan
- ❖ Brazil vs. Mexico



# Is Japan qualified to become the UNSC permanent member?

- ◆ Japan's financial contribution to the UN is the second largest (19.5%).
- ◆ Japan has contributed to the international community through development aid, i.e. ODA, loan
- ◆ **“Enemy state clauses” in the UN Charter must be deleted (it refers to Japan)**

**Ultimate restoration of Japan's world prestige**

# ADDRESS BY KOIZUMI PRIME MINISTER

- ◆ For the last sixty years, Japan has determinedly pursued a course of development as **a peace-loving nation**, making a unique and significant contribution to the peace and prosperity of the world.
- ◆ Japan is convinced that Security Council reform is a just cause for the international community - as is **the deletion of the long obsolete "enemy state" clauses from the UN Charter**. In a reformed Council, **Japan is ready to play a larger role as a permanent member**.

(AT THE HIGH - LEVEL PLENARY MEETING OF THE 16th SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UN in 2005)

# What must Japan do in order to win support from UN member states?

- ◆ Win support from P5 nations
- ◆ China: Strongly against
- ◆ Boost cooperation toward a common goal of gaining permanent Security Council membership with other possible candidates (i.e. India, Germany)
- ◆ Win support from UN member states → Likely to win support from most African nations and some Asian nations ⇒ Economic influence (ODA)

# Old Government and New Government



# Key dates in Japanese postwar politics

- ◆ April, 1952 The Allied occupation of Japan ends.
- ◆ November, 1955: LDP is formed through a merger of the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party.
- ◆ August, 1993: The Liberal Democrats lose their grip on power for the first time, to an eight-party coalition headed by the first non-LDP prime minister, Hosokawa of the Japan New Party.
- ◆ June, 1994: LDP return to power in a ruling coalition, but support Socialist Murayama as prime minister.
- ◆ January, 1996: The Liberal Democrats' leader returns to the top office after three non-LDP prime ministers.
- ◆ September, 1996: The forerunner of the Democratic Party of Japan is established by Hatoyama and other defectors from the LDP and some members of the 1993 coalition.

- ◆ November, 1996: LDP returns to single-party rule after gaining a majority in the lower house.
- ◆ April, 1998: DPJ expands by merging with several small centrist opposition groups.
- ◆ April, 2000: LDP forms a ruling coalition with a smaller, Buddhist-backed party, the New Komeito.
- ◆ September, 2005: LDP scores a sweeping victory in lower house elections under Prime Minister Koizumi, with privatization of the postal savings system as a key issue.
- ◆ July 2007: DPJ wins by a landslide in the weaker upper house vote and leads the opposition bloc to take control of the chamber.

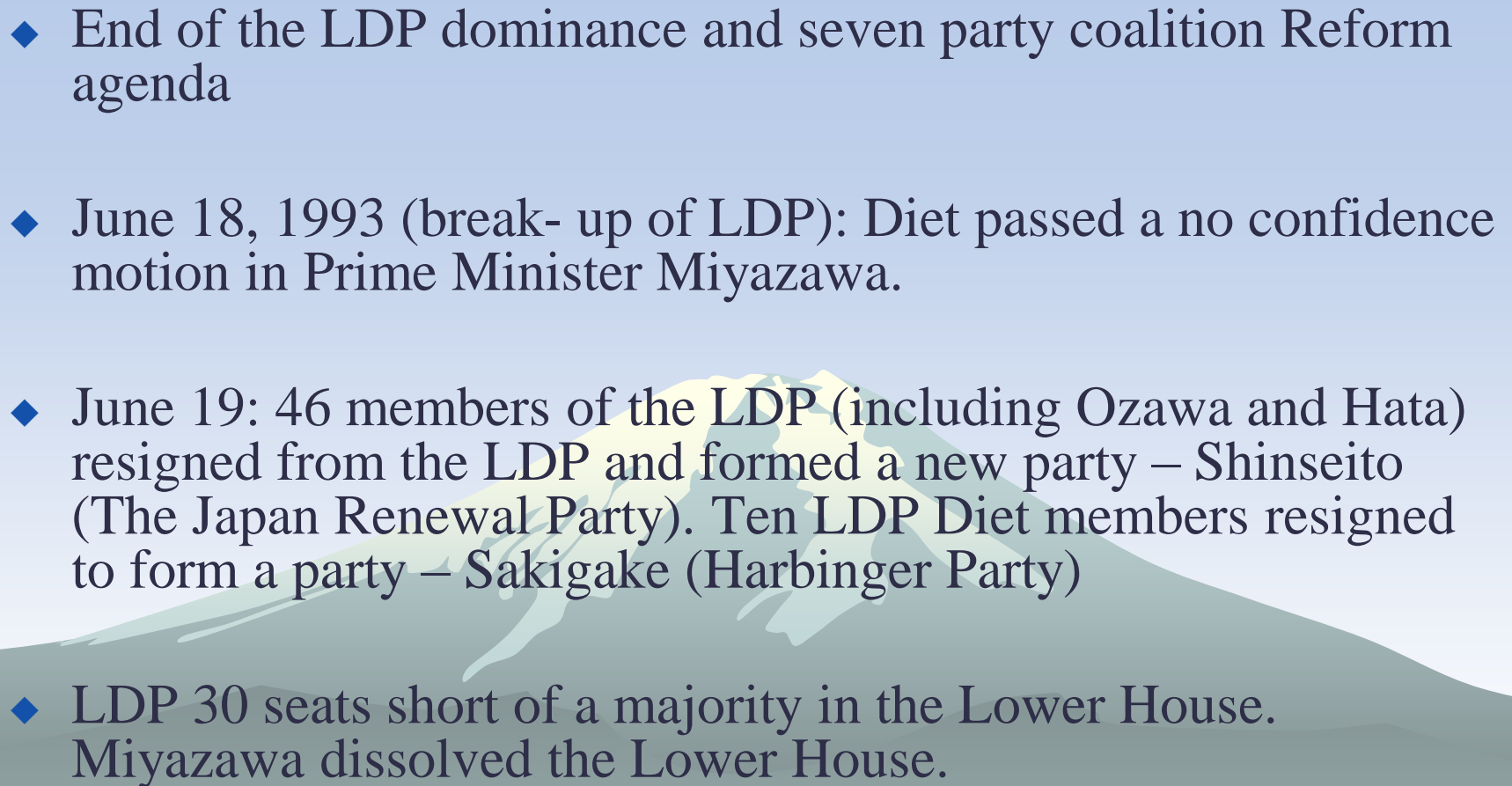
# End of the 1955 system

What was the 1955 system?

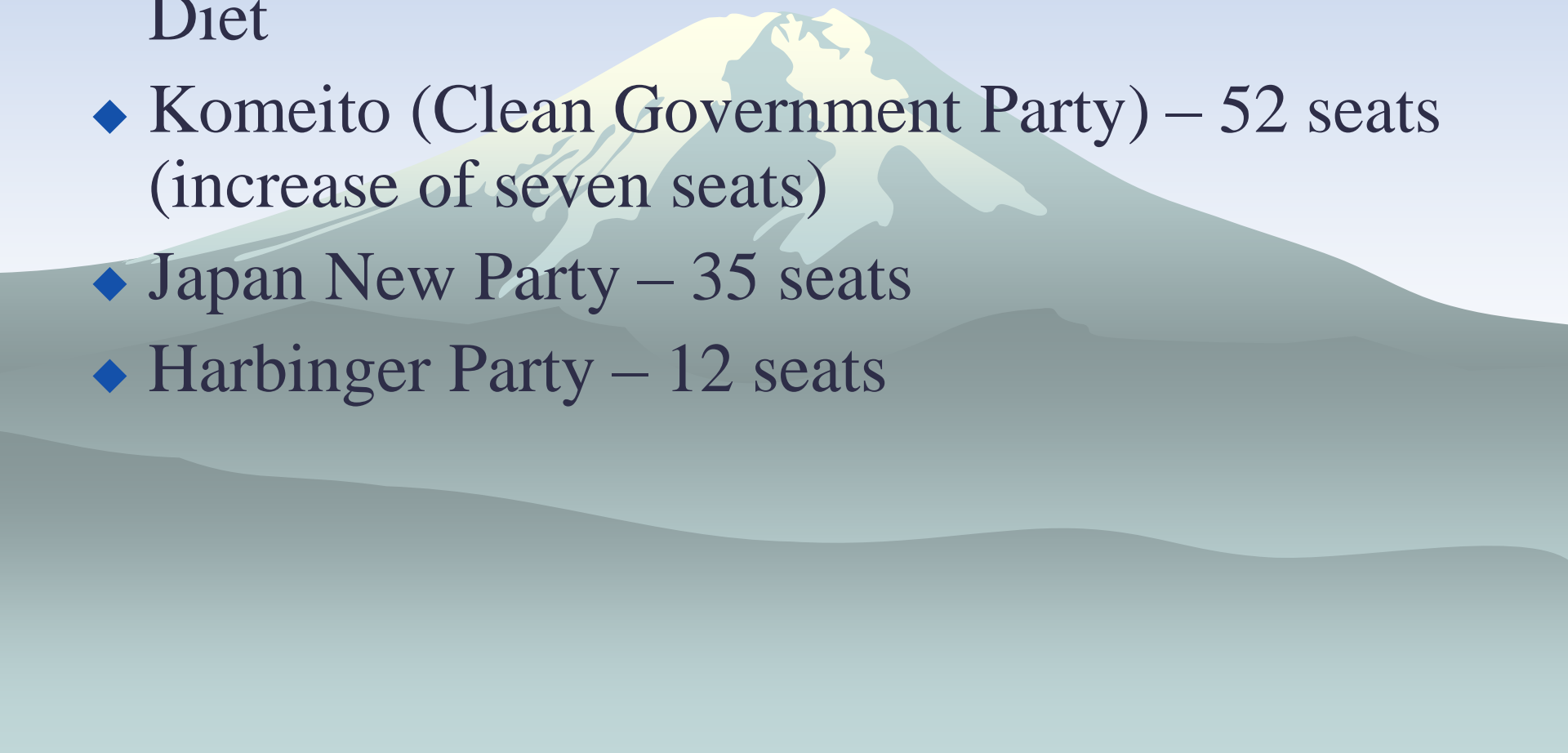
- ◆ Ideological struggle between conservative and socialist policies (LDP ability to secure national elections for 38 years led to the perception that it was a one and half party system)
- ◆ Powerful role of LDP factions (Habatsu)
  1. selecting party president (and therefore PM)
  2. determining cabinet posts, committee positions and
  3. source of funds to factional members.

- ◆ Powerful role of the bureaucracy (Arthur Stockwin – bureaucracy colonised the ruling party and lesser extent corporate world)
- ◆ Consensus based style of leadership
- ◆ opposition parties were weak – voters were not presented with a choice (JSP – later SDPJ, Social Democratic Party of Japan – gave impression it did not want to take office)
- ◆ Money politics was rife
- ◆ End of Cold War and demise of single party dominance



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- The background of the slide features a stylized, semi-transparent image of Mount Fuji. The mountain is depicted in shades of yellow and green, with a white snow-capped peak. It is centered horizontally and occupies the middle ground of the slide, behind the text.
- ◆ End of the LDP dominance and seven party coalition Reform agenda
  - ◆ June 18, 1993 (break- up of LDP): Diet passed a no confidence motion in Prime Minister Miyazawa.
  - ◆ June 19: 46 members of the LDP (including Ozawa and Hata) resigned from the LDP and formed a new party – Shinseito (The Japan Renewal Party). Ten LDP Diet members resigned to form a party – Sakigake (Harbinger Party)
  - ◆ LDP 30 seats short of a majority in the Lower House. Miyazawa dissolved the Lower House.

## July 18 1993 election result

- ◆ LDP 223 (33 seats short of a majority)
  - ◆ JSP – 70 (had 133 before the election) severely weakened but still second largest party in the Diet
  - ◆ Komeito (Clean Government Party) – 52 seats (increase of seven seats)
  - ◆ Japan New Party – 35 seats
  - ◆ Harbinger Party – 12 seats
- 

August 1993

- ◆ Hosakawa Morihiro Prime Minister of a Coalition Government
- ◆ A result of manoeuvring in the Diet. Hosakawa leader of the Japan New Party (Nihon Shinto) was able to cast a vote to forge a coalition of seven parties to keep the LDP from power.

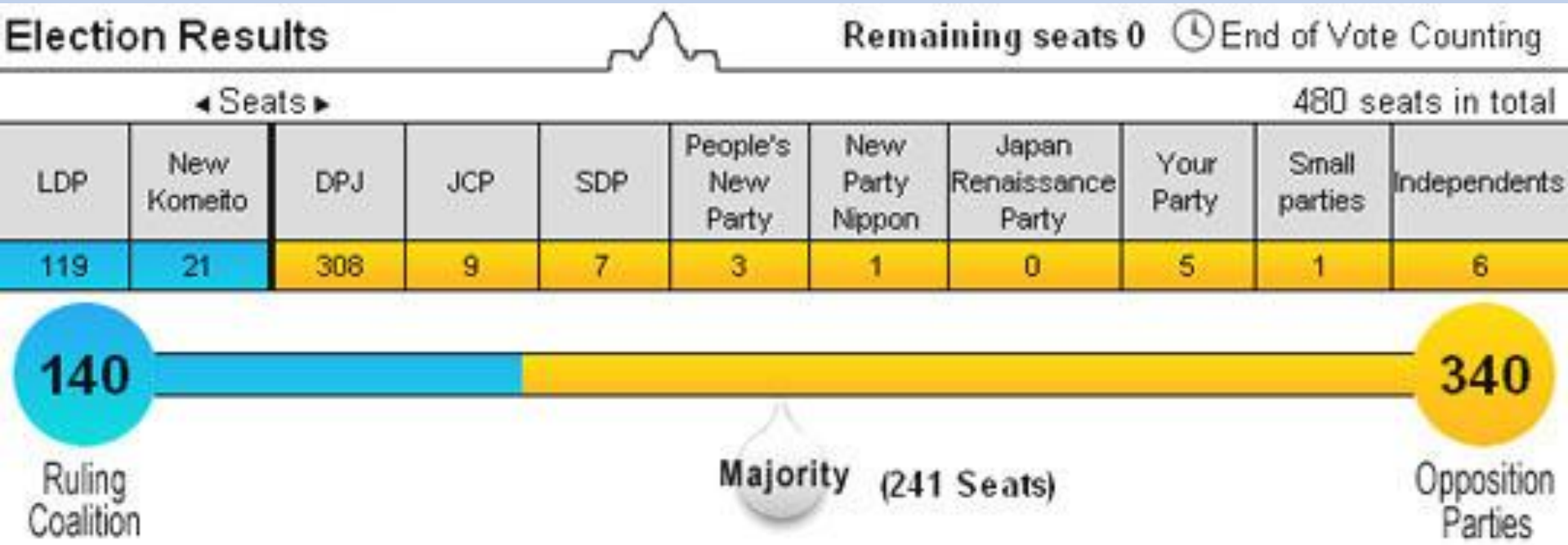
## LDP loss of power

- ◆ Ideological differences between parties was no longer a factor
- ◆ Economic success could no longer be taken for granted
- ◆ Great public interest in political reform

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- ◆ Coalition lasted nine months due to bickering mainly between SDJP and Ichiro Ozawa leader of Shinseito arty.
  - ◆ June 1994 LDP back in coalition with SDPJ and New Harbingers Party (Shinto Sakigake)

# 2009 General Election

## DPJ wins over 300 seats



# Results of the 2009 General Election

- ◆ The DPJ, which had just 115 seats before the election, secured 308. However, still 12 seats short of holding two-thirds of the Lower House.
- ◆ The DPJ-led opposition parties secured 340 seats against just 140 for the LDP-New Komeito ruling bloc.
- ◆ The victory by DPJ will end more than half a century of almost uninterrupted rule by the Liberal Democratic Party.
- ◆ The LDP's fall from power was only its second since it was founded in 1955. It was out of power for about 11 months between 1993 and 1994.
- ◆ DPJ, Social Democratic Party and Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party) agreed to form a coalition government ⇒ **a fragile partnership, conflict of interest is highly likely** (DPJ won't remain under the thumb of a coalition if it gains an Upper House majority in next summer's election)

# DPJ-led government policies

- ◆ cut waste created in bureaucrat-reliant politics and reorganize the budget in such a way as to spend money on what's really important.
- ◆ offer cash to households
- ◆ keep the 5 percent consumption tax intact for the next four years
- ◆ the monthly child allowance to families (have been criticized as lacking specifics about sources of funding)
- ◆ ending expressway tolls
- ◆ The Japan-US security alliance remains a “cornerstone” of Japan’s foreign policy.
- ◆ remains committed to ending the Maritime Self-Defense Force’s refueling mission in the Indian Ocean, despite US’s calls for its continuation ⇒ **an anti-U.S. foreign policy?**



# Policy implications

## ◆ Constitutional amendments/US Forces in Japan

SDP strongly advocates maintaining the war-renouncing clause in the Constitution and scaling down the U.S. forces in Japan (U.S. bases, the realignment of U.S. forces, and the Status of Forces Agreement)

**Hatoyama faces tough challenges ahead to reform Japan**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g0g2Dd0O5Jc>

**Opposition landslide victory ushers in new era in Japan**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUcHWJeYg6g>

**Japanese Elect New Leadership**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tSKvMeZX7aY&feature=channel>

# Reactions within North Asia

## ◆ **North Korea**

Called for "fruitful relations" with DPJ. Ties with Japan will solely depend on whether Japan offers compensation for its 1910-1945 colonial rule of the Korean Peninsula.

## ◆ **China**

The Chinese government is not so familiar with the China policies of the DPJ as well as their impact on Sino-Japanese relations. However, Hatoyama will not be visiting the Yasukuni Shrine (a dozen-odd number of Japan's "Class A" war criminals are being worshipped) ⇒ will build a religiously and politically neutral "alternative monument" to remember the war dead

## ◆ **US**

US is concerned about opposition to the Maritime Self-Defence Force's refueling activities in the Indian Ocean, reviewing the realignment of US forces stationed in Japan

**End of lecture**