



Japanese Conceptions of Security in the 21st Century

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October 23, 2021

Roadmap

The Basics

- Useful Concepts and Definitions
- History and Context
- Research Question

Hardware

- **Demographics**
- Technology

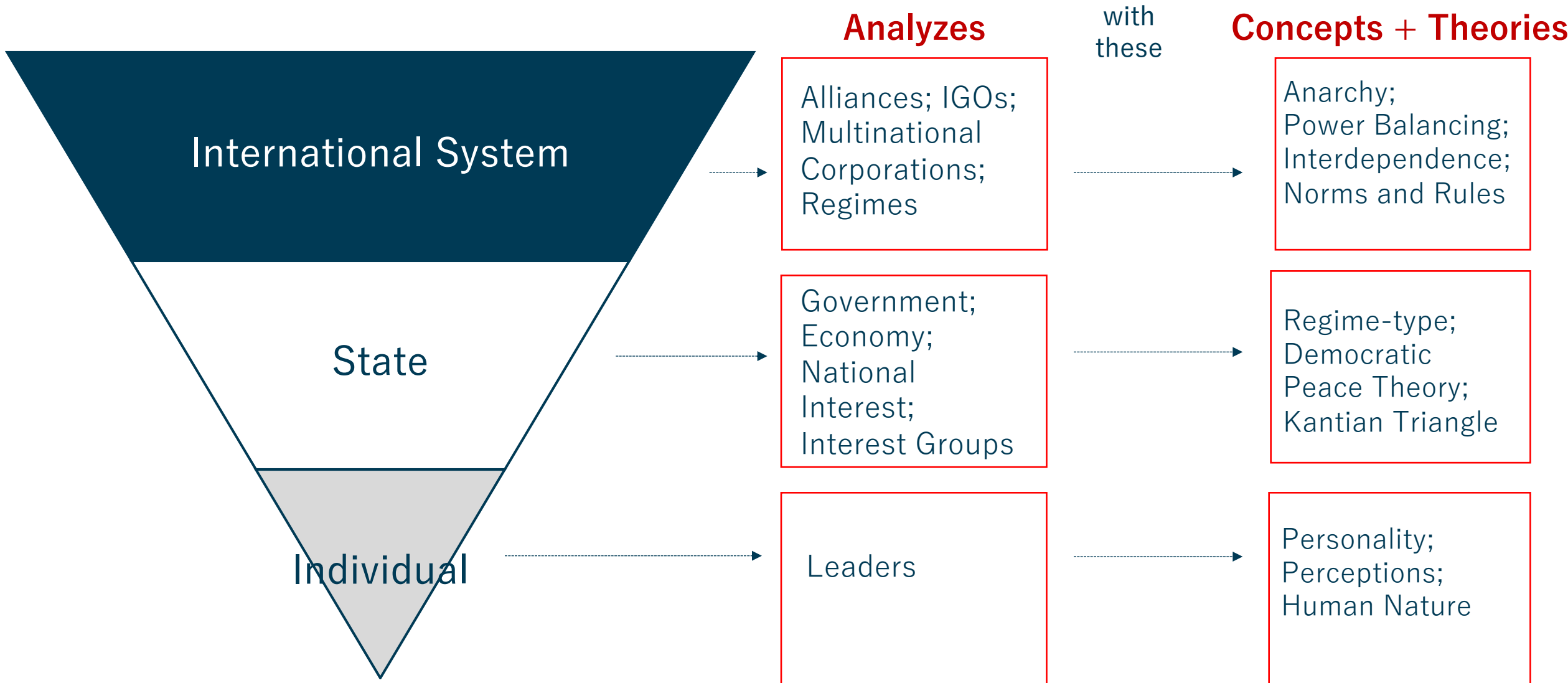
Software

- Politics
- **Rules and Rule**

Useful Concepts and Definitions



THREE IMAGES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

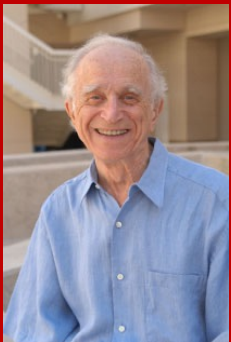


WHAT IS POLITICS?



“who gets what, when, and how”
- Harold Lasswell

“[rules] tell us how to play the game”
- Nicolos Onuf



“the authoritative allocation of values for a society”
- David Easton

PATH DEPENDENCE

Key Components

- History matters
- Commitment to a path due to structural properties or beliefs and values
- Early decisions have a larger impact than later decisions
- The cost of change increases over time



Some History and Context



JAPAN: PACIFISM OR PASSING THE BUCK?

Yoshida Doctrine

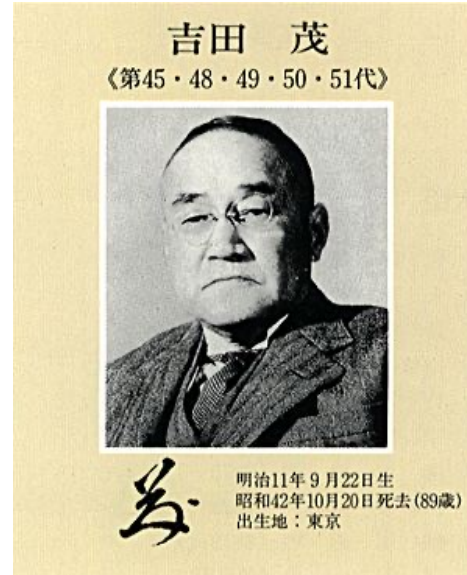
- Economic development
- Low military footprint

Fukuda Doctrine

- ODA
- Promotion of institutions

Abe Doctrine

- Proactive contribution to peace
- Strengthening US-Japan alliance



Three Non-Nuclear Principles

Non-Exports Principles

- Will not sell arms to any country that can engage in conflict

Article 9

- Renounces the right to war for settling international disputes

"Peace Culture"

- Blames military for hijacking the nation in WWII
- Guilt stemming from war conduct
- Significant presence of pacifist left in education, political, and general society



1945 1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022



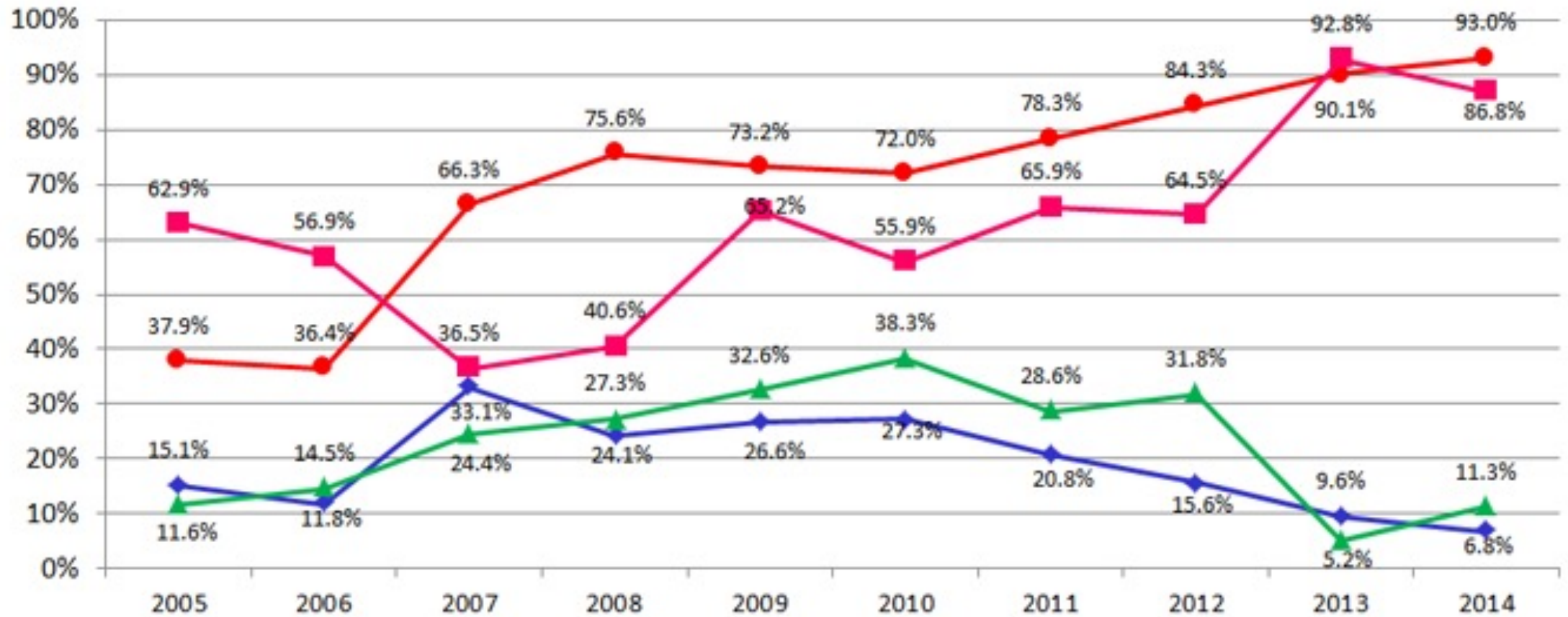
Occupied by U.S.S.R.

Occupied by U.S.A

Civil War

Civil War

EAST ASIA REGIONAL POLITICS

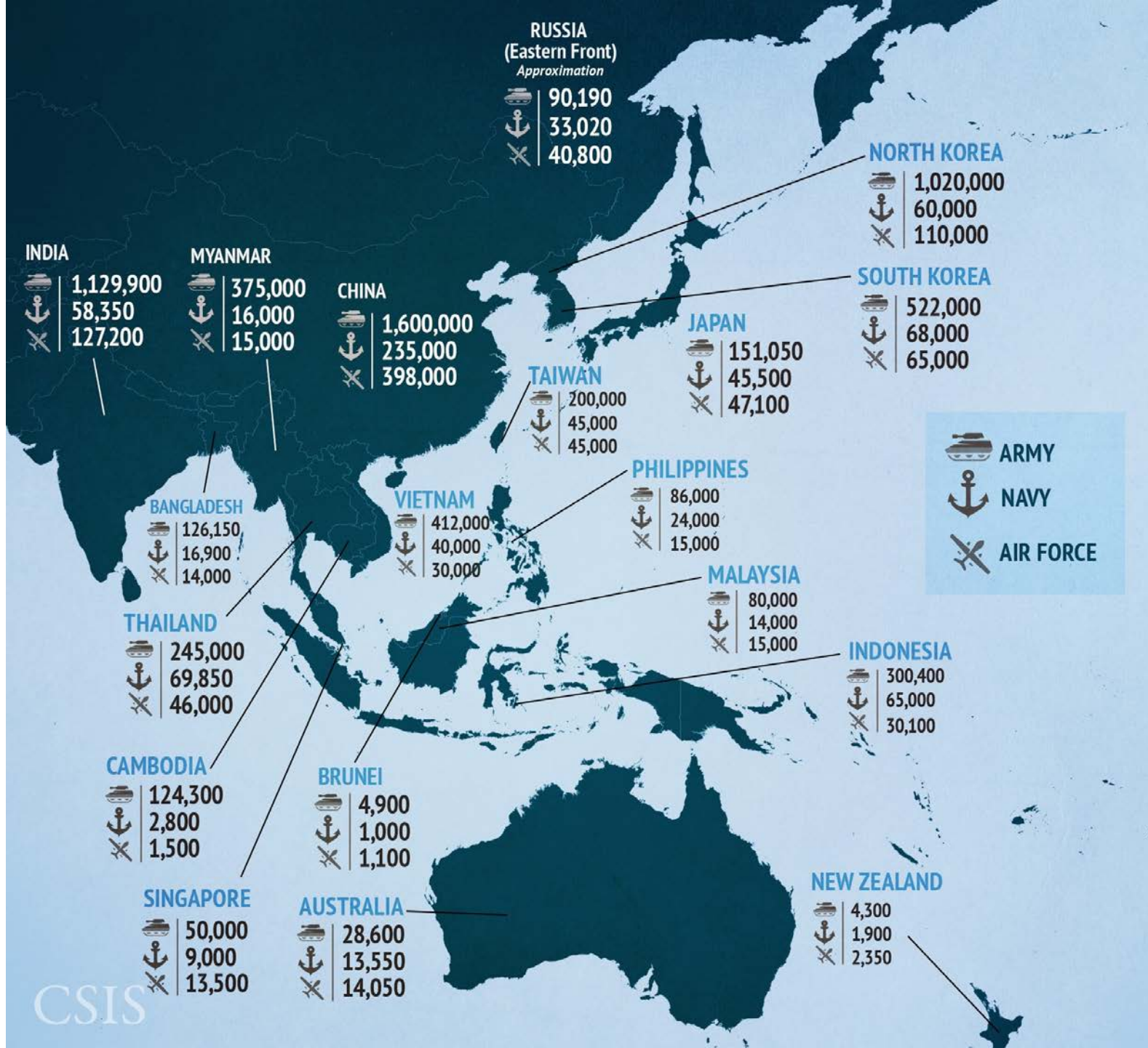


- ◆ Public opinion in Japan. Favorable or relatively favorable impression
- Public opinion in Japan. Unfavorable or relatively unfavorable impression
- ▲ Public opinion in China. Favorable or relatively favorable impression
- Public opinion in China. Unfavorable or relatively unfavorable impression

GLOBAL POLITICS



The Tragedy of Great Power Politics



“Japan’s path to militarization”

– The Atlantic, July 11, 2016

“Why the US is no threat to China, but a remilitarized Japan, led by Shinzo Abe, may well be”

– South China Morning Post, November 5, 2017

“A pacifist Japan starts to embrace the military”

– The New York Times, August 29, 2017

”Japanese politicians want the ability to bomb North Korea first before being ‘destroyed’” – Newsweek, March 27, 2017

“Japan mulls over more aggressive military stance as North Korean threat looms” - CNN, March 30, 2017

“Is Japan’s militarization normal?” - The Diplomat, March 18, 2015

“To deter North Korea, Japan and South Korea should go nuclear”

– The Washington Post, October 10, 2017

JAPANESE SECURITY CONCERNS

Social

- Aging/declining population
- Marriage
- Work-life balance



State



- Rising China
- Nuclear North Korea
- Terrorism
- Piracy

Environmental

- Natural disasters
- Climate change
- Natural resources



Economic



- Anemic Growth
- Global competition
- Supply chains and resource dependence
- BRI

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

What determines the content and direction of Japanese security policy?

- How is the use of force legitimized in domestic politics and international relations?
- How do Japan's anti-militarism culture and institutions evolve in response to changes to the domestic, regional, and international environments?

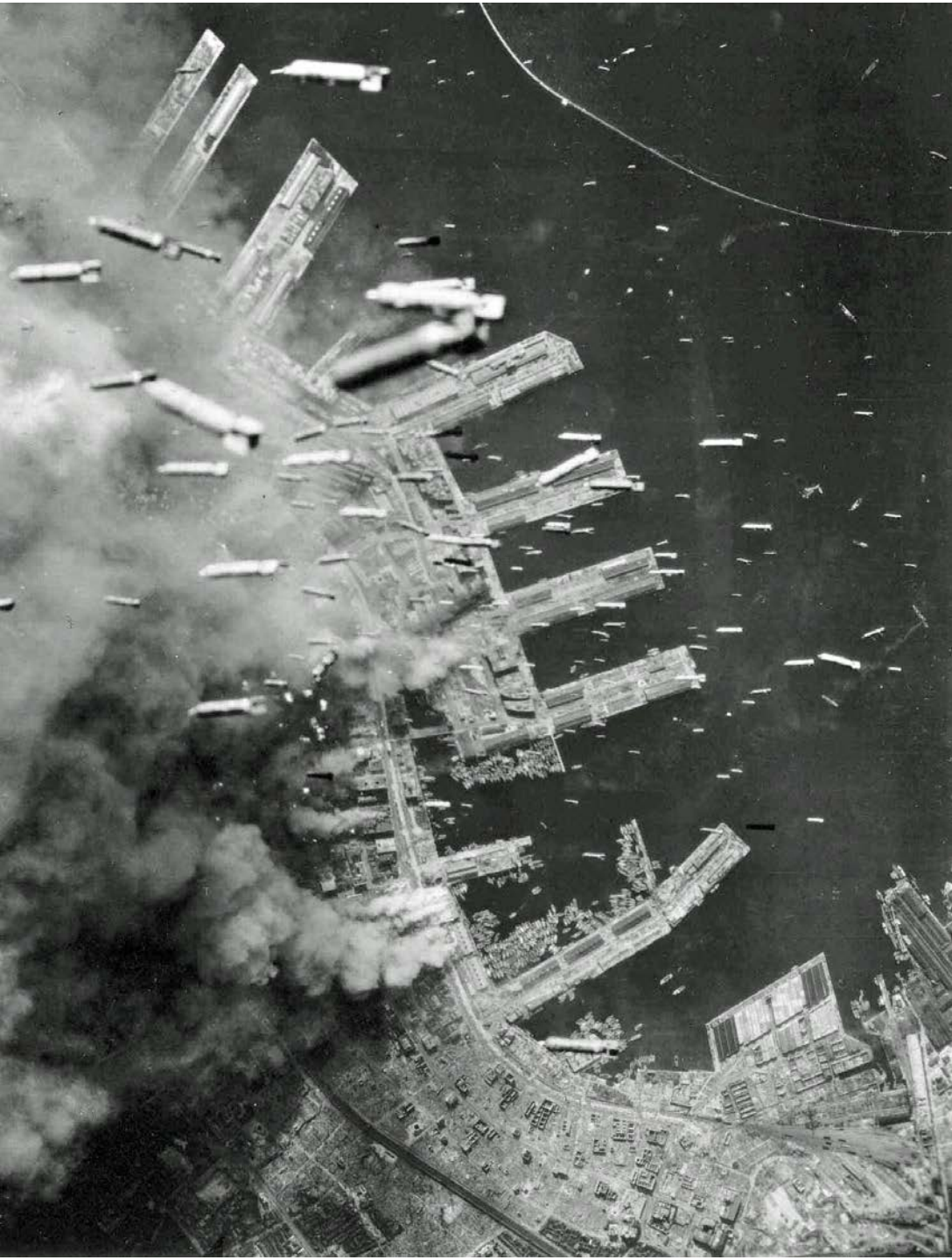
Premises

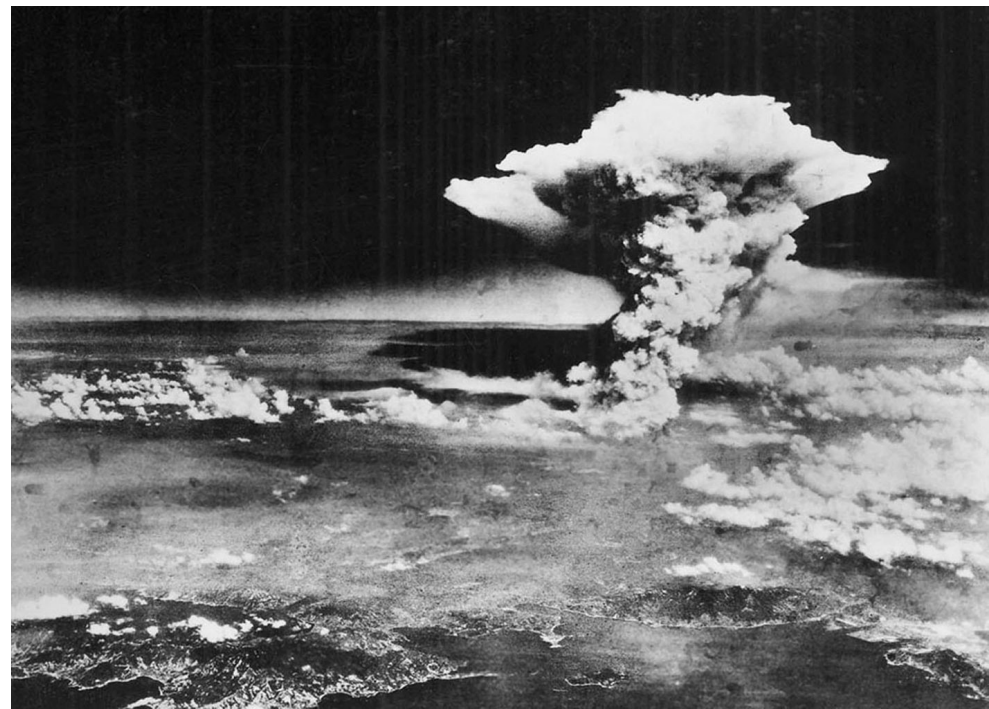
- Security policy is what a state *can* do, as much as it is what it *should* do
- Politics is a *normative* exercise
- Antimilitarism is a *type* of militarism

Argument

- Interaction of material and ideational forces create constraints and restraints on the JSDF
- Antimilitarism is reified through time, experiences, and practices. We can call this an antimilitarism ecosystem









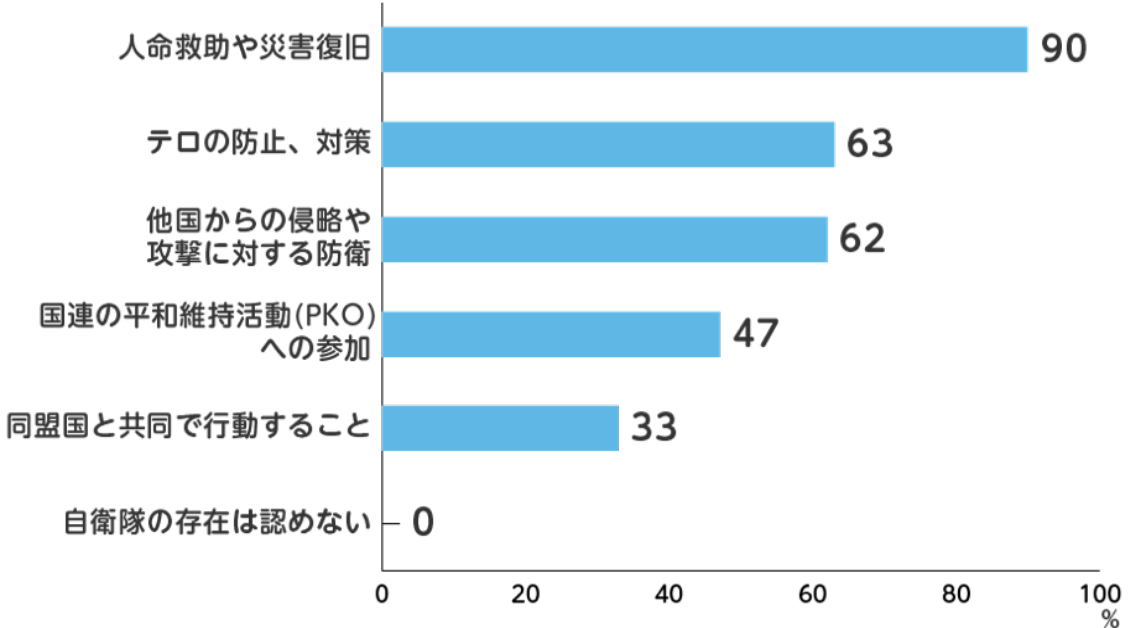
MULTIPLE MILITARISMS

Conventional Militarism Concept



Role of the Military

- Security
- Policing
- State building
- Diplomacy



Engineering and construction



Defense of Japan



Port visits and exchanges



Antipiracy and patrols



ANTIMILITARISM ECOSYSTEM

Social-Structural

- Aging/declining population
- Article 18 (no conscription)
- Weak recruitment



Technical-Infrastructural

- Underdeveloped military-industrial complex
- Lack of combat experience
- Outdated infrastructure
- Defense-oriented technologies



Political

- US-Japan alliance
- Japanese “neutrality” outside of East Asia
- Reassurance policy
- International stigma



Normative

- “Peace Constitution”
- Non-nuclear principles
- Peace activism
- 1% of GDP defense spending limit
- Arms exports ban

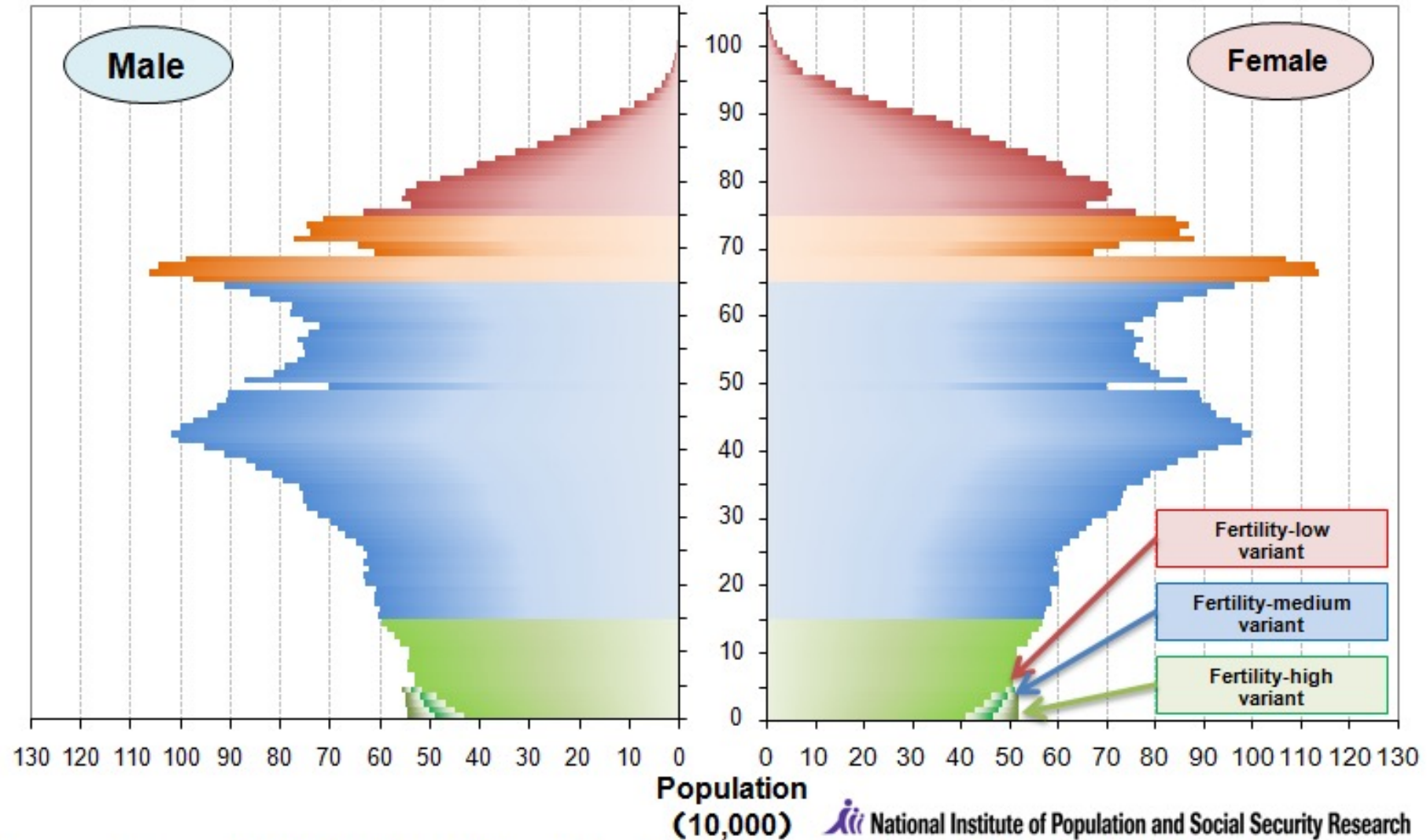


Demographics



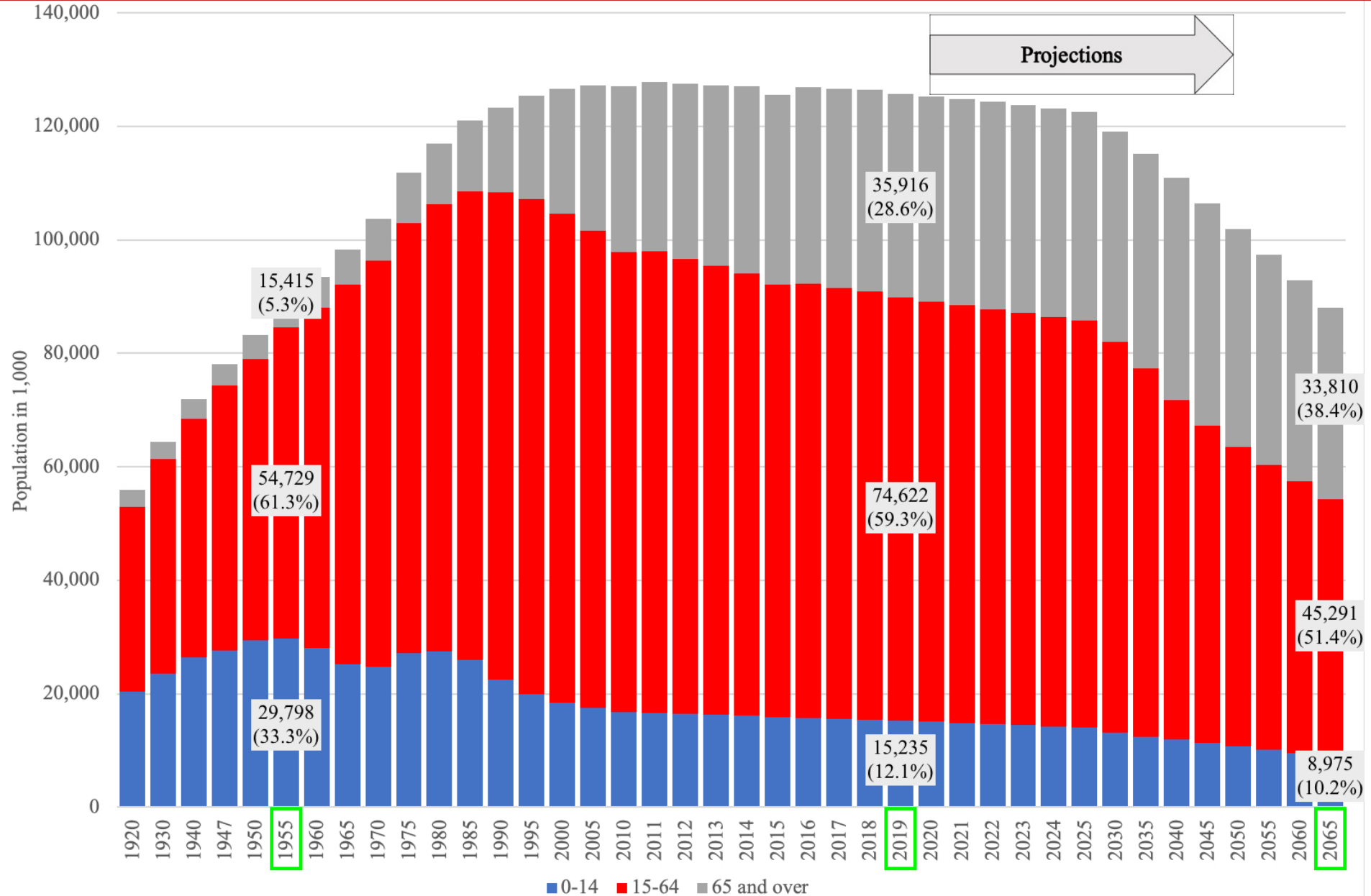
DEMOGRAPHIC CRISES

2015

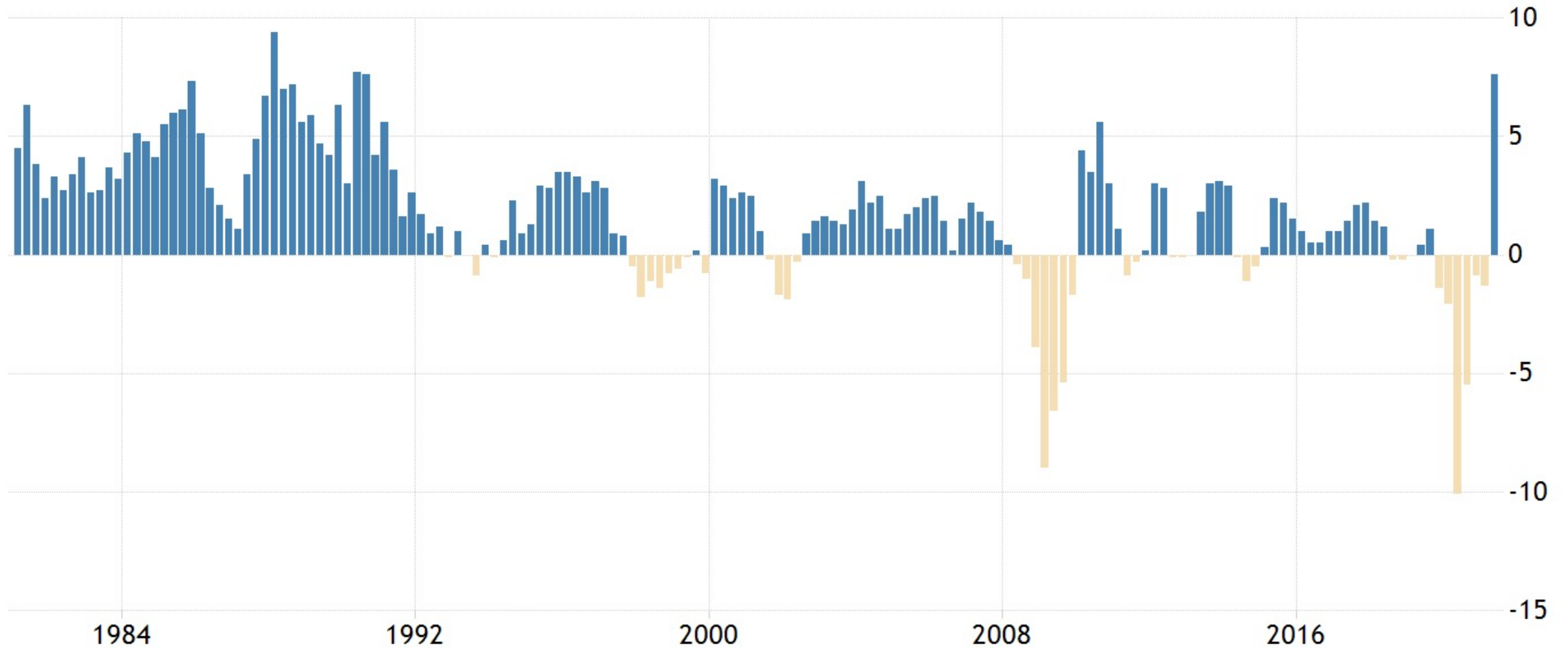


Sources: Census (1920-2010) and "Population Projections for Japan:2011-2060"(2015-2060)

POPULATION PROJECTIONS

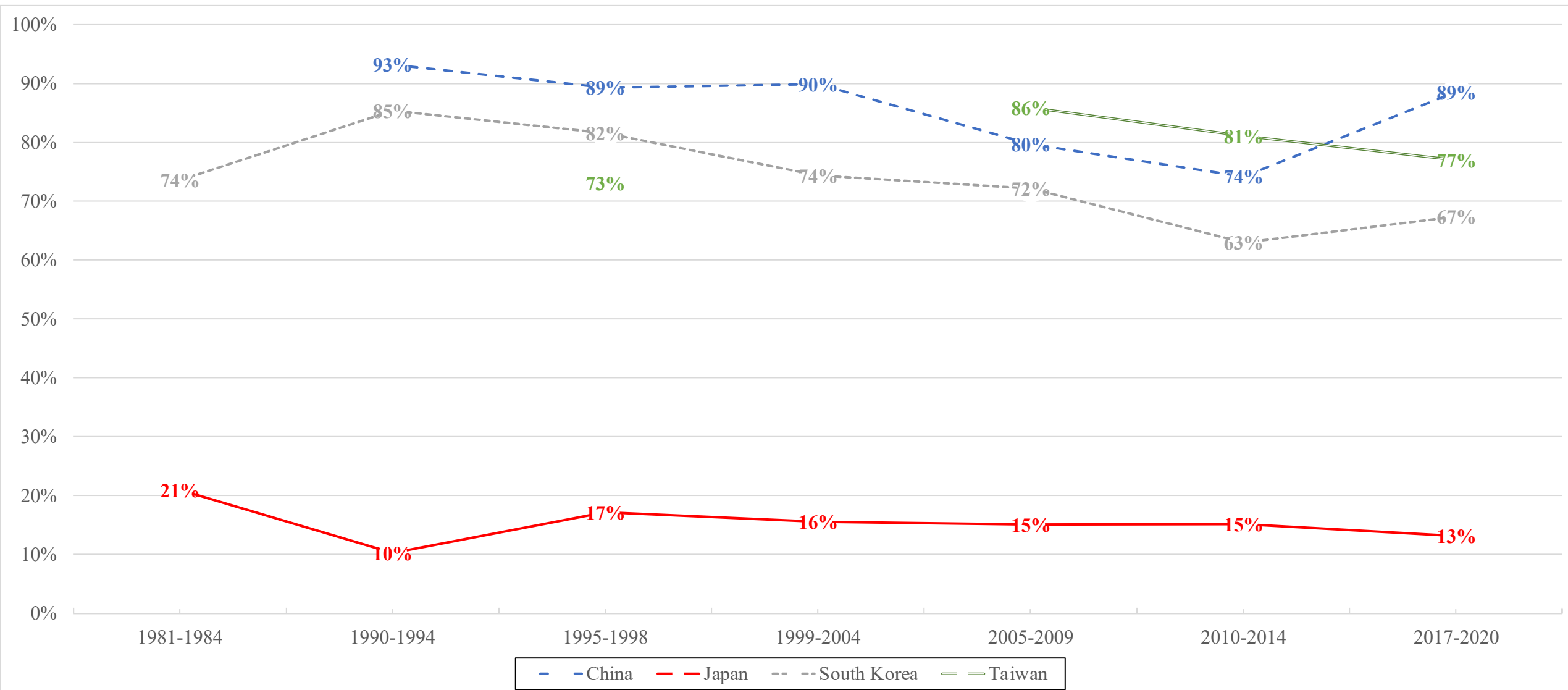


JAPAN ANNUAL GDP GROWTH



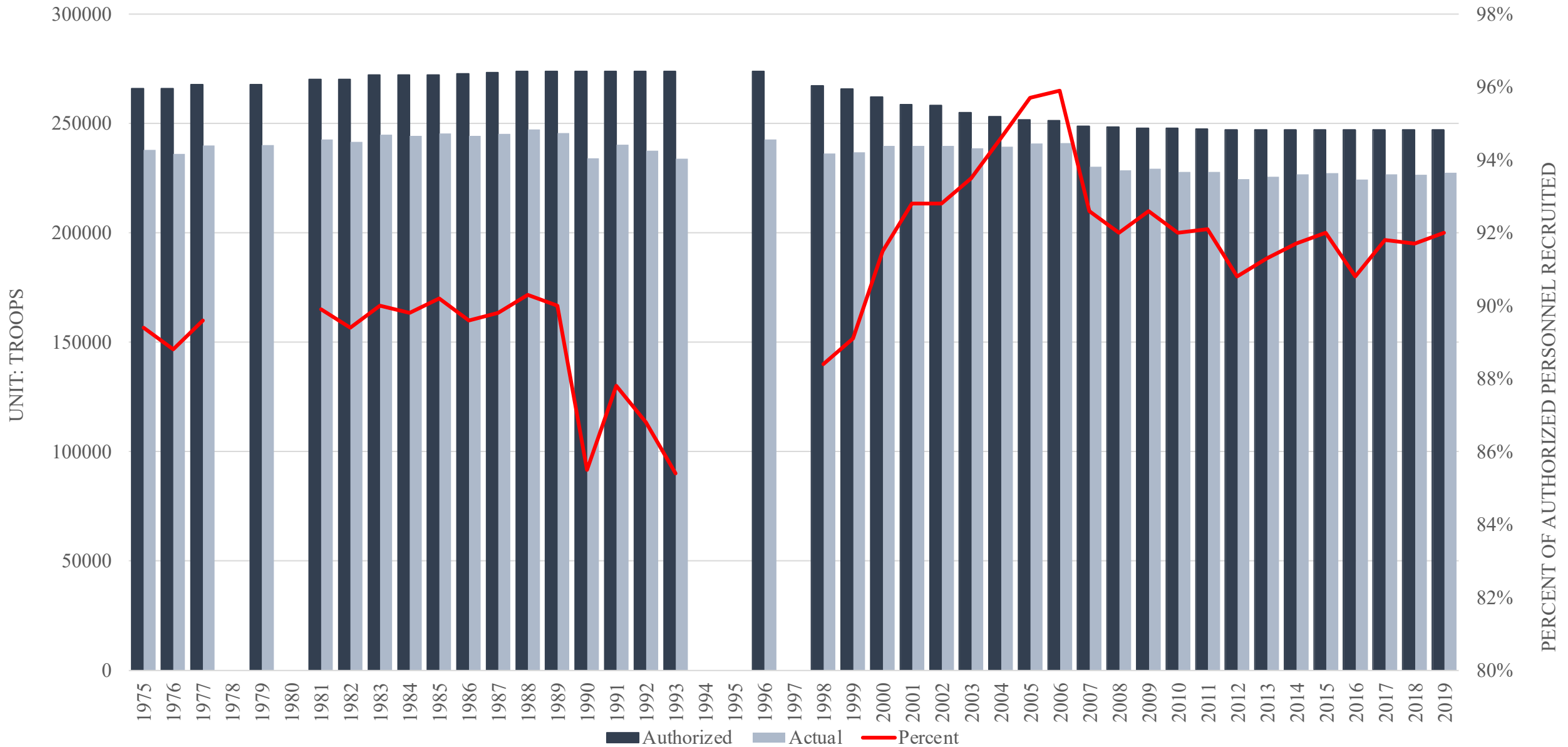
SOURCE: [TRADINGECONOMICS.COM](https://tradingeconomics.com) | CABINET OFFICE, JAPAN

WORLD VALUES SURVEY: WILLINGNESS TO FIGHT FOR YOUR COUNTRY



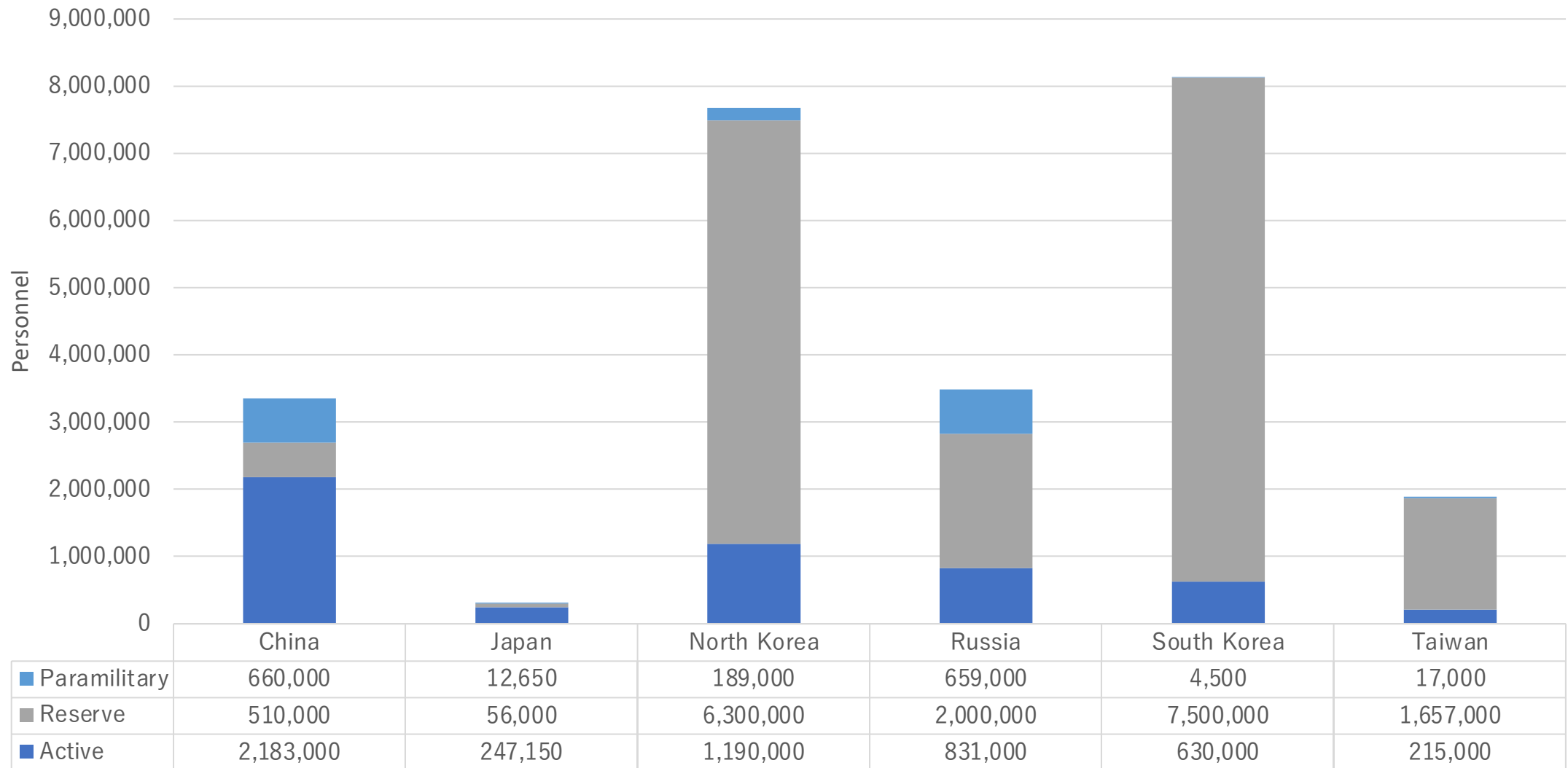
Source: Figure created with data from World Values Survey (1981, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2005, 2010, and 2017)

JSDF FORCE SIZE (AUTHORIZED AND ACTUAL) (1976-2019)

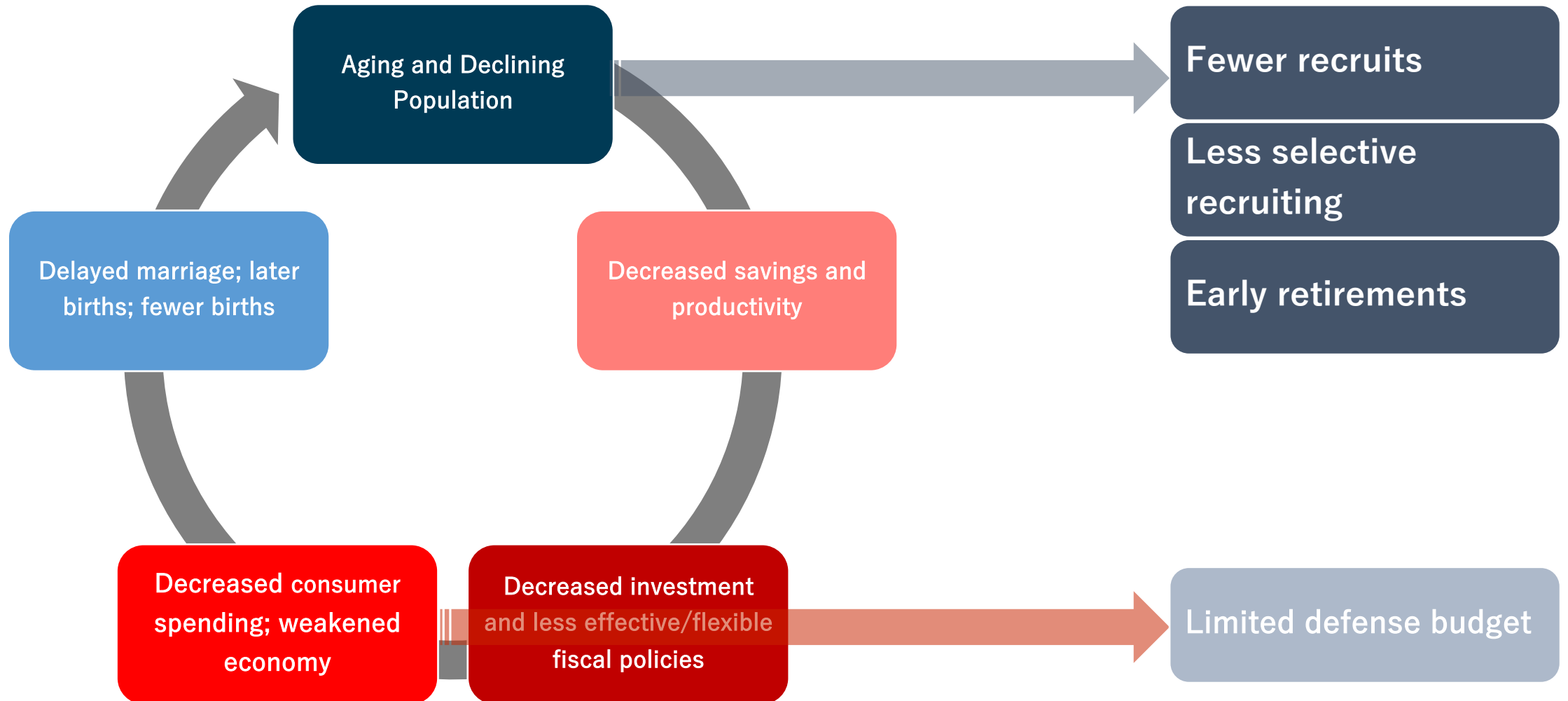


Source: Ministry of Defense, *Bōei Hakusho* ("defense white paper"), 1970-2018.

MILITARY FORCE SIZE IN EAST ASIA



IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHICS ON FORCE STRENGTH



Peace Culture: Rule and Rules



CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN

Preamble

We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

Implications

- Comprehensive view of security
- Desire to contribute to the international community

Article 9

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.

- Limited use of the Japan Self-Defense Forces
- Significant legal roadblocks to expansion of responsibilities

Article 25

All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living.

In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.

- Multi-pronged approach to security (ODA, HA/DR, diplomacy)
- Non-military Preemptive security

ANTIMILITARISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Nuclear Weapons

- Hiroshima and Nagasaki (200k+ deaths)
- Bikini Atoll and Lucky Dragon no. 5
- Cold War



Antimilitarism

- Non-nuclear principles
- Nuclear “allergy”
- Militarism is blamed for Japan’s suffering



Humanitarian Consequences of Nuclear Weapons

- Black rain
- Sadako and the paper cranes
- Environmental catastrophe

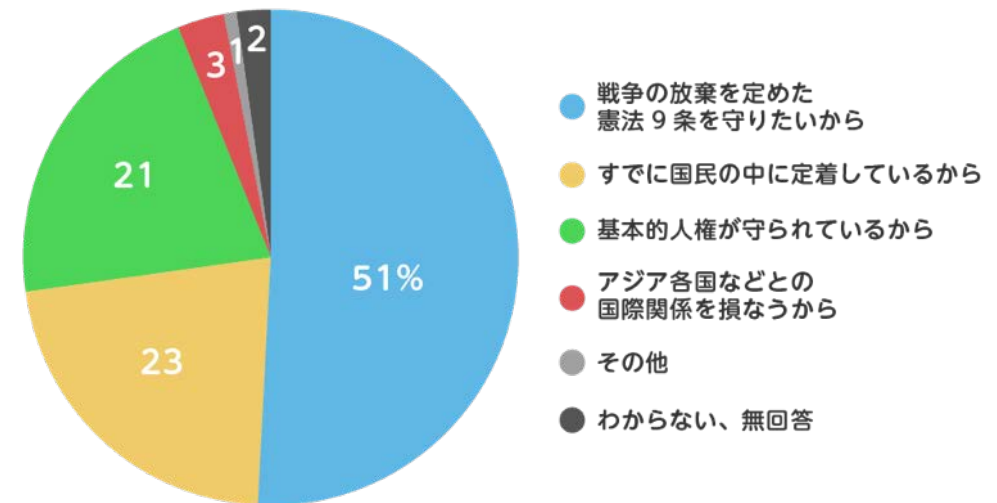
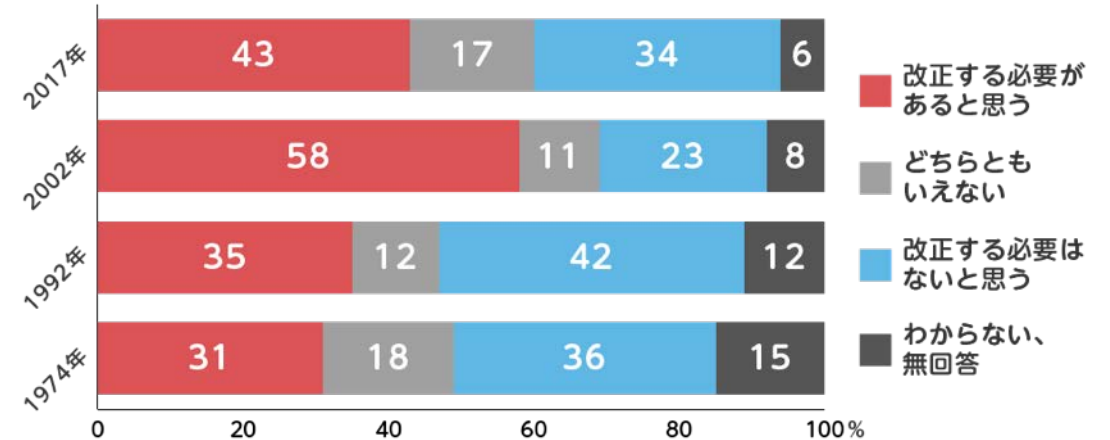
Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Disaster



ARTICLE 9 AND MILITARISM

“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.”

- Civilian control of the military
- Justifications for the use of force
- Role of the Japan Self-Defense Forces
- Is an amendment of the “Peace Constitution” needed in today’s world?



安倍政権

NO

The day

Abe becomes

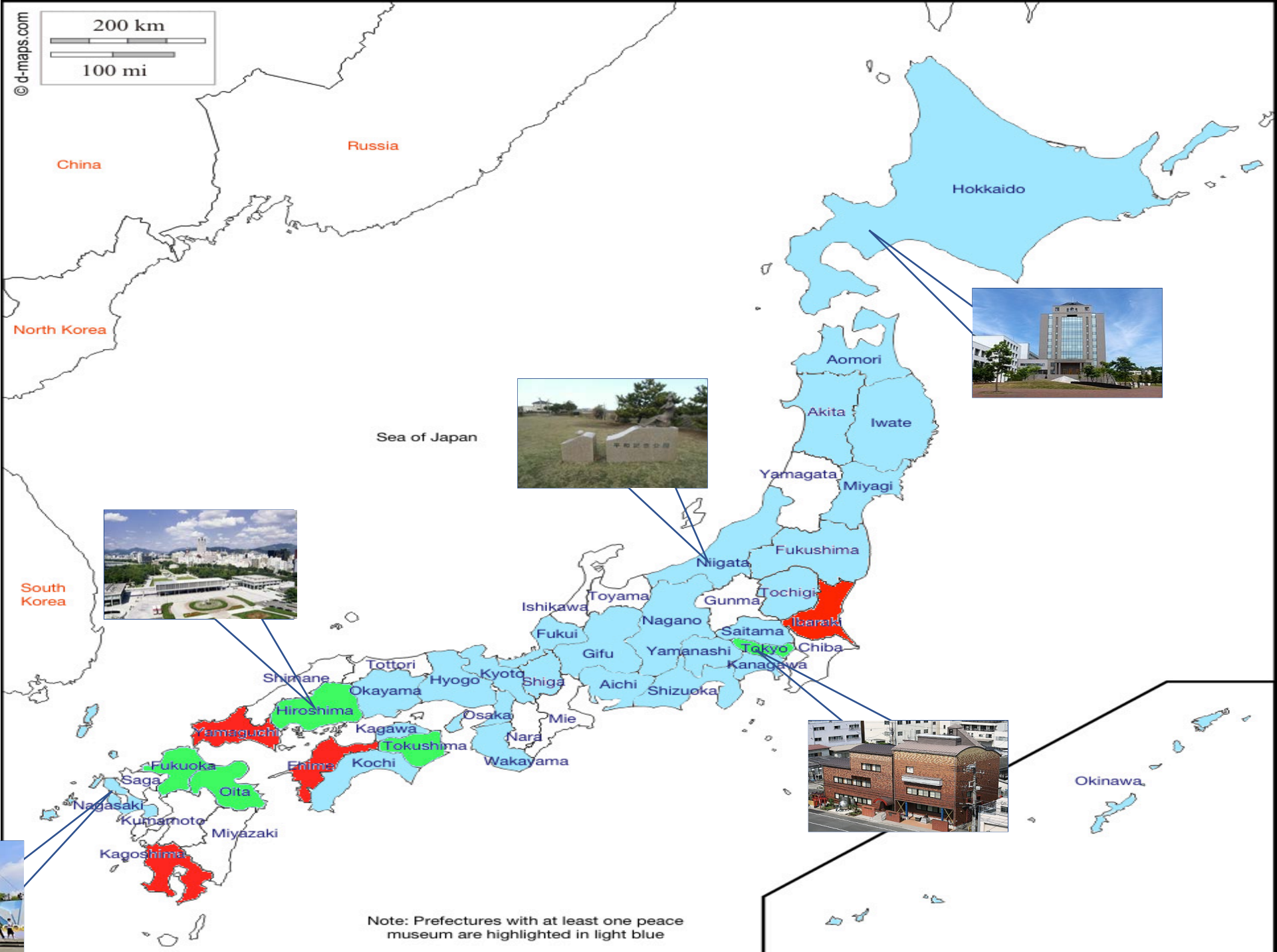


CRIMINAL

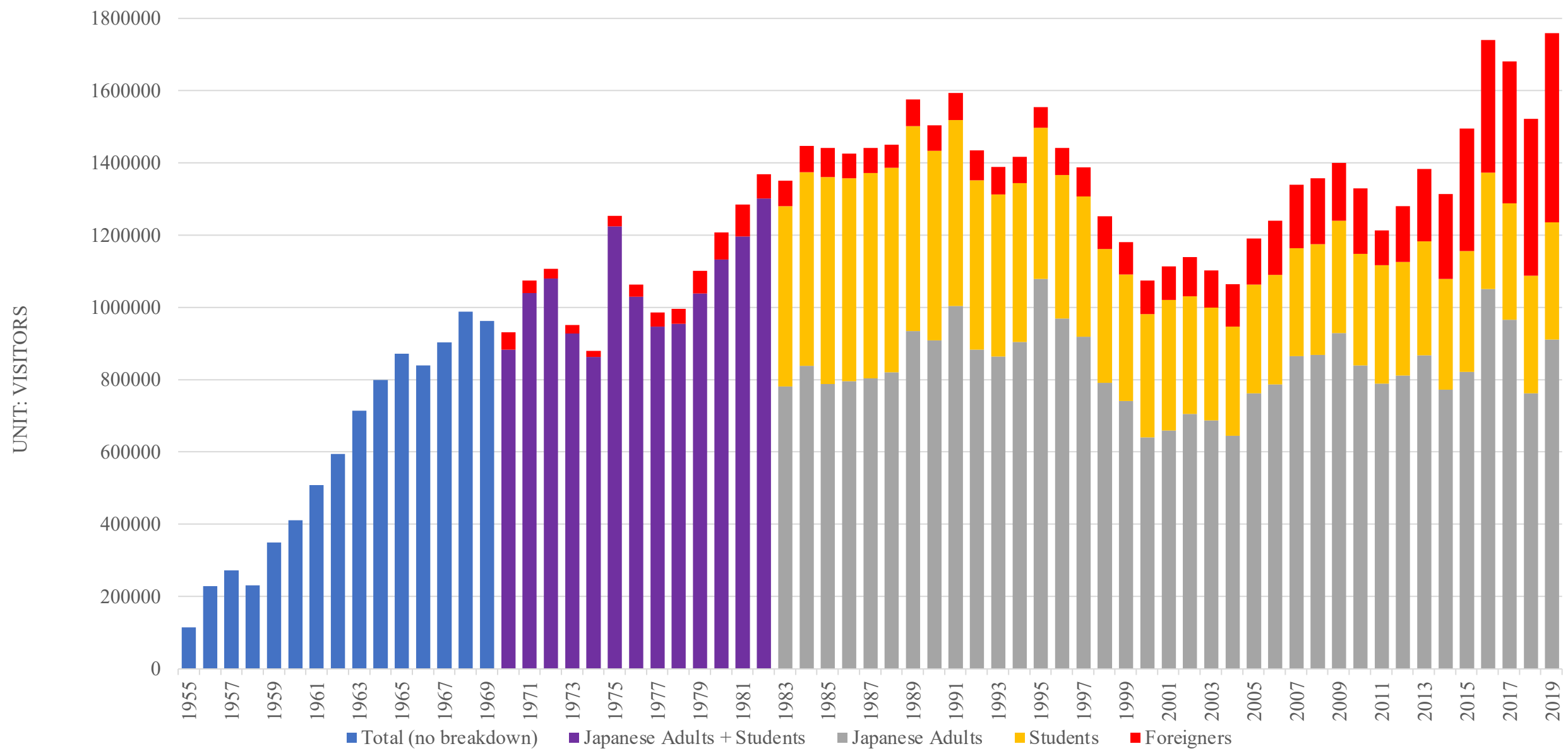
15th 2015

Mr. Abe, step down right now.

WSJ

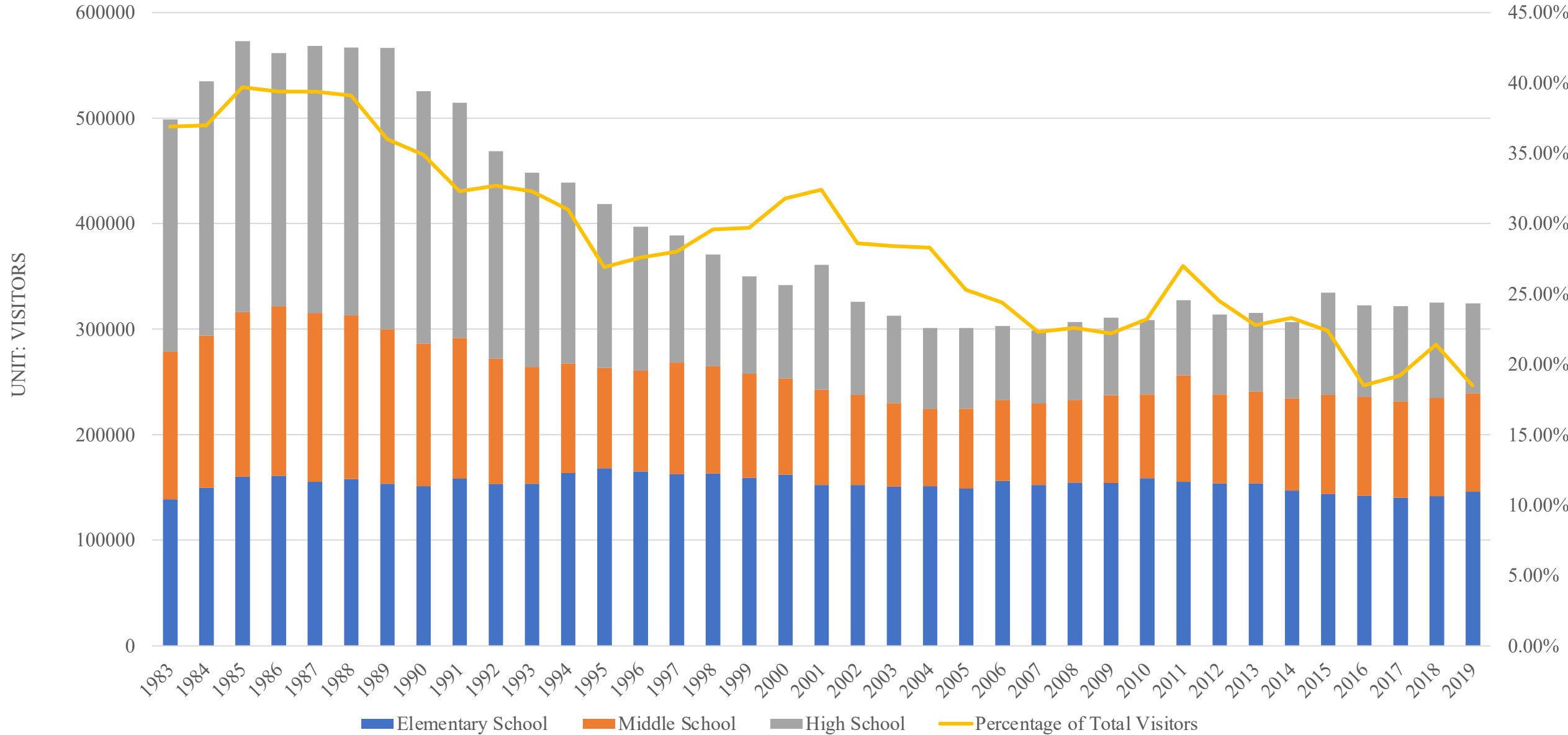


HIROSHIMA PEACE MEMORIAL MUSEUM ANNUAL VISITORS (1955-2019)

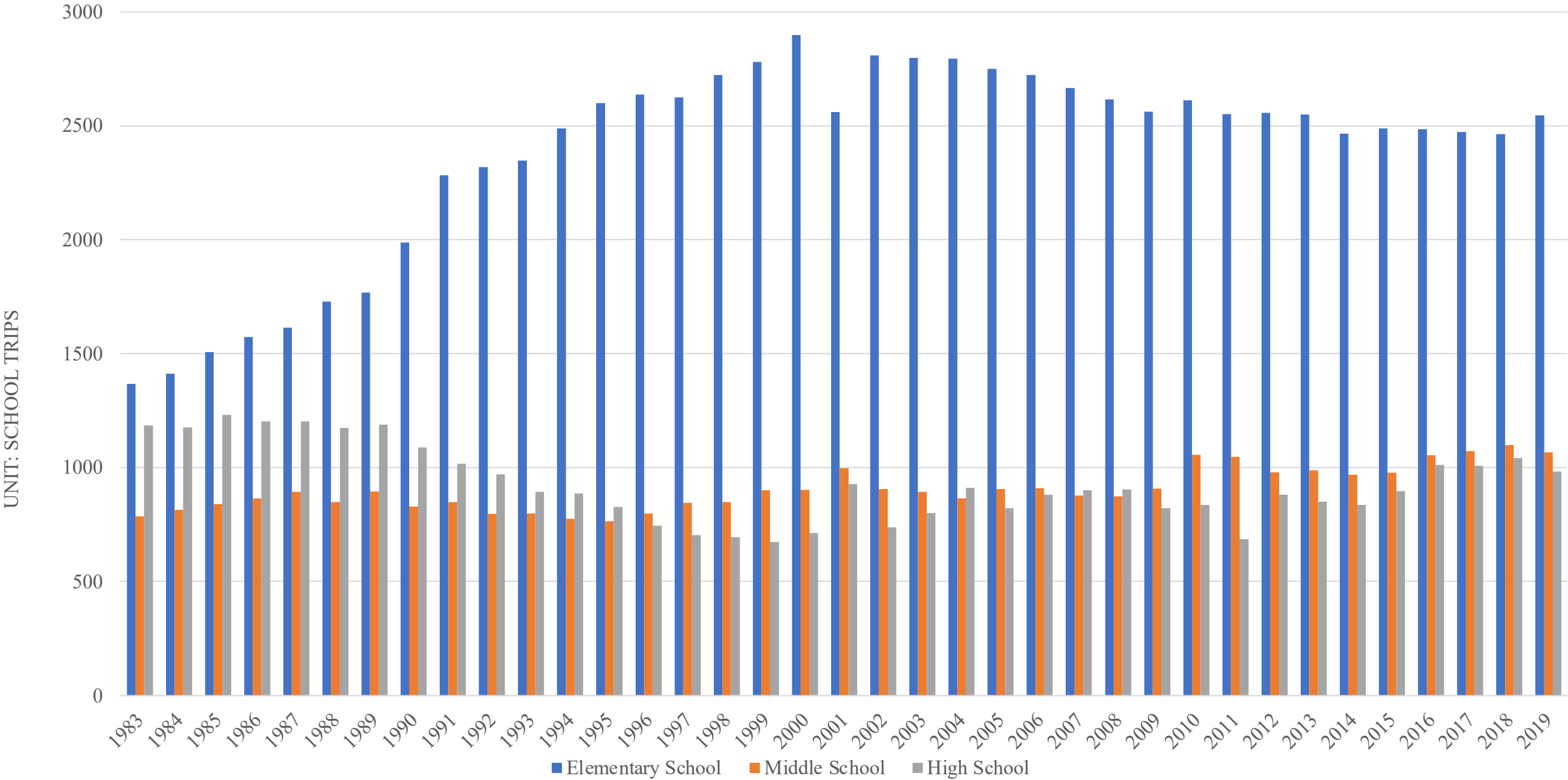


Source: City of Hiroshima 2020

ANNUAL HIROSHIMA PEACE MUSEUM STUDENT VISITORS (1983-2019)



ANNUAL SCHOOL TRIPS (1983-2019)



Source: City of Hiroshima 2020



Thank you.

Questions?



UPDATING PEACE CULTURE

New Actors

global; tech savvy; new skillsets; independent

Old Habits

hierarchical; underpaid; small and specialized

New Motivations

environmental; economic

Established Methods

cross-networked; cultural roadblocks

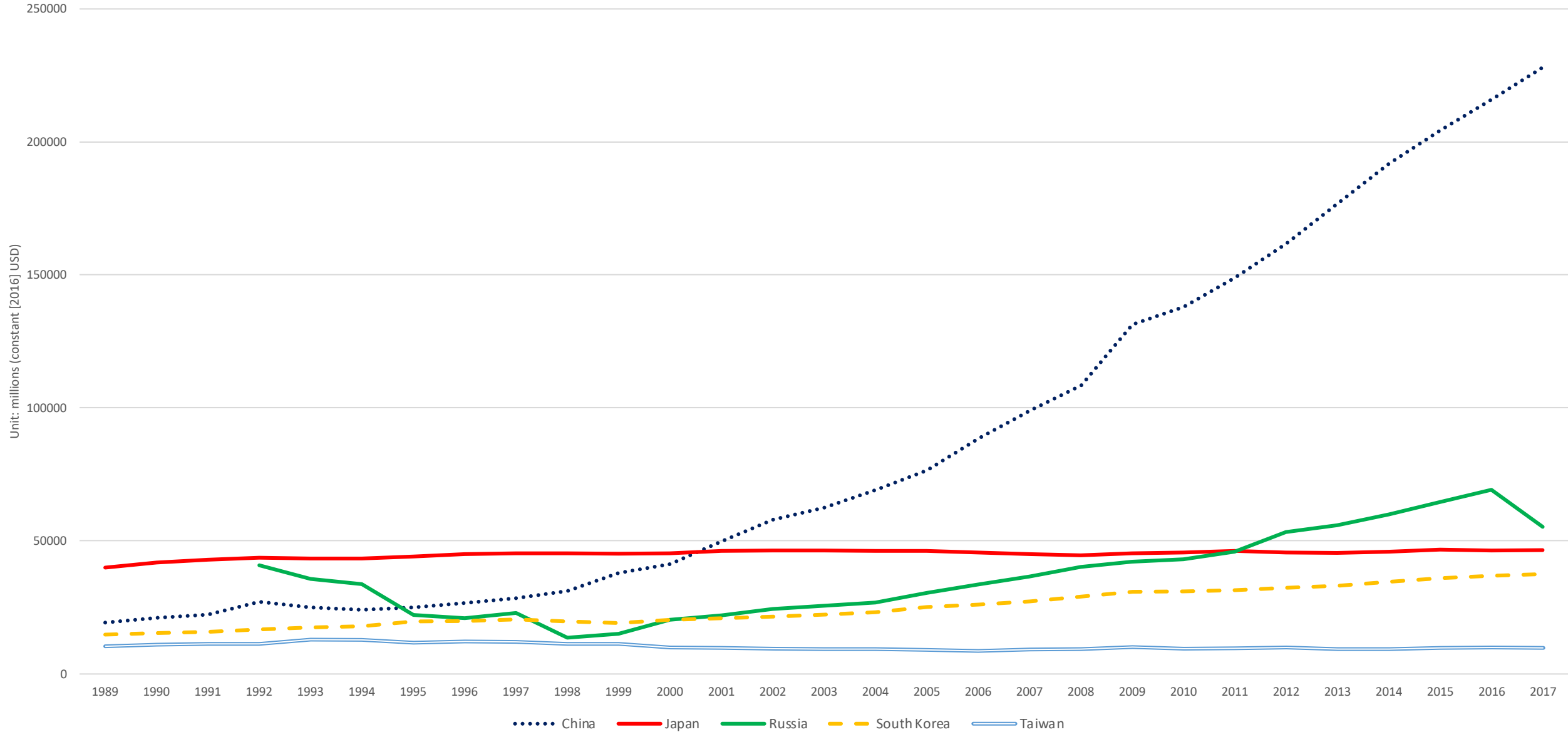
New Context

interdependent; climate change

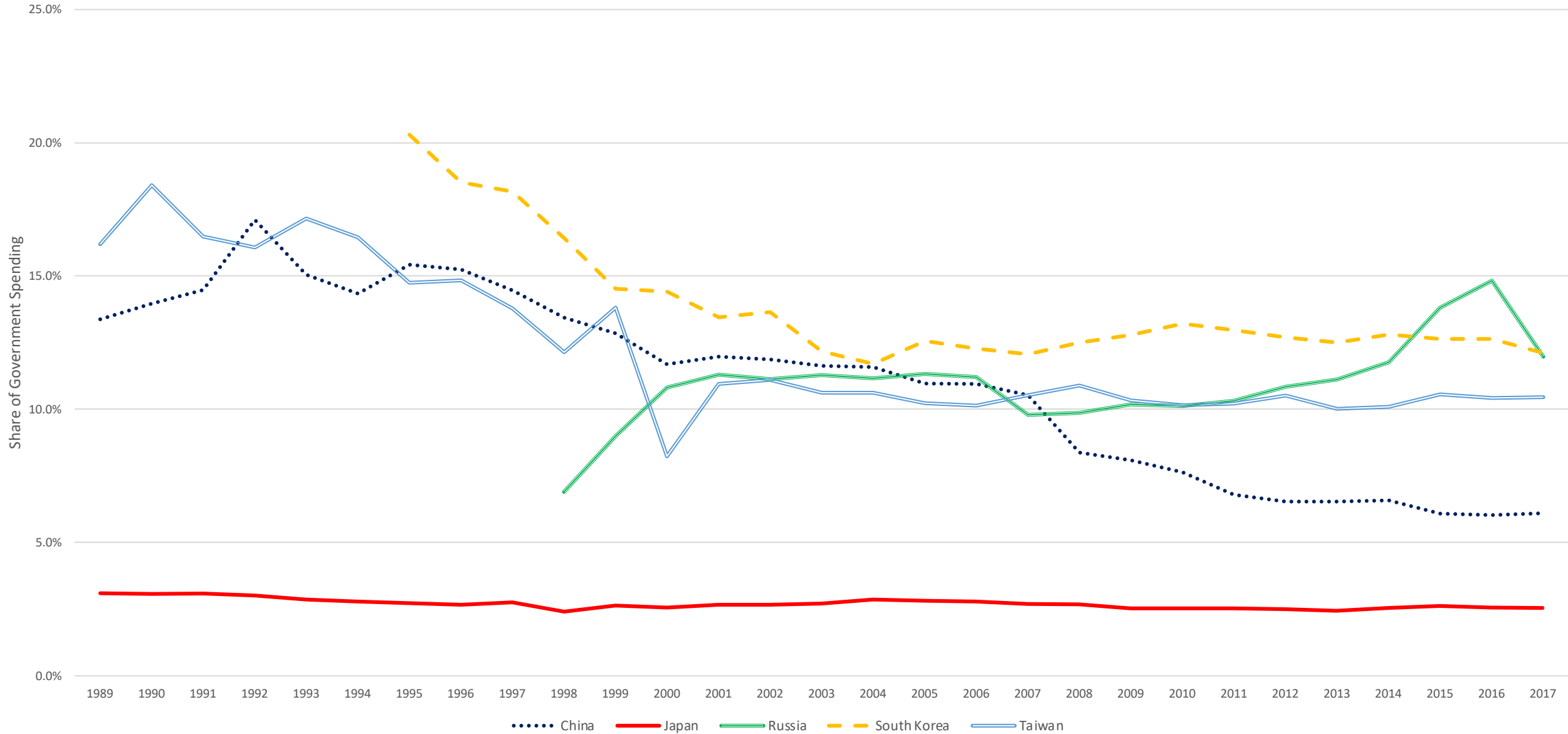
Embedded Power

Lack of government dynamism; history “settled”; peace discourse

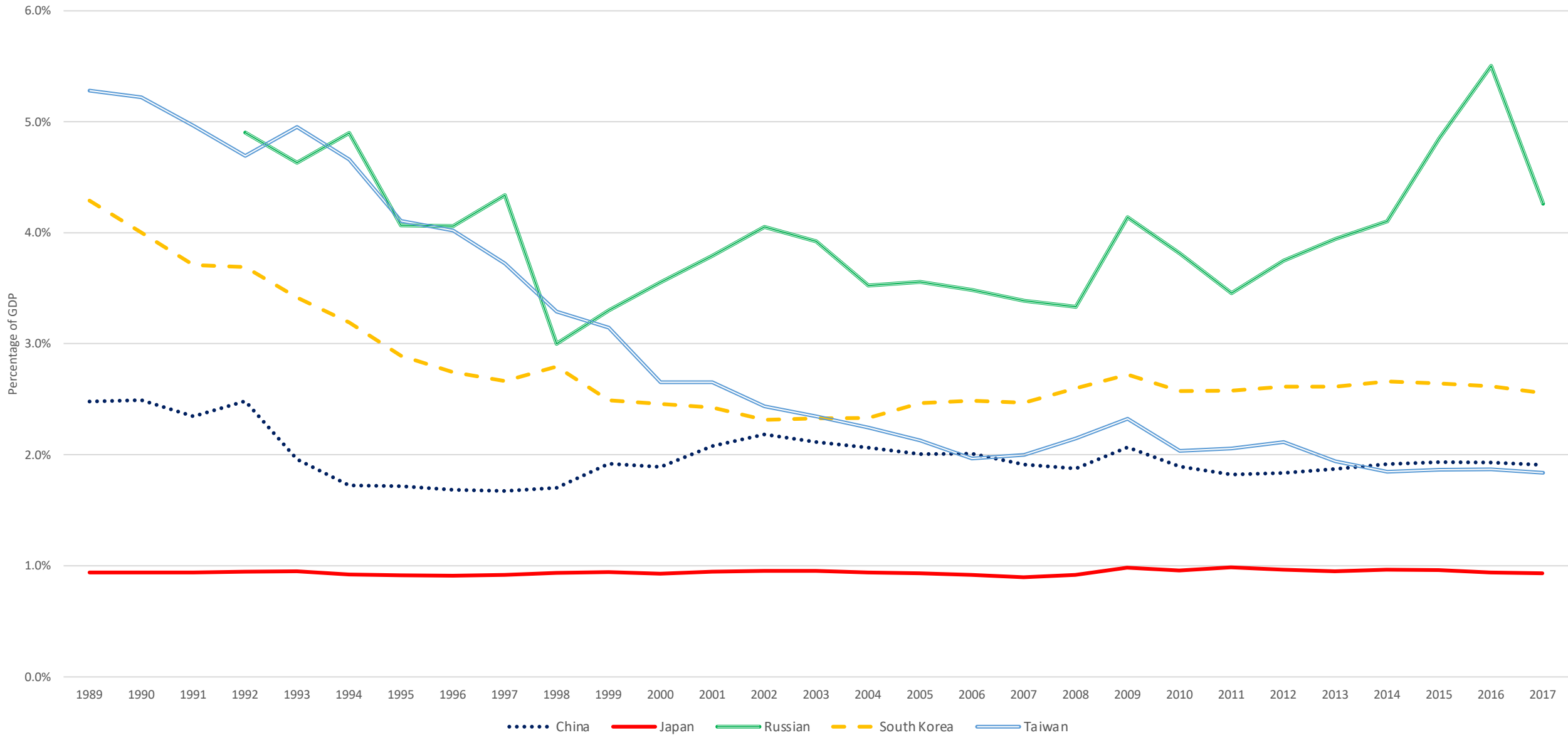
DEFENSE EXPENDITURES IN EAST ASIA (1989-2017)



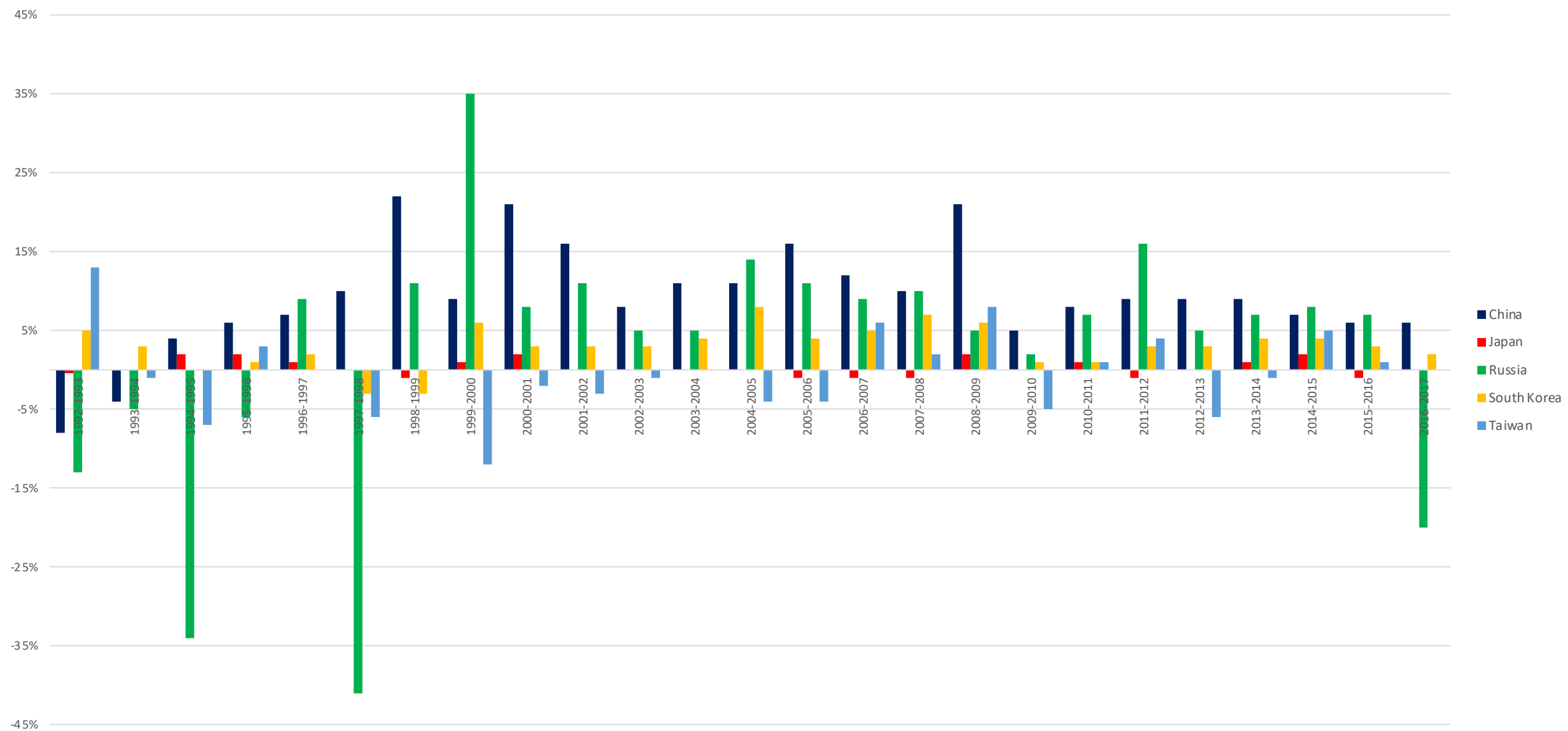
DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AS SHARE OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING (1989-2017)



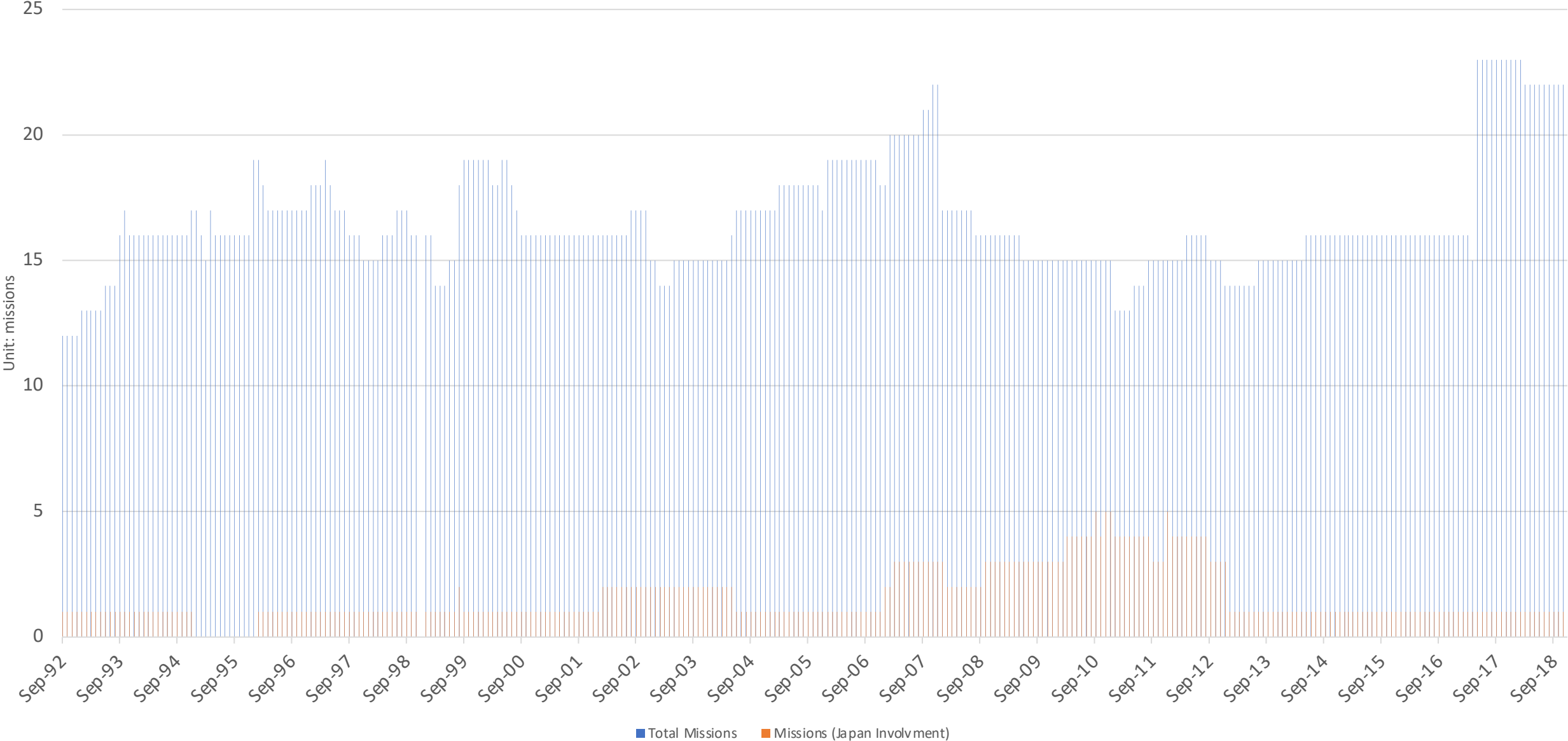
EAST ASIA DEFENSE EXPENDITURES BY SHARE OF GDP (1989-2017)



YEAR-TO-YEAR DEFENSE EXPENDITURES GROWTH/DECLINE (1992-2017)

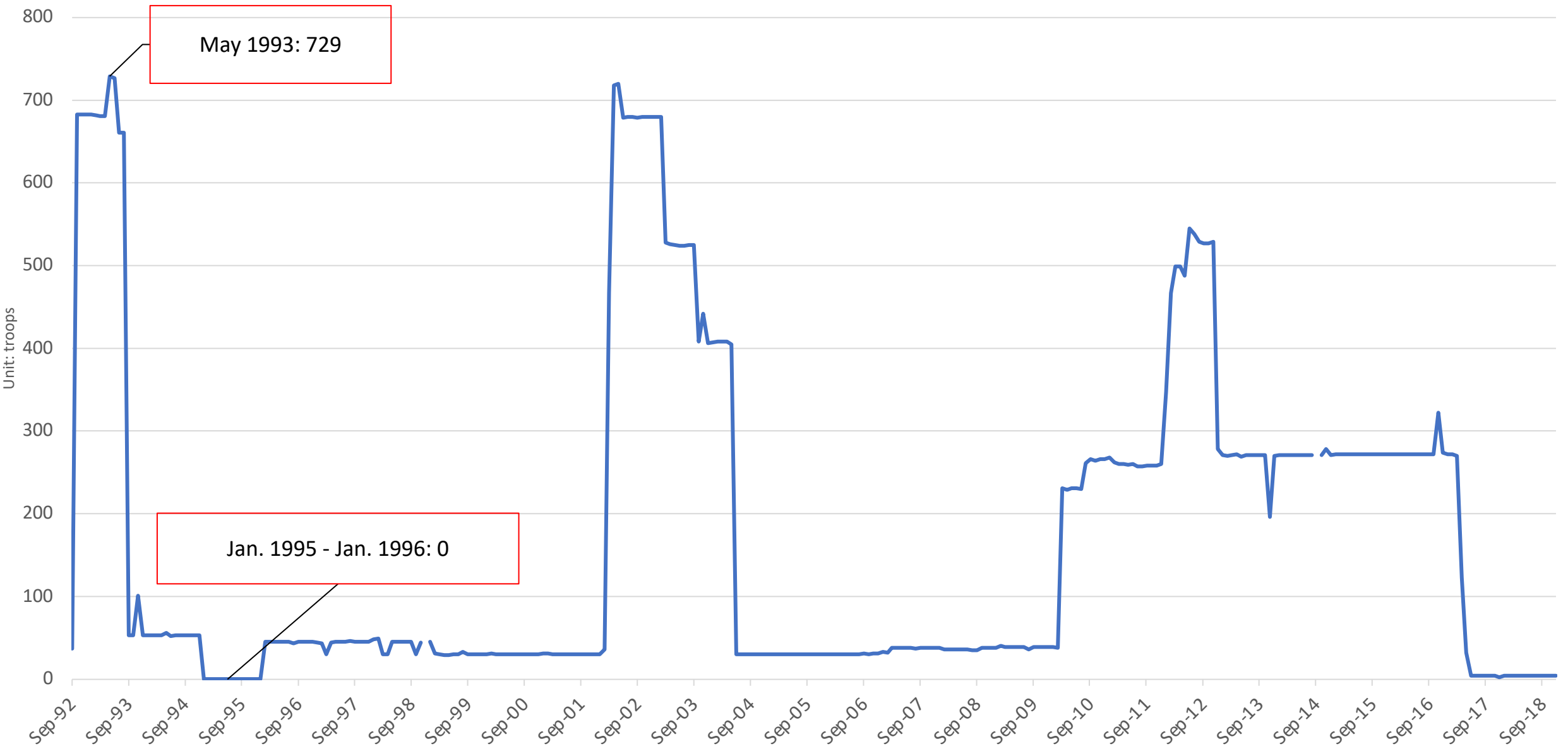


UN AND JAPAN PKO MISSIONS (SEPTEMBER 1992 – JANUARY 2019)



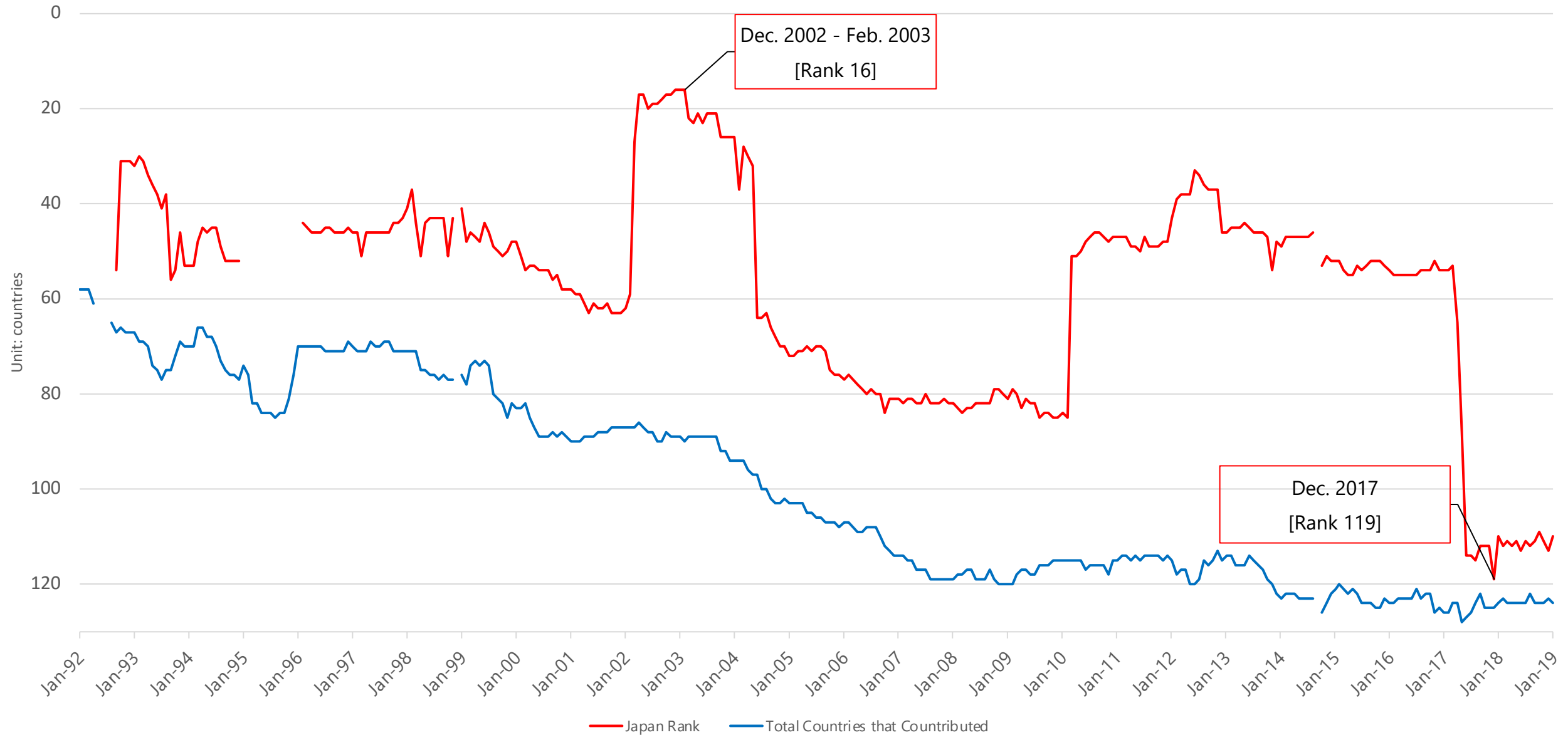
Source: United Nations Troop and Police Contributors Archive (1990-2014). http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml



















UN AND JAPAN PKO MISSIONS (SEPTEMBER 1992 – JANUARY 2019)



Source: United Nations Troop and Police Contributors Archive (1990-2014). http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml

JSDF PERSONNEL CONTRIBUTIONS TO UN MISSIONS (09/92 -01/19)



	Prime Minister	What's the deal?	Status	
	1) Tomiichi Murayama (JSP)	1994-1996. Upended decades of LDP rule. Socialist PM. 50 th Anniversary Apology Statement	Retired. Traveled to DPRK to improve relations. Led AWF.	
	2) Ryutara Hashimoto (LDP)	1996-1998. Came up with the Futenma base agreement (STILL ONGOING).	Scandal forced him to resign. Dead.	
	3) Keizo Obuchi (LDP)	1998-2000. High point in Japan-ROK relations due to Obuchi-Kim statement and lack of spoilers. "Future-oriented relationship based on reconciliation."	Suffered stroke and died while in office.	
	4) Yoshiro Mori (LDP)	2000-2001. "Heart of a flea, brain of a shark." Either racist, or dumb.	Resigned. Now head of 2020 Olympics.	
	5) Junichiro Koizumi (LDP)	2001-2006. A "maverick" who was very popular. Kingmaker who remade LDP. Empowered PMship significantly. Known for Yasukuni Shrine visits, assertive foreign policy, economic reform (privatization of economy) and support for GWB.	Retired. Weak kingmaker. Anti-nuclear.	
	6) Shinzo Abe (LDP)	2006-2007. Came into power due to North Korea negotiations.	Resigned. Comes back in 2012.	
	7) Yasuo Fukuda (LDP)	2007-2008. Son of former PM. Got nothing done.	Resigned. Some diplomacy work.	
	8) Taro Aso (LDP)	2008-2009. Only PM to start term with below 50% approval rating. Gaff prone. Lost LDP power.	Resigned. Current Minister of Finance. Deputy Prime Minister.	
	9) Yukio Hatoyama (DPJ)	2009-2010. Political blue blood. 4 th gen. politician. Great grandfather founded LDP. Asia-focused foreign policy. Disliked by US and Japanese bureaucracy.	Resigned due to scandal. Visits Asia often to give apologies. Stage actor.	
	10) Naoto Kan (DPJ)	2010-2011. Non-elite. Worked his way up government ranks. Increased sales tax; couldn't jumpstart economy. PM during 3/11. All downhill. From there.	Resigned. Sitting Diet member. Member of CDP.	
	11) Yoshihiko Noda (LDP)	2011-2012. Focused on US-Japan alliance (Obama's Pivot to Asia). Pushed for TPP. Nationalized Senkaku Islands. Party lost election to LDP.	Lost. Sitting Diet member. DP.	
	12) Shinzo Abe (LDP)	2012-2020. Indo-Pacific Strategy. Abenomics. Wants to revise constitution. Very pro-US. Friends with Trump. Improved relations with China. Poor relations with ROK, despite 2015 deal. Numerous scandals. Got the Olympics. Strong legacy with the "west;" unpopular in Asia.	Longest-serving PM. Just resigned	
	13) Yoshihide Suga (LDP)	2020-present. Abe's Cabinet Secretary. Non-elite. Wants to continue Abe policies. Will have to deal with COVID, gender equality, the Olympics, East Asia issues, US presidency, demographics, immigration	Current PM.	