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**THE QUESTION OF REMILITARIZATION: IS JAPAN'S
PACIFIST NATURE IN DANGER OF REFORM**

by

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Introduction: Japan's Pacifist Identity and Public Opinion

Since the inauguration of the Japanese Constitution of 1946, severe constraints have been placed upon Japan's military capabilities. This is due in large part to the inclusion of Article 9, which reads:

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.¹

When it was first proposed, Japanese conservatives, which included members of the Meiji era government, military, and even some nationalist were averse to accept it as it renounced Japan's sovereign right to wage war. This proved to be inadmissible to supporters of the Meiji government as such a maneuver would impair the nation's deep-seated ambition of becoming the regional hegemon of Northeast Asia. For other Japanese conservatives this was particularly worrying, as it would diminish the government's ability to protect the state and its people.² However, as the majority of the nation favored it and the peace that it would bring to a then war torn Japan, any oppositions to the constitution and the pacifism that it entailed was overruled. Unwilling to accede, pro-revision forces, which included Japanese nationalists, militarists, and conservatives, actively pursued the eradication of these constraints at the end of the Allied forces occupation of Japan in 1952, not long after they were implemented in order to bring forth

¹ Japanese Constitution of 1946, Chapter 2, Article 9

² This ideology was exemplified in a speech that the former Prime Minister of Japan, Nobosuke Kishi, made claiming that if Japan were to become a "respectable member (of) the community of nations it would first have to revise its constitution and rearm. If Japan is alone in renouncing war ... she will not be able to prevent others from invading her land. If, on the other hand, Japan could defend herself, there would be no further need of keeping United States garrison forces in Japan. ... Japan should be strong enough to defend herself." (Richard Samuels. "Kishi and Corruption: An Anatomy of the 1955 System". Japan Policy Research Institute. December 2001)

the “re-normalization” of the Japanese nation. Unfortunately for them their efforts were met with limited success.

Though Article 9 has not been revised since it was implemented in 1947, the past two decades have seen an increase in Japanese military capability due to the government’s loose interpretation of Article 9 and its limitations to allow for Japanese involvement in collective security operations internationally. As a result, a number of Japanese political scholars and newspapers have projected the possibility of not only Japanese constitutional revision but also the re-militarization of Japan as well.³ Interested in finding out whether or not this projection has any likelihood of success in the future, I have posed the following question: Why has the constitution and the pacifism that it enshrines been so resistant to change despite a changing political context, and does the increase of Japanese public support for constitutional revision necessarily mean re-militarization for Japan? Taking a constructivist approach, I will argue that although pro-constitutional revision forces in Japan have tried to use fear politics and the revival of a Japanese “national spirit” to promote constitutional revision and ultimately re-militarization, the Japanese public has been relatively unreceptive to their ploy due to the integration of pacifism into the Japanese collective identity.

Using public opinion polling data from the 1990s to the present, I plan to examine the ways in which the intervening variable, which in this case is public opinion, affected the dependent variable, which is support for constitutional revision, by reacting to independent variables such as the resolution made by some political elites to eliminate

³ Eugene A. Matthews. “Japan's New Nationalism.” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82, No. 6 (Nov. - Dec. 2003), pp. 74–90. Also can see McCurry, Justin. “Amid Controversy, Japan Weighs Reinterpreting Its Pacifist Constitution.” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 12 May 2014, *LexisNexis Academic* [*LexisNexis*]; and Prime Minister Abe’s Policy Speech at the 166th Session of the Diet. (http://japan.kantei.go.jp/abespeech/2007/01/26speech_e.html).

Article 9, the textbook campaigns for more nationalistic education during the 1990s, and international feedback from allies and neighbors during the Gulf War. Section one will give a brief background on the creation of Article 9 and the Japanese Constitution, as well as the controversies that surround it. Section two will look at some elements that allowed for the integration of pacifism into Japanese national identity. I will specifically be focusing on four main factors: (1) Japanese collective memory of World War II, (2) education reform following the U.S. occupation of Japan, (3) public support of pacifism by major political figures and actors in Japan, and (4) the security that the Japanese garnered from their 1960 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation with the United States. By evaluating these specific elements, I plan to exhibit the way in which social and historical contexts perpetrated the formation of Japan's pacifist identity and preserved its Peace Constitution.

Section three will focus specifically on examining the factors that caused the rise in public support for constitutional revision from the 1990s to the early 2000s. In this section I will explore the way in which international criticism of Japan's "lack of adequate involvement" in international peacekeeping operations and issues of instability within international security has changed Japan's public debate around why an amendment to Article 9 is necessary and caused a shift in public opinion towards potentially supporting its amendment. Section four will explore the way in which the push for the revival of the Japanese "national spirit" from the late 1980s to the early 2000s by pro-revision forces, which include Japanese militarist, nationalists, and conservatives, have not been successful in shifting public opinion around revising Article 9 for the purpose of Japanese remilitarization. This failure is particularly puzzling as

constitutional revision held support among some of the major political figures in the Japanese government, and gained significant popularity among the Japanese population after the early 2000s. In the final section of this paper I plan to analyze my findings and conclude whether or not Japan will remilitarize based on currently public opinion in Japan on the subject.

Part 1: The Formation of the 1946 Constitution of Japan and The Peace Clause

Since its creation, the Constitution of 1946 has always been seen as a controversial document, one that has formed a deep divide in Japanese public opinion and collective memory. For some conservative and nationalist figures, the 1946 Constitution was unacceptable, as it would lower the position of the emperor; weaken the state control of education, local government, and political expression; and support labor unions and other institutions that they opposed. Japanese liberals however, viewed this new Constitution as a symbol of the democratization of Japan and the beginning of a new era in Japanese modern history.⁴ At the risk of oversimplification, support for the 1946 Constitution can be boiled down to a divide in Japanese public opinion on two main issues: (1) the origin and inclusion of Article 9 and (2) whether or not the constitution was imposed upon the Japanese people.

In regards to the origin of Article 9, there is some belief that this ‘peace clause’ was created by General MacArthur and thrust upon an already beaten down Japanese population. This is contested because Article 9 did not originate from instructions that MacArthur received from Washington. In fact, the document SWNCC-228 merely

⁴ Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, “War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy”. p. 48

required that ‘the civil reign supreme over the military branch of the government’.⁵ As a result there has been a lot of speculation as to where Article 9 actually came from. Given that in the memorandum⁶ MacArthur handed to the chief of the Government Section, Brigadier General Courtney Whitney, contained the first drafting of the peace clause, some conservative Japanese, militarists, and nationalist believe that he is the mastermind behind it (“MacArthur Notes”). However, there are documents countering such a narrative, highlighting that in fact Article 9 originated from one of Japan’s former Prime Minister, Kijūrō Shidehara.⁷

In relation to the question of the legitimacy of the constitution, there is some force in the argument that the post-war Constitution was imposed on a reluctant Japanese political establishment. This controversy stems from the fact that not long after SCAP, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, ordered the new postwar Japanese government to revise the Meiji Constitution, General MacArthur himself decided that the Government Section (GS) of SCAP would draft the new constitution as the Japanese government could not agree on how to revise the constitution and they were quickly running out of time to do so. SCAP undoubtedly twisted the arm of the Cabinet by writing a constitutional draft based on popular sovereignty and threatening to take it to the people if the Cabinet should fail to sponsor it as its own creation.⁸ In addition there is

⁵ D. C. S. Sissons, ‘The Pacifist Clause of the Japanese Constitution: Legal and Political Problems of Rearmament’, *International Affairs*, vol 37. No. 1 (January 1961), p. 45

⁶ Douglas MacArthur. “MacArthur Notes (MacArthur's Three Basic Points), February 3, 1946 | Birth of the Constitution of Japan.” *National Diet Library*, www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryō/03/072shoshi.html.

⁷ During a U.S. senate meeting regarding his dismissal and again in his memoir, MacArthur tells of how on January 24, 1946, the Japanese Prime Minister of the time, Kijūrō Shidehara, came to see him and proposed incorporating a peace article into the new Japanese constitution (Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, ‘War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy’. p. 54). There are also texts that entail Shidehara proclaiming Article 9 as his creation as well (Klaus Schlichtmann. *Japan In the World: Shidehara Kijūrō, Pacifism, and the Abolition of War*. vol. 2, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2009.)

⁸ J.A.A. Stockwin, *Governing Japan*, p. 207

evidence that, “Whitney told members of the cabinet that if the Japanese government did not present a revised Constitution similar to the GHQ draft, the person of the cannot be guaranteed. It was meant as a warning to the effect that without drastic action to forestall the Far Eastern Commission, SCHP would find it difficult to stop the demand from the Soviet union and other countries for the emperor to be tried in person”.⁹ To say that the members of the Japanese cabinet were shocked, not only by the war renunciation clause in the draft but also by Whitney’s comment that general headquarters could not answer for whatever might happen “*the person of the Emperor*” if the draft were not accepted, would be a gross understatement.¹⁰

Taking all of the aforementioned into account, there is no doubt that both MacArthur and SCAP, more specifically the Government Section drafting committee, put pressure on the Japanese Cabinet to accept the 1946 Constitution. Nevertheless, as was discovered in a recent study by Moore and Robinson, “despite a degree of American coercion on some aspects of constitutional drafting, in broad terms the new Constitution may be regarded as the product of a partnership rather than the simple result of American imposition”.¹¹ This is because the Japanese were able to make changes, though somewhat minor, to the draft that SCAP proposed. Despite the reservation and dissatisfaction that the Cabinet expressed in regard to the initial draft, the Japanese public’s response reaction to the new constitution was mostly favorable. Thus, “a new norm began in postwar Japan, and it was accepted by the majority of the people”.¹² In order to understand the manner in which pacifism became entrenched within Japanese society it is

⁹ Theodore McNelly, ‘The Japanese Constitution’, p. 184

¹⁰ Yoshida, *Yoshida Memoirs*, p. 133

¹¹ Ray A. Moore and Donald L. Robinson, *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State under MacArthur*. Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2002

¹² Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, ‘War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy’, p. 52

pertinent that we look at three key factors: (1) the Japanese public's collective memory of life during the prewar and wartime eras; (2) the evolution of the Japanese education system after World War II; and (3) the support that Japan's new pacifist constitution received domestically from major political figures.

Part 2: The Integration of Pacifism into Japanese National Identity

In this part of my thesis I plan to tackle the first half of my research question: Why has the Japanese Constitution of 1946 and the pacifism that it enshrines been so resistant to change despite the changing political context of Japan and the international community? Current literature on this topic has focused heavily on the difficult nature of revising the Constitution as a means of explaining the longevity of the document.¹³ As it currently stands, in order for the Japanese people to make amendments to their constitution an amendment needs to be initiated by the Diet, attain a two-thirds majority vote in both the Upper and Lower Houses, and gain approval from over 50 per cent of the Japanese public.¹⁴ While the aforementioned is a strenuous process, it alone cannot fully explain why it is that the current Japanese constitution has been able to survive for as long as it has without being amended at least once. There have to be other underlying factors that have hindered the conservative, pro-revision forces in Japan from attaining the majority that they need in order to achieve their goal of constitutional revision. Thus upon delving deeper into the topic and examining various social, cultural, and historical aspects within Japanese society, I have found that factors such as the U.S. - Japan

¹³ See J.A.A. Stockwin, *Governing Japan*, p. 202-223

¹⁴ **Article 96:** Amendments to this Constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify. (The Japanese Diet. *The Constitution of Japan.*)

Security Treaty, Japanese collective memory of World War II, education, and support from major political figures were all key elements that influenced and allowed for the longevity of the 1946 Constitution and the pacifist ideals that it enshrines.

Security in the U.S. - Japan Security Treaty

One key reason that the Japanese Constitution of 1946 has been able to maintain its pacifist nature is due to the existence of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between Japan and the United States of America. Written in 1952 and amended in 1960¹⁵, this U.S. - Japan security treaty served to procure military security for a pacifist Japan and to solidify the relationship between the two countries with the end of the American occupation of the archipelago. The treaty achieved this by corroborating the United States' pledged to defend Japan in the event of an attack.¹⁶ This American obligation was clearly stated in Article 5 of the 1960 amended security treaty as it emphasized that: "Each Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes."¹⁷ In exchange the Japanese granted the United States the right to military bases on the archipelago: For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far

¹⁵The most important changes that were made during the 1960 amendment was (1) the U.S. commitment to defend Japan in the event that Japan was attacked, (2) the provision that Japan would be consulted before the United States moved major forces into or out of the country, and (3) the clause allowing either side to end the treaty after 1970 with one year's notice. (Daizo, *For Mutual Benefit: The Japanese-US Security Treaty: From a Japanese Perspective*. p. 2)

¹⁶ Beina Xu. "The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance."

¹⁷ Quoted from Article 6 of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation Between Japan and the United States.

East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan.¹⁸

This arrangement proved to be extremely favorable to the Japanese as it gave them security under the American nuclear umbrella, and allowed them the freedom to adhere to the pacifist ideals outlined in their Constitution without having to worry excessively about the security of their nation.¹⁹ While some nationalists and extreme conservatives were not exactly satisfied with the exchange made in the treaty, moderate conservatives, representing particularly the business, rural, and bureaucratic sectors, which made up a majority of the country avidly approved of it.²⁰ Their approval stemmed from the fact that while they supported the creation of modest Self-Defense Forces, they preferred to entrust the primary responsibility for the military security of the country to the United States. In doing this they believed that Japan could concentrate on other pressing domestic issues such as economic recovery.²¹

Reveling in the security and freedom that the treaty provided to them, we see public opinion in Japan heartily endorse the present U.S. Japan security treaty after its April 1996 reconfirmation. One survey showed that 62 percent of the Japanese polled considered the Treaty helpful for Japanese security while another found that 70 percent of Japanese people agree to the maintenance of the Treaty.²² In essence it can be arguably

¹⁸ Quoted from Article 6 of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation Between Japan and the United States.

¹⁹ Daizo Sakurada, *For Mutual Benefit: The Japanese-US Security Treaty: From a Japanese Perspective*. p. 2

²⁰ Asia for Educators. "Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty."

²¹ Dovetailed with the Yoshida Doctrine, a grand strategy for postwar Japan laid out by then Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, Japan relied on the United States for its security needs so that country could focus on its own economic recovery. (Beina Xu. "The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance.")

²² Daizo Sakurada, *For Mutual Benefit: The Japanese-US Security Treaty: From a Japanese Perspective*. p. 8

stated that the reason that the Japanese were able to maintain their pacifist ideals is due in part to the existence of this mutual treaty of security between them and the United States.

Scars of a Nation: Japanese Collective Memory of World War II and Education Reform

“The experience of the war should serve to promote peace” - Ienaga Saburō

As the only people in the world to have been attacked with nuclear weapons, the Japanese have a special aversion to them, a type of 'nuclear allergy' if you will.²³ In fact to this day, the fear of rearmament remains strong in Japan. Looking at some results from public opinion polls taken within the last decade, we see that while the majority of Japanese support the Self-Defense Forces they do not support the expansion of their military capabilities. When asked why they felt that the constitution should not be revised 27.3 percent²⁴ of respondents answered “Because if revised, road to becoming a military superpower may open” and another 26 percent answered “Because basic human rights and democracy are protected”.²⁵ This weariness of military power stems from what the Japanese feel is their lesson from World War II: “reliance on military power is self-defeating.”²⁶

For the Japanese citizens that lived through World War II, “.... civilian wartime life could be recalled as an experience in victimhood and suffering.”²⁷ This was due in part to the Japanese wartime government's manipulation of their citizens in order to acquire support for the war effort, even if it meant increased hardship, suffering, and even

²³ Asia for Educators. “Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.”

²⁴ The percentage of respondents that answered the same question similarly in the March 2007 *Yomiuri Shimbun* poll is equal to 32.1 percent. (*Yomiuri Shimbun*: March 2007)

²⁵ *Yomiuri Shimbun*: March 2008

²⁶ Asia for Educators. “Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.”

²⁷ Wilson, Sandra. “Rethinking Nation and Nationalism in Japan”. *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*. pg. 17

death for them²⁸. The government accomplished this through the use of education to promote cultural values such as gratitude, indebtedness, and repayment as means to persuade many people to give their lives for the emperor and their country. This made it extremely hard for ordinary Japanese people not to support the war, whether they agreed with it or not.²⁹ This remembrance of the war has garnered Japanese public fear that “a strong military cannot be controlled and would ultimately destroy democracy.”³⁰ As a result when respondents to a 2008 Yomiuri opinion poll were asked whether or not they thought that Article 9 needed to be revised the public responded as follows: 12.5 percent (down 1.5 percent from the previous year’s) were in favor of revising Paragraph 1, which stipulates the renunciation of war, while the majority at 81.6% (up 1.3 percent from previous year), were against revising this paragraph at all. In regards to Paragraph 2, which stipulates that armed forces and war potential will not be maintained, 36 percent (down 2.1 percent from previous years) of poll participants answered “yes” this paragraph needs to be revised, but again the majority was in favor of keeping it as is with 54.4% (up 0.3 percent) of the participants voting as such.³¹ This widespread aversion to remilitarization in Japan due to in part to the educational reform that the American’s implemented during their occupation period of the Japanese archipelago.

²⁸ In addition to enduring harsh labor to craft and procure equipment and supplies for the military, many Japanese civilians suffered from food shortages as well. By February of 1941 the Japanese government had set up a rationing system that based rice allotment on age, occupation and gender. These food rations also included other grains, vegetables, meats, fish, and seasonings. These allotments were severely decreased by 1943 and people in large cities began not having enough to eat. (Samuel Yamashita. “No Luxuries Until the War is Won”. p.35 –61)

²⁹ The Japanese government and military had Kamikaze pilots (suicide bombers) write ‘last letters’ to their families, teachers, friends, and even children as a way of ensuring that they would be driven by feelings of gratitude and obligation to want to make more sacrifices as well.

³⁰ Asia for Educators. “Article 9 and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.” When asked why they felt that the constitution should not be revised 26 percent of respondents answered, “Because basic human rights and democracy are protected.” (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, March 2008)

³¹ See *Yomiuri Shimbun*: March 2008 and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*: March 2007

Prior to the Allied Forces occupation of Japan in 1945, the Japanese education system was founded on the epoch-making *Gakkorei* (School Laws)³², which laid the foundation for the educational system, and the Imperial Rescript³³, which became the leading principle of moral education in Japan. This system was co-opted and monopolized by the Japanese government after the Manchurian Massacre³⁴ in 1931, when a storm of militarism and ultra-nationalism began to blow in Japan. In place of nationalistic history textbooks, “official’s sanctioned *Tennō*-worship and government designed courses on official ethics, the content of instruction was liberalized and modernized.”³⁵ So, “when the Pacific War opened, the whole country was involved in the raging storm. Militarist rulers to influence the people used the Imperial Rescript and *shushin* as a convenient weapon. Loyalty and patriotism were explained as meaning to die for the Emperor; the Emperor and the country were the same, and sacrifice of one’s life was the highest virtue.”³⁶

Wanting to prevent another outbreak of Japanese militarism and promote democracy within the nation, American Occupation forces not only disbanded the Japanese army after the Pacific War ended, but also reformed the Japanese education system. Apart of their education reformation was the suspension of *shushin* courses as they realized that it was the weapon through which the Japanese government was able to

³² Was introduced in 1886 by Yurei Muri, the first minister of education in Japan. With these laws and the curriculum that they entailed, Japanese education covered general areas of study such as reading composition, etc. but focused a great deal on moral education. (Oshiba 1961: pg. 230)

³³ “The Rescript consisted of three parts: first, the Emperor told his subjects the essence of the characteristic of his country, which must be the basis of education; second, he taught many virtues for them to practice-- filial piety, brotherhood, affection, humility, love of human beings, diligence, bravery, and especially loyalty to the Emperor; third, he concluded that those virtues were universal.” (Oshiba 1961: 230-231)

³⁴ In the original text of the source I read the author used the term “event” instead of massacre. What exactly to call this occurrence in history has been under high contention in Japan for a number of years. This is due to the desire from conservative individuals to create a more nationalistic education by removing as much of the atrocities from Japanese historical events as possible.

³⁵ Stockwin, J.A.A. “”. *Governing Japan*. Pg. 231.

³⁶ Oshiba 1961: 231-232

fuel support for the war. In its place the American the six-three-three system³⁷ and coeducation, “which had never been dreamed of in Japan”, was enforced. In addition Japanese administration became centralized giving rise to decentralization and a new system of school boards in Japan. As a result Japanese children received a more liberal education in comparison to the pre-postwar era, and the history of Japan’s colonialism, expansionism, and wartime atrocities were taught to ensure that history did not repeat itself.

As the decades passed and more and more Japanese children became indoctrinated with this liberal education, we see a rise in support for pacifism among the Japanese people as their remembrance of the war became connected to their idea of pacifism as a part of Japanese national identity.³⁸ This is to say that the Japanese, having been taught the atrocities of the war the Japanese have internalized “reliance on military power is self-defeating. In this sense it can be argued that Japanese national identity is inextricably related to memory.”³⁹

Support for Pacifism Among Major Figures and Political Actors in Japanese Society

Another reason that pacifism became so deep rooted in post-war Japan is due in part to the support that pacifism won among major social figures and political actors in the years following the end of the Pacific War domestically. One major social and political figure that outwardly supported the 1946 Constitution and the pacifism that it

³⁷ Six years of elementary school, three years of junior high, and three years of high school

³⁸ Trefalt, Beatrice. “War, commemoration and national identity in modern Japan”. *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*. pg. 125. Also see (*The Japanese Socialist Party and Neutralism*, London: Melbourne University Press, 1968)

³⁹ Wilson, Sandra. “Rethinking Nation and Nationalism in Japan”. *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*. pg. 16

upheld is the current Japanese *Tennō*, Emperor Akihito. In his inauguration speech, Emperor Akihito “used everyday expressions rather than archaic court language. He addressed his audience as *minasan* (literally ‘everybody, but perhaps best translated as ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’), and boldly declared that he supported the post-war Constitution, ‘the only one he has ever known’”⁴⁰

An earlier political figure who openly supported the pacifism engrained in the 1946 Japanese Constitution was Japan’s first Prime Minister after World War II, Shigeru Yoshida. A diplomat by profession, Yoshida was one of the most influential politicians in postwar Japan. During his Premiership, which lasted from 1946-1947 and again from 1948-1954, former Prime Minister Yoshida faced pressure from the United States to get Japan to increase its military expenditure. However he was able to reject the Americans’ attempts by citing the pacifist nature of Japan’s postwar constitution. Wanting to establish a precedence of pacifism in Japanese foreign and defense policy, Yoshida created what is known as the Yoshida Doctrine, a document that guided Japanese foreign policy for decades after its creation.

With the Yoshida Doctrine Prime Minister Yoshida upheld the pacifist nature of the new Japanese constitution by including the following as one of the tenets: “Japan should remain lightly armed and avoid involvement in international political-strategic issues. Not only would this low posture free the energies of its people for productive industrial development, it would avoid divisive internal struggles,”⁴¹ as the Japanese government and public were thoroughly split on the issue of pacifism and remilitarization. Seeing talks on these issues as a stagnating, Yoshida effectively shifted

⁴⁰J.A.A. Stockwin, *Governing Japan*. p. 77.

⁴¹ Tang Siew Man. “Japan’s Grand Strategic Shift from Yoshida to Koizumi: Reflections on Japan’s Strategic Focus in the 21st Century”. p. 117-136.

the Japanese discourse of national pride away from having a strong formal military, like the United States, and instead refocused it on gaining national economic strength, an issue that everyone in postwar Japan rallied around. So in effect, with his doctrine Yoshida was able to shift the issue of remilitarization off of the Japanese national agenda while at the same time reinforcing pacifism as a practice into Japanese foreign policy and thus solidifying Japan's commitment to pacifism.

Part 3: Challenges to Japanese Pacifist Identity

In this section of my thesis I will focus on the factors that have challenged Japan's pacifist identity and caused the steady rise in support for Constitutional revision that we see from the 1990s to around 2012.⁴² I will specifically be looking at the way in which international criticism of Japan's "lack of adequate involvement" in international peacekeeping operations has affected Japanese public opinion surrounding the need for constitutional revision. In addition I will also evaluate how issues of instability within international security has changed Japan's public debate around why an amendment to Article 9 is necessary and has caused a shift in public opinion towards potentially supporting its amendment.

The Effects of International Criticism for the Gulf War on Japanese Support for Revision

During the postwar period, Japanese pacifism functioned as an ideology and norm of non-intervention principles in world affairs. As a result, the majority of Japan's key foreign policy principles were negative in nature: no dispatch of the SDF overseas, non-nuclear principles, no export of weapons, and no offensive military doctrine and arms, keeping within

⁴² See Figure 1 in the Appendix. (*Asahi Shimbun*, May 3, 2016)

the narrative of Japan's pacifist identity.⁴³ As a consequence, there were no serious debates in Japan on what the nation should do if they were ever needed to help maintain international security. However with the end of the Cold War and the outbreak of the Gulf War, this changed as the Japanese were faced with intense pressure from the international community to contribute to the humanitarian efforts in the Persian Gulf. As the Prime Minister at the time, Toshiki Kaifu, did not identify the invasion as a major national security crisis the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarded the invasion of Kuwait as a normal diplomatic matter. As a result the Japanese government's policy coordination was limited due to the constraints placed on them by Article 9 and the public's affinity towards pacifism. This limitation in conjunction and "[t]he lack of interagency coordination delayed Japan's response to the crisis and provoked international criticism."⁴⁴ With this criticism, the Japanese public began to realize that the renunciation of war alone could not bring international peace as they had once thought⁴⁵, and public opinion on the strict interpretation of Article 9 began to shift as the Japanese public began to seriously ruminate on the necessity of Constitutional revision.

When the 1990 Gulf crisis arose, officials of the George H. W. Bush administration had high expectations: Japan was to provide a substantial contribution to show Congress that it was indeed a reliable ally. This conviction arose from scrutiny within the U.S. Congress on the value of their asymmetric alliance with Japan as the end of the Cold War virtually removed the Soviet military threat: If Japan could not offer more than bases for U.S. forces in the event of a contingency on the Korean peninsula, the U.S. Congress would question the value of the U.S.-

⁴³ Jitsuo Tsuchiyama. "War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy". p. 48

⁴⁴ Tomohito Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy*, p. 50

⁴⁵ Prior to the 1990s, Japanese public opinion was firmly in favor of retaining the nation's peace clause. When polls were taken in regards to whether or not the Constitution should be revised in order to formally permit the existence of armed forces, the response from the public was frequently negative. [In favor, 13%; against 81% (Asahi Shimbun, 1 January 1991)]

Japan alliance and might demand termination of the bilateral security arrangement.⁴⁶ So despite knowing Japan's constitutional restriction on external use of force, the United States nevertheless requested that Tokyo not only provide monetary contributions to the cause but also personnel to the multinational forces in the region. The list of personnel requests included medical volunteers, logistic support in transporting personnel and equipment to Saudi Arabia, Japanese help in managing the anticipated exodus of large numbers of refugees from Kuwait, and participation in the multinational naval force through the dispatch of minesweepers to help clear the Gulf and transport the vessels to carry equipment from Egypt to Saudi Arabia.⁴⁷

In regards to the request for financial aid for multinational forces in Iraq and economic aid in the Gulf region, the Japanese government responded positively and without hesitation. However the Prime Minister and the Kantei (Japanese government) did not take the initiative to make a concrete decision. Instead, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) officials, who were feeling immense pressure from the United States, had to put in a proposal to give the multinational forces in the Persian Gulf a couple billion dollars to help with the initiative in the region. This caused a delay in the provision of Japanese support to the crisis in the region; as the proposal lacked concrete supporting documentation for the amount, the Finance Ministry only gave the multinational forces in Iraq \$1 billion in aid. So when the Kaifu government announced Japan's initial contribution plan on August 30, 1990, "the international community criticized it as "too little, too late."⁴⁸ In fact, at the time of the announcement the Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary Nobuo Ishihara recalls: "I was with the prime minister when he made the call. Mr. Bush usually expressed his appreciation loudly. At that time, however, his response was blunt. It

⁴⁶ Tomohito Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy*, p. 5

⁴⁷ This list was presented to the Japanese on August 15, 1990, when the U.S. ambassador to Japan, Michael Armacost, met with Vice Foreign Minister Kuriyama. (Tomohito Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy*, p. 52)

⁴⁸ Ibid. pg. 51

was a disappointment to the United States. Later I learned that Washington expected Japan to contribute about \$3 billion.”⁴⁹

The U.S. again asked the Japanese to contribute to the cause in the Gulf about a week after Tokyo announced its initial contribution plan. This time the U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady met with the Kaifu government’s Finance Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and requested an additional \$3 billion, \$1 billion for multinational forces and \$2 billion for economic relief in the Gulf region. This request was met with hesitation from the Japanese, which caused the U.S. Congress to become incredibly frustrated by “Japan’s passivity”.⁵⁰ As a result U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution demanding that Tokyo bear the entire cost of U.S. forces in Japan if the Japanese would not make additional contributions. Two days after the resolution was passed, the Japanese government announced that it would provide the additional \$3 billion in support. Unfortunately, “Japan’s contribution was viewed as a response to pressure from the U.S. government, leaving the international community unimpressed.”⁵¹ Reflecting on this, Foreign Vice Minister Takakazu Kuriyama lamented in his memoir that, “The result was a great disappointment to us.”⁵²

When it came to the request for Japanese personnel in the region, the request was met with much hesitation. This was because the Japanese public was reluctant to dispatch the SDF overseas. According to the *Asahi Shimbun* poll of October 1, 1990, 67 percent of respondents approved of providing non-military contribution while only 19 percent replied that they would

⁴⁹ Nobuo Ishihara. *Shusho Kantei no ketsudan* [The decisions of the Prime Minister’s office] (Tokyo: Chuo Koron-sha, 1997), p. 68-69

⁵⁰ Tomohito Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy*, p. 52

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Kuriyama Takakazu, *Nichibei domei: Hyiryu kara no dakkyakui* [The Japan-U.S. alliance: From Drift to Revitalization] (Tokyo:Nihon Keizai Shimbun-sha, 1997), p. 28.

support the dispatch of the SDF.⁵³ So in response to the request made for personnel, the U.S. ambassador to Japan at the time, Michael Armacost, noted then Vice Foreign Minister

“[Kuriyama] readily acknowledged the importance of a substantial Japanese contribution...He hinted at Japan's readiness to offer support beyond financial subventions. But he emphatically noted the political and constitutional difficulties that would attend any involvement in of Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) in the area of strife and clearly signaled that there would be no likelihood that Japan would dispatch minesweepers.”⁵⁴

With the limited policy coordination that the government did have the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs decided to organized a task force that would contribute personnel under the legal basis of contribution to UN peacekeeping operations (PKO).

Wanting to legitimize the force, Vice Minister Kuriyama wanted to reorganize the SDF so that it could handle peacekeeping missions as well, especially since some of the personnel that were contributed were actually members of the SDF. However, as “the dovish prime minister was against dispatching the SDF itself,” he instructed that Kuriyama come up with a concrete plan to officially remove SDF officers from the multinational forces in the Gulf and instead send them as officers of the Prime Minister instead. Though the Japanese Defense Agency (JDA) was against it, Prime Minister’s plan manifested itself as the first set of UN Peacekeeping Cooperation legislation that was introduced to the Japanese Diet in October of 1990. This legislation was profoundly flawed however, reflecting severe disagreement within the government and LDP. At the Diet debate surrounding the legislature, “the dovish prime minister denied that the SDF might be placed in a combat situation, while government officials explained that the bill’s wording would indeed allow the SDF to engage in combat areas.”⁵⁵ The Diet deliberations were so controversial that Japan’s five major newspapers--*Asahi*, *Mainichi*, *Nihon*

⁵³ *Asahi Shimbun*, October 1, 1990.

⁵⁴ Michael H. Armacost, *Friends or Rivals?: The Insider’s Account of U.S.- Japan Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 102

⁵⁵ Tomohito Shinoda, *Koizumi Diplomacy*, p. 62.

Keizai, *Sankei*, and *Yomiuri*--were divided in their opinions about the legislation. Japanese public opinion however was firmly in opposition to the bill as 58 percent expressed their opposition to the UN Peace Cooperation Bill while only 21 percent expressed support.⁵⁶ As a result the LDP was forced to withdraw the bill. In the end, the Japanese were not able to contribute troops to the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

By the end of the war the Japanese had contributed \$13 billion to the multinational forces in the Persian Gulf to aid against Iraqi forces. Although the money was welcomed, Japan was heavily criticized for refusing to commit personnel to the war, and in the end the international community deemed their contribution as merely “checkbook diplomacy.” However the ridicule that the Japanese people faced after the war did not end there as two weeks after the Gulf War ended, the Kuwaiti government printed a full-page advertisement in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* to thank all of the nations that provided support; and Japan was not included in this list. The Japanese government and people were deeply hurt by this, and realized that the renunciation of war alone could not bring international peace as they had once thought:

“[T]he international community’s lack of appreciation bewildered the Japanese people. This stinging criticism brought home to their minds the importance of sharing the burden with blood, sweat, and tears, and not just with money, as a responsible member of the international community striving for the common cause of maintaining peace with justice.”⁵⁷

As a result the Kaifu cabinet dispatched minesweepers to the Persian Gulf in April of 1991 with overwhelming support from the Japanese public.⁵⁸

The minesweepers were successful in the operations that they conducted and as a result were greatly appreciated by the international community. As a result of their

⁵⁶ “Funso kanyo ni teikokan” [reluctance to be involved in the conflict], *Asahi Shimbun*, November 6, 1990.

⁵⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. “Current Issues Surrounding UN Peacekeeping Operations and Japanese Perspective,” January 1997. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/issues.html>

⁵⁸ “According to an *Asahi Shimbun* poll, 56 percent of the respondents supported the dispatch of minesweepers while only 30 percent were outright opposed.” (*Asahi Shimbun*, April 26, 1991.)

success, public support for sending SDF units for peacekeeping activities increased. According to *Asahi Shimbun*'s June 1991 public opinion survey, 74 percent responded positively to dispatching the SDF overseas, and another 50 percent supported SDF participation in UN peacekeeping operations in contrast to the 40 percent who were against it.⁵⁹ Compared with the public's earlier opposition to the UN Peace Cooperation legislation, these results represented a significant shift in public opinion. As a result the Kaifu cabinet submitted another bill to the Diet that would allow for the SDF to participate in peacekeeping operations under the United Nations command. The bill was passed in 1992, as Japanese public opinion on their responsibility to the international community and the nature of the PKOs overcame the vocal anti-militarist opposition within and outside of Japan."⁶⁰

With all of the international criticism that they received as a result of their responses during the Gulf War, the Japanese public new norm of international cooperation began to prevail over Article 9, which had long prevented Japan from having an active security policy.⁶¹ This discovery was hard learned and came at the hands of intense criticism from both the United States and the rest of the international community in regards to Japan's international contributions during those turbulent times.

Embarrassed by their country's inability to provide anything more than financial assistance during the 1991 Gulf War, Japanese public opinion began to waver in its once

⁵⁹ "Jietai no kaigai haken 74% yonin" [74% approved SDF dispatch abroad], *Asahi Shimbun*, June 19, 1991.

⁶⁰ Public reaction on the legislation was generally supportive. According to an *Asahi Shimbun* survey on November 10, 71 percent of the respondents supported the SDF dispatch abroad, while only 29 percent opposed it." (Among the 71 percent, 50 percent supported only nonmilitary activities and the remaining 21 percent supported the SDF's participation in military activities under the UN flag. "Heiwa ijigun eno Jietai sanku, 58% ga hantai" [58 percent oppose the SDF's participation in PKF], *Asahi Shimbun*, November 10, 1991. Also see Hugo Dobson. "The Second Gulf War". *Japan and United Nations Peacekeeping: New Pressures, New Responses*. Pg. 89.

⁶¹ Jitsuo Tsuchiyama. "War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy". p. 61

firm support of Article 9 and the 1946 Constitution.⁶² In response to increased interest in constitutional revision following the Gulf War, a number of proposals for constitutional revision began to arise from various political perspectives. Three examples of which came from the *Yomiuri* (1994), the *Asahi Shimbun* (1995), and Ichiro Ozawa (1999), one of Japan's most influential politicians and the former leader of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

In 1994, in an issue of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, a relatively conservative newspaper, three possible proposals for the revision of Article 9 were published for its readers' consideration. The first point included replacing the second paragraph⁶³ with a new article that both banned conscription and also authorized the attainment and usage of a self-defense force under the command of the Prime Minister. The second point was to introduce a new article, one that would authorize international cooperation activities, such as participation in peacekeeping missions. The third and final point was to add a sentence into the first paragraph that would ban weapons of mass destruction, glossed as chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, a clause which the existing Constitution does not have.⁶⁴ Though these points of revision were never formally brought before the Japanese Diet, they provide us with insight into the type of revisions that readers of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were interested in seeing.

The following year, wanting to contribute to the conversation, the more progressive *Asahi Shimbun* produced a document that included six broad proposals for

⁶² Insert evidence.

⁶³ The second paragraph of the 1946 Constitution goes as follows: "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." (Japanese Constitution of 1946, Chapter II, Article 9, Paragraph 2)

⁶⁴ Glenn D. Hook and Gavan McCormack, *Japan's Contested Constitution: Documents and Analysis*. London and New York, Routledge, 2001. Pg. 55-91

revisions. It suggested keeping the peace clause intact and instead (1) incorporating an international cooperation law, (2) creating a peace support corps, and (3) scaling down the SDF to confine their mission to the defense of Japan alone. In addition they also recommended that the revision include (4) a replacement for the outdated Cold War security arrangements, (5) a statement that fostered the idea of maintaining peace in the Asian region, and (6) a measure or initiative aimed at potentially transforming the United Nations into a “healthier world body”.⁶⁵

Looking at both the *Asahi Shimbun* proposal and the one that was printed in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in the year prior, it is clear that for the Japanese, the Gulf crisis was not only an international crisis but a domestic crisis as well. As such the security debates that arose destroyed the tight right (LDP) - left (SDJP) division over the constitution,⁶⁶ and we begin to see more similarities among both parties in terms of reforming Japan’s security policies as none purported getting rid of the pacifist nature of the Japanese Constitution of 1946. Instead constitutional revision support on both sides was aimed at establishing Japan's right to self-defense.⁶⁷ In addition, they all propose formally adding a clause to the Constitution allowing the Japanese to formally contribute to international peacekeeping missions. It was within this context that the revision of Article 9 came to be discussed by a group headed by Ozawa Ichirō, the former leader of Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party, in 1999. Within this group Ozawa advocated for Japan to become a “normal” state, suggesting that (1) rewriting Article 9 so as to regain Japan’s right to to have war potential for self-defense and to exercise the right of collective self-defense, (2)

⁶⁵ Ibid., pg. 129-160

⁶⁶ Red book, 61

⁶⁷ This push for the solidification of Japanese right to self-defense came in the wake of the North Korean missile crisis of the mid-1990s. In May 1993, North Korea launched a Nodong missile into the Sea of Japan and withdrew from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to begin developing nuclear weapons material. (Beina Xu. "The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance.")

sending the SDF to participate in UN PKO, and (3) gaining a a seat as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.⁶⁸

In his rewrite of Article 9, Ozawa, realizing that the public would not give up its pacifist symbolism, advocated for maintaining the two paragraphs of the peace clause but adding a third paragraph that clarified that the previous paragraphs did not prohibit Japan from maintaining the military power necessary to protect themselves against attack by a third country. His proposed addition reads as follows: ‘The regulation in paragraph 2 does not prevent the maintenance of military power for the purpose of exercising Japan’s right to self defense against military attack by a third country’. Additionally Ozawa, believing that the United Nations was ‘the only global organization for peace,’ proposed adding a new article to the Constitution following Article 9. This new article would ‘In order to maintain, and restore, international peace and safety from threats to, the collapse of, or aggressive actions against, peace, the Japanese people shall contribute positively to world peace, through various means including taking the lead in participating in international peacekeeping activities, and supplying troops.’⁶⁹

Though the three aforementioned proposals for Constitutional revision all came from various political perspectives within Japan none purported getting rid of the pacifist nature of the Japanese Constitution of 1946. Instead they are all aimed at establishing Japan's right to self-defense. In addition, they all propose formally adding a clause to the Constitution allowing the Japanese to formally contribute to international peacekeeping missions. So while we do see an increase in support for constitutional revision, this new momentum was aimed at clarifying and outlining the specific capabilities of the

⁶⁸ Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, ‘War Renunciation, Article 9, and Security Policy,’ pg. 61

⁶⁹ Glenn D. Hook and Gavan McCormack, *Japan’s Contested Constitution: Documents and Analysis*. London and New York, Routledge, 2001. Pg. 161-176

government in terms of security and peacekeeping rather than necessarily re-militarizing the country, though Ozawa's proposal could potentially be read as such. By the end of the 1990s however none of these proposals were ever formally brought before the Diet and deliberated for implementation, as public opinion around Constitutional revision was still too low.⁷⁰ This however changed with the dawn of the 21st century and the rise of security concerns within the international community.

Politics of Fear: Terrorism, Abduction, and Security Concerns in Northeast Asia

At the beginning of the 21st century we see another jump in support levels for revision of the Constitution.⁷¹ This time however, the fear of not being able to adequately make contributions to the international community was not the only fear propelling the Japanese public to seriously consider allowing their government to make revisions to the postwar constitution. In fact, this second wave of support for revising the constitution stemmed from two major security concerns: (1) the apparent instability in the international sphere with the sharp increase of terrorist activities around the world since the start of the 21st century and (2) the emergence of Japanese security concerns mainly in relation to territorial disputes with China and North Korea's nuclearization.

On September 11, 2001 planes hijacked by Al Qaeda operatives brought down the twin towers in New York and severely damaged the Pentagon in Washington DC. In the aftermath nearly 3000 people were left dead, some of whom were of Japanese nationality. Following this crisis America increased its security measures and the Japanese government under Prime Minister Koizumi gave firm assurances of his willingness to

⁷⁰ By 1997, public opinion was 46 to 39 with 46 percent of respondents to an *Asahi Shimbun* interview agreeing that the constitution needed to be revised, while 39 percent felt that there was no need for Constitutional revision. See figure 1 in Appendix. (*Asahi Shimbun*, May 3, 2016)

⁷¹ Ibid.

cooperate with President Bush and counter terrorist activities. The events of 9/11 were only the first in a long line of terrorist attacks that took place in the early 2000s. With the Istanbul Explosion of 2003, the Madrid train bombings of 2004, the London bombings of 2005, the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, the twice elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, on December 27, 2007, and the series of coordinated bombings and shootings in Mumbai between November 26-29, 2008 just to name a few, are all signifiers of the rising instability within the international community during the early 2000s. From the political perspective that Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi presented at that time, Japanese “national interest was seen to lie in close coordination with United States, even though terrorist activities from Middle Eastern groups were a far less serious problem for Japan than for many other countries.”⁷² As a result the Japanese government’s active support for American anti-terrorist efforts can be seen as a by-product of the criticism that Japan received during 1990s from Americans in relation to Japan not pulling its weight in terms of collective self-defense.

During the 1990s to the present, rising national security concerns in terms of North Korean nuclearization and abduction of Japanese citizens in conjunction with territorial disputes with China in the midst of their emergence as a major power in the region have aided in maintaining the shift in Japanese public opinion towards the revision of Article 9. The Japanese government, led by the LDP at the time, utilized the prevalence of increasing hostility within the international and regional environment and the rise in support at home for Constitutional revision to once again bring constitutional revision to the forefront. The party placed the issue on its active agenda in 2005 and releasing a new set of potential constitutional revisions in October of that year. In this

⁷² J.A.A. Stockwin, *Governing Japan*, pg. 109

version, the LDP planned to keep the first paragraph of Article 9 intact but do away with the second paragraph and ultimately create three new paragraphs to take its place. The new second paragraph would give Japan the right to have military forces for self-defense under the control of the Prime Minister. The third paragraph would re-affirm that SDF activities have to be approved by the Diet and other necessary authorities. While the fourth paragraph would ascertain that the SDF may gain permission to cooperate internationally “so as to maintain the peace and security of international society, as well as maintaining public order in emergency situations, and in order to defend the people’s livelihood and freedom,” aside from their main duty to act as Japan’s main source of self defense.⁷³

Looking at the results from public opinion polls from the early 2000s we see that in April of 2005, 61 percent of Japanese citizens who responded to a *Yomiuri Shimbun* poll were in favor of constitutional revision, with 44 percent of that population in favor of revising the peace clause specifically.⁷⁴ The results from a 2007 *Yomiuri Shimbun* poll proved to be similar as it reported 46.2 percent of its respondents voting supporting that the Constitution be amended while only 39.1 percent voted that it should not be amended. When the participants who answered that the “Constitution should be revised” were asked why, 47.6% answered that they “believed that new issues had arisen in which the current constitution can not handle” in relation to issues of self-defense and 27.2 percent additionally answered that they “believed that amendment needed to happen in order to state the Japanese right to self-defense, and stipulate the existence of the Self-Defense

⁷³ Governing Japan, pp. 213

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 211. Also see *Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 2005.

force”.⁷⁵ Taking the aforementioned into account we see that international criticism in conjunction with international instability and security concerns in the Northeast Asian region have all contributed to the rise in support that we see for Constitutional revision in Japan between the end of the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century.

Part 4: Government Initiative for the Promotion of Constitutional Revision

Since the beginning of the late 1980s the Japanese government has placed increased importance on creating a distinguished ‘Japanese national spirit’ through the provision of a more nationalistic education for elementary and middle school children. This was because for some conservative members of the government and their pro-revision allies in the right-wing Liberal Education League and the Society for Textbook Reform, the history of ‘shame’ that was taught to secondary-school students had serious implications on their desire to create a national identity that would allow for the ultimate rearmament of Japan.⁷⁶ Wanting to stop this trend and rebuild national pride among the people, the Japanese government pushed for revision of the Course of Study to place increasing emphasis on inculcating Japanese children with a “greater sense of patriotism and self-awareness of their ‘Japanese-ness’ ...”.⁷⁷

Dating back to the beginning of the post-war period the issue of textbook reform and how best to represent Japan and its history to Japanese children had always been apart of widespread debates. On one side of the debate, we see the more liberal party,

⁷⁵ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, April 2007

⁷⁶ Beatrice Trefalt. ‘War, Commemoration, and National Identity in modern Japan,’ p. 125. Important to note that the curriculum that was being taught at the time was set by the occupational forces of the Allied forces in the wake of the Japanese defeat in World War II.

⁷⁷ Caroline Rose, ‘Battle for Hearts and Minds,’ p. 134

advocating for not over beautifying Japan's past but rather taking a neutral stance and the including of teachings of Japan's war invasion, including references to the comfort women system and the attempts of individuals from Korea and China to claim private compensation for their war time suffering. However on the other side of the debate we see nationalists and conservatives greatly against this, arguing that education needed to be more nationalistic in nature. The country was thoroughly split on this issue and as a result we see history textbook, "...which play a central role in the production of a national memory and identity, become the battleground for political and intellectual contests over how best to render the past, and, in so doing, mold the present and the future."⁷⁸

As the debates on history education in Japan heated up, we see what becomes known as the 'third textbook offensive' emerging as the once relaxed textbook screening process of the early 1990s was reversed due to efforts made by the Ministry of Education and the ruling LDP party to tighten up the curriculum and textbook screening process, and place more emphasis on patriotic education. They wanted to accomplish this through essentially reworking textbook content to emphasize the role of the emperor and downplay Japan's aggression during the war, but also through legislation such as making the raising of the national flag and the singing of the national anthem compulsory.⁷⁹ In fact, as apart of their education reform package, the government proposed the revision of the Fundamental Law of Education to put more of an emphasis on the 'cultivation of patriotism', 'respect for Japanese history and traditional culture' and 'international coexistence'. They also called for the "re-examination of history textbooks to include

⁷⁸ Ibid. pg. 133

⁷⁹ Ibid. pg. 131

‘new perspectives,’ which directly references the views and ideals put forth by the group Tsukuru kai, one of the main organizations pushing for a more nationalistic education.⁸⁰

At the end of the 1990s and into the early 2000s, we see a number of well-known individuals and government institutions creating propaganda in order to aid the Tsukuru kai’s platform for more nationalistic education. For example, in 1997, Namikawa Eita created a pamphlet titled, ‘The Iniquities of History Education in Japan during the Postwar Period’, which pointed to statistics showing that students overwhelmingly answered ‘no’ to the question of whether or not they would defend their country if they were attacked,⁸¹ indicating in his view a dangerous lack of loyalty or affection for the nation. In the following year the cartoonist Kobayashi Yoshinori in his both the controversial manga *Sensōron* (On War), used his medium to illustrate to the public what he described as Japan’s decadent society, “...decadent partly because the youth of Japan [had] forgotten the sacrifices of their grandfathers.”⁸² The Ministry of Education for their part introduced a controversial series of teaching materials that focused on civic responsibility, respect, love of country, and so on known as “*Kokoro no nōto*” in hopes of advancing support for more nationalistic education. This series was distributed in 2002 and onwards to all primary and middle schools as a new ‘teaching aid’ designed for use both by teachers in moral education classes and also by parents at home. It was deemed as controversial because its contents resembled “reminiscent of pre-war authorized textbooks” with its

⁸⁰ Ibid. pp. 144.

⁸¹ Eita Namikawa, ‘The Iniquities of History Education in Japan during the Postwar Period’, in Japanese Society for Textbook Reforms (ed.), *The Restoration of a National History*, pamphlet distributed by the Japanese Society for Textbook Reform, 1997, p. 15.

⁸² Yoshinori Kobayashi, *Sensōron*, Tokyo: Gentosha, 1998, p. 64. In one of his works he depicting what he views as a deep gulf that “separates those who lived through the war” and “those who were born later” and appear uninterested in their forebearers’ experiences.

most problematic sections dealing with ‘groups and society’,⁸³ particularly with their references to patriotism as they symbolized that “neo-conservatism [had] taken hold and could lead inextricably to a more nationalistic education system reminiscent of the prewar and wartime periods.”⁸⁴ Tawara, who was from the opposition camp acknowledged that the books “...seek to impress upon Japanese children the importance of a Japan that can contribute to international affairs, or more worrying for Tawara, ‘a Japan that can go to war’. He even went on to states that “effects of the contents of these books will be demonstrated in the next ten years when the students currently using them will reach voting age.”⁸⁵

In addition to reforming education, the Japanese leading political party (LDP) and pro-revisionary forces have commandeered reviving the national symbolic significance of the Yasukuni Shrine in order to facilitate the shifting of Japanese national identity away from pacifism and increase support for Constitutional revision. Originally used as a device for creating a psychology whereby soldiers fought and sacrificed their lives in war for the emperor and the state⁸⁶, the Yasukuni Shrine is now being utilized as a tool by the Japanese government to ‘praise’ and ‘beautify’ the ‘sacrifice’ of war and giving one’s life for their country in hopes of facilitating additional support for the revision of Article 9 and the remilitarization of Japan.⁸⁷ This strategy by the Japanese government has been largely controversial among members of the international community, such as Taiwan, China, and South Korea, as the Yasukuni Shrine has Class A war criminals enshrined on

⁸³ Caroline Rose, ‘Battle for Hearts and Minds,’ p. 145

⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 131

⁸⁵ Caroline Rose, ‘Battle for Hearts and Minds,’ p. 147

⁸⁶ When it was first created, the Yasukuni Shrine was used to promote the belief that, “Death in war is undoubtedly a tragic thing. But, for ordinary Japanese, more than going to war and being sent to war, death in war is giving one’s life to the nation, so it is not just any death. It is the peak of shining honour.” (Natsuki Yokoyama. *Kagayaku Yasukuni monogatari* [*Shining Yasukuni Tales*]. April 1943.)

⁸⁷ Tetsuya Takahashi. “National Politics of the Yasukuni Shrine.” p. 157

its property.⁸⁸ However the Yasukuni Shrine is seen as extremely significant to the government's vision of constitutional revision as its doctrine encompasses the idea that "[t]he spirit of Yasukuni is not only a spirit that soldiers have in wartime. It is a Japanese spirit that all Japanese people should adhere to identically in both war and times of peace."⁸⁹

Will Abe's Dream of Remilitarization Become a Reality?

Over the past four years, the leader of the LDP, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, has stated his desire to revise the Japanese Constitution, more specifically the peace clause that denounces Japan's right to possess the means to wage a war. As of July of this year, Abe has never been closer to achieving his goal of seeing Constitution revision as the Liberal Democratic Party-led ruling coalition scored a sweeping victory in the Upper House elections that took place on July 10th. This victory has proven to be monumental and a pivotal turning point in the history of Japanese politics as for the first time in seventy years, it bequeathed the Diet's pro-revision forces within the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Japan, the two-thirds majority in the Upper House that they needed in order to proceed with their long held ambition of initiating Japan's first constitutional referendum. Despite these major gains, Abe's ambitions of seeing a remilitarized Japan by the end of his premiership still seems like a distant dream.

In order for Japan to enact constitutional revision, not only does the Upper and Lower Houses of the Diet have to approve of the constitutional change, but over 50

⁸⁸ South Korea, Taiwan, and China all see the Japanese Prime Minister and other important political figures' worship at Yasukuni Shrine as a sign that the Japanese have not deeply ruminated on the impact of their wartime atrocities.

⁸⁹ Tetsuya Takahashi. "National Politics of the Yasukuni Shrine." p. 162

percent of the Japanese public.⁹⁰ And though support for Constitutional revision was on the rise during the late 1990s and the early 2000s, recent years has seen in drastic shift in majority support for Constitutional revision shift from being in favor of revision to being against it.⁹¹ In all three major Japanese newspaper polls, fifty percent of the respondents or more were opposed to revision of the constitution, revealing that the majority of Japanese are cautious to supporting the change despite the effort by politicians to move the debate forward.⁹² In fact, according to results from the *Asahi Shimbun* poll on July 14th of this year, only 35 percent its respondent's favored "constitutional revision under the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's leadership while 43 percent opposed it. Similarly in a *Nikkei* poll on July 25th, only 38 percent of respondents were willing to embrace "constitutional revision under the Abe Cabinet" compared to the 49 percent of respondents that did not.

When looking specifically at the viability of the remilitarization of Japan, this occurrence seems even more unlikely as the last six years has seen Japanese public opinion favoring adjusting Article 9 through policy changes by reinterpretation rather than by revising it.⁹³

When respondents were asked their reason for supporting Constitutional change, the top three responses from those who took *Yomiuri* polls from 2011 until this year was "Policy change by reinterpretation has become too confusing" as the top response, followed by "Japan confronts new issues that cannot be addressed under the current constitution, such

⁹⁰ See Article 96 of The Japanese Constitution.

⁹¹ See sharp reversal of support for Constitutional revision following 2011 in Figure 1 of Appendix.

⁹² Sheila A. Smith. "Japanese Public Opinion on Constitutional Revision in 2016." p. 2

⁹³ Percentages by year in accordance with results garnered from *yomiuri Shimbun* polls on support for adjusting Article 9 through reinterpretation (2010: 44%; 2011: 45%; 2012: 39%; 2013: 40; 2014: 43; 2015: 40; 2016: 38%). Compared to the percentages of respondents in favor of revising Article 9 (2010: 32%; 2011: 32%; 2012: 39%; 2013: 36%; 2014: 30%; 2015: 35%; 2016: 35%). See figure 2 in Appendix.

as contributing to international cooperation.”, and “The Constitution should include reference to the right to self-defense and to the Self-Defense Force.”⁹⁴ Looking at the results that were garnered from *Asahi Shimbun* polls between 2007 and 2012 in regards to reasons that Japanese citizens supported Constitutional revision was the notion that there are new rights and rules that need to be included. The percentage of respondents who believed that the Constitution needed to be revised due to the Article 9 having problems was actually rather miniscule.⁹⁵

It is clear that the vast majority of Japanese do not wish to revise Article 9. In fact in the 2016 polls, *Asahi* still reported that 68 percent of their respondents were against revising the Article 9 (while 27 percent claimed they were for revision). According to the responses that the *Yomiuri* polls garnered it seems that 82 percent of the respondents would not revise Article 9’s first paragraph, which includes Japan’s pledge to not use force for the purpose of settling international disputes.⁹⁶ Both conservatives and liberals in Japan seem to have similar views in regards to why Article 9 should not be revised. Both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* respondents rationalized their choices in very similar language: *Asahi* respondents opposed to revise “because [the constitution] had brought peace”; *Yomiuri* respondents opposed revision “because it is a world-renowned peace constitution.”⁹⁷ This conclusion is not resolute as there anything could happen in the case of regional security in Asia that could push the Japanese to remilitarize. In addition with

⁹⁴ See Figure 3 in Appendix.

⁹⁵ Percentage of respondents that thought Article 9 had a problem according to *Asahi Shimbun* polls: 6 percent in 2007, 13 percent in 2008, 15 percent in 2009, 15 percent in 2010, 14 percent in 2011, and 17 percent in 2012. See Figure 4 in Appendix.

⁹⁶ Though it should be noted that in regards to changing the language in the second paragraph, which says that Japan will not maintain military forces, however 48 percent were for it and 48 percent were against it. I speculate that this is in accordance with Japanese citizens desiring to legitimize the SDF forces by including them in the Constitution.

⁹⁷ Sheila A. Smith. “Japanese Public Opinion on Constitutional Revision in 2016.” p. 7

the election of Trump to U.S. presidency public opinion in Japan could shift towards constitutional revision as Trump's rhetoric on how to handle the U.S. Japan alliance could jeopardize the Japanese commitment to pacifism in exchange for the peace of mind that having their own military power would have in relations to the fear of Trump making good on his promise, pulling American troops out of Japan, and leaving the Japanese high and dry with limited security in what they consider a "high tension environment with tensions brewing between them China, and South Korea in terms of territorial disputes and North Korean nuclear crisis.

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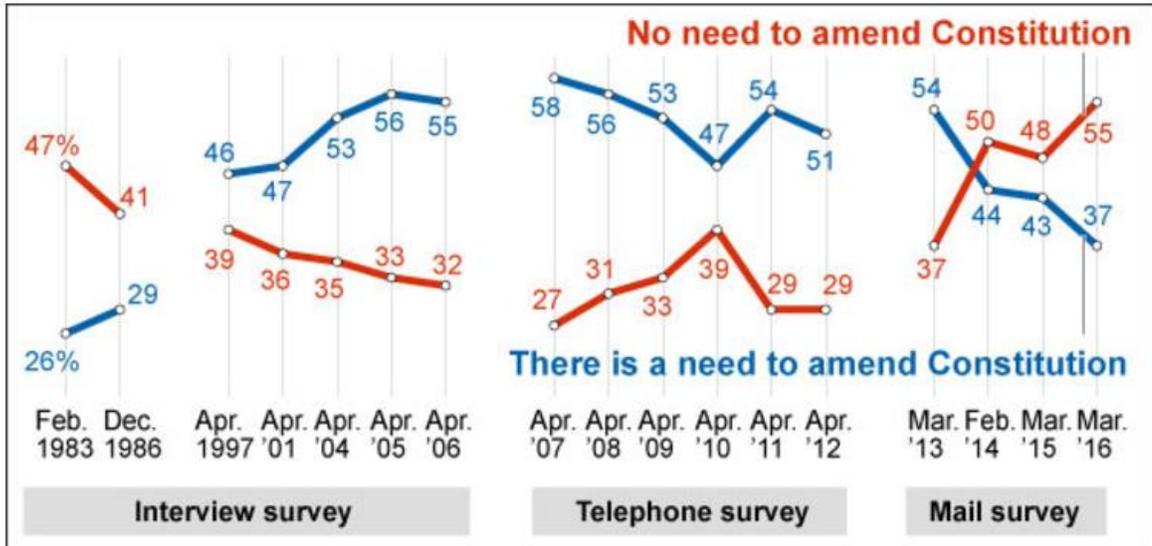
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Appendix



The Asahi Shimbun

Figure 1: *Asahi Shimbun* public polling data on support for Constitutional revision from 1983-2016

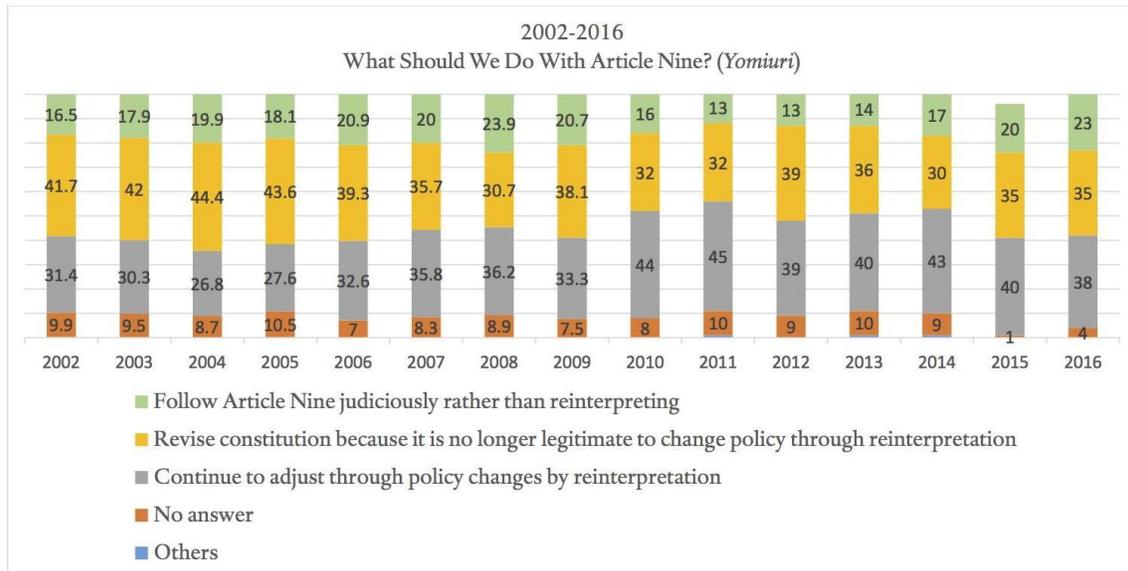


Figure 2: *Yomiuri Shimbun* polling data on Japanese public opinion on what should be done with Article 9.

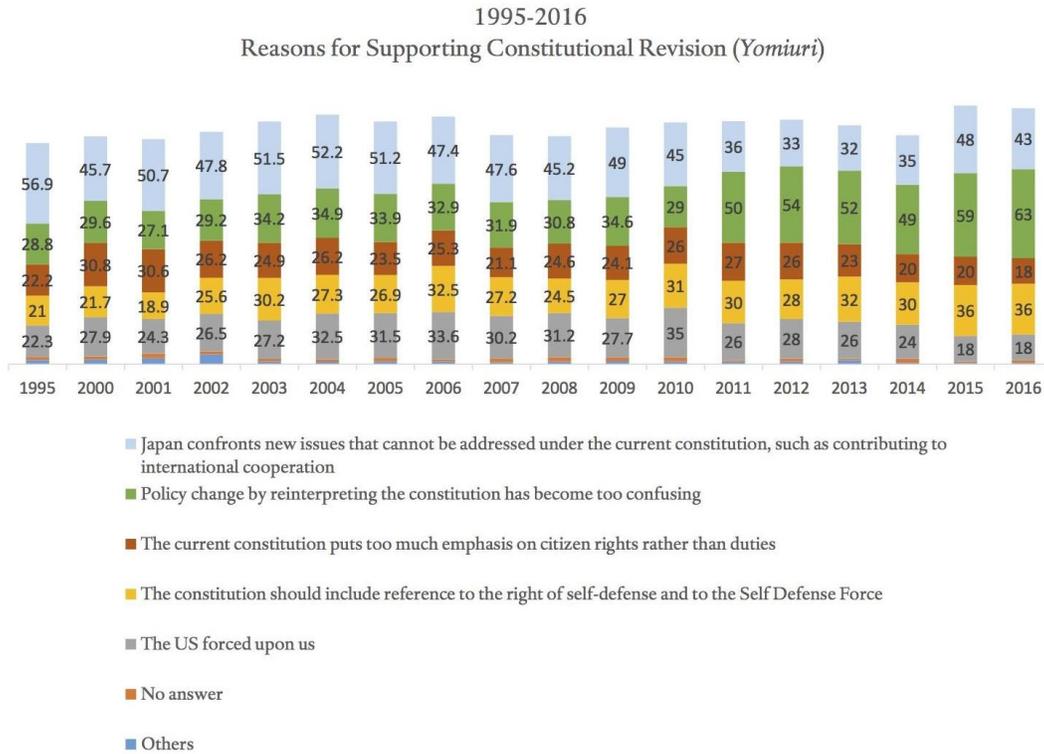


Figure 3: *Yomiuri Shimbun* polling data on reasons that Japanese citizens support Constitutional Revision 1995-2016

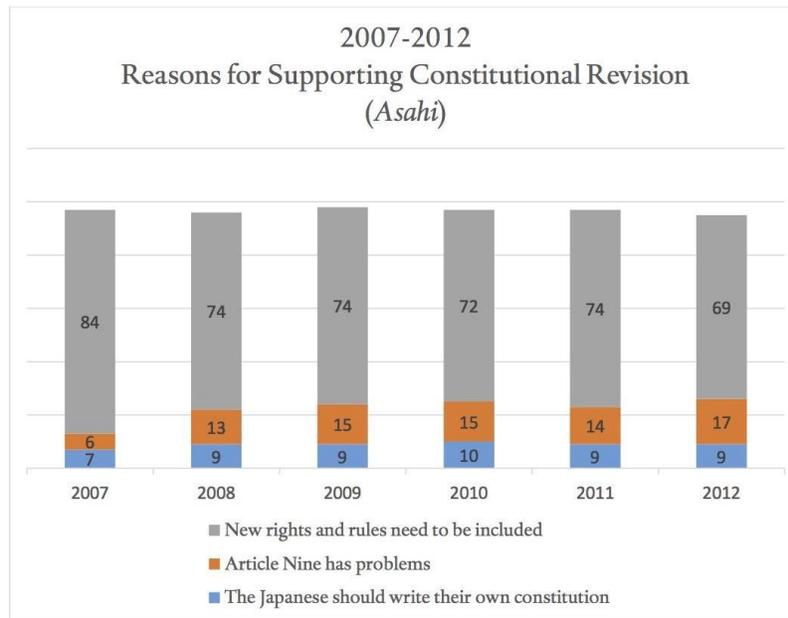


Figure 4: *Asahi Shimbun* polling data on reasons Japanese public support Constitutional Revision 2007- 2012

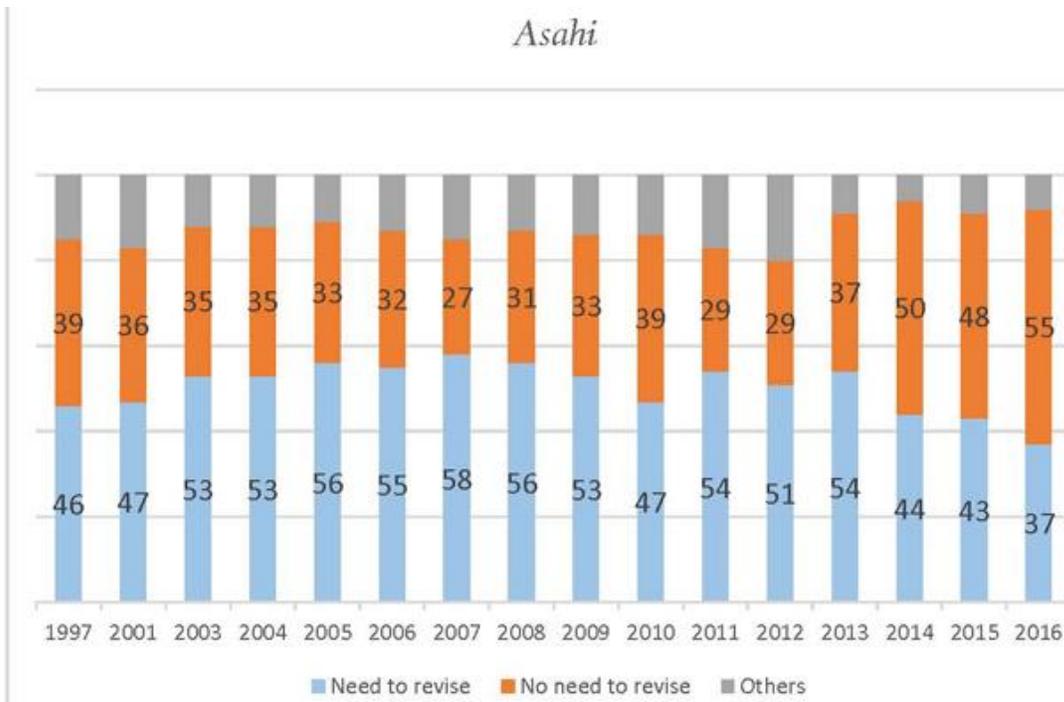


Figure 5: *Asahi Shimbun* polling data on support for revising Article 9, 1997-2016

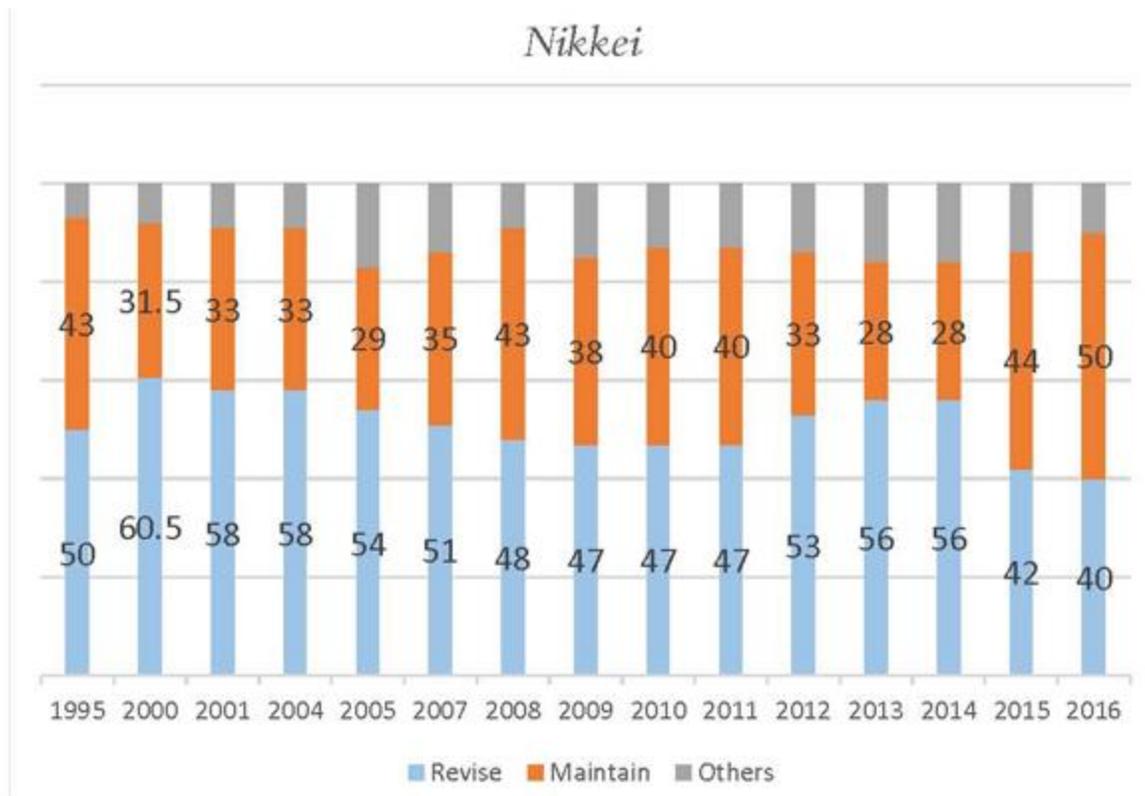


Figure 6: *Nikkei* polling data on support for revising Article 9, 1995-2016

Yomiuri

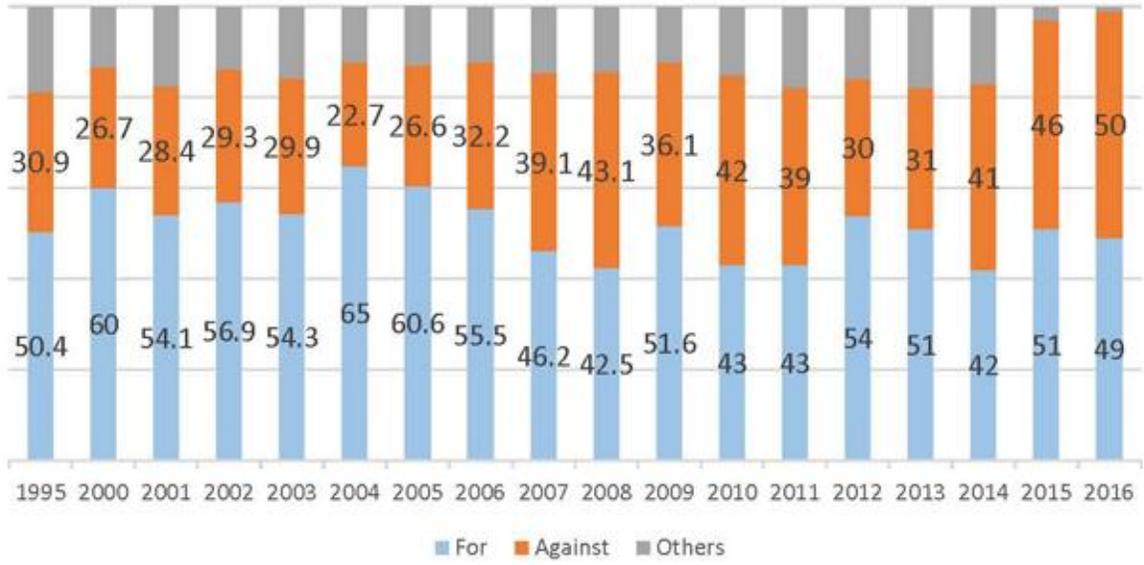


Figure 7: Yomiuri Shimbun polling data on support for revising Article 9, 1995-2016