

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW AND AN INTRODUCTION TO JAPAN'S DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Literature Review

A good starting point regarding Human Security is the final report of the United Nations Commission for Human Security. This report is called "Human Security Now" and deals with the most important issues covered by the concept. In addition to that the document is an attempt to establish the paradigm as a useful policy-making framework and includes a varied range of policy recommendations dealing with issues such as refugees, development, environmental protection, disaster relief, and many others. Chapter five is especially useful in that it concentrates on issues of economic security and how the concept of Human Security interprets the problems of poverty reduction and economic development (United-Nations, 2003). It is noteworthy that this single chapter includes concepts and approaches as varied as equity, sustainable development, extreme poverty, governance, trade barriers, empowerment, foreign direct investment, and social protection. The sheer scope included by the term economic security makes its detailed analysis in a single chapter impossible and because of this the section of "Human Security Now" dealing with this topic concentrates on how to connect all of those issues with the Human Security approach and sets guidelines to be followed for policy making in those subfields. Thus the main contribution to the field in question is at a macro level that clearly positions other concepts under the rubric of Human Security.

More specifically dealing with the study being proposed, “Human Security Now” is useful in that it provides a clear and organized framework from which to move forward. It sets guidelines and standards by which to judge policies as human security-friendly or not. It is also useful in that it gives a broad yet clear definition of the vague concept of Human Security as espoused by the Commission and other supporters of development based Human Security. The present dissertation will use the guidelines set forth by the United Nations Commission for Human Security as a theoretical framework from which to assess the compatibility of Japan’s foreign economic policy, such as official development assistance, loans, foreign direct investment, and trade, with the overarching Human Security approach.

Another general source at the theoretical level is that by McFarlane and Khong. Their study of the historical evolution of the concept of Human Security *in Human Security and the UN: A Critical History* provides a very good overview of the concept and most importantly it puts the development approach to Human Security in context. This study explains how the concept came to be divided into two camps, one promoting a version of human security that emphasizes protection while another one emphasizes development (Khong, 2006). “We see here the crystallization of a division in the understanding of the concept of human security between a development perspective that sees safety from economic threats as an essential aspect of human security and a rights and protection perspective that sees physical safety as distinct from , and prior to, the address of economic problems.” (Khong, 2006)

The book covers the most prominent definitions of human security and how they tend to be vague and all inclusive. McFarlane and Khong also deconstruct the concept in order to test it. They point out several important contradictions such as a lack of a

direct causality and overstretch, among others. The most important piece of analysis brought up in this study in relation to economic security is the issue of causation and prioritizing (Khong, 2006). The authors argue that economic security as expressed by the Human Security framework, especially the development approach, fails to establish a clear relationship of causation between the securitizers and the referent of security. It must be noted that by labeling economic problems security problems that means that there has to be a threat and a threatening agent. Even if the second condition of identifying the threatening agent is relaxed, it is still very difficult to find a direct causation between hunger, for example, and conflict or between inequity and health. There exist clear correlations between those issues but the missing intermediate step needed to prove causation can not be identified. Thus it is clear by simple observation that regions with problems like famine and deprivation tend to show a tendency towards conflict but that is not the same thing as saying that hunger is the direct cause of that conflict. This is an important weakness in the argument put forward by the development camp of the human security debate. A second problem identified by McFarlane and Khong is related to prioritizing. Security is about priorities, something that is labeled as a security issue is supposed to have some urgency and thus becomes a priority. The problem comes when Human Security attaches the security label to everything and thus everything becomes a priority. This may be useful as a policy advocacy tool in order to compete for scarce resources but it is not very helpful for policy making. In addition to that some branches of the development camp have identified other security fields such as group and community security. This presents a logical problem since Human Security is by definition people-centered and by placing the security label on a group, be it religions or an

ethnic minority, you are prioritizing the needs of that group over those of the rest of the population. If all individuals are secured equally, at least theoretically, then there is no need to secure groups which are collections of individuals. McFarlane and Khong recognize that this problem is most salient at the theoretical level and that the contradictions previously discussed seemed to be ignored or simply not perceived by supporters and activists in favor of Human Security.

The final contribution made by McFarlane and Khong is that they discuss the dark side of Human Security. They bring up the topic of policy entrepreneurship and policy advocacy. Human Security is being used as a way to promote a diverse and sometimes completely disconnected set of issues. As previously mentioned, the security label carries a sense of urgency and this can be used as a way to fight for the attention and resources, especially funding, of major international actors, such as governments, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, etc. Interest groups, mostly policy advocacy groups, fight to put their issues on the international agenda and one way of doing this has been using the security label and thus connecting issues previously considered to be part of “low politics” to the “high politics” of international security.

Another study at the theoretical level that was reviewed is that by Paris (Paris, 2001). His study of the concept human security as a viable paradigm is very useful in that it places the concept in the security field. In other words it compares the scope of the concept of Human Security to other fields in security studies. Paris criticizes the all-encompassing nature of Human Security and its ambiguity regarding the identification of a securitizer. After a detailed analysis of Human Security, Paris summarizes his argument by means of a diagram which represents the field of

security studies. The conclusion of this study is that Human Security is not a real paradigm but rather an appropriate label for those security studies dealing with non-conventional threats and alternative visions of security. It is important to note that most of his arguments coincide with those of McFarlane and Khong while Paris ignores the possible use of human security as a policy advocacy tool.

Hough's recent book on global security is worthy of mention since it takes an alternative view of security as its starting point. *Understanding Global Security* includes a large section on economic threats to security and subsections on food security, economic sanctions, and modernization, among others (Hough, 2004). It is also noteworthy that economic security is considered by the author as equally important to other forms of more conventional security. Hough also does a very good job in connecting economic security to other fields of security in order to give a better view of the interdependent nature of security. In relation to the present study the most useful part of the book is that which deals with the perceptions of the dominant schools of international relations regarding economic security. Hough discusses how Marxists, economic liberals, and mercantilists deal with economic security (Hough, 2004). This understanding is useful as a theoretical starting point in order to understand the motifs behind the decisions of policy makers of the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, and those of NGOs and other civil society actors.

In order to get a clear idea of the impact of the concept of human security on other related fields such as conflict resolution it was necessary to review a source dealing with the major trends in this field. Ramsbotham's *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* was very helpful in this respect (Oliver Ramsbotham, 2006). This study connects the early origins conflict resolution to those of peace studies and most

importantly to those of the concept of positive peace. The previously mentioned concept has a lot in common with human security and substantive rights. Those similarities have greatly influenced the development of conflict resolution and slowly this has led to an emphasis on deep prevention and long term solutions to the causes of conflict. The influence of human security can also be seen in the emphasis placed on prevention and long term peacebuilding. As Ramsbotham *et al.* states "third-generation peacekeeping can be understood as a component of a broader and emancipatory theoretical framework centered on the idea of collective human security, in turn situated within emergent institutions and processes of global cosmopolitan governance" (Oliver Ramsbotham, 2006). This study is important and useful in that it depicts how the human security approach is actually being implemented and also served as a guideline to judge how ODA for peacebuilding and conflict prevention is being used.

On a more regional level several sources were reviewed so as to get a clearer view of some of the issues related to human security in the Asia Pacific Region. *Common Security in Asia New Concepts of Human Security* (Chen, 1995), *Promoting Human Security in APEC*, and *Asia's Emerging Regional Order: Reconciling Traditional and Human Security* all fall into this regional category. The first is useful in that it shows the early origins of the concept from the older concept of common security and raises some important concerns in the region. The collection of position papers in this edited book represent a range of views regarding Human Security and attest to the vague and contested nature of the concept in Asia. Some of the most significant conceptual debates revolved around the issue of group and individual rights. Chen's article is especially useful as a conceptual guide to what is covered by

human security (Chen, 1995). In terms of the present study the most useful piece of information from this study is that related to Japanese ODA during the late 1990s. "Incorporating the argument for political conditionality that ties economic aid to democracy, Japan in 1992 made clear in one of the four principles of ODA that "along with the promotion of democratization in developing countries and efforts to introduce market-based economies, sufficient attention should be paid to the creation of conditions that secure basic human rights" (Chen, 1995). Keizo Takemi's paper on Japan's perspective on Human Security gives a good overview of some of the contentious issues that could be encountered when dealing with its neighbors such as ODA conditionality and the promotion of a free-market (Chen, 1995). The second study dealing with Human Security and APEC deals with the point of view of Japan's neighbors, mostly ODA recipients (Patcharawalai Wongboonsin, 2006). The interesting thing about this study is the clearly different view it takes on human security. This is evident in that the papers included in this edited book tend to emphasize group and community security over individual security and human rights (Patcharawalai Wongboonsin, 2006). Some issues are raised about the dangers of neo-liberal policies and the economic insecurity they can create. This is very important when dealing with Japan and its ODA and investment policies in the Asia Pacific region and more specifically in Southeast Asia. This study was used as a starting point so as to understand some of the negative effects of Japanese ODA and investment policies in Southeast Asia from the point of view of those states. The third source under this regional category deals with the meeting point between Human Security and conventional security (William T. Tow, 2000). This is very important in a region that still values conventional state security above all else and thus finding a meeting

point between the two of those views is a good starting point towards gradually moving to a more human security friendly approach. Chen's paper is especially useful in this respect since it covers the difficulties in Asianizing the concept of Human Security. Chen stresses the fact that most Asian states zealously guard their sovereignty and reject any kind of intervention be it economic, financial, or military. According to Chen this was clearly seen when Thailand promoted the concept of "flexible engagement" with Myanmar in ASEAN and this was rejected by Malaysia and Indonesia as not following the ASEAN way (William T. Tow, 2000). This small step towards Human Security was rejected by the majority of the members of ASEAN which shows that implementing a human security approach in Southeast Asia is a very delicate and problematic task. The present study took this into consideration when analyzing Japan's ODA help to this region.

Another necessary level of analysis when trying to understand Japan's human security policy, especially that related to ODA and the UN Fund for Human Security, is that of the normative national level. In other words, this level of analysis tries to understand the major social norms present in Japan which may in some degree influence its perception of the concept of Human Security. A good start in this respect is provided by Dore's study on Japan's internationalism (Dore, 1997). This is a major social norm in Japan which favors a UN centered foreign policy. Dore traces this to the end of WWII and the resulting aversion of war by the Japanese public. This anti-militaristic ethos then placed the burden of security on the United Nations and the hope that global common security could be achieved. Dore is extremely optimistic about the benefits of a UN centered foreign policy but at the same time includes the views of Japanese intellectuals who differ from his views. Some of the great problems

in Japanese society are covered by his book such as Japan's place in the world, participation in Peace Keeping Operations, and the kind of role Japan should play in the Asia Pacific Region. The major contribution to the proposed thesis is that it deals with a usually ignored aspect of foreign policy, social norms. Social norms are especially important factors when dealing with Japanese foreign policy and most importantly with ODA. Dore includes the results of several opinion polls so as to support his observations about Japanese public opinion that show a growing internationalism among the general population. The general observations and some of the opinion polls he includes in his study were useful so as to explain why the Japanese government and the majority of the population believe in the necessity and primacy of ODA as an integral part of its foreign policy.

Trinidad's quantitative analysis of Japan's ODA disbursement patterns in Southeast Asia provided a very useful starting point regarding macroeconomic trends (Trinidad, 2007). The methodology used in Trinidad's study was mostly quantitative and included such things as analysis the composition of aid packages to members of ASEAN. The analysis included a look into the proportion of grant aid compared to loans disbursed to Southeast Asia. In addition to that Trinidad also took into consideration other factors such as the political stability of the target beneficiary and the level of economic development. Trinidad's analytical framework revolves around the twin strategies of "spending" vs. "earning" through the use of ODA. He contends that Japan has historically followed an "earning" strategy while several recent trends reveal that its policy is moving towards a "spending" strategy. One of the important observations made by Trinidad is that historically Japan's ODA policy was the result of a balancing of power between the Ministry of the Economy, Trade and Industry

(METI) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) (Trinidad, 2007). Trinidad contends that the former was dominant during most of the second half of the twentieth century while MOFA started to gain primacy after the Gulf Crisis. METI promoted the “earning” strategy while MOFA favored the “spending” strategy. In addition to identifying the previous ministries as mayor forces behind the use of ODA, Trinidad also claims that domestic pressure favors the “earning” strategy while the international community favors the “spending” strategy. It is clear that while Trinidad’s dichotomies facilitate understanding they tend to oversimplify Japan’s ODA policy. First of all, it is not always clear how to divide “earning” from “spending” strategies when dealing with ODA since some strategies may have an “earning” potential in the mid and long terms. In addition to that Trinidad makes the logical fallacy of equating “spending” with humanitarian concerns. This is not always the case since a “spending” strategy may have as its goal the increase of a state’s relative power in the international system of independent nation-states or the protection of a favorable balance of power. In other words, it is overly simplistic to equate one with the other. Even assuming that the parallel is appropriate, Trinidad’s cold quantitative methodology provides mixed results. His correlation analysis of the disbursement of ODA in Southeast Asia compared to GNI per capita provides two main results. Most ODA is still devoted to strategic states such as Indonesia and economically important ones such as Thailand (Trinidad, 2007, p. 111). The increase in loans to Vietnam shown by Trinidad’s study can simply reflect the country’s economic potential in the eyes of Japan. Finally, Trinidad predicts that Japan will continue to move towards a “spending” strategy based on humanitarian concerns and human security. The present dissertation will attempt to complement Trinidad’s study

with a much need qualitative aspect and a detailed discursive analysis in order to contradict his prediction.

The second step towards a better understanding of Japan's view of Human Security is that of secondary sources dealing with it. A good starting point was Wah's article on Japan's movement towards human security (Wah, 2003). This article gives a very optimistic view of Japan's foreign policy regarding this new paradigm and traces Japan's early moves to support it. It concentrates on Japan's role in establishing the UN Commission on Human Security and its Fund. The article also stresses the pivotal role played by some Japanese nationals such as former Prime Minister Obuchi and Sadako Ogata present co-chair of the Commission for Human Security and former High Commissioner for Refugees. The article gives a very superficial rosy picture of Japan's Human Security centered foreign policy but provides a good starting point regarding the general characteristics of this approach.

Hook's detailed analysis of Japanese foreign policy was the next logical step so as to understand some of the more technical aspects of Japan's foreign economic policy. Her account of Japanese foreign policy proved to be useful in that it covered major issues systematically, deconstructing them into structure, agency, and norms. While those divisions are artificial they are very helpful in understanding the diverse set of constraints and opportunities involved in Japanese policy making. She also gives a brief account of Human Security but tends to avoid using this paradigm as the central part of her argument, probably because of the loose and vague nature of the concept. However she does mention that it could potentially become the core of Japanese foreign policy (Glenn D. Hook, 2005). Hook also gives a very detailed account of how Japan uses its economic power as an important diplomatic tool and

how this takes place in a very organized and planned manner. Her careful analysis of Japan's ODA policy was very helpful for this thesis.

So as to understand the importance of agency in Japan's policy-making process two other secondary sources were reviewed. The first is that by Togo. As a long time member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs he gives an insiders view of Japan's policy making process. It is also interesting that as a former diplomat he stresses the importance of ODA as a diplomatic tool for Japan (Togo, 2005). Togo also gives a very good account of the conflicting views over ODA held by different government ministries and their respective roles in coming up with a cohesive foreign policy. As a neo-realist, Togo tends to imply that Human Security is mostly used as a policy advocacy tool in order to further national interests. This is important in that he gives a very different picture of the reasons behind ODA compared to that of official government statements. His account will be used by this study in order to try to understand the impact of Human Security on Japan's ODA policy.

A similar account of Japanese foreign policy can be found in former Prime Minister Nakasone's recommendations for the 21st century (Nakasone, 2002). This book is a combination of policy recommendations and of Nakasone's personal views on how Japan went about making policy. His insider account of foreign policy making during the late 1980s is very useful when it comes to understanding the motivations behind the use of ODA by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. In addition to that as a member of the Diet Nakasone continues to be a part of the policy making process in Japan and thus has a very clear idea of the way in which his fellow diet members view ODA. It should be noted that Nakasone also considers ODA to be an important part of Japanese foreign policy and recommends that it should continue to be an integral part

of it. This study will be useful in the proposed thesis as a way to discern the true reasons behind the use of ODA and also some of the interest groups and factions involved in the process of allocating ODA.

Once one has a general idea of Japan's foreign policy regarding Human Security and ODA it is necessary to go into more detail and look at the official stance of the government regarding these issues. This is done by reviewing official government documents such as official statements and government reports. This is an integral part of the present thesis which concentrates on the distance between official discourse and actual implementation. The starting point when it comes to foreign policy is the diplomatic Bluebook. This gives a general account of Japan's foreign policy divided by regions and issues. The latest edition available to the public is that of 2006. Four chapters are especially pertinent for the proposed thesis. The introduction gives a general overview of Japan's general foreign policy goals and policies. This chapter summarizes some major trends in economic policy and also mentions the importance of human security (MOFA, 2006f). The second chapter deals with Japan's regional diplomacy and includes the section on Southeast Asia. This section covers Japan's trade and ODA with those countries and how it fits in the general diplomatic goals set by the government. In general as expected from a government report, it gives a very optimistic overview (MOFA, 2006d). Finally the most important chapter dealing with ODA is chapter three. This section provides a detailed account of the amount, distribution, and goals of the ODA given by Japan. For the present study on Japan's ODA and Human Security this was very useful when dealing with actual figures and their distribution. The report also tries to provide an explanation of why the government allocated that ODA and how it was supposed to

be used (MOFA, 2006e). A complementary chapter is that on Human Security. This section tends to be very general but tries to connect other policy areas to the concept of Human Security. Thus it is very helpful in discourse analysis since it provides the justification of actual policies like ODA using the Human Security framework (MOFA, 2006b). A related source is the web page of the UN Fund for Human Security (MOFA, 2007). This Fund was established by the Japanese government as a channel through which it could promote the human security approach. Japan is trying to channel funds through this Fund and thus to justify its support for this paradigm. The web page has a good database of projects implemented by the Fund and a short explanation for each on how the human security approach was applied. Therefore this web page can be considered to be an important source of official discourse at the international level and as a way the Japanese government is trying to achieve greater visibility and mainstreaming for its view of human security.

Another set of sources is that dealing with official statements or speeches delivered by prominent members of the Japanese government on issues related to ODA and Human Security. One example is a speech given by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Taro Aso on Japan's economic diplomacy (Aso, 2006). In this press conference Minister Aso gives an overview of how Japan uses economic tools to further its diplomacy. Aso also attempts to give rational reasons for the use of ODA as a diplomatic tool and stresses the importance of doing so with clear goals in mind. In other words he states that ODA should be the means not the ends. This kind of policy position paper is very useful for the proposed study because it represents the government's official discourse and sets the standard against which actual implementation will be measured. Another similar example is that by Ambassador

Yukio Takasu dealing with Japan's position regarding Human Security, and more specifically with attempting to find a clear definition for the concept (Takasu, 2006). The Ambassador of Japan in Charge of Human Security states Japan's position on this issue as one that stresses the necessity to keep the concept broad and flexible and to concentrate on furthering its implementation rather than on reaching an agreement on a common definition. This official government statement is useful for the proposed study because it helps assess and identify Japan's position regarding the contested concept of Human Security.

At this point it is important to explain the results of the literature review. In terms of the issue in question of Japan's official discourse on Human Security and its implications on ODA, there is clearly no study in this area. Most studies tend to concentrate on the concept in general and do not go into its actual implementation or lack of it. In addition to that another gap is that no studies have been encountered which assess the gaps between discourse and implementation especially regarding the human security approach and ODA.

2.2 A Brief Overview of Japan's Development

In order to understand Japan's present we must look back. Development is a process that does not happen in a social and historical vacuum. Thus, several present tendencies and characteristics of Japan can be traced back to important historical events. One of the most important of those is that of Japan's peculiar form of Internationalism. This concept is very important since it directly influences perceptions of peace and more broadly the field of Conflict Resolution. In addition to that some of the strongest forces behind policy formation are societal norms. In the

case of Japan there are some important norms that come to mind such as “developmentalism”, “economism”, “pacifism”, “internationalism”, and “historical guilt”. In addition to those basic Japanese societal norms there are other very important historical factors that must be taken into consideration in any analysis of Japan’s foreign relations. One such factor is the nature of Japan’s post-war development experience. This is a very important factor when trying to understand why Japan followed the path it did and it also helps explain why Japan acts in certain ways in the international stage. In other words, in the same way the individuals are shaped by their experiences, communities and societies are also influenced by what Carl Jung called their “collective unconscious”. There are a few theories in social psychology that apply basic rules of the behaviorist paradigm to society as a whole. They include “archetypes” and meme theory. While they present some differences they have one important thing in common and that is that the rules of behaviorist learning through experience can be applied to society. Japan’s post-war experience was unique to say the least. The country went from imperial greatness to poverty and destruction. Japan became the first and only country to suffer a nuclear attack and then was reconstructed by what were considered by many to be “merciful conquerors”. The international community, especially the West, gave its support for the rapid reconstruction of Japan. Finally, Japan found itself as the first non-western country to achieve economic development. All of those important events shaped Japan’s collective personality and thus a detailed look at Japan’s history, especially development history, is necessary in order to understand Japan’s behavior towards ODA and foreign policy as a whole. The question then is how far back is it necessary to look in order to have a clear idea about Japan’s development? There is no clear

answer to this. Some scholars claim, especially economists, that one must look at Japan's Post-war period as a starting point. Historians usually tend to include so many factors that they end up looking back as far as the migration to Japan by the Yamato people. In this study, we will take a middle point, the Meiji Period (1868-1912) (Olenik, 2005).

The Meiji Period was the beginning of a new era in Japan. It was the end of the feudal period and the beginning of the drive to catch up and compete with the West. The young leaders of the time quickly dismantled feudal states and other traditional institutions in order to mobilize the entire nation towards industrialization. The parallel is amazing when one compares this period to the occupation and the early post-war period. Another important point is that Japan adopted a constitution for the first time in 1889 (Olenik, 2005). Patrick Smith describes this period as one of profound change and expectation (Smith, 1997). Japan was on its way to joining the Western Power in the imperial project. In other words, the governing elite decided that it was time for Japan to open up to the West and to try to compete with it. The philosophy behind this parallels that of post-war Japan, in that the goal was adopt Western technology but at the same time to keep the spirit behind it Japanese. This concept was partly embodied in the catch phrase of the time: *fukoku-kyohei*, "rich country-strong army" (Olenik, 2005). From a policy perspective the most important reforms during this period dealt with the centralization of the bureaucracy and the establishment of the Imperial Universities. This was the birth of Japan's *iron triangle*, the bureaucracy, the government, and business. The three cooperated for the industrialization of Japan building modern railways and factories. It should be noted that Japan's government at the time was the guiding force of the project and that

consensus and cooperation between the three ends of the iron triangle were expected at every stage. The model that was followed at the time, was that of Prussia, guided by Prince Otto von Bismarck.

Another important event of the era was Japan's invasion of Taiwan and Korea and finally gaining control of the former from China. Japan also signed a security treaty with the United Kingdom and joined the allied side during World War I. After the war Japan was allowed to keep the former German colonies in the region as mandates. This is important because Japan became the first modern non-western empire.

This period was followed by an interesting interlude, that of the Taisho democracy. This period which lasted until 1926 was marked by an increase in democratic practices. Elections were held and a certain amount of civilian control took place. Political parties developed and more debate and discussion was present than ever before. This improvement was dependent however on the wishes of those holding real power behind the scenes. This led to the rapid militarization of the pre-war period.

Many factors led to this. One of the most important ones was the rise in nationalism at home and the power vacuum left by a weak China. In addition to this Japan needed raw-materials for its industries. As a country poor in natural resources it was compelled to buy them abroad. This made Japan very dependent on external conditions. This was specially the case with oil. At the time Japan bought most of its oil from the United States, as Japan expanded its empire to Southeast Asia and other regions the United States and its allies started to protest and threatened Japan with cutting off supplies. This was considered to be an important threat for the survival of

Japan. This same question of getting enough raw-materials and natural resources has been the question that has plagued Japanese development since its beginning. The answer provided at the time was war and the foundation of the Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. This was Japan's attempt to build a sphere of influence such as that enjoyed by the United States in the Caribbean at the time. The Japanese leadership wanted to secure access to badly needed resources. This attempt is also significant in that it shows Japan's ambiguous position towards the rest of Asia. At the time Japan viewed the rest of Asia as brothers but somehow inferior brothers who had to be liberated for the good of Japan. This explains in part the atrocities committed by Japanese troops during World War II. Three important events to note here are the use of thousands of comfort women to entertain troops during the war, the treatment of Koreans during colonial times, and the rape of Nanjing.¹

The war eventually drew to an end with the dropping of the two atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This event is probably the most important factor in explaining Japan's present day Internationalism and Peace movements. In 1945 Japan surrendered and General Douglas McArthur started reforming Japan. An important event that occurred at the time was the Emperor's speech over the radio. He declared that he was not a god. Thus in 1946 Hiroito became the first emperor to be considered officially human. This was the beginning towards a drive away from nationalism and the decoupling of religion and state.

The occupation period was a very important one for the modern development of Japan. General Allied Headquarters set about to rebuild and reform the country. The early years of the occupation are especially important. Several reforms were

¹ Note: This period is very important when trying to understand Japan's human rights record and its policy of low profile.

introduced. The education system was reformed in order to eliminate some of the previous practices of indoctrination and emperor worship that took place before the war. Land reform was introduced and large states were broken up and the land was given to small farmers. This controlled civilian unrest and made more land productive. Land-lords were compensated and went on to invest that money in industry. This was one of the most successful reforms introduced. From a social point of view General McArthur had the following idea of Japan. "Measured by the standards of modern civilization , they would be like a boy of twelve as compared with our development of forty-five years" (Smith, 1998). This is what McArthur told the senate in 1951 about the state of Japan at the time. This reflects the asymmetry which lasts to this day in most of Asia between social and material modernization.

Another important aspect was the introduction of the Peace Constitution of 1947 and its historic Article 9 which renounces the sovereign right to wage war as a diplomatic tool. This was originally strongly supported by the United States in an effort to prevent the pre-war militarism from ever happening again. The constitution was basically drafted by American advisors with heavy input from McArthur himself. However the draft was submitted for approval to a group of Japanese law-makers in order to guarantee support and compliance from the public. The constitution declared that power resided in the people not the emperor and that the emperor was merely a symbol of the unity of the people. This is very important since it set a strong base for Japan's democratic future.

Nevertheless, the most important single article of the constitution is Article 9.

“CHAPTER II: RENUNCIATION OF WAR

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. 2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized” (Japan, 1946). This article has become the center of debate over Japan’s foreign policy. The significance of this Article will be explained at a later section of this paper but it is important to note that this restriction limited Japan’s options in term of foreign policy.

As the Cold War was beginning, the United States, changed its policy towards Japan. They needed Japan as a strong ally against the communist block and because of this the process of breaking up the huge business conglomerates was abandoned and other equally important reforms such as the purge of former war-time bureaucrats was also discontinued in favor of a more pragmatic approach. “The Reverse” course intended to help Japan industrialize as fast as possible in order to support the United States in the region.

This was initially done through import-substitution and strong protectionist measures. The United States allowed Japanese products access to its market while American products did not have access to the Japanese market to the same extend. This unequal relationship was very beneficial for Japan and in a single decade the period of reconstruction was over. It is important to note that Japan also received a lot of American aid and its economy got a boost during the Korean War. Japan supplied most of the equipment used by the American army in this war due to logistical reasons.

Japan then continued its shift towards an export-oriented economy. The growth experienced by Japan in the post-war period was exponential. The average growth rate from 1950 to 1965 averaged 10 percent annually. The growth in GNP is equally impressive. In 1946 the GNP was of \$1.3 billion and it kept rising until in 1968 it reached \$167 billion (Olenik, 2005). This unprecedented growth brought many changes to the island nation. Japan was an industrialized nation by the end of the 1960s.

The 1960s and 70s were marked by a “low-posture” diplomatic stance. This was promoted by Premier Ikeda Hayato (1960-1964) (Olenik, 2005). Japan’s diplomatic stance reflected both internal and external conditions. The United States had signed a security treaty with Japan right after the end of the occupation and thus had taken the responsibility of protecting Japan and the region from communism. In addition to this, Japan wanted to concentrate on economic growth under the umbrella of the American army (Aoi, 2000). The implications of Japan’s “low-posture” diplomatic stance will be discussed in detail in later sections, for the time being it will suffice to say that Japan was reverting to its 1880’s policies. During this time the iron-triangle of the bureaucracy, government, and business was firmly established and was to remain the single most important power arrangement until it began to crumble in the late 1990s.

Japan faced some unrest in the 1970s due to the automatic renewal of the U.S.-Japan security treaty and due to some of the externalities of economic growth. This was the time of the student protests and also the rise of the environmental movement in Japan.

These two issues will be discussed in greater detail at a later time but it should be noted that the 1970s were a very important time in policy making. In 1972 Okinawa was returned to Japanese control by President Nixon.

This period also saw a growing trade tension between the West and Japan. The growing surplus in trade was starting to affect the West and in addition to that, Japan's protectionist policies were considered to be unfair. This is the period when the Japanese auto-industry rose to world prominence. Japanese business practices also became famous for their efficiency. Fordism gave way to Toyotism. All of these successes helped Japan reach its peak by the end of the 1980s.

The 1990s were not as successful for Japan. The reasons for this are many but one of the most important ones is that Japan was forced to lift its protectionist barriers to trade. This took away Japan's trade advantage over the West. Increasing competition from the West was made even worse by the rising Tigers in Asia. Japan found itself having to outsource some of its production abroad due to wage differentials. This shift in policy came to its climax in the 1997-1998 financial crisis. The same practices that had been praised as the reasons for Japan's economic success were now blamed for its failure. Globalization was changing the rules of the game and Japan's rigid system based on the iron-triangle seemed incapable of coping with the new conditions. This led to a swift change in direction. The Liberal Democratic Party started to promote neo-liberal policies such as deregulation and privatization in order to cope with the global market. These new policies have been able to stabilize the economy but have had many negative social consequences such as rising unemployment and rising insecurity.

2.1.1 A Historical Overview of Japan's Post-war Foreign Policy

Japan's foreign policy has been shaped by its experience during and after World War II. Japan's emphasis on economic security arguably led to World War II and has been an important driving factor behind its post-war foreign policy (Smith, 1997). Japan has very limited natural resources and the process of industrialization made matters even worse since fuel and other natural resources become increasingly important. Thus Marx's historical materialism may provide a satisfactory explanation for Japan's pre and post war behavior. In addition to that, Japan was the first modern Asian empire and thus it had the experience of a colonial power. During this time Japan's role in Asia was very ambiguous. Japan wanted to join the West in terms of technology and imperial power but at the same time it realized that culturally and geographically it belonged to the East. This paradox was evident during the War. Japan presented itself as the liberator of Asia from Western imperialism while at the same time imposing its own imperialism. One good example of the ideology of the time is presented in the classic animated movie *Momotaro's Sea Eagles* and *Momotaro's Divine Sea Warriors* (Feigenblatt, 2006, p. 3). The previously mentioned propaganda clips were commissioned by the Ministry of the Navy in 1944. They both had a similar story line in which the Peach Boy had a group of friends, animals. The Peach Boy represented Japan and the animals represented the rest of Asia. The Peach Boy and his animal friends had to fight against the evil Western Powers. In a moving yet disturbing scene Momotaro teaches his animal friends how to speak by singing the famous AIUEO song. The message is clear. The group of animals and Momotaro represent the East Asia Co-prosperity sphere. The hierarchy implied in the relationship is also evident. Japan is supposed to lead its inferior Asian brothers

against the Western Imperialists. Thus the tone was set for the events that came about during the War. Non-Japanese Asians were thus dehumanized and great injustices were done in the name of defending Asia. A clear example of this ambiguity was Japan's role in Indonesia. Japan invaded the former Dutch colony with the excuse of liberating the fellow Asian country from European domination. However, the short lived period of co-operation between the Japanese conquerors and the Indonesians soon became a standard relationship between that of conqueror and conquered. The Japanese used the rhetoric of Asia for the Asians while at the same time subjecting their fellow Asians to their rule and using them for strategic reasons. This ambivalent colonial experience explains Japan's post-war relationship with Indonesia and the rest of Asia for that matter. While Japan used language that empowered fellow Asians to rise against the West, it also subjected them to incredible suffering. Some of the atrocities still remembered by the rest of Asia are Japan's use of forced comfort women and the many massacres such as the infamous "rape of Nanking".

Another important factor in Japan's history was that defeat was very traumatic. The end of the war was marked by the use of two atomic bombs and an equally traumatic event, the presence of foreign invaders in Japanese soil. Needless to say, those events were very shocking to Japan and led to a period of deep reflection (Olenik, 2005; Smith, 1997; Togo, 2005). Japan had to redefine its place in the world and most importantly had to come to terms with its actions during and before the War. In addition to the previously mentioned issues, there was another very important one related to the treatment the defeated empire was to receive from the victorious allies. The Japanese were surprised to see how merciful the conquerors were and while there were obvious selfish reasons behind their actions it was undeniable that Japan

received a lot of help from the international community for its reconstruction (Olenik, 2005; Smith, 1997; Togo, 2005). As was already described in a previous section of this dissertation the American occupation brought about many changes in Japanese society but the most important aspect was that Japan's ability to defend itself was left mostly under the responsibility of the United States. The previously mentioned experience led to placing Japan's faith in the United Nations (Dore, 1997). The common security provided by the international organization became one of Japan's pivotal norms in international relations.

Now let us look at Japan's postwar reconstruction and reparations. This is very important because it became the blueprint that Japan was to follow for its own ODA. After the War, the United States became the most important provider of ODA to Japan (Togo, 2005). ODA at the time was provided for two main purposes. The funds provided by the Government and Relief in Occupied Areas was meant to be used to tackle immediate needs (Togo, 2005, p. 318). This included humanitarian aspects such as providing food and medicine. Concurrently the Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas provided funds for longer term development. The funds provided were used to secure needed raw materials and other aspects of industrial production. The aid provided by the United States from 1946 to 1951 amounted to around \$2 billion (Togo, 2005, p. 319). Japan decided that it was better to repay the aid provided by the United States and it was repaid by 1973.

By the end of the occupation Japan was receiving aid through the World Bank. Japan received aid from 1953-1966 for 33 projects. The total aid received amounted to \$863 (Togo, 2005, p. 319). Most of the funds were used for large infrastructure projects such as the first *shinkansen* and dams. Other projects were used for industrial

infrastructure that later on became the foundation of Japan's rise to industrial greatness (Glenn Hook, 2005; Nakasone, 2002; Olenik, 2005; Togo, 2005). Thus Japan received aid for both immediate needs and for long term development. This explains Japan's emphasis on a twin track approach to ODA. In addition to that Japan realizes the importance of the aid it received for its economic success. It was only natural for Japan to apply the lessons learned from its own experience to its own ODA to Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Finally, it is important to note that Japan has always placed an emphasis in Southeast Asia for ODA purposes. This is due to several obvious reasons. First of all, there is the aspect of geographic proximity. Second there is Japan's need for natural resources and more recently cheap labor. Finally, some of those countries control important trade routes which are vital to Japan (Trinidad, 2007). In other words, there are several geoeconomic imperatives for Japan's emphasis on Southeast Asia. There is another important aspect that is that related to cultural affinity. This factor is more debatable since even Japanese anthropologists and sociologists do not agree about where to place Japan from a cultural perspective (Duckitt, 2000).

In summary all of the previously discussed factors must be taken into consideration when analyzing Japan's ODA policy to Southeast Asia. Japan's foreign policy has historically been UN centered, shaped by the norm of "historical guilt", and finally has placed emphasis in East Asia. All of those factors both enable and constrain Japanese policy making and implementation.