



**JAPANESE
CIVILIZATION
INSTITUTE**

日本文明研究所

24-5 Sakuragaoka-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150-0031
Tel: 03-5456-8082 Fax: 03-5456-8388
Mail: info@japancivilization.org
<http://www.japancivilization.org/>

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On 21st August, the ninth symposium held by the Japanese Civilization Institute took place at the Japan University of Economics in Shibuya, Tokyo on the theme of “Realism and the Nation-state.” The panelists were journalist and commentator Soichiro Tahara, scholar of international politics Lully Miura, and author and director of the Japanese Civilization Institute Naoki Inose, who moderated the panel. During the two months since our last symposium, critical elections were held in Germany on 24th September, the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China convened in Beijing on 18th October, Japan’s House of Representatives was dissolved and a snap general election held, also in October. Meanwhile, North Korea still shows no signs of halting its development of more advanced ballistic missiles. The heated discussion at our 9th Symposium shed light on these and other vital issues facing Japan today, including the question of whether to preserve or alter Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, the possibility of instating military conscription, and the future of nuclear energy in Japan. Here we present just an extract of the lively discussion that took place.

(Reprinted from “*Shukan Dokushojin*,” November 3rd, 2017)

Greetings

Ms. Kimiko Tsuzuki—Chairperson of Japanese Civilization Institute

Thanks to the support of you all, I am happy to announce that the Japanese Civilization Institute is now in its third year and is holding its ninth symposium today. Recently, when we encounter unexpected heavy rain, we often call it “guerrilla rain,” but the word “guerrilla” in Spanish actually means “unpredictable.” When we look at our lives today, we can say that it is not merely the weather that seems unpredictable. Our lives, politics, economy, nation, and international affairs seem increasingly chaotic, and full of guerrilla-like situations. It is no exaggeration to say that we are heading toward an unpredictable era of unpredictability.

The Tsuzuki Group’s founder left us a book entitled, “*Wa-shite Nagarezu*” (Harmonize, but don’t flow). There is also one of the “ron-go” (Analects of Confucius) that reads, in Japanese: “*Wa-shite dozezu*” (Harmonize, but be unmoved).

How can we protect our national identity while still maintaining peace and harmony? How can we meet the challenges of this new era while preserving our identities and independence? Today we have once more invited Mr. Soichiro Tahara, together with Ms. Lully Miura, to address these complex questions from a global perspective. We look forward to hearing their wide-ranging opinions based on a realist view of the world. Please enjoy today’s panel to the very end.

“Is There an Operational Check & Balance Function in Japan Today?”

Toshio Goto, President

On my bookshelf at home there is an old tome entitled “*Fumetsu no Enzetsu*” (Immortal Speeches). In this book we are introduced to speeches by such notables as Yukio “Gakudo” Ozaki—known as the “God” of constitutional government in Japan—and Takao Saito—an unforgettable presence even today.

I am sure that many of you here today know about professor Gakudo Ozaki, who was famous for the many things he called for in his addresses. Today you can still find his statue standing near the Diet. Among those many speeches, I would like to introduce to you just one, that he gave in 1913. Ozaki that year delivered a well-known address calling for the impeachment of Prime Minister Katsura, declaring: “...I suspect they use the Imperial throne as a bulwark to defend themselves from attack by their political opponents, and use “*Shochoku*” (Imperial edicts) as political bullets with which to topple their opponents.” This aggressive address created a sensation, and led to the toppling of the third Katsura Administration of Prime Minister Katsura Taro. Apparently speeches played an important role in those days, enabling people to attack, even to bring down an entire administration.

Yet what about speech in Japan today? Both the media and the opposition parties are a disaster. Strong language, but we have to say what must be said. Is not democracy a political system that can only be created in an environment in which a decent, functional structure of checks and balances exists? While keeping the theme of today’s panel discussion in mind, I would like to ponder this point with all of you here today.

Realism and the Nation-state

What should Japan believe in, when a
new world order is in transition?

**Soichiro
Tahara**

(journalist)

vs.

**Lully
Miura**

(scholar of
international politics)

vs.

**Naoki
Inose**

(director of Japanese
Civilization Institute)

The Nation-state and Globalism

Inose: I believe that the nation-state is the most delicate model for a nation of any created in the 19th Century. It's a kind of system where there are tax payments, military conscription, and a Congress, to take but one example of a real-world nation-state, a system in which every citizen can take part and in which every citizen is responsible. It's the system of a nation in which any citizen can become a bureaucrat, and in which decisions are made by winning the majority of the votes in Congress.



Soichiro Tahara

Tahara: Yet President Trump has announced that he is “quitting globalism.” Instead, he’s insisting that the United States stick to being a “nation-state.”

Inose: Trump thinks that the nation-state model has collapsed due to globalism. There are also people in the U.K. who think that their sovereignty has been weakened by their participation in the EU, causing Britain as a nation-state to crumble, and Brexit (the U.K. voters’ referendum decision to leave the EU) to happen. Meanwhile, on the other side of the globe in China, there is still no “nation-state” at all.

Miura: The reason that there has been no other replacement for the nation-state since the 19th Century to today is that there is still no world government. Yet in reality, there are many individuals and companies that are working outside the realm of nation-state, resulting, for instance, in the inability of nation-states to collect taxes. Meanwhile, even within nation-states there are some people who are living peaceful lives, while others are forced to take on burdens that profoundly affect their lives, like joining the army.

As Mr. Inose said, taxation is the very basis of the nation-state. There’s

conscription, too, of course, but today let’s just talk about taxation. Taxation is a problem that all companies have to address when they start doing business overseas. These issues are not so familiar in Japan as they are in other countries yet, simply because Japan is not yet truly faced with full globalization.

Meanwhile, in the United States, they are finding it harder and harder to even define what is meant by “their people,” which is one of the reasons why their nation-state has begun to collapse. When the U.S. declared its independence and created a new nation, there were only 13 states. Since then, it has expanded its land area, tearing off parts of Mexico and increasing its number of states. And now, even after expanding its territory, huge numbers of new immigrants have come rushing in. The U.S. is finding it hard to distinguish who are “its own people” and who should be considered “outsiders.”

In this context, Trump has tried to control illegal immigration, and restrict the further acceptance of immigrants to one people who have high skillsets, like Canada and Japan do. He attempted to incontrovertibly define the U.S. border, and to control the number of immigrants that enter



Lully Miura

the country.

Then, after the U.S. has succeeded in clearly establishing that border, he then wants to share income within the United States. This is what the Republican Party call “tax reduction.”

Similarly, Trump thinks that “childcare support” is not about spending loads of money to build new nursery schools. Rather, he sees it as building U.S. competitiveness by deducting the total amount a family spends on education from their taxes when they file their tax returns.

The nation-state Trump envisages is by no means a challenge to globalization. Instead, he’s simply suggesting: let’s pause, draw a line on what has been going on so far, and rearrange things. That’s the way I see it.

Xi Jinping and today’s China

Inose: On 26th August, Liu Beixian, the former head of the Chinese News Service, was held and put under investigation. Just from this single news item alone, you can see how much Xi Jinping is suppressing freedom of speech in China. Mr. Tahara, you are a member of the Japan-China Journalist Exchange Meeting and you have spent time with Liu Beixian, haven’t you?

Tahara: Yes I have. Liu was the leader of the Chinese team. I founded the Japan-China Journalist Exchange Meeting, and we have been holding meetings once a year, alternating between Tokyo and Beijing in turns.

Inose: Liu Beixian didn’t seem to be opposed to the Chinese establish-

ment. So why was he arrested?

Tahara: Liu’s position in China was the same as, say, the president of Asahi Shimbun in Japan. I think the two most problematic societies in the world today are China and the U.S. Trump has had one of his most prominent supporters, Steve Bannon, submit his resignation. Meanwhile, in China, Xi Jinping has expelled Sun Zhengcai, who had been widely said to be the next contender for top leadership. Before that, Xi also arrested Bo Xilai, the influential governor of Chongqing.

Miura: I heard that Bo Xilai’s successor as governor of Chongqing has been arrested, too.

Miura: Having successfully gotten through the National Congress, China has now further strengthened its suppression on freedom of speech. The other day a TV station even asked me to comment on why images and messages of “Pooh” have been expunged from Chinese websites.

Inose: What do you mean by “Pooh?”

Miura: Winnie the Pooh! Some time ago, when President Obama met with Xi Jinping, images of Obama as Tigger, the tiger character from *Winnie the Pooh*, and Xi Jinping as Winnie the Pooh circulated widely on the Chinese Internet. That was before the party meeting, and China was on high alert for any kind of criticism directed at those in power. If you even search for the phrase “Xi Jinping” on the Internet in China, you’re immediately detected and investigated. That’s just how it is. So it’s only natural that Internet users might use secret words such as “pooh” to describe Xi.

It sounds absurd, yet riots begin in some unexpected place and spread in the blink of an eye in today’s information-driven society. In order to nip any such revolts in the bud, the Chinese authorities restricted the usage of the word “pooh.”

It’s often the case that these kinds of riots happen among people who are at the forefront. But then again, Chinese bureaucratic organizations like to try to read between the lines.

However, in reference to the arrest

of the former head of Chinese News Service that you just mentioned, there is no doubt at all that he supported the government. So what was the reason? Did he just say something wrong? Or perhaps he was in touch with the wrong kind of people inside the establishment?

Tahara: One of the things that strikes me when talking with Chinese executives is the fact that China will never give rise to an individual like Mikhail Gorbachev. It has been said that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dissolved because Gorbachev tried to embed freedom of speech in the USSR during the period of Perestroika. In other words, the one-party dictatorship of the Communist Party in China will never come to an end.

During the last days of Hu Jintao, when his administration was at the point of collapse, there were people who talked just that way, and I think Xi Jinping himself has a similar sense of crisis. Furthermore, Xi Jinping may well be intending to follow in the footsteps of Mao Zedong. Normally, his term would end in another five years. But perhaps he will continue in power for another ten years, or possibly remain at the top for the rest of his life, and kill anyone who gets in his way.

Miura: I think it’s natural that the Communist Party of China—or the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, for that matter—would be more busy worrying about the future of their party than they are worrying about the future of their nation. But Japan is, to some extent at least, a democratic nation, while China is a country dominated by single party and where there is no freedom of speech.

A country collapses when there’s no counter force, and its leader only thinks about himself. If we consider the future of the Chinese Communist Party, it’s better that Xi Jinping doesn’t become another Mao Zedong. I don’t know if Xi will in fact push that and try to become the next Mao. But at present, his only political rivals are within the CCP itself. I refer to the followers of Jiang Zemin.



Naoki Inose

If Xi Jinping doesn't defeat these followers, it has been said he won't last another five years. That's the state of things in China today.

Tahara: There's something that I said to the Chinese participants when I first launched the Japan-China Journalist Exchange Meeting. I told them: "China has liberalized its economy. However, the government is still dominated by a single party and no other effective parties exist, which creates an unbalance. I told them that if they liberalized the Chinese economy, they should liberalize the Chinese government, too. "Why can't you do that?" I asked them.

At first, they simply answered, "No way." But after a few discussions, they said they thought China should have multiple parties. Or, if it cannot have multiple parties, that it should at least democratize the CCP. And in order to do that, we people with the power of words at our disposal should make the effort. That was what they all said to me at the time.

Removing the Statue of General Robert E. Lee

Tahara: I frankly have no idea what President Trump is trying to do. However, because of his actions, among those American voters who say they support the Republican Party, 70-80% still favor Trump.

Miura: In August, there was an intense dispute over whether a statue of General Robert E. Lee, a South-

ern hero of the Civil War, should be removed [from a university campus in the state of Virginia that was his alma mater. Statues like this of Lee and other Confederate officers and politicians stand in various corners of the American South, like the statue of Takamori Saigo in Japan. Nonetheless, many people, mostly liberal Southerners, insisted that statue should be taken down because it was a symbol of slavery and racial discrimination.

In response, right wing Southerners there opposed the plan, saying that Lee was a hometown hero and his statue should not be removed.

Up to this point, it was all right. But then white supremacists from the North and across the South joined in and rushed to the scene. General Lee was an army commander of the Confederate States of America, but he doesn't necessarily represent racial discrimination. Rather, defenders of the statue argued, Lee was a historical figure in American history, who led the Confederate army when the South succeeded from the North and established the Confederacy.

Ultimately, this confrontation exploded in a riot. In addition, President Trump's own comment after the riot aroused further criticism. In his first comment, he clearly avoided criticizing counter-demonstrators who had attacked the demonstrators calling for the statue to be pulled down. But in his second comment, he did criticize them. In his third comment, he just lost his mind.

Nonetheless, opinion surveys after the incident showed that it hadn't really affected his approval rate among U.S. conservatives. His support rate was still at 67%, among conservative voters, a drop of only, say, 7% to 8%. And this was even after he fired Steve Bannon.

Tahara: Wasn't Bannon the member of Trump's team who was most opposed to removing General Lee's statue? If the incident didn't hurt Trump, why did he fire Bannon?

Miura: A person died in that riot. A little girl—the daughter of a human

rights activist—was killed by a right-wing counter-demonstrator. The incident reminded many Americans of the white supremacist group, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). That was simply unacceptable for some many American people.

Moreover, because the President essentially melted down in public on the subject during the press conference, there was anxiety among the Republican Congressional leadership that many core conservatives and business leaders might leave him. Therefore Trump had no choice but to sacrifice Bannon in order to maintain his public image. Even if the riot hadn't happened, it has been widely reported that there was a set plan in place to fire Bannon at the same time that he appointed a new White House Chief of Staff.

So Bannon is now out of power. But he has said that the Trump phenomenon that he supported and claims to have created himself is now complete. He's going to try and fight from the outside now.

The media misunderstands this point. They think that in the coming months hardline conservatives in the GOP will attack mainstream GOP conservatives, and that Trump will lose his support among right-wingers and eventually lose power altogether.

This is wrong. Bannon is going to fight from the outside to try and eliminate moderate Republican Party candidates who are opposed to Trump's policies during the primary elections for the Congressional mid-term elections a little over one year from now, and again as the next presidential elections a little over three years from now approaches. If far-right media like Bannon's Breitbart News get together with the alt-right and work together to eliminate moderate Republican candidates in the mid-term elections and next presidential election, it will ultimately work out in Trump's.

We must view all that is going on in U.S. politics now cynically. Realistically speaking, I think it is a mistake for liberals to make optimistic assumptions.

Inose: “Political correctness,” which proved effective in addressing some discrimination and prejudice, was a pervasive aspect of the Obama Administration. Even though in his own hometown General Lee represented a heroic military figure, rather than being seen as a symbol of opposition to the emancipation of black slaves, he nonetheless became a contentious phenomenon in a present-day dispute.

Tahara: Ms. Miura, I am sure that there are white people out there who do think they are superior to blacks and other races, but isn't there a general understanding in the United States today that it's unacceptable to express that?

Miura: I think that kind of feeling is difficult for Japanese people to understand. Of course they don't hate or fear black people. They see black people everyday, whenever they go shopping in supermarkets, for example. They shake hands and have conversations with them. But economic disparity is rooted in our race, and you can't avoid the differences this has caused in class.

To take one concrete example, you see virtually no black people at the racing circuits of NASCAR (National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing), America's largest motor sports association.

There are these underlying, unstated rules, and eventually some white people start saying that they don't want black people—in short, people who are not like themselves—using the tax money that they themselves paid.

In the end, it's all about taxes. In the third press conference, where Trump so notoriously had his melt down, he declared, “the racial issue is all about employment.” The liberal media thought this comment was absurd. They criticized Trump for being ignorant of the history behind racial discrimination.

Yet I personally think that there's some truth to his words. The racial issue is not only about whether people of different races can ride the same bus. It's ultimately about eco-

nomic disparity, which is causing class differentiation.

Inose: The racial issue is very deep-rooted. When Japanese and Chinese people immigrated to the U.S. West Coast before the war, just like the Mexican immigrants today they were accused of having come there to take over the country. They were Asian, so they were called “yellow.” Similarly, the people of the Mongol Empire were called “yellow face” when they invaded Europe.

The Japanese people, too, were feared as being “colored people” with an army when they defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. Meanwhile, Japan hoisted the flag of Pan-Asianism, insisting that they were fighting for justice by fighting off the powerful Western countries that were trying to invade Asia. We see this continuing up to and through the Pacific War.

How and why the Pacific War happened

Tahara: Japan informed England and France, members of the League of Nations, in advance that it was planning to invade Manchuria. When the Lytton Commission arrived in Mukden to investigate the Manchurian Incident, the Japanese government thought it would be criticized for occupying Manchuria, but it wasn't. In fact, the League of Nations moved to acknowledge Japan's occupation of Manchuria. It was the Kwantung Army (Japan's armed forces in Manchukuo) that ignored the big picture of international affairs and egoistically invaded Rehe Province, leaving Japan no choice but to exit the League of Nations.

Subsequently, in 1935, an English delegation visited Japan and asked the Japanese government to cooperate with England in helping fund the forces of China's Chiang Kai-shek, who was effectively broke. If you agree, they said, they would persuade Chiang Kai-shek to approve Japan's occupation of Manchuria.

The Japanese government moves to agree to this proposal but again the Japanese army, which by then had grown so powerful politically, once again disagrees. And this is how Japan becomes so isolated.

Inose: Ignore Chiang Kai-shek, correct? Konoe's so-called “Declaration of a New Order in East Asia”?

Tahara: That's right. It's a truly absurd story.

In fact, Konoe even formed the Showa Research Group, some of whose members – like Hotsumi Ozaki and Kiyoshi Miki – were close to being leftists. The group was opposed to the Sino-Japanese War, and when Konoe was then Prime Minister, they wanted to stop the war right away.

So Kouki Hirota actually asks Germany's Adolf Hitler to arrange a meeting for him, and he succeeds in meeting with Chiang Kai-shek in the company of the German ambassador to China, Oskar Trautmann. Just when this back-channel negotiation is about to succeed, the Japanese Army invades Nanjing. Moreover, arrogant members of the Japanese Army actually order Chiang Kai-shek to pay compensation to Japan. Chiang Kai-shek refuses. Because Konoe was a timid man, he did not want to be looked down upon by the Japanese Army, and gives his fateful order to ignore China's Nationalist Government.

Inose: America was keenly interested in the Pacific and China, so they were on the look out against Japan, a country that might ultimately join in the battle for those rights. It is this dispute that ultimately leads to the Pacific War.

Tahara: I personally prefer to believe in the theory put forward by Ms. Miura's professor, Junji Banno. Banno argues that as the Sino-Japanese War dragged on, the Americans became concerned that Japan might become a new Germany in Asia. So they felt the need to strike against Japan. It is in that sense that Banno says it was ultimately the Americans who in effect “started” the Pacific War.

Miura: The world maps that we use in Japan show Japan in the center of

the map, and the other countries of the world on both sides, correct? There was a study that came out some time ago, but according to it, the U.S. Navy at the time used the same kind of map that we Japanese still use today. In other words, when you look at the world using this kind of map, when you cross the Pacific Ocean from the U.S. West Coast, you first end up in the Philippines. There was actually a time when the United States occupied the Philippines, from its defeat of the Spanish in the Spanish-American War. It seems the U.S. Navy, at least, had already realized from the beginning of the 20th Century, that they needed to build up the military logistics to be able to cross and hold the Pacific.

Of course there was no air force at the time, so the only military force in the U.S. that rivaled the political influence of the navy was the U.S. Army. The army was looking at a world map that had America located in the center.

When you look at the world using this map, Japan is far, far away in the Far East. The U.S. Army badly wanted to cross the Atlantic first, because the Nazis of Germany seemed a far greater threat to them than did Japan. So at this point in time the American government and military were seeking a way to win the support of the people for crossing the Atlantic and joining the war against Germany. But they couldn't find a persuasive reason. Traditionally, Americans had never gotten involved in European wars. Even when WWI erupted and the U.S. finally sent troops, the war ended almost as soon as they reached Europe.

But then one day, a small country in the distant Pacific named Japan attacks Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. The American government was delighted that Japan had provided an incident that was so convenient for them to use. The attack galvanized the American public and Congress, and eventually America succeeded in joining the war in the Atlantic and the European theater.

In other words, America never

wanted a fight with Japan, but it just so happened that Japan gave it a convenient opportunity to join the war against Nazi Germany.

Inose: That's true. After all, even Perry only came to Japan after first crossing the Atlantic and Indian Oceans.

Japan wins the Russo-Japan War shortly after America occupies the Philippines and Guam and establishes its own military bases there. In that sense, it was true that Japan was becoming a potential threat to U.S. interests when they considered establishing U.S. supremacy in the Pacific. After all, in those days it would have taken the Americans 10 days to cross the Pacific and reach the Philippines. Japan was much closer, so naturally they regarded Japan to be a threat in the Pacific. This sense of a potential crisis in the making led America to prepare a contingency plan for the invasion of Japan called "War Plan Orange."

Of course America also wanted to secure its power over China, just like the other powerful European countries had. The Philippines and Guam were a kind of bridgehead for this plan, and they feared that Japan could invade them both at some point in the future.

Are the people responsible for protecting their nation?

Tahara: Changing the subject, Ms. Miura, is Japan truly a nation-state?

Miura: Yes. Japan is a nation-state. I am avoiding strict definitions, of course, but Japan is a homogeneous nation over which Japanese people have sovereignty.

Tahara: And yet, on 11th August, when I said on the TV program "*Asa-made TV!*" (TV Until Morning!) that "the people have the responsibility to protect their nation," most people disagreed.

Miura: They all had different reasons for opposing you, I expect. In

that panel discussion the phrase that you used, that the people "have the responsibility to protect one's nation" was equated with old indigenous Japanese notions like—"if Japan is ever invaded, it will fall into the sea and drop dead," or, "yet even so, we are going to stay in this land and die fighting."

I personally think that there might exist a moral obligation to protect one's country. Yet I don't think every individual has an inherent, legal responsibility to protect their country in the face of such a crisis.

Tahara: In that case, then, I have a question I would like to pose to you.

Japan possesses the right of self-defense. Who, then, is the one to "execute" self-defense?

Miura: Japan the nation is the one that executes self-defense if needed. The definition of war was decided long ago, when the Crusaders kept losing in battle in the Holy Lands, and numerous kings and knights began to think that perhaps they shouldn't decide to go to war just on the basis of following the voice of God. In other words, the head of the nation—at that time, usually the King—should declare war.

Since that time, all wars other than civil wars or private wars are declared by the head of the nation. In today's Japan, that individual would be the Prime Minister.

Tahara: Even so, Japan is a country where, under the Constitution, ultimate authority is vested in its people. So if the chosen leaders of the people decide to begin a war, in effect it is something that the people have decided, too.

Miura: Yet it remains a representative system. So the exercise of the people's authority is not direct?

Tahara: Yes. But the people who are executing political decisions are individuals who were chosen by the people through elections to represent them. So in effect, authority is still vested in its people. And that being the case, how can people say that it doesn't concern them?

Inose: You're saying—because elected officials represent the people,

their decisions become the people's decisions, correct?

Miura: If you look only at the system, that is the way it works. But when you are actually invaded, and you realize you are only armed with bamboo spears, whether you choose to fight or not depends on your own personal philosophy. Or so I think.

To rephrase the question, the nation exists to protect its people. When the nation proves unable to protect its people, do the people still have an obligation to remain loyal to their nation?

Tahara: A while ago, Mr. Shii, chairman of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), mentioned that the Self Defense Force should be dissolved in the future. When I asked him what we should do if an enemy invades our country, he replied, "If that happens, we'll have every citizen gather together and fight with what they've got." Exactly as Ms. Miura just said, it's all about bamboo spears!

Miura: I think that was probably just simply JCP rhetoric. I'm sure they wouldn't say the same thing if they ever assumed the reins of government.

Now, this is an important point, so I will return to what we were talking about earlier.

Individual people, one by one, do not have authority. But because authority is vested in "the people" as a whole, power is born when a majority is formed. We as a nation declared our commitment to pacifism so that small groups of people would not run out of control and make mistakes. That is why we have Article 9, paragraphs 1&2, of the Constitution.

Moreover, the allied powers demilitarized Japan after the end of the war. In other words, because Japan through its actions had seemed to be unaware of international law before the war, the allied powers now specifically wrote it down in the Constitution. They said there is a pact that is called an anti-war pact under which international law prohibits all war apart from defensive war. So don't you ever start a war again like people did back in the 19th Century, when

state leaders would suddenly just declare war? This is what is written down, again and again, in Article 9.

Tahara: If the Constitution was something forced upon Japan against its will by General Headquarters, why didn't successive prime ministers try to change?

Inose: When the Korean War erupted in 1950, GHQ ordered Japan to create what it called a "Police Reserve Force." This later evolved into today's Self Defense Force.

GHQ originally asked for a troop-strength of 300,000 for the Police Reserve Force, but Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida said Japan could only provide an armed force of of 75,000.

Why was that?

Firstly, because Yoshida didn't think the Korean War would end quickly. He thought the war would drag on and on, like the Sino-Japanese War had. If so, a large force of approximately 10,000 technically illegal Police Reserve Force troops might find themselves left behind on the Korean Peninsula. If that were to happen, they might start doing things that were not in line with decisions made by the central government in Tokyo.

Moreover, those troops might be exposed to socialists and state socialism and start supporting it, like some in Japan did before the war. They might even start off a war themselves. Yoshida feared that these kinds of things might happen, and so he limited the size of the Police Reserve Force.

Tahara: Shigeru Yoshida also said that Japan should revitalize its economy first, but once that had been achieved to a certain extent, he said Japan should also revise the Constitution. But why didn't subsequent Prime Ministers Ikeda, Sato, Tanaka and Nakasone mention revising the Constitution?

Inose: I think it became a kind of taboo. Nationalism is a kind of "potential power" that is produced whenever a nation-state is created. Japan expended its nationalism and its power during the war.

After the war, Japan replaced nationalism with pacifism. There were times when nationalism did raise its head again, in various different forms, such as when Rikidozan, the legendary pro-wrestler, delivered karate chops to the Sharpe brothers, or when huge anti-American demonstrations were organized by students opposed to signing of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty of 1960. Yet these flare-ups were like the ashes of the Pacific War being stirred up one last time. I think the belief in protecting our country by ourselves is gone altogether.

The Self Defense Force and nuclear plant workers

Tahara: About 20 years ago, when Germany was not yet unified, I had an opportunity to visit West Germany. They still had conscription in Germany at the time.

During a discussion I had with a West German scholar, I insisted that conscription was ridiculous. Both Germany and Japan have fundamental human rights, I told him. Doesn't the act of telling everyone to enter the army violate that?

The scholar answered that those who don't want to join the army didn't have to. Instead they could choose to care for the aged or take part in other private voluntary activities for the same period of time as military service. I had no reply to that.

Miura: Conscientious objection?

I believe what you are trying to say, Mr. Tahara, is that the Japanese people have been skimming the cream off the top. Am I right?

In other words, Japan started out by creating the Police Reserve Force, which later became the Self Defense Force. As a result, Japan now has one of the largest militaries in the world, yet its people have probably never once seriously even debated whether they have an obligation to protect their country or not. Is this what you have in mind?

Tahara: Japan's overall military

strength today is the 4th most powerful in the world. And the Japanese Maritime Self Defense Force comes in second among world navies.

Miura: Yes. And bearing that in mind, I would like to return to the basics, and say that a nation exists to protect its people.

We must never fight a war in which the aims and measures are wrong, and we have no obligation to obey the rules put forth by any nation that gets involved in such war. According to contract, a soldier may not abandon his weapon and flee from battle. But no less a figure than Thomas Hobbes said that it is wrong to hang a normal citizen just because he tried to run away from war.

A human being is granted only one life. Ever since I wrote "*Civilian's War: On the Origins of Aggressive Democracies*" (Civilian no Senso)," I have been arguing that a war that is decided by the majority but fought by a minority is wrong. That's why we should restrain ourselves when it comes to war. That is all I am trying to say.

But if that is the case, then why didn't the leaders of the Liberal Democratic Party revise the Constitution under the 1955 system, when they could have easily done so? Regarding Shigeru Yoshida, I think you're both right. However, Japanese left-wingers were still very powerful after the 1955 system.

Tahara: The left wing had considerable power until the 1980s.

Miura: Before the end of the Cold War, up until the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, Japan's leftists believed their philosophy was correct and never doubted it. But the Cold War ended in the Soviet Union's defeat and socialism collapsed. The left-wing's pride today lies in nationalism. They always believed nationalism was the identity that kept the weak afloat. But they lost their pride with the USSR's defeat.

Furthermore, it was the Japanese army and a conservative political administration that started the war, so they also had to regard nationalism to be wrong and evil. Ultimately, they turned to the pacifist post-war

Constitution as their anchor. Article 9 seemed to embody their ideals, and thus it has become their identity.

The fact that Prime Minister Abe has stressed that he only intends to add a third paragraph to Article 9 instead of revising the language of the existing two paragraphs shows that he understands that the identity of left-wing supporters rests on the current Constitution.

Tahara: I think that people on the left in Japan want to leave the Constitution completely alone. They don't want to see any changes made to it.

Inose: It's like they are under a curse, and cannot deviate from that one ideal. They aren't capable of thinking realistically.

Tahara: If I were to take that one step further, I would point out that the very people who are against revising the Constitution also believe that the U.S. will protect them. They think the U.S. will act as a deterrent.

Inose: When I appeared on NHK's television program "Hakunetsu Kyo-shitsu" (Incandescent Classroom) with Professor Michael J. Sandel of Harvard University the issue we talked about the most was conscription.

There is now no compulsory military duty in the U.S., and this has resulted in a number of effects. Professor Sandel explained that now poor people find work in the military, while people in the upper class found ways to avoid it.

He observed that, in the case of Japan, we should try and think of it as similar to the situation regarding nuclear plant workers. Workers who are exposed to radiation in their work at a nuclear power plant cannot remain on their job at the plant once their exposure dose levels reach a certain limit. So, when each nuclear plant worker does reach their limit as they do, someone else has to be found to take their place.

Sandel pointed out that if we don't think of such situations in the same way that we think of military duty and tackle them seriously, problems that affect the interest of the entire nation cannot be solved.

Tahara: Surprisingly enough, there

is no single person in the Liberal Democratic Party with ultimate responsibility for the nuclear plant issue. In other words, right now not one person is thinking seriously about how to deal with the issue.

I have personally asked some of the senior leaders of the LDP like Akira Amari and Yoshihide Suga to become the point man on the nuclear plant issue. They all said they didn't want to. I have questioned every Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry about the nuclear plant issue, but they have all said they don't want to comment on it.

When the Tokyo Electric Power Fukushima plant accident happened, the Democratic Power of Japan—today's Minshintō—were holding the reins of government. There were many people in the party who liked to talk, but very few who were eager to do the dirty work.

Yet among them, Yoshito Sengoku alone stood up and said that he would tackle the problem. Then Goushi Hosono, Yukio Edano and Seiji Maehara gathered around him. Government officials like Takashi Shimada—who is today serving as Vice-Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry—and Takaya Imai—who is now a Personal Secretary to Prime Minister Abe—also took part.

At the time, the Liberal Democratic Party was an opposition party. Among LDP members Tadamori Ooshima—who seemed qualified to take responsibility and tackle the issue—was asked to cooperate with Mr. Sengoku because the issue did not concern just the Democratic Party, but the nation as a whole. Ooshima accepted the task, and joined Sengoku in addressing the crisis.

At the time, I thought that if the Liberal Democratic Party were to regain power again, it was a sure bet that Ooshima would be put in charge of the nuclear plant issue.

However, I was wrong. Prime Minister Abe saw him as being argumentative and difficult, and made him a party committee chairman. And so now there is no one handling the issue today. The person in charge

of energy inside the LDP is Fukushima Nukaga. I have met with him three or four times to try and persuade him to become the point man on the nuclear plant issue, but he keeps refusing.

Inose: I thought that 3/11 would prove a historical turning point, in which the concept of the “post-disaster” period would finally take hold, and would be looked back upon historically as a turning point. But it turned out that we as a nation could not create a structure under a responsible person eager to tackle the problem where citizens could cooperate by volunteering to take on different obligations. If we cannot even accomplish that, then it may be difficult for us to revise Article 9 of the Constitution, too.

Tahara: So, then the question. Can we really call this kind of country a nation-state?

Inose: That’s exactly my point.

People’s awareness and national decisions

Miura: Yes, there is no doubt that the issue of burden sharing and the issue of the people’s awareness -- not to mention the issue of the nation’s decision-making apparatus and will-power -- are all critical.

But obviously, there’s a question mark on all sides. It would be dreadful if the nation proves unable to make decisions despite having a centralized government.

At the moment, the Japanese Constitution has defects. For example, what happens if the Self Defense Force is dispatched for PKO (Peace Keeping Operations) and a crime occurs? Are they going to apply Criminal Law to the case because there is no existing Military Law?

Or again, regarding nuclear energy policy. Even if we extend the operation of nuclear plants that have already passed their designed operational life-span for another decade or two now, we will still have to decommission them someday. The real problem

lies not in -- in this example the lifetime of nuclear power reactors -- but in the fact that instead of facing these issues head-on, our political leadership and other actors are just postponing them into the future. Japan’s attitude toward tackling these kinds of issues has not changed in the least.

Tahara: There is another fundamental lie regarding what is going on in Fukushima.

Tokyo Electric Power Company is trying to remove the nuclear fuel debris resulted from the Fukushima meltdowns. Yet the nuclear specialists say that it’s impossible to do it. They say that the best option available is to cover it over with cement and other shielding as they have at Chernobyl.

So why not do that? The reason why they cannot do it is because Tokyo Electric Power made a rash promise to the local population that they would remove and transport the nuclear fuel debris somewhere else.

They will not be able to remove that debris, no matter how many years they try. Yet people are bound to a promise that was, and still is, a lie.

Miura: The Japanese people tend toward what could be called “partial optimization.” But in order to solve issues on the scale of nuclear energy policy, that will not work. They should try and see the big picture, keep costs low, and reduce risk.

Tahara: In a similar vein, Yukio Hatoyama is ultimately behind all the confusion over the relocation of the U.S. military base in Futenma, Okinawa to Henoko in the north of the island. When Ryutaro Hashimoto and Keizo Obuchi were prime ministers, they had officials of the caliber of Hiromu Nonaka, Seiji Kajiya and Yukio Okamoto literally walk around Okinawa, talking to the people, and they secured local approval to relocate the U.S. military base to Henoko.

Moreover, it was the people of Okinawa themselves who first suggested the relocation. Prime Minister Obuchi personally thanked Okinawa for accepting the relocation, and in turn made a decision to hold the

Summit Conference of the Leading Industrialized Nations in Okinawa as a sign of his gratitude.

But when Hatoyama became Prime Minister, he said he would find a place for U.S. forces to relocate to other than on Okinawa. Then, having said that publicly, he struck a secret agreement to relocate the base to Henoko after all. Hatoyama is the one who truly confused things.

Miura: Then there are the people who are against the U.S. military bases on Okinawa for purely political reasons.

It’s natural that there should be different thoughts regarding this issue. But the government should not make promises that cannot be kept. Accepting as fact that the U.S. military presence is protecting us against potential threats, we should then compare and consider what are the advantages we get out of that arrangement, and what are the disadvantages that we have to come to terms with. As long we Japanese are “borrowing” the lives of the U.S. armed forces, we have to accept risks that are in the line with the risks we would accept if it was an army of our own.

Also, another problem with Japan and its attitude toward its own defense is that when, for example, the Japanese government says it wants to alter the Japan –U.S. Status of Forces Agreement, it turns out that the Japanese side has not even read the original text of the agreement, nor compared the terms of the agreement with similar agreements in the rest of the world.

Tahara: I would like to add a comment on that.

Prime Minister Abe has succeeded in revising the Security Bill and winning approval for the right of collective defense.

I met Prime Minister Abe after that, and observed that -- now that we have approved the right of collective defense -- we should also revise the Status-of-Forces Agreement. I asked him why he doesn’t negotiate the agreement with the U.S.

Prime Minister Abe replied that in fact they have already revised the Sta-

tus-of-Forces Agreement, but that the U.S. side has insisted that they keep it quiet.

Miura: I think they don't want to emphasize it because Japan has no Military Law of its own. When a soldier commits a crime, his sentences may be heavier or lighter than those handed down in regular trials. For example, punishment for sex crimes is heavier for soldiers than for civilians. Sex crimes occur frequently in war, so you have to keep the punishments for it severe, or you will not be able to prevent them. But at the same time, punishments for sex crimes overall are extremely light in Japan. If we're not even seriously thinking about how to discipline our own Self Defense Force troops, how can we be prepared to punish soldiers of the American military if they commit a crime?

Inose: If the Self Defense Force is not mentioned specifically in the Constitution, then there is no legal basis for addressing any of the issues that we have just talked about. It's the same issues as leaving nuclear fuel debris in nuclear power plants that are left unattended.

In terms of military strength, Japan's Self Defense Force is 4th in the world, and has a budget of 5 trillion. Yet we can barely get permission to inspect its actual strength and content because the very existence of the Self Defense Force is not written into the Constitution.

For example, what kind of weapons does the SDF use? We presently cannot confirm even that.

Therefore, Mr. Abe is suggesting that we revise the Constitution by adding a 3rd paragraph to Article 9 and thereby include the Self Defense Force in the Constitution. This addition would only acknowledge the existence of the Self Defense Force, and would create no other problems beyond that.

However, if Japan as a whole does not break the habit of putting off addressing today's problems until tomorrow, there will be no meaning even to taking these measures.

Tahara: When I met Mr. Abe in September last year, the Liberal Democratic Party had just taken 2/3rds control of the Upper House in the July Upper House elections. I told him that I thought that now was the time to hold a public referendum on whether or not to revise the Constitution.

But Mr. Abe replied, "I can't say it out loud, but there is now no longer any need to revise the Constitution." That is what he said.

In other words, the U.S. has gone quiet on this issue now that Japan has approved the right of collective defense.

Yet in a survey conducted by the Asahi Shimbun newspaper, 63% of the constitutional scholars surveyed said that the existence of the Self Defense Force violates the current Constitution. So in fact, it really is better to mention its existence in the Constitution, as Abe said it is. I told him that, in order to make it happen, he would have to do it in a way that will be acceptable to the Minshintō Japan Democratic Party is able to accept it.

Miura: When Goushi Hosono was still a member of Minshintō, he announced the so-called "Hosono Draft" in the May issue of "*Chuo Koron*," magazine. The Jiseikai—the political interest group to which he belonged—was a group of conservatives within the then Democratic Party. Yet even doing this, he was unable to get approval from the group to even touch on Article 9. I think it is important to understand that this is still the current situation within the Democratic Party.

I personally do not think that all the current deception revolving around the Self Defense Force and the Japan-U.S. alliance will turn out all right if we simply revise the Constitution.

Moreover, where will that self-identity and sense of nationalism and pride that many Japanese do feel for Article 9 of the Constitution go, if it's changed? Many on the left in Japan have come to rely on Article 9 as their personal replacement for nationalism. I am very concerned with

this. That is why I personally think we should keep paragraph 1 of the Article 9 exactly as is.

Tahara: I do not think this will happen for a long, long time. Yet, if the U.S. should withdraw its forces from Japan, do the Japanese people really have the will to protect their country by themselves?

Miura: Japan has no other choice but to do so. Whether the United States withdraws its forces or not is up to the U.S., not to us. I think it's very wrong to think that Japan and the U.S. are one.

Inose: The U.S. won't withdraw from Japan, for strategic reasons. The U.S. military cannot reach the Middle East theatre without bases Japan. Although of course, they'll probably ask Japan to share more of the expenses of maintaining their presence here.

Miura: I do want to point out that there is a difference of opinion regarding this. Although that is the way things still stand today, it has been said that the days of preserving control of the sea is coming to an end. Issues revolving around missile defense are now at the forefront of military thinking, and in time even that, too, is going to change, evolving into fighting wars with space-based assets and cyber technology in the near future.

Tahara: I think it is important for Japan today to seriously ponder ways to co-exist with China. From the Liberal Democratic Party to people on the farther right—people like Toshiko Sakurai and Shoichi Watanabe—everyone seems to believe in the "China Threat" theory. However, I personally do not think that the "China Threat" is a good paradigm at all. The greatest mistake we made as a country before the Pacific War was that we continued to fight against China. I find myself in agreement with Toshihiro Nikai regarding this point.

Miura: The fact that a person like Nikai can still be a member of the Liberal Democratic Party is an indication the broad perspective the party has regarding policy toward Chi-

na. Nikai has even been saying that he intends to put together a delegation of 5,000 people to visit China, including the political hawks, including people living in big cities and small towns and villages, not to mention representatives from companies and associations.

The “China Threat” theory is like a disease that is eating Japan. Of course China is a threat. What we need to learn is how to fear China correctly. If the Chinese economy soars, we can make money from it, too. There are real merits. It’s unwise if we try and do something about external forces over which we have no control, including China increasing its national power, globalization, and the withdrawal of countries from international alliances.

What we should focus on is not trying to stop the unstoppable, but how to respond correspondingly and cor-

rectly. There is no point to simply sitting around analyzing theoretical military threats and worrying about the threat posed by the Chinese economy.

Inose: China is a country about which—if you look at its political structure and see events like Xi Jinping suddenly arresting the president of the Chinese News Service—you can come away with the impression that it is impossible to know or predict what it is going to do.

Yet at the same time, China is a country of vast range and depth. In my book, “Defeated in War in the Summer of 1941,” there is a section where I write about the “*Soryokusen Kenkyujo*” (Total War Institute) for military studies. The chief of the institute asks the research students, “What kind of people are the Han race (the Chinese people)?”

The correct answer is: “a flexible race like water, a race that can trans-

form itself into a round shape if it were to be placed on a round plate, and a square shape if it were to be placed on a square plate.”

Having gone through so many long years of absolute monarchy, with dynasties changing from one to another, the Chinese people are imbued with a certain unique kind of power and flexibility.

As exemplified by the Fukushima nuclear fuel debris issue and Article 9 of the Constitution that we have discussed earlier Japan has a tendency to take measures without looking closely at the real problem and making informed decisions. I think that in the years ahead, this will truly have to change.

(Reprinted from “*Shukan Dokusho-jin*,” November 3rd, 2017)

The panelists

Soichiro Tahara

Journalist. Born 1934. He is now creating new horizons in TV journalism on TV Asahi’s programs “*Asa-made Nama TV* (Live TV Until Morning)” and “*Sunday Project*.” Specially appointed professor at Waseda University, and head of the Ookuma School focusing on leadership skills. He has also appearing in numerous other TV and radio shows including BS Asahi’s “*Gekiron! Cross Fire* (Heated discussion! Cross Fire),” and is the author of numerous books.

Ruri Miura

Scholar of international politics. Born in 1980. Miura is a graduate of the University of Tokyo Faculty of Agriculture in 2004 and the Graduate School of Public Policy (GraSPP). She earned her PhD from the Graduate School for Law and Politics of the University of Tokyo. She is currently a lecturer at the University of Tokyo’s Policy Alternatives Research Institute (PARI). In 2014 she launched her blog site “*Yamaneko Nikki*,” featuring her incisive critique of political views centered on international politics, Japanese domestic politics and Japanese society. Miura is the author of “*Civilian’s War: On the Origins of Aggressive Democracies*” (*Civilian-no Senso*) and “*Understanding Contemporary Japanese Politics and Diplomacy* (*Nihon-ni Zetsubou-shiteiru hito-no-tameno Seiji Nyumon*).”

Naoki Inose

Author. Born in 1946. In 1986, he received the Souichi Ooya Nonfiction Award for his book “*Mikado no Shozo*” (Portrait of the Emperor). In 1996, he received the Bungeishunju Readers’ Award for his book “*Nipponkoku no Kenkyu*” (A Report on Japan). In June 2002, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi appointed him to the Promotion Committee for the Privatization of the Four Highway-Related Public Corporations. He served as Tokyo Governor from December 2012 to December 2013. In December 2015, he became Special Advisor to Osaka City. His books include “*Show 16-nen no Haisen*” (The Defeat in Showa 16), “*Persona—Mishima Yukio Den*” (Persona: The Story of Mishima Yukio) and “*Picaresque—Dazai Osamu Den*.” (Picaresque: The Story of Dazai Osamu). Upcoming books include “*Kyushutsu*” (Rescue), “*Senso, Tenno, Kokka*” (War, Emperor, State), “*Seigi ni tsuite Kangaeyo*” (Let’s Think about Justice), “*Minkei*” (Posse Man), “*Tokyo no Teki*” (Tokyo’s Enemy) and in collaboration with Lully Miura, “*Kokumin Kokka no Riarizumu*” (Realism and the Nation-state).

Translation: Ayako Karino

The Liberal Democratic Party won big in the most recent the general elections. Yet it is time that we look beyond Abenomics and think of what else we can do from here.

How can Japan recover as a nation? First, we must learn to separate the macro and the micro, and re-examine the present situation in that light. What kind of possibilities are to be found in regional revitalization? We will have Japan Civilization Institute's tenth symposium welcome Shigeru Ishiba, author of "*Nihon Reetto Sousei-ron*" (Japan Island Construction Concept) and Kazuhiko Toyama, author of "*Naze Rokaru Keizai-kara Nihon-ua Yobigaerunoka?*" (Why Japan will Recover, Beginning from its Local Economies), who has participated in numerous business revitalizations. Join our tenth symposium to talk about regional revitalization, and administration strategies for the future.

► Panel discussion:

Where should Japan go from here?

Abenomics and reforming strategies beyond that

Shigeru Ishiba

Liberal Democratic Party, House of Representatives member



Kazuhiko Toyama

Industrial Growth Platform Inc., CEO



Naoki Inose

Author, Director of Japanese Civilization Institute



Date: 29th November, 2017, 7 p.m.-9 p.m. (doors scheduled to open at 6:30 p.m.)

Venue: Japan University of Economics, Tokyo Shibuya Campus Hall (the hall seats approximately 100 people)

Address: 25-17, Sakuragaoka-cho, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, 151-0031

Admission: 2,000 yen (please pay at the door on the day)

How to attend: apply through the site below:
<http://www.japancivilization.org/>

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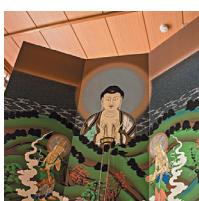
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Messages from Director

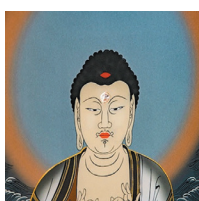
Japanese Civilization Institute has been introducing and selling traditional crafts of Japan. Although it is said that there is approximately 1,200 types of traditional crafts in Japan, its production is declining. As part of our activities, we hope to discover valuable traditional crafts spread across the nation, enjoy Japanese craftsmanship and its beauty inherited over the centuries, and develop it with you.



Tsumami Kanzashi
(Crepe)



Folding Screen
(half size)



Folding Screen
(full size)



KYO-YAKI
Earthenware



Japanese Bamboo
Basket Tokyotrad



Odoshi -
Samurai Armor