

(* Items marked with an asterisk are scheduled for future translation.)

Chapter 7 Japan and the World Today

1 JAPAN'S DEMOCRATIZATION AND REENTRY INTO INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

1. The Occupation and Japan's democratization

The Occupation and postwar policy

In keeping with the Potsdam Declaration, after Japan's defeat, the country's territory was limited to the four main islands of Hokkaidô, Honshû, Shikoku, and Kyûshû and smaller islands in close proximity. In addition, it was decreed that Japan would be occupied by the Allied forces led by the United States.¹ Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands were split off from the main islands and put under US control. Government was carried out under the direction of US Occupation general headquarters (GHQ) under the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Douglas MacArthur.

The Occupation's basic policy goal was to replace the militarism of the prewar years with democracy, and to this end it implemented many **postwar reforms**. The army was disbanded, and those military officers and government figures deemed responsible for the war and war crimes were tried by an international military tribunal (the Tokyo War Crimes Trials). People who had occupied key positions during the war were purged from public service. In addition, the emperor delivered a statement denying that he was descended from the gods.

At the same time, work began on the task of building new institutions and systems, a process referred to as *minshuka* (democratization). In the political arena, political parties were allowed to become active again, freedom of speech was recognized, and the right to vote was granted to all men and women at least 20 years of age. In the economic sphere, the zaibatsu were dissolved on the grounds that they had supported the prewar system economically. In the rural areas, **agrarian reforms**

¹ Meanwhile, some 600,000 Japanese troops in Manchuria were sent by the Soviet Union to spend several years in labor camps in Siberia, where more than 60,000 died.

were implemented to put an end to the old landowner–tenant farmer relationship. Land was granted to tenant farmers, giving birth to many independent farms.

The Japanese Constitution

At the heart of the democratic reforms was the revision of the Constitution. The government drafted a new, amended Constitution on the basis of a draft provided by GHQ. After Diet deliberation, this was promulgated as the **Constitution of Japan** on November 3, 1946 (Shôwa 21), and went into effect on May 3 the following year.

With the birth of a new Constitution based on the three principles of popular sovereignty, respect for human rights, and pacifism, many laws and institutions changed as well. Among the new laws were the Civil Code, which established the principle of equality between men and women; the Local Autonomy Law, which created a system of direct election of prefectural governors by residents; and the Fundamental Law of Education, which called for education appropriate to a democracy and established compulsory education from elementary school through middle school.

PHOTO: The first female Diet members. The first House of Representatives election in which all men and women at least 20 years of age were permitted to vote was held in April 1946. The election produced 466 Diet members, of whom 39 were women.

2. Asia and the “two worlds”

Why did the Cold War begin? What is the situation today?

The United Nations and the Cold War

Drawing lessons from the outbreak of two world wars, the Allied countries created the **United Nations** in 1945 (Shôwa 20) as a postwar peacekeeping organization.

The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, which emerged as “superpowers” wielding great influence, became intense, however, and they competed with one another to draw countries around the world into their respective camps having widely varying political and economic systems. The Soviet Union controlled East European countries, while the United States supported West European countries. Europe thus became divided into the Eastern bloc, centered on the Soviet Union, and the Western bloc, centered on the United States. As a consequence, Germany was split in 1949 into East and West Germany. Also in 1949, when it became

clear that the Soviet Union possessed atomic bombs, the two superpowers began a race to build up weapons, including nuclear weapons, to gain military superiority.

This deep-seated rivalry between the Eastern and Western blocs became known as the Cold War, and its influence was felt around the world.

GUIDE TEXT: Why was NATO established?

MAP: East-West confrontation. The rivalry was spearheaded by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), created by the West bloc nations, and the Warsaw Pact, established by the East bloc countries.

PHOTO: United Nations Headquarters. It is located in New York in the United States, where the General Assembly and other meetings are held. Standing on the grounds are the flags of the member states.

GUIDE TEXT: What's the difference with the League of Nations?

PHOTO: A wall being built in Berlin. East Germany built a wall separating East and West Berlin in 1961 to prevent citizens from moving freely between the two sections of the city.

PHOTO: Mao Zedong (1893–1976) declaring the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

PHOTO: India's first prime minister, Nehru (1889–1964), speaking on Indian independence.

MAP: Nations that achieved independence after World War II (up to 1960).

PHOTO: The Korean War. Inhabitants fleeing the war and American soldiers headed for the front.

PHOTO: The Vietnam War. American soldiers searching villagers.

Asia and colonial independence

After World War II, the countries of Asia and Africa that had long been colonies of the Western states won independence in rapid succession.

In China, following Japan's defeat, civil war broke out between the Nationalist government and the Communist Party led by Mao Zedong. The Communists were victorious, and in 1949 the **People's Republic of China** (China) was established. The Nationalists, meanwhile, fled to Taiwan.

Korea was freed as a colony, but it was subsequently occupied by the Soviet Union north of the 38th parallel and by the United States to the south. In 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) was established in the North and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in the South. In 1950, North Korea invaded the South, and the **Korean War** began. A United Nations army anchored by the United States backed South Korea, while China's People's Volunteer Army supported the North. The war continued until an armistice was concluded in 1953.

Vietnam was also split into North and South, and after 1954, fighting escalated there as a result of US intervention (the **Vietnam War**). The North and the South were finally unified again in 1976.

3. Japan Rejoins International Society

A shift in Occupation policy

As Japan democratized, legislation including the Labor Union Law was enacted in order to improve the status of workers. These laws gave workers the right to organize and engage in labor disputes. The liberation movement to abolish discrimination against the *buraku* minority was also re-established and the Hokkaidô Ainu Association was re-organized. As labor disputes by workers demanding higher wages became more frequent, the GHQ strengthened its guard against these actions, which it believed could hamper the reconstruction of the Japanese economy. With the advent of the Cold War and the creation of the People's Republic of China, the GHQ shifted its occupation policy to one of bringing Japan into the Western camp.

When the Korean War started in 1950, the US used its military bases in the Japanese mainland and Okinawa and procured massive amounts of military supplies from Japan. The Japanese economy enjoyed a boom from this special demand (the special procurement boom) and economic reconstruction accelerated.

When the US troops stationed in Japan were dispatched to the Korean War, the GHQ ordered the creation of the National Police Reserves. The reserves were gradually strengthened and became the Self-Defense Forces in 1954 (Shôwa 29).

The San Francisco Peace Treaty and UN membership

Aiming to make Japan a powerful member of the Western bloc, the United States hurried to conclude a peace settlement with Japan. In 1951 a peace conference was held in San Francisco, where Japan signed the **San Francisco Peace Treaty** with 48 other countries, including the United States.² At the same time, Japan concluded the **Japan-US Security Treaty** with America, under which it agreed to allow the United States to station military forces in Japan on the grounds that they were there to protect Japan's security and the peace of East Asia. However, the security treaty, together with the question of the Self-Defense Forces, grew into a major political issue.

Around 1955, as Cold War tensions began gradually to relax, moves began to reestablish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, with whom Japan had yet to conclude a peace treaty, and in 1956 Tokyo and Moscow issued the Soviet-Japanese Joint Declaration. The same year, with the Soviet Union's support, Japan was granted membership in the United Nations, and Japan rejoined the international community. However, ties between Japan and China continued on an ambiguous footing in the absence of formal diplomatic relations.

2 JAPAN AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

Local history 10: Studying history through changes in your town*

1. Japan in the Era of Rapid Economic Growth

How did people's lives change in the midst of economic growth?

Japan-US relations and the reversion of Okinawa

In 1955 (Shōwa 30) political parties that had been divided merged to create the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), after which the LDP continued to hold power.

A new Japan-US Security Treaty was signed in 1960, strengthening Japan's relations with the United States. This gave rise to a massive antigovernment movement in protest over the substance of the treaty and the manner in which it was approved by the Diet.

² In the peace treaty, most countries did not seek reparations from Japan on the grounds that Japan could not afford to pay out large sums. In Japan's settlements with the Asian countries that it had invaded, reparations were generally waived in exchange for the promise of economic cooperation.

The United States exercised administrative rights over Okinawa, where US military bases occupied approximately 15% of the total land area, and it limited the rights of local residents. In 1972, in response to the strong wishes of the people of Okinawa and other Japanese citizens, Okinawa was returned to Japan³. Many of the bases, though, were left intact.

PHOTO: A US military base in Okinawa. Even today, Okinawa is host to many US military bases.

PHOTO: Efforts toward Okinawa's reversion. Then Prime Minister Satô Eisaku made a speech in 1965 claiming, "Until Okinawa is returned, Japan will not have completely emerged from her post-war period."

GUIDE TEXT: Why are there so many US military bases in Okinawa?

PHOTO: People demonstrating against the Japan-US Security Treaty outside the National Diet Building (1960).

Positive and negative impact of rapid economic growth

By about the middle of the 1950s, the postwar Japanese economy had recovered and returned more or less to its prewar level of strength. After that, a period of **rapid economic growth** continued for almost 20 years, during which the gross national product (GNP) increased five-fold and Japan became one of the world's biggest economic powers.

The lives of the people improved dramatically as incomes grew and ownership of automobiles and such household appliances as refrigerators spread. In addition to newspapers and radio, television also spread through society, and these had an impact on people's lifestyles and attitudes.

Economic growth also generated new social problems, such as overcrowding in the cities and depopulation of rural communities as a result of the population shift toward the cities. **Pollution** also became a problem, as living conditions deteriorated

³ In 1971, in a move related to the reversion of Okinawa, Japan formulated the Three Nonnuclear Principles of not possessing, manufacturing, or allowing the entry of nuclear arms into Japan—the only country in the world to have been a victim of atomic bombing—and decided to apply this policy to Okinawa following its reversion.

The Ogasawawa Islands, meanwhile, were returned to Japan in 1968.

owing to the contamination of rivers and coastal waters and air pollution, and many people suffered as a result.⁴

In 1973, oil prices shot up in connection with the Fourth Arab-Israeli War, and the world economy suffered a major blow (**the oil crisis**).

In the area of international relations, Japan came under pressure from other countries to buy more goods from abroad. Disputes broke out on a number of occasions with the United States in particular, a state of affairs referred to as Japan-US trade friction.

FIGURE: Changes in Japan's gross national product and economic growth. (*Keizai yôran* [Survey of the Economy], 2004)

PHOTO: Smoke rising from the industrial complex at Yokkaichi (1965).

Ties with other Asian countries

With the **Korea-Japan Treaty of 1965**, Japan recognized South Korea as the sole legitimate government on the Korean Peninsula.

Relations with China languished until 1972, when the two governments issued the China-Japan Joint Communiqué establishing diplomatic relations. In 1978, the **China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty** was signed. Since that time, as China has developed economically, the two countries have strengthened mutual ties and deepened communication and exchange.

China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty (excerpt)

Article 1

The Contracting Parties shall develop relations of perpetual peace and friendship between the two countries on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

2. Contemporary Japan and the world

⁴ Serious pollution problems developed in a number of areas, including Minamata (Kumamoto Prefecture), the Agano River basin (Niigata Prefecture), the Jinzû River basin (Toyama Prefecture), and Yokkaichi (Mie Prefecture).

Is it possible to correlate your personal or family history with developments in the world and in Japan?

Moving toward a two-party system

The people who benefited from the LDP's extended rule came to exercise considerable power, and this invited political stagnation. It was in this context that a non-LDP coalition cabinet came into being in 1993 (Heisei 5), putting an end to the LDP's single-party rule. Realignment among political parties continued thereafter, and in the 2003 election a pattern emerged of power being contested by two major parties, the LDP and the Democratic Party of Japan.

GUIDE TEXT: I wonder when the Berlin Wall was built. How long did it last?

PHOTO: German citizens celebrate the crumbling of the Berlin Wall. In November 1989, the Berlin Wall—which had been a symbol of the Cold War—was opened, and many citizens from East and West Berlin gathered to share their joy.

PHOTO: Two-party system. A system under which two major parties compete with one another to maintain or take over government, a prime example being that in Britain. The photo shows a session of the British Parliament.

The bubble economy and the Heisei recession

After the oil crisis, the Japanese economy shifted toward lower energy use and higher production efficiency and moved into an era of stable economic growth. In the second half of the 1980s, surplus funds held by businesses were invested in stocks and land, creating an “economic bubble”⁵ in which stock and land prices rose steeply.

In the early 1990s, the bubble burst, giving way to a recession (the Heisei recession) in which the economy stagnated, stocks and consumer prices fell, businesses went bankrupt, and unemployment rose.

Détente and the post–Cold War world

The tensions in the deeply antagonistic East-West relationship began to relax in the 1970s, achieving a state of reduced tension (détente). During this time, Japan

⁵ A phenomenon in which the economy swells like a bubble, beyond the levels warranted by economic realities.

strengthened its ties with other countries of the Western bloc besides the United States. Beginning in 1975, it attended the multilateral summits (meetings of top leaders of the major industrial countries), and since then it has participated in many international forums.

An important development occurred between 1989 and 1991, namely, the collapse of the Eastern bloc. With the dawn of democratic government in the Eastern European countries, the unification of East and West Germany, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Cold War came to an end.

In the wake of the Cold War, however, conflicts have broken out in various parts of the world, as in the former Yugoslavia, over ethnic, religious, and cultural differences within nations, as well as the competing interests of different states. The terrorists attacks that took place simultaneously in several parts of the United States in 2001 shocked the world. In 2003 the United States and other nations attacked Iraq on the grounds that it was a dangerous state.

In the area of relations with other Asian countries, the president of South Korea visited Japan in 1998, and ties have been improving since then. While Japan still lacks diplomatic ties with North Korea, Japan's Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichirô visited Pyongyang in 2002, and the two governments agreed to pursue negotiations to normalize relations. Later, however, the negotiations stalled over such problems as the abduction issue.

Relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and with China are developing not only on a bilateral basis but also through the multilateral framework known as ASEAN + 3.⁶

PHOTO: The abduction issue. The illegal abduction of Japanese citizens by North Korean agents emerged as an issue at the first-ever summit meeting between Japan and North Korea. Five of the victims returned to Japan with their families, but many unresolved issues remain, and the normalization of diplomatic relations has stalled.

3. Japan and the World in the Years Ahead

PHOTO: The opening ceremony for the soccer World Cup (May 31, 2002, Seoul).

⁶ A group consisting of 10 Southeast Asian countries plus Japan, South Korea, and China, whose representatives attend regular meetings.

GUIDE TEXT: Why did Japan and South Korea host it jointly?

GUIDE TEXT: What sort of relationship should Japan and South Korea build from now on?

PHOTO: The Japanese team in a World Cup match (June 4, 2002, Saitama Prefecture).

Challenges for a democratic society

Since World War II, Japan's has continued to develop as a nation while remaining closely involved with international developments and has been building a democratic society based on the Constitution of Japan.

One important challenge Japan must meet in order to play a major role in the international community is to eliminate discrimination and create a society that respects human rights.

Eliminating discrimination against *burakumin* is both the duty of national and local government and a challenge facing the Japanese people as a whole. Similarly, doing away with prejudice and discrimination against North and South Korean residents, the Ainu, foreign workers, and other minorities is the job of every Japanese citizen.

That we must ensure true democracy on the political level goes without saying. In addition, we need to promote the kind of democratization that enables women, the elderly, and the disabled to live independently and that guarantees the rights of children.

Global integration and Japan's role

Global integration continues to progress. Borderless economic activity has increased, and corporate mergers are also spanning national boundaries. Thanks to things like the Internet, email, and satellite broadcasts, we can now connect instantly with other parts of the world.

In these economic areas, aid is necessary to close the economic gap between the industrially advanced countries and the developing nations (the **North-South problem**). Today Japan is one of the world's top donors of foreign aid.

Today the peoples of the world face many common problems, and we must deal with these by cooperating and coordinating with other nations. To deal with regional conflicts and terrorism, the biggest problems threatening world peace, action by the United Nations is vital. The United Nations carries out peacekeeping

operations (PKO), and Japan participates in these activities. Efforts are also needed to achieve nuclear disarmament, a wish shared by people the world over. Global environmental problems are growing more serious. The entire world must address these issues together, but the individual efforts of each one of us are essential as well.

The biggest issue for Japan in the twenty-first century is how to live as a nation as the world progresses toward integration. As Japanese citizens, and also as people living in the international community (world citizens), let us continue to think about ways to build a better society.

PHOTO: People going to court seeking postwar reparations. Many lawsuits have been brought against Japan's government and its companies by people seeking reparations for having been brought to Japan during the war and forced to work here. This photo shows a Korean man announcing his settlement with a company at a press conference.

GUIDE TEXT: What sort of country should Japan try to become from now on?

<Think back on and discuss together what you learned in this chapter>*