
Evolution of US-Japan Security Partnership After World War II

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The World War II, so far, the deadliest and the most devastating war that has ever been fought in the history of human civilization, came to an end on September 2, 1945, following the atomic bombing of the two Japanese Cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 8, 1945, respectively. It was on these days that the two bombs, code-name 'Fatman' and 'Little Boy' wiped-out almost the entire cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, thereby, forcing the stubborn Japanese to tender their unconditional surrender to USA and its Allies on September 2, 1945, marking the final end of the war. The US and Japan, after having fought the deadliest and the most devastating war; and after having suffered devastating casualties at each other's hand, were able to forge ahead a strong diplomatic partnership between the two countries. Commenting on the importance of US-Japan diplomatic partnership, the US state Department stated, the relationship between US and Japan is 'the cornerstone of US security interest in Asia and fundamental to regional stability and prosperity.'

Soon after the surrender of Japan, the Allies put Japan under international control and General Mac Arthur was made the Supreme Commander for reconstruction of Japan. Democratic self-government, being the immediate goal, the new constitution of Japan, which was an imposed constitution, granted full individual freedom and created a Congress or Diet and renounced Japan's ability to make war in future. The new Japanese constitution, being prepared and drafted under the direction of Mac Arthur, is also sometimes, referred to as Mac Arthur's constitution. Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan reads "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based order, the Japanese people forever renounced war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes, in order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of state will not be recognized'.

The above mentioned Article of the postwar Japanese constitution was written by American officials under the direction of Mac Arthur, Commander of all Allied Forces in the Pacific. The United States fought and it would not go to war again, and Article 9 was written to guarantee this. In 1947, Mac Arthur envisioned a postwar Japan that would remain disarmed and that would be overseen by the new United Nations. However, at this critical juncture of peace negotiation with Japan, Foster Dulles, who was entrusted to start negotiation for a peace treaty with Japan for an end to American occupation of Japan had come to see Japan as very important to the defense of American interests and democracy in the Far-East Asia. What has been seen in the view of Dulles was that though the American imposed Japanese Constitution restricted Japan to rearm itself, a militarily strong Japan would be in the greater benefit and interest of US. It was for this reason that Dulles, in negotiating the peace treaty that would

end the occupation and return political control to Japanese, sought to pressure the Japanese to rearm and to establish a military alliance with United State.

As discussed above, the primary objective of Mac, Arthur, and for that matter, USA, was to make Japan militarily weak and incapable of fighting any future war, except in self-defense. However, international situations had been changing rapidly in the later part of 1940s. In China, Chiangkaihek, the war time ally of US was defeated by the communists and fled to Taiwan and Soviet Union, another wartime ally of US became the greatest threat to democracy. In 1950, Korean war pitted communist forces in the Far-East against forces of United Nations, largely made up of American. Ironically, therefore, by the end of the occupation, it was the Americans who were pressing for Japanese rearmament while the new Japanese government was against rearmament as was constrained by the American imposed constitution; The United State, after having established close friendship with the new Japanese government, wanted to have a military alliance with a militarily strong Japan. It is for this reason that America had been putting pressure on Japan to rearm itself.

Treaty of Mutual Co-Operation and Security: The Bases for US Japan Strategic Partnership

The Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security between United States and Japan was first signed in 1952 at the San Francisco presidio following the signing of the Treaty of San Francisco, commonly known as Peace Treaty of San Francisco at San Francisco war Memorial Opera House. The Security Treaty was later amended further in 1960 between the two countries in Washington. This Treaty allowed the American military to continue to use its bases in Japan for the defense of the Far-East and to intervene in Japan itself to put down its internal disturbances, if there ever happens, and should the Japanese government request such assistance. When the Treaty was first signed in 1952, it contained provisions which allowed the United State to act for the sake of maintaining peace in the Far-East Asia.

The Treaty established that any attack against Japan or United State perpetrated within Japanese territorial administration would be dangerous to the respective countries' own peace and safety; and therefore, requires both countries to act to meet the common danger. The two countries, therefore, agreed that there shall be continued presence of US military bases in Japan. The Treaty also include general provision on the further development of international cooperation and on improved future economic cooperation. The Treaty was signed initially for a period of 10 years, but was later decided that it would remain in-force permanently unless either party decides to terminate it after giving one year's advance notice. The earlier Security Treaty of 1952, provided the initial basis for Japan's security relation and was signed after Japan regained full sovereignty at the end of the allied occupation.

Bilateral negotiations for signing the new Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security was in full progress even before the signing of Security Treaty in 1952. It was signed on January 19, 1960 in Washington which was submitted to Diet for ratification on February 5, the same year. When it was

submitted to Diet for ratification which eventually became a subject of heated debate as the leftist opposition sought to prevent its passage at all costs. However, it was finally approved by the House of Representatives on May 20. The session of the Lower House was boycotted by Japanese Socialist Party and tried to prevent the LDP deputies from entering the chambers. This was followed by massive demonstrations and rioting by students' and trade unions which even prevented the scheduled visit of President Dwight D Eisenhower to Japan and precipitated the resignation of Prime Minister, Kishi Nobusuke, but not before the treaty was passed by default on June 19, when the House of Councilors failed to vote on the issue within the required 30 days after lower House approved.

Under the Treaty, both parties assumed an obligation to assist each other in case of armed attack within the territorial jurisdiction of Japan. (It was, however, understood that Japan would not be in a position to come to the defense of United States as it was constitutionally restrained to send armed force overseas. Moreover, it was constitutionally forbidden to maintain army, navy and air force. Also, it expressed the Japanese people's renunciation of the "threat or use of force as a means of settling international dispute". Therefore, the Japanese find it difficult to send their "self-defence" forces overseas, even for peace keeping operation). Article 1 of the treaty established that each country would seek to resolve any international dispute peacefully. It also gave prominence to United Nations in dealing with aggression. Articles 5 of the Treaty which dealt with armed attacks by the third party, required that the United Nations Security Council be involved and that any measures taken by the US and Japan be ceased "when Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security. The scope of the new Treaty did not extend to the Ryukyu Islands, but an appended minute made clear that in case of an armed attack on the islands, both governments would consult and take appropriate action.

While international events and situations were responsible for shaping American attitudes towards Japan's strategic importance, domestic events were reshaping Japanese thinking. There were internal strifes in Japan over the Security Treaty with United States throughout 1950s, specially the provision that allowed the continued presence of American soldiers in Japan. There were moderate Japanese conservative, representing the business, rural and bureaucratic sectors, which made-up majority population of the country. These groups of people supported the creation of modest Self-Defence Forces, but at the same time, preferred to entrust the primary responsibility of security of the country to the United States so that Japan could concentrate itself fully on the economic recovery of the country. On the right, there were the rightists who supported an alliance with USA, but wanted to have a stronger military power and greater independence from USA in foreign affairs. They were, at the same time, dissatisfied with the American pacifist constitution as they felt that it was an imposed constitution, imposed on the Japanese people; also because it renounced Japan's sovereign right to wage war. The rightist nationalists were not happy with the constitution as they believed that it lowered the status and position of emperor, weakened states control of education, local government, and political expression; and supported labor union and other institutions that the conservative opposed. Opposing the moderate conservatives and the right wing nationalists were the labor unions, the socialists and the communist parties on the left. They were suppressed by the wartime military regime, but they were greatly benefited under the new constitution. They felt that an alliance with USA could

draw Japan into a conflict peripheral to Japanese interests while the socialist believed that peace could only be ensured if Japan adopt a policy of complete neutrality and passivism in foreign affairs.

Accordingly, excessive noise pollution law suits were filed in 2009 by Okinawa residents against Kadena Air Base and MCAC Futenma resulted in awards of US Dollar 59 million and 1.3 Million to residents of the island, respectively. There were also a number of instance involving US servicemen, some of which are criminal in nature. There was also an instance of rape of a girl of 14 years by American serviceman. The incidence of rape was officially apologized by Condoleezza Rice on behalf of America Public out cries resulting from incidence of rapes and others, criminal activities involving US servicemen, ultimately, forced the Bush administration and the Japanese government for relocation of MCAS Futema to North Okinawa city of Nago, and 800 marines and their dependents were to be relocated to Guam.

Though there were ups and down in US-Japan relations during the post World War II period, the two countries having understood the need to have a kind of relationship that would be beneficial for both Japan understanding the fact that it needs the US for its security, sought a stable strategic partnership with US; and US, on its part realised that Japan would be an important strategic partner, and maintained a close relation with Japan would in the best interest of USA and its policy in Far-East. A challenge from communist North-Korea, the emerging China as a world claim of china power over Indo-China sea, posed a serious threat to American interest in the region. Therefore, USA further required a firm and strong strategic partnership with Japan.

Now, a new and real threat is coming in from North-Korea, which has conducted 6 nuclear tests so far in total disregard to UN Security Council Resolutions. As seen in the preceding discussion on the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between US and Japan, in so far as security is concerned, Japan had to rely on US as it was forbidden to pursue the goal of armament procurement. Even in terms of nuclear armament, Japan realies on the strategic arsenals of USA and the majority of Japanese refuse to develop and procure nuclear weapons. As a result, in-spite of the fact that Japan has the potentials, the technology, the resources, including the best engineers within its boundary, continues to have a policy of non-nuclear weapon state of Japan.

North-Korea and China Factors.

The emerging China as a world power is seen by the Japan and US as a threat to them. China has contested Japan is right over the original ownership of Senkoku inland which had been under Japanese control. It is an uninhabited inland believed to be having a huge deposit of minerals. As the two countries are claiming the island, there were instances of navies of the two countries confronting in and around the island. In this connection US President Obama made the policy of USA clear and candid about Senkaku Island that the US-Japan Security treaty does cover the Island and obliges the US to defend them. In April, 2014 US President Obama declared unequivocally that the Senkaku island would be covered by the bilateral Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security in the event of an armed attack on them. This was the first time a sitting President had made American commitment explicit and clear, and was intended to reassure the government of Japan about the security commitment of US.

The statement of Obama, during his Presidentship, has manifested the strength and depth of US-Japan strategic partnership based on 1960 Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the two countries. Regarding North-Korea, it has been seen that, there is no direct threat to Japan as a neutral state, but there are serious threat coming in from North-Korea to Japan as it is an alliance of USA. In other words, North-Korea would strike Japan as it is an alliance of USA. North-Korea becoming a nuclear weapon state and Japan, being a non-nuclear weapon state, there are reasons for Japan to be nervous. Two times within a month, North-Korea fired ballistic missiles overflying Japanese territories which is a flagrant violation of international laws. Japan, now feeling more insecure and more and more humiliated seek to re-arm itself so that it could effectively defend itself from external threat to its sovereignty enemies.

In the midst of threat from North-Korea, the two former turned close allies started negotiation for rearming Japan to meet any challenge from across the border. To this end, US agreed to sell 30 F35 Fighter jets to Japan. Along with Japan, South Korea and Israel are also allowed to buy the highly advance jets fighter, US President said in a tweet that he would let Japan and South Korea buy even more "high sophisticated" American military equipments as the whole allies look to bolster their defense against nuclear armed North-Korea .

It is therefore, to establish that in-spite of the presence of disagreements between the USA and Japan on the terms of strategic partnership based on the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, due to the growing threat from North-Korea and China, the two countries now come much closer and their strategic relation become ever stronger and deeper. For US, Japan is an important and reliable partner in Far-East Asia; and for Japan, US is an inevitable partner, as out which its security could be in jeopardy.

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