Reproduced from *Japanese Defence: The Search for Political Power* by S. Javed Maswood (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Individual articles are available at < http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg >

Glossary

AEW Airborne Early Warning aircraft

ASDF Air Self-Defence Force ASW Anti-submarine warfare

BPND Basic Policy for National Defence

GSDF Ground Self-Defence Force JDA Japanese Defence Agency LDP Liberal Democratic Party

LIEO Liberal international economic order

MFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MOF Ministry of Finance

MSDF Maritime Self-Defence Force

MTDPE Mid-Term Defence Program Estimate NDPO National Defence Program Outline

OTH Over-the-horizon radar

SDF Self-Defence Forces

SDI Strategic Defence Initiative

Note on Japanese Names:

Japanese names in the text appear in the order of personal name followed by family name.

- Akaha, T. "Japan's Response to Threats of Shipping Disruptions in Southeast Asia and the Middle East". *Pacific Affairs* 59, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 255-77.
- Alagappa, Muthiah. "Japan's Political and Security Role in the Asia-Pacific Region". Contemporary Southeast Asia 10, no.1 (June 1988).
- Aoki, M. "The Japanese Bureaucracy in Economic Administration: A Rational Regulator or Pluralistic Agent?". In *Government Policy Towards Industry in the United States and Japan*, edited by J.B. Shoven. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Armitage, Richard L. and Karl D. Jackson. "U.S. Strategic Interests in East Asia & the Pacific". *Asia-Pacific Defense Forum* 12, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 36-45.

Asahi Shinbun (Chokan) and (Yukan), various issues. Bangkok Post, 16 December 1987.

Bix, Herb P. "The Japanese Challenge: U.S.-Japan Relations at Mid-Decade". *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 17, no. 4 (October-December 1985): 27-33.

- Blechman, B.M. *U.S. Security in the Twenty-First Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1987.
- Bouchard, J.F. and J.H. Douglass. "The Japanese Navy and Sea-Lanes Defense". *Proceedings* (U.S. Naval Institute) 110, no. 3 (March 1984): 90-97.
- Buck, J.H. "Civilian Control of the Military in Japan". In Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries, edited by C.E. Welch. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1976.
- Burgess, John. "Nakasone: A Leader Who Led Too Fast for the Consensus". *International Herald Tribune*, 9 December 1987.
- Buruma, I. "The Right Argument: Preserving the Past to Reclaim Japanese 'Supremacy'". Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 February 1987.
- Buzan, B. An Introduction to Strategic Studies: Military Technology and International Relations. London: Macmillan Press, 1987.
- Calder, K. "Japanese Foreign Economic Policy Formation: Explaining the Reactive State". *World Politics* 40, no. 1 (July 1988).
- "China Chooses to go it Alone". ISIS [Institute of Strategic and International Studies] Focus, no. 30 (September 1987).
- Christopher, R. C. *The Japanese Mind: The Goliath Explained*. New York: Linden Press/Simon & Shuster, 1983.
- Chuma, K. *Saigunbi no Seijigaku* [The politics of rearmament]. Tokyo: Chishikisha, 1985.
- ______. "The 1986-90 Defense Plan: Does It Go Too Far?". Japan Quarterly 33 (January-March 1986).
- _____. "Nihon no Boei Seisaku no Tenkan to Kokusai Josei" [Changes in Japanese defence policy and the international environment]. Kokusai Mondai, no. 312 (March 1986).
- Cumings, B. "Power and Plenty in Northeast Asia: The Evolution of U.S. Policy". *World Policy Journal* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1987-88): 79-106.
- Daniel, D.C. and G.D. Tarleton. "The U.S. Navy in the Western Pacific". *Asia Pacific Community*, no. 31 (Winter 1986).
- Doi, H. "Self-Defense is Enough". *Proceedings* (U.S. Naval Institute) 113, no. 3 (March 1987): 94-101.

Dore, R. Flexible Rigidities: Industrial Policy and Structural Adjustment in the Japanese Economy, 1970-80. London: The Athlone Press, 1986.

- Drifte, R. Arms Production in Japan: The Military Applications of Civilian Technology. Boulder, Colorado and London: Westview Press, 1986.
- Ebata, K. "Ocean Air Defense Japanese Style". *Proceedings* (U.S. Naval Institute) 113, no. 3 (March 1987).
- Ellison, H.J., ed. *Japan and the Pacific Quadrille: The Major Powers in East Asia*. Boulder, Colorado and London: Westview Press, 1987.
- Emmerson, J.K. *Arms, Yen & Power: The Japanese Dilemma*. New York: Dunellen Publishing Company, Inc., 1971.
- Endicott, J.E. "U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation in the 1990s". *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies* 3, no. 3 (Fall 1984): 48-64.
- Fujiwara, A. Sengoshi to Nihon Gunkoku Shugi [Postwar history and Japanese militarism]. Tokyo: Shin Nippon Shuppan Sha, 1982.
- Gilbert, S.P. "Northeast Asia in American Security Policy, 1947–1968". In U.S. Foreign Policy and Asian-Pacific Security: A Transregional Approach, edited by W.T. Tow and W.R. Feeney. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982.
- Glaubitz, J. "Japanese Foreign and Security Policy". *Aussen Politik* 35, no. 2 (2nd Quarter 1984).
- Glicksman, A. "The Reagan Initiative and the Pacific Allies: The View from Japan and Australia". *Asian Perspective* 10, no. 2 (Fall-Winter 1986): 209-22.
- Greene, F. "The United States and Asia in 1987: Progress Brings Problems". *Asian Survey* 28, no. 1 (January 1988): 10-22.
- Harries, M. and S. *Sheathing The Sword: The Demilitarisation of Japan*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987.
- Harris, G.T. "Economic Aspects of Military Expenditure in Developing Countries: A Survey Article". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 10, no. 1 (June 1988).
- Hayashi, S. and Y. Yoshida. "Nichi-Bei Ampo Taisei no 35 nen" [35 years of the U.S.-Japan security system]. *Sekai*, no. 502 (June 1987).
- Hayward, T.B. "As its Dynamism Grows, an Upgrading of the Structure of the Pacific is Long Overdue". *Sea Power* 31, no. 1 (January 1988).

Hellmann, D.C. "Japanese Security and Postwar Japanese Foreign Policy". In *The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan*, edited by R.A. Scalapino. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.

- Hidaka, Rokuro. "Heiwa' to 'Hanei' o Kangaeru" [Thinking about peace and prosperity]. Sekai, no. 521 (November 1988), p. 23.
- "Hiyo Futan: Tsuyomaru Atsuryoku" [Burden-sharing: the pressure increases]. *Yomiuri Shinbun* (Chokan), 13 April 1988.
- Holloway, N. "Barricading Space: The first Star Wars contracts to affect Asia". Far Eastern Economic Review, 24 November 1988.
- Homma, N. "Beyond Bashing: Toward Sounder Japan-U.S. Ties". Japan Review of International Affairs 1, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 1987).
- Hoyt, Edwin P. *The Militarists: The Rise of Japanese Militarism Since WWII.* New York: Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1985.
- International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS). *Strategic Survey*, 1982–1983. London: IISS, Spring 1983.
- Ito, K. "Japan's Defense Policy and Limited Budget". *Asia Pacific Community*, no. 29 (Summer 1985), pp. 13-24.
- _____. "The 1% Spending Ceiling: An Idea Whose Time has Passed".

 Japan Echo 14, no. 2 (Summer 1987).
- Isenberg, I., ed. *Japan: Asian Power*. New York: The H.W. Wilson Co., 1971.
- Jacobs, G. "Japan Views its Defence Build-up". *Asian Defence Journal*, August 1986, pp. 44-57.
- Jane's Defence Weekly 8, no. 4 (October 1987).
- Japan Times, various issues.
- Japanese Defence Agency. Defense of Japan, 1979.
- _____. Defense of Japan, 1985.
- Johnson, Chalmers. "Reflections on the Dilemma of Japanese Defense". Asian Survey 26, no. 5 (May 1986).
- _____. "Japanese-Soviet Relations in the Early Gorbachev Era". Asian Survey 27, no. 11 (November 1987).
- Kaminishi, A. '''60 Ampo Kaitei kara '80 Guideline Ampo e'' [From the 1960 Security Treaty Revision to the 1980 Guideline Agreement]. Sekai, no. 502 (June 1987), p. 89.
- Kamo, T. "Anzen Hosho: 'Obun no Futan' to wa Nani ka" [Security guarantee: what is appropriate burden-sharing?]. *Chuo Koron*, December 1987, pp. 96-105.

Keal, P. "Japan's Strategic Role in the Pacific". *Asian Pacific Review*, no. 3 (Winter 1986), pp. 2-17.

- "Keizai Taikoku no Boei Ryoku" [The military power of an economic superpower], Part 8. *Yomiuri Shinbun* (Chokan), 19 April 1988.
- Kimura, H. "Nisso Kosho: Furukute Atarashi Mondai" [Japan-Soviet negotiations: continuing relevance of an old problem]. *Kokusai Mondai*, no. 313 (April 1986).
- "Kita ni Muita Sen-kairi Boei" [The southern strategy of 1,000 nautical miles sea-lane defence]. *Yomiuri Shinbun* (Chokan), 15 April 1988.
- Koseki, S. "Japanizing the Constitution". *Japan Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (July-September 1988).
- Kwan Weng Kin. "Japan Must Act Fast Against Provocative Politicians". Sunday Times (Singapore), 22 May 1988.
- Lai, Frances Fung-Wai. Without a Vision: Japan's Relations with ASEAN. Singapore: Chopmen Publishers, 1981.
- Langdon, F. "The Security Debate in Japan". *Pacific Affairs* 58, no. 3 (Fall 1985): 397-410.
- Lehmann, J-P. *The Roots of Modern Japan*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982.
- Leifer, M. "The Security of Sea-lanes in Southeast Asia". Survival 25, no. 1 (January/February 1983).
- Mac-Anigboro, E.J. and R.E. Weise. "Shigeru Yoshida Compromise and Progress in Pursuit of Japan's National Development, 1946–1954". *Asian Profile* 15, no. 6 (December 1987).
- Masuzoe, Y. "Winds of Change: Reassessing Japan's Defence". *Asian Defence Journal*, February 1987, pp. 42-49.
- Matsuda, M. "O-Bei shokoku to no Boeki Mondai no ichi shiten: Seihin Yunyu Hiritsu Hijo yoso no Datosei ni Tsuite" [One perspective on trade problems with the United States and Europe: concerning the appropriate levels of manufactured imports]. Boeki to Kanzei, March 1986.
- Matthews, R. and J. Bartlett. "The Stirring of Japan's Military Slumber". The World Today 44, no. 5 (May 1988): 79-82.
- McIntosh, M. *Japan Re-armed*. London: Frances Pinter (Publishers), 1986.
- McNelly, T. "The Renunciation of War in the Japanese Constitution". Armed Forces & Society 13, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 81-106.

Miyachi, S. "Nihon Shijo e no Ajia no Kujo to Chumoku" [The Japanese market attracts Asian attention and criticism]. *Chuo Koron*, May 1988.

- Momoi, M. "Basic Trends in Japanese Security Policies". In *The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan*, edited by R.A. Scalapino. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.
- Morley, J.W., ed. Security Interdependence in the Asia Pacific Region. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1986.
- Morrison, C.E. "Japan's Politico-Security Roles in Southeast Asia". Foreign Relations Journal 2, no. 2 (August 1987).
- Morse, R.A. 'Japan's Search for an Independent Foreign Policy: An American Perspective'. *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1984).
- Murray, D.J. and P.R. Viotti, eds. *The Defense Policies of Nations:*A Comparative Study. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- Nagai, Y. "Beyond Burden Sharing". In *U.S. Japan Relations: Towards a New Equilibrium*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Program on U.S.-Japan Relations, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1983.
- Nakagawa, T. "Japan's Northern Territories in International Politics". Japan Review of International Affairs 2, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1988): 3-23.
- "Nakasone Seiji 5 nen no so-Kessan" [Final assessment of the 5 years of Nakasone politics]. *Chuo Koron*, December 1987.
- "NATO-ka Susumu Nichi-Bei Boei Kyoroku" [U.S.-Japan security co-operation becoming the NATO alliance]. *Sekai*, no. 471 (February 1985).
- "'Nichi-Bei Kyodo Kenkyu' to 'Jiki Chubo' ['Joint U.S.-Japan research' and the 'next defence plan']. *Jiyu*, May 1987.
- Nihon Keizai Shinbun (Chokan), 9 and 31 December 1987.
- Nishihara, M. "Japan: Regional Stability". In Security Interdependence in the Asia Pacific Region, edited by J.W. Morley. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1986.
- O'Connell, J. "Strategic Implications of the Japanese SSM-1 Cruise Missile". *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 53-66.

Okazaki, H. A Grand Strategy for Japanese Defense. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1986.

- Olsen, E.A. *U.S.-Japan Strategic Reciprocity: A Neo Internationalist View.* Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1985.
- Olson, L. Japan in Postwar Asia. London: Pall Mall Press, 1970.
- Otake, H. *Nihon no Boei to Kokunai Seiji: Detente kara Gunkaku e* [Japanese defence and domestic politics; from *détente* to militarization]. Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1983.
- Panda, R. "Japan's Security: Challenges and Responses". *IDSA Journal* 15, no. 3 (January-March 1983): 442-62.
- Pharr, S.J. 'Japan in 1985: The Nakasone Era Peaks''. Asian Survey 25, no. 1 (January 1986): 54-65.
- Polomka, P. "The Security of Western Pacific: The Price of Burden Sharing". Survival 26, no. 1 (January/February 1984): 4-15.
- Rix, A. 'Japan's Comprehensive Security and Australia'. *Australian Outlook* 41, no. 2 (August 1987).
- Research Institute for Peace and Security (Tokyo). *Asian Security*. London: Brassey's Defence Publishers Ltd., various years.
- Sakamoto, Y. "Gendai ni Heiwa o Kangaeru: Maegaki ni Kaete" [Thoughts on peace in the contemporary period: in lieu of preface]. Sekai, no. 471 (February 1985).
- _____, ed. *Asia: Militarization and Regional Conflict*. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1988.
- Scalapino, R.A. *The Foreign Policy of Modern Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977.
- Scalapino, R.A. and Han Sung-Joo, eds. *United States-Korea Relations*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1986.
- Shibusawa, M. *Japan and the Asian Pacific Region: Profile of Change*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- _____. "Japan and its Region". Asia Pacific Community, no. 29 (Summer 1985).
- Shoven, J.B., ed. *Government Policy towards Industry in the United States and Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Solomon, R. *The Role of Japan in United States Strategic Policy for Northeast Asia*. Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence, No. 39. Canberra, Australia: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1986.

Stockwin, J.A.A. et al. *Dynamic and Immobilist Politics in Japan*. London: Macmillan Press, 1988.

- Straits Times (Singapore), various issues.
- Sunami, S. "Nakasone's 'Anti-Espionage Bill' Threatens Human Rights". *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review* 19, no. 1 (1987): 34–35.
- Takagi, T. '''Kyotsu no Anzen Hosho' no Jidai'' [The era of reciprocal security guarantees]. Sekai, no. 521 (November 1988).
- Takehito, Seki. "Nihon no tai-So Seisaku o Kangaeru" [Thoughts on Japanese policies towards the Soviet Union]. Sekai, no. 501 (June 1987).
- Tanigaki, S. "Warera Jiminto Giin 'Spy Boshi Ho-an' ni Hantai suru" [We, the LDP Diet members oppose the 'Anti-Spying Bill']. *Chuo Koron*, April 1987.
- Toba, K. "Toward Genuine Exchanges with Southeast Asia". *Asia Pacific Community*, no. 2 (Fall 1978), pp. 69-77.
- Tokinoya, A. "The Japan-U.S. Alliance: A Japanese Perspective". *Adelphi Papers*, no. 212 (Autumn 1986).
- Tow, W.T. "Japan: Security Role and Continuing Policy Debates". In *Asian-Pacific Security: Emerging Challenges and Responses*, edited by Y.W. Kihl and L. E. Grinter. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1986.
- Tow, W.T. and W.R. Feeney, eds. *U.S. Foreign Policy and Asian-Pacific Security: A Transregional Approach*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982.
- Tsuru, S. "Nichi-Bei Ampo no Minaoshi o" [Towards a revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty]. Sekai, no. 502 (June 1987).
- Umemoto, T. "Boei Seisaku no Henka to Keizokusei" [Continuity and change in defence policy]. In *Sengo Nihon no Taigai Seisaku* [Postwar Japanese foreign policy], edited by A. Watanabe. Tokyo: Yuhikaku Sensho, 1985.
- Ushio, S. "1% waku' kekkai no 500 nichi" [500 days of resolving the 'one per cent' problem]. *Chuo Koron*, April 1987.
- Vogel, E.F. *Modern Japanese Organization and Decision-Making*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1975.
- Wall Street Journal, 10 June 1988.
- Watanabe, A., ed. *Sengo Nihon no Taigai Seisaku* [Postwar Japanese foreign policy]. Tokyo: Yuhikaku Sensho, 1985.

Weinstein, M.E. *Japan's Postwar Defense Policy, 1947–1968*. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971.

- _____. "Japan's Defense Policy and the May 1981 Summit". *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (March 1982): 23-33.
- Welch, C.E., ed. *Civilian Control of the Military: Theory and Cases from Developing Countries*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1976.
- Wetherall, William. "Nakasone Promotes Pride and Prejudice". Far Eastern Economic Review, 19 February 1987.
- Yamakage, S. Japanese-American Relations and Comprehensive Security. Tokyo: World Economic Information Services, 1986.
- Yano, Toru. "The 'Fukuda Doctrine' and its Implications for Southeast Asia: A Japanese Perspective". In *Southeast Asian Affairs, 1978*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1978.
- Yomiuri Shinbun (Chokan), 13 April 1988.
- Yasutomo, D.T. *The Manner of Giving Strategic Aid and Japanese Foreign Policy*. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1986.

Index

Acheson, Dean, 89 ANZUS, 14 Armitage, Richard, 65

Basic Policy for National Defence, 30 Bix, Herb, 48 Brown, Harold, 36 Burgess, John, 47 Buzan, Barry, 27

Calder, Kent, 10 Carter, Jimmy, 35, 85, 86 Christopher, Robert C., 50 Chuma, Kiyofuku, 18, 48, 56 Comprehensive National Security Study Group, 38ff, 54, 99 Constitution (Japan), 13, 25ff, 30, 48, 66, 68, 81 and political normalization, 9 and post-war politics, 2 and Self-Defence Forces, 25 Article 9, 2, 3, 27, 39 revision, 26, 48

Dore, Ronald, 18 Dulles, John Foster, 29

Emmerson, John, 80

Fujiwara, Akira, 13 Fukuda, Takeo, 4, 56 Doctrine, 82 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 51 Gotoda, Masaru, 60 Gromyko, Andre, 16 Guam/Nixon Doctrine, 35, 85

Haas, Michael, 17 Hellmann, Donald, 37 Hidaka, Rokuro, 83 Hogen, Shinsaku, 37 Hoyt, Edwin, 80

Japan

interest-power differential, 9, 10 normal/ordinary state, 8, 11, 26, 53, 95, 96 Northern Territories dispute, 36, 50 peace country, 8 political normalization, 8-9, 15ff, 25, 79 unique/special state, 3, 7, 9, 11, 18, 78, 96, 99 Japanese Defence anti-spying legislation, 71ff expenditure, 25, 32, 46, 47, 59, 61 free ride, 13, 15, 46 one per cent ceiling, 42, 52, 54ff MTDPE, 41, 42, 55-57, 60, 63, 66 NDPO, 32, 33, 36, 41, 42, 46, 51, 52, 56, 57 remilitarization/rearmament, 4, 14, 29, 61, 87 threat perceptions, 6, 8, 35ff, 85 Three Arrows Plan, 39 Johnson, Chalmers, 13, 72, 82

Kaihara, Osamu, 6 Kanamori, Tokujiro, 2 Kanemaru, Shin, 55 Keal, Paul, 38 Kimura, Hiroshi, 17 Kindleberger, Charles, 11 Kishi, Nobusuke, 34 Kurihara, Yuko, 65

Leifer, Michael, 87

MacArthur, General Douglas, 4, 49
Mansfield, Mike, 18
Militarism-Japan, 3, 13, 53, 78ff, 81ff, 91, 98
Miyazawa, Kiichi, 60, 99
Momoi, Makoto, 4
Morley, James, 14
Morse, Ronald, 82

Nakasone, Yasuhiro, 3, 7, 8, 11, 15, 17, 50, 51, 53, 58, 88, 96 achievements, 18, 20, 21, 47, 48, 99 presidential Prime Minister, 19 Ron-Yasu dialogue, 18 visit to the United States, 70 visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, 47, 82 National Defence Council, 30, 55 Nishihara, Masashi, 85 Nixon/Guam Doctrine, 35, 85

O'Connell, John, 66

Police Reserve Force, 28, 29

Roh Tae Woo, 92

Sakata, Michita, 33
Sato, Eisaku, 16, 50, 51, 98
Seki, Takehito, 50
Shibusawa, Masahide, 15
Sigur, Gaston, 88
Strategic Defence Initiative, 70, 71, 73
Suzuki, Zenko, 41, 48, 49, 56, 58, 60, 64, 82

Tanaka, Kakuei, 28, 51

U.S.-Japan alliance, 33, 48, 49ff, 86, 87, 90U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, 14, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 39, 54, 70

Wetherall, William, 53 Weinberger, Caspar, 41, 68, 70 Weinstein, Martin, 64

Yamashita, Ganri, 36

The Author

S. Javed Maswood is a lecturer in the division of Asian and International Studies, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia. He teaches international relations and political economy, and Japanese politics and foreign policy. He is the author of *Japan and Protection* (1989).