

# “War on Terror”: A View from East Asia

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# Reactions to 9/11

- Sympathy to the victims.
- A footnote: For those who had antipathy towards Americans, initial “feel-good” was undeniable.

# Reactions to “War on Terror”

- “???”
- “We must go with the flow”
- “A golden opportunity”

# Examples of terrorist incidents remembered prior to 9/11: 1970's

- 1972.5.30 Three Japanese attack Israel's Lod Airport in Tel Aviv with guns and grenades. Two blew themselves up after killing 24 civilians, injuring over 80.
- 1974.8.30 Bombing of "Mitsubishi Heavy Industries" in downtown Tokyo, killing 8, injuring 376.

# Examples of terrorist incidents remembered prior to 9/11

- 1983.10.9 Rangoon bombing, killing 17 South Koreans and 4 Burmese, injuring 47.
- 1995.3.20 A number of “Aum Shinrikyo” members attacked subways in Tokyo with nerve gas, killing 12, injuring 5,510.

# Beijing: Taking WOT as a new area of cooperation among states

- SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) Agreement (2002.6)
- Beijing's apparent concern: the "East Turkistan Islamic Movement" in Xinjiang Uygur district.
- Sino-ASEAN Joint Declaration on Cooperation in Non-traditional Security Areas (2002.11)

# Southeast Asia

- Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia have traditionally been tackling with armed movements within borders.
- U.S. forces return to the Philippines on the pretext of WOT.
- No direct mention of WOT in the East Asia Summit Declaration (2005.12.14) whereas a separate declaration was issued on cooperation in tackling with avian flu.



# Seoul and Tokyo: Must “show the flag”

- Seoul especially prefers conciliatory international environment for entente with North Korea. Definitely needs good relationship with the U.S.
- Seoul sends non-combat troops to Afghanistan and ground troops to Iraq.
- Seoul assists transport to US troop deployment for WOT in Asia.

# Tokyo: Initial response

- 2001.9.24 Prime Minister Junichiro KOIZUMI visits Washington. Commits to a special legislative action for JSDF (Japan Self-Defense Forces) to rear-support US operations.
- 2001.10.29 Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law passes the Diet.
- Maritime SDF (fuel supply and transport ships with 2 destroyers) have been sent to Arabian Sea. Air SDF to fly US supplies from Japan to Guam.

# Tokyo: Inclination to pursue alternative approaches to WOT

- Doubts about relevancy of military response to terrorism, acknowledging the need to address the causes.
- Fears of becoming entrapped in US military actions elsewhere. Constitutional restraints on the use of armed forces (JSDF).
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- Emphasis on aid/reconstruction as better utilizing Japanese expertise.

# Initial Public Reaction: In the spirit of Hiroshima...

- Strong anti-terrorist sentiment
- Strongly against “Shock and Awe”
- Wary of the government utilizing the opportunity to discard the long-held constitutional pacifism.
- Wary of the lack of “realism” among the younger generation about waging war.

# Tokyo: Responses to the war against Iraq

- Koizumi states his “understanding” towards US military action.
- 2003.7 Special legislation to dispatch JSDF to Iraq (“Law Concerning Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance”) passes the Diet.

# JSDF "in action" in Iraq

- GSDF: Engaged in medical assistance, purification and distribution of water, repair of water supplies and roads, reconstruction of schools and hospitals.
- ASDF: Engaged in transporting humanitarian and reconstruction supplies.
- MSDF: Provides supplies from Japan to Kuwait.

# Legal grounds vs. reality

- Legal grounds: on UN resolutions and under the Constitutional restraints
- JSDF must stay out of combat zones.
- Reality: JSDF supporting the US military

# Erosion of “Rule of Law”

- Open disrespect for Constitutional restraints from right-wing politicians.
- Repeated renewals of “special legislation.”
- Overall lack of honest explanation by PM.
- “Realities on the ground” begins to rule.
- Erosion of civilian control.
- Govt. reported to introduce a “Patriot Act.”



# Public opinion divided 1

On the bombing of Afghanistan.

For: 51% Against: 37% (TV Asahi  
2001.10.14)

Results differed among polling agents with certain political bias, e.g. 2001.10.22 the conservative daily newspaper Yomiuri reported “86% support the military action of US and Britain” but the breakdown was: 23% “natural” + 63% “unavoidable.”

# Public opinion divided 2

- "Which comes closer to your opinion?
  - 1) It is appropriate to use force including military force to maintain international justice and order
  - 2) It is not appropriate to use military force even to maintain international justice and order." (Asahi & Gallup, December, 1991)
- Japanese : 26% vs. 70%
- Americans : 72% vs. 20%

# North Korea: Emergence of a concrete perceived "threat"

- 1998.8 North Korea fires "Taepo-dong" missile over Japan.
- 2001.12 "A mystery ship" incident.
- 2002.9 Koizumi visits Pyongyang.  
Eruption of the "abduction" issue.
- 2002.10 North Korean HEU program was revealed.
- 2003.6 National Emergency Legislation passes the Diet.

# Public opinion divided 3

- Shift towards discarding constitutional pacifism? (Asahi polls on Art.9 revision)

	2001.4	2004.5	2005.4
Against	71%	60%	50%
For	20%	31%	35%

- Creeping acceptance of use of force?
- Change in the “postwar pacifist” culture?

# Tokyo: “Firmly stand by with USA”

“A golden opportunity”?

- Context 1: Overcoming the “Trauma of the Gulf War”
- Context 2: Redefining the “Alliance”
- Context 3: Discarding the postwar constitutional pacifism to become a “normal” state

# Tokyo: “Trauma of the Gulf War”

- In the Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991, Tokyo donated \$11 billion to the Coalition Forces, but was not included in the final thanks list of nations who contributed to the liberation of Kuwait. Was denigrated as conducting “checkbook diplomacy.”
- This experience has been a backdrop to JSDF participation in UN peacekeeping since 1992

# Tokyo: Redefining the “Alliance”

- Postwar US-Japanese military arrangement: continuation of occupation, military protectorate?
- “Redefinition” after the Cold War still undergoing.
- Pressure from the U.S.: Increase in the role of JSDF.

# Tokyo: Discarding postwar constitutional pacifism? 1/2

- The “pacifist clauses”: Preamble and the article 9
- The ruling Conservatives’ long-held agenda: Amending the clauses to become a “normal” country.



# Tokyo: Discarding postwar constitutional pacifism? 2/2

- Stable public support for the pacifist clauses of the 1947 Constitution remains.
- Compromise in the 70's: "Strictly for self-defense" posture of JSDF
- Budget ceiling of "GDP1%"
- Three "non-nuclear principles"
- No export of arms

# Growing military expenditures

- China: Over 10% growth sustained for 17 years (12.6% for FY2005, official figure)
- South Korea: Steady 7 to 8% growth.
- (Japan: Already huge, flat growth.)
- USA (close to 50% of the world total)  
6% per annum growth 2002-2004.
- World: \$1035 billion, \$162 per capita 2004.