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ВОЕННО–ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЙ СОЮЗ СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ И ЯПОНИИ В КОНЦЕ XX - НАЧАЛЕ XXI ВЕКА

Аннотация: За последние десятилетия интенсивность сотрудничества между Японией и Соединенными Штатами неуклонно возрастала, доказывая, что обе страны готовы раскрыть свой военный потенциал.

Данное исследование охватывает период с 1945 года по настоящее время в контексте развития политических, военных и экономических отношений между Японией и Соединенными Штатами.

Ключевые слова: военный союз, США, Япония, военное сотрудничество, политическое сотрудничество.

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MILITARY AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN AT THE END OF XX – BEGINNING OF THE XXI CENTURY

Abstract: *Over the past decades, the intensity of cooperation between Japan and the United States has steadily increased, proving that both countries are ready to unleash their military potential.*

This study covers the period from 1945 to the present in the context of the development of political, military and economic relations between Japan and the United States.

Key words: military alliance, USA, Japan, military cooperation, political cooperation.

Introduction

Formulation of the problem: The problem is seen in the ambiguous nature of the US-Japanese military-political alliance. The research paper attempts to outline the gradual changes observed in the cooperation between the two countries, as well as the results and benefits of the above-mentioned political activity that is observed today.

Literature review: consideration of the military-political relations between Japan and America is reflected in foreign authors: Sheila Smith, Fumio Ota, Michael Auslin, Kent Calder, John Emmerson, Harrison Holland, Robert Eldridge, Paul Midford, etc. And in Russian literature: Bunin V. N., Verbitsky S. I., Istomin I., Vodopyanov K. Also important information sources are the Constitution of Japan of 1947, the treaty "on security guarantees" (1951), the treaty "on mutual cooperation and security" (1960).

Research methods: Such methods as comparative analysis, case study, and strategies such as synthesis, systematization, deduction, and induction.

Limitations: The study covers the time frame from 1945 to the present in the context of the development of political, military and economic relations between Japan and the United States.

The significance of the study: The identification of Japan's military-political dependence on America, the political and regional isolation of Japan in the Asia-Pacific region due to its dependence on the United States in the field of security. Detection of changes in the military-political relations between the two countries in the context of changes in the external conditions in the Asia-Pacific region and the situation of the Japanese economy.

Thesis statement: Over the past decades, the intensity of cooperation between Japan and the United States has steadily increased, proving that both countries are ready to unleash their military potential.

CHAPTER I. REASONS AND GROUNDS FOR THE AMERICAN-JAPANESE POLITICAL AND MILITARY ALLIANCE

1.1. The state of relations after the defeat of Japan in World War II and the establishment of American domination

After the defeat of Japan in World War II, the allied countries led by America occupied its territories during 1945-1952. Japan was the mother country of America, led by the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Occupation Forces, Douglas MacArthur (1945-1951), and then Matthew Ridgway (until 1952). The task that the allied powers have set themselves is to change the militaristic direction of Japan's policy. In order to change the consciousness of the Japanese people and politics towards democratic foundations, changes were made in the economic, social, and cultural spheres of life in Japan. "America wanted to turn the ruling circles of Japan into a tool for asserting its colonial rule. And the so-called policy of "democratization" was aimed at bringing something American into the Japanese system of government» [2].

Two bodies were created for the exercise of power: the Far Eastern Commission in Washington, which determines the principles of the occupation policy, and the advisory body of the Union Council in Tokyo. Japan faced a crisis of the imperial system in the country, and the United States, for its part, feared the growing influence of socialism in Asia, which is why it tried to subordinate political activities in the country. Japanese political centers and strategic areas were subordinate and reported to the American headquarters of the Supreme Commander. The American military centers were created in accordance with the Japanese administrative division. "The system of 'indirect control' helped to create the illusion of the people's independence and independence of the Japanese government (although in reality it was ultimately subordinate to the occupation army), it helped to weaken the people's resistance to the rule of the occupiers» [2].

1.2. The emergence of the Ninth Article of the Japanese Constitution of 1947 and the rejection of war as a means of resolving international conflicts

For the implementation of the occupation policy, America understood the importance of preserving the dominant figure of the emperor, since the aristocracy, the most influential stratum of the population, advocated an imperialist system. But the world community, the allied countries and " the masses of Japan, who lost their loved ones in the war, lost their homes and suffered because of post-war inflation, also did not have particularly warm feelings for the emperor» [2]. They were opposed to the preservation of the imperialist system and considered it the basis of Japan's militaristic activities.

A decision was formed to adopt a constitution, according to which the emperor renounced his divine origin and began to act as a symbol of the country. Also, in the constitution adopted in 1947, it was stated about the refusal of the Japanese nation to wage war. "Article 9. Sincerely striving for an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as the sovereign right of the nation, as well as the threat or use of armed force as a means of resolving international disputes» [8]. This article limited Japan's right to have different types of armed forces and the lack of the right to wage war.

1.3. Urgent need for cooperation in the framework of the Japanese economic miracle

In the mid-1950s, Japan's economy began to grow rapidly and became the second economy in the world after America. This phenomenon is called the Japanese economic miracle, which was made possible by low taxes due to the lack of financial costs for the needs of the army, conducting open politics and obtaining information, thanks to which technology began to develop.

America has passed a directive to "disband the zaibatsu," the Japanese family clans that have a monopoly on industrial and banking cartels. As a result, it did not eliminate the monopoly of capital, but " led only to the redistribution between the various capitalist monopolies of the shares concentrated in the hands of the family zaibatsu, turned them into the common property of the Japanese and American

monopolists, and thus facilitated the import of American capital to Japan." [2]. Japan's economy has become based on the export of high-quality manufactured products and the receipt of raw material imports.

In the 1950s, relations between Japan and the United States began to change, first the treaty "on security guarantees" (1951) was signed, then the treaty "on mutual cooperation and security" (1960). According to which America can create military bases and deploy its army on the territory of Japan to provide it with military security in the event of aggression by other countries. It also had a fruitful impact on the development of the Japanese economy, which did not need to spend money on maintaining the armed forces.

1.4. The crisis of the 1990s and Japan's vulnerability not only in the economic sphere, but also in the sphere of national security

In the 1990s, an economic crisis began in Japan as a result of rising prices in the stock market and the real estate market, which was followed by a crisis in the banking sector. As a result, investments began to be directed outside the country, the latest technologies developed less, and the goods produced became less competitive for export.

This period also saw the "end of the Cold War", which led to the disappearance of the main reason for maintaining the US-Japanese alliance-opposition to the communist bloc» [1]. The question arose about the need for the continued presence of American troops on the territory of Japan, which was a painful issue. It also led to the formation of a desire for Japan to relax its military ban and develop its own defense potential.

1.5. Strengthening the position of the United States in the era of the "lost decade" under the pretext of ensuring security

The term lost decade is applied to the period of the economic crisis in Japan, as during this time it lost its rapid pace of development and lost its leading place to other economically developing countries.

US-Japanese security relations continued to develop under the pretext of countering existing threats in Asia and preventing the emergence of new military

threats in the region. The strengthening of America's position increased, as Japan was surrounded by North Korea, China, and Russia, which were actively developing their military power. In 1997, the "guidelines for bilateral cooperation in the field of defense" were signed, and now the military-political relations between the two countries were not limited to repelling aggression towards Japan, they pledged to support each other in ensuring stability in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan also pledged to provide logistical support to America. Thus, the two countries became political, economic, and military allies, and the United States strengthened its position in the Asia-Pacific region.

CHAPTER II. DYNAMICS OF MILITARY-POLITICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Japan's steps towards recovery in the early 21st century

By the beginning of the 21st century, Japan is beginning to recover its economic position after a severe decade-long crisis. Economic growth in the country is linked to the government's anti-crisis policy, led by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, to restore the banking system, and the privatization of the postal service, the largest credit institution. The ongoing reforms also affected the social sector, and many needy Japanese began to live on state benefits. "One of the key elements of the recovery of the Japanese economy, Koizumi called the struggle to improve the efficiency of Japanese business, including a tough attitude to debtor companies to force them to reduce costs" [7]. An Advisory Council on Economic and Financial Policy was convened and developed a document, which was adopted by 26 June 2001, entitled "The basic course of Economic and Financial Policy and Economic and Social Structure reforms".

By the beginning of the 21st century, Japan is beginning to actively express its desire to occupy a leading position in the international political arena, by obtaining a seat on the UN Security Council. "The Japanese Self-Defense Forces were able to take part in such actions as monitoring compliance with the ceasefire agreement, collecting and disposing of weapons" [7]. The size of the Japanese armed forces also began to increase, which made it possible to expand the possible areas of use of force. "In 2002,

under the new authority, sent the largest contingent of 680 troops in the history of its peacekeeping operations to rebuild infrastructure in East Timor" [7]. Japan continued to strengthen its defense alliance and military relations with America, but relations with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region continued to be tense.

US patronage allows the Japanese government to make bold statements (for example, about the return of the Kuril Islands)

At the beginning of the 21st century, Japan implemented defense reforms that allowed it to send troops to Iraq to support the United States in its fight against terrorism, and this strengthened the relationship between the two countries. "Japan's political influence on the world stage has nevertheless increased, which raises the question of transforming the existing Japanese-American alliance and establishing an equal partnership between Tokyo and Washington [1].

Japan has become more independent in its foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific region, which has had many territorial issues since the end of World War II. There is a deterioration in relations with China, the Senkaku Islands, which are disputed territory between Japan, China and Taiwan, especially after finding reserves of natural gas deposits. In 2004, the Chinese paratroopers were expelled from these territories by the Japanese police. In 2005, Japan supported the US position on a peaceful solution to the Taiwan Strait dispute between Taiwan and China. "According to Chinese analysts, the Japan-US security alliance has gradually begun to transform into an alliance to contain China" [1].

The Kuril Islands are a zone of territorial disputes between Japan and Russia, which prevent the establishment of strong political relations. The United States supports Japan's claim to the islands, but since the Kuril Islands are not governed by Japan, they cannot provide it with armed support, according to the treaty between the two countries.

Japan and the United States have joined forces to confront the regime of Kim Jong Il

The threat to the security of the Asia-Pacific region is represented by North Korea, which is increasing its nuclear power. "This fact creates the danger of a sudden

collision that could draw the peninsula into war, which in turn would involve the United States and Japan in the conflict" [1]. As a response, Japan and the United States have been conducting joint tests of the missile defense system since 2006. Also in May 2006, the two countries adopted an agreement under which American troops were relocated to Japan and the deployment of a missile defense system was accelerated.

Relations between Japan and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by the beginning of the 21st century were complicated due to the kidnapping of Japanese citizens in the 1970s and 1980s. But in 2002, Japan and the DPRK at the summit came to a peaceful solution, as the abducted Japanese were returned to their homeland, and later their relatives. In 2007, the UN General Assembly raised the issue of the abduction of foreigners by the DPRK, "it urged the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to resolve these issues immediately, including by ensuring the speedy return of the abducted persons" [1]. The United States is critical to Japan's security and the preservation of peace in the Asian region.

By June 13, 2007, six-party talks were underway, which would have resulted in the latter closing the Yongbyon nuclear reactor, in return for fuel and improved relations with Japan and America, but the talks reached an impasse.

Putin's Munich speech in 2007: the US sees it as the beginning of a confrontation; Japan becomes the center of a military presence in the Far East

At the annual Munich Security Conference in 2007, Vladimir Putin made a speech in which he spoke about political unipolarity, that the solutions to political, economic and military issues of an international nature are concentrated in the hands of the United States. Although the use of armed forces as the last way to resolve the situation should be controlled by the UN Charter. This speech was about NATO, which continues to expand its power to the east. The Munich speech provoked thoughts about the resumption of the "cold war", " Vladimir Putin's speech in Munich was the beginning of a new cooling in Russia's relations with Western partners, who misinterpreted the criticism of the Russian president, perceived his words as a new threat from an unpredictable Russia" [6]. The United States perceived Putin's speech

as a renewal of Russia's political ambitions, and continues to expand NATO forces to the east under the pretext of ensuring security on European territory.

By the 21st century, gradually expanding US military bases were located on the territory of Japan, which were able to influence the military situation in the Asia-Pacific region and quickly intervene in conflicts in the region. "By expanding the scope of the military alliance with Japan, the Pentagon is using the rapid reaction force stationed in Okinawa and elsewhere in the country to intervene in the affairs of countries in Asia and the Middle East" [5].

Expansion of the Japanese armed forces and navy under the guise of self-defense forces with the assistance of American troops

By 2005, Japan had decided to make changes to the organization of the military system in order to give it the status of a ministry. Since 2012, a military reform has been carried out and a national security strategy has been formulated, as a result of which the first Japanese military base since World War II is being created, the Japanese self-defense forces become a full-fledged army and are given the right to launch an armed strike against opponents. Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan states the renunciation of war, so all Japanese defense organizations must have the character of civil self-defense, and the creation and expansion of the army under the Constitution is controversial legal nature.

By 2017, the Japanese government announced a decision to create a marine corps. Assistance in the training of Japanese marines was provided by the US Marine Corps, which in 2018 also attended demonstrations of Japanese marines, and then both states conducted joint exercises with a landing on the territory of California. The task of the marines is to protect the remote Japanese islands, which mostly concerns the Senkaku Islands, to allow a quick reaction to the actions of the PRC regarding this disputed territory. "The Japanese press writes frankly that this is due to the threat of China in the southern direction in the East China Sea, where Japan and China have disputes over the Senkaku Islands" [3]. The build-up of Japan's naval capabilities is linked to concerns about China and its potential for an armed takeover of the southern

Japanese islands, and the United States has supported Japan in these territorial disputes and indicated its readiness to provide them with armed assistance.

CHAPTER III. RESULTS OF THE AMERICAN-JAPANESE MILITARY-POLITICAL ALLIANCE

Shinzo Abe's view of Japan's status based on its military potential

In his foreign policy views, Shinzo Abe adheres to the philosophy of "right-wing conservatism", from which it follows that Japan "must remain loyal to the alliance with the United States, but at the same time persistently get rid of the "defeat complex in World War II", "draw a line under the wartime policy" and begin the revival of Japan "as one of the leading powers of the world» [7]. He advocated changing the system of government imposed on Japan after World War II. Policies were implemented to justify the militaristic and colonial activities of the country, and pressure was put on the Japanese media to get rid of critical statements about the activities of modern politics and past deeds. Abe's policy was aimed at ridding Japan of the reputation of a country defeated in the Second World War in the region, which did not receive the punishment it deserved.

Scientists claim that with the power of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in Japan, the Abe doctrine began, which replaces the Yoshida doctrine of the first post-war minister in the country. Both political doctrines are characterized by a commitment to a political alliance with the United States, but the policy of pacifism is replaced by a more aggressive diplomacy, with certain views and a desire to win a leading place in the region with the projection of forces in the region and the strengthening of the armed forces. The new policy of Japan began to be called "proactive pacifism", which is characterized by an increase in self-defense forces, participation in military operations and the development of the military-industrial complex.

Shinzo Abe's policy of changing the military organization in the country was supposed to improve mutual understanding with the United States, which was critical of the new Prime Minister's statements about the Second World War and the role of Japan. It was planned to make changes according to which Japan will be able to exercise collective self-defense, so that it will be able to provide direct military support

to the American armed forces. The US had to assess Japan's growing military power, and its participation in a policy of "rebalancing", which combines the use of a complex of military, economic, and political methods to spread democracy and participate in rapid regional development. "In 2013, for the first time in the last 13 years, the Japanese government decided to increase the defense budget by 0.8% and increase the ground self-defense forces by 18 thousand people» [7]. Japan also thought about creating a marine corps, began to increase its weapons.

By 2013, America is beginning to speak out that "Tokyo should help the United States more in its new strategy in the Asia-Pacific region, show more solidarity and integrate the Self-Defense Forces more with American troops" [7]. The US saw Japan as its main allies to deter the PRC.

In 2014, Japan and the United States announced the development of a joint coastal warship under the mutual defense assistance treaty, as measures taken against the growth of the PRC's naval potential. Japan began to increase its navy with the development and creation of new technical machines, such as a submarine with lithium-ion batteries. From October 29 to November 2, 2018, the United States jointly with Japan conducted the joint exercise Keen Sword, which translates as "sharp swords", which was attended by more than 55,000 Marines and airmen, only 10,000 service members were from the United States. These exercises are dedicated to the defense of distant Japanese islands from a sudden invasion of the enemy, presumably China. These annual exercises include amphibious landings, simulated air battles, and missile defense. Thus, the Japanese Navy ranks 4th in the world in terms of its size and equipment, and America provides them with its support.

Japan's first attempts to repeal or circumvent Article 9

The government was aware of the complexity of changing Article 9 of the Constitution, for which it was necessary to hold a referendum, despite the fact that a significant part of the country's population was against the amendments. Therefore, a new interpretation of article 9 and k is being put forward. "On May 25, 2015, the Government submitted to Parliament for approval two bills defining situations in which Japan can use its armed forces to exercise the right to collective self-defense» [7].

Since in the event of an armed attack on Japanese territory, the United States undertakes to assist them, the Japanese armed forces will be able to provide them with military support, but they have the right not to do so. “In 1959, the Supreme Court of Japan issued a verdict according to which it allows the exercise of the right to self-defense in a limited form in the interests of ensuring the existence of the country” [7]. Based on this, the self-defense forces are created, which in fact are a real army. And according to the new bills, the Japanese army has the right to exercise collective self-defense not only within its own country, but also outside it with the American army in cases of an attack on Japan, in case of a threat to its citizens and in the interests of ensuring international peace.

In 2010, the Japanese Ministry of Defense issued a document entitled "Japan's Defense-2011", according to which “the main directions of the national defense program replaced the concept of basic Self-Defense Forces adopted during the Cold War with the concept of dynamic defense” [4]. Previously, Japan's peacekeeping activities within the UN were limited to construction and support activities. "And the amendments to the law on international cooperation in peacekeeping allow the SSA to take part in a larger range of UN peacekeeping operations, including protecting transported civilians, helping other countries' contingents, as well as using more weapons in accordance with UN standards” [4]. The government of Japan announced that it is ready to protect the ships of the US Navy, intercept ballistic missiles towards the United States flying through the territory of Japan, this also applies to the interception of ships, protect the contingent taking part in UN peacekeeping operations abroad, mine clearance of sea routes in the Middle East.

In 2015, the amended "Main Directions of defense cooperation of the US-Japan military-political alliance" were adopted, according to which, “make possible the joint exchange of intelligence, tracking and detection, the use of infrastructure, the maintenance of maritime security, cooperation in the field of missile defense, space and cyber security, peacekeeping operations, disaster relief, non-combat operations for the evacuation of citizens” [4]. Thus, since 2010, Japan's military involvement in peacekeeping has been increasing, and it is guided by an increase in its global and

regional influence, while avoiding the need to risk the lives of its peacekeepers, since Japanese society is still scrupulous about the activities of the Self-Defense Forces abroad.

CONCLUSION

The military-political alliance of Japan and the United States had a great influence on the development of the first country in the field of its economic, political, and military development after the end of World War II. As a result, the United States has gained a strong economic ally in the Asia-Pacific region, with the help of which it can quickly respond to the actions of its military and political opponents in the region.

Japan in 1947 enshrined a new constitution and article 9 renunciation of war. Due to the absence of the need to develop military capabilities, Japan has directed all its financial and scientific forces to the development of the economy, which contributed to the development of the phenomenon of the "Japanese Miracle" and one of the world's leading GDP. By the 21st century, the distribution of forces in the Asia-Pacific region has changed, as the PRC and the DPRK began to increase their military potential. Japan began to achieve a leading position on the world stage, gradually participating in UN peacekeeping missions. The state of the country's defense potential has led to the emergence of a new bill on the creation of Self-Defense Forces capable of participating in armed conflicts outside the country, i.e., there is a gradual increase in military potential.

In the 21st century, there was a redistribution of forces in the Asia-Pacific region, as the PRC and the DPRK began to increase their military and political potential and strive to gain a leading position in the region. Japan, in turn, could only rely on the military protection of America to ensure its security. All this was the reason for the development of Japan's own defense power. This contributed to the strengthening of the alliance between the two countries and the creation of independent, as well as union-like relations.

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