

WEINBERG GRANT PROPOSAL: TOKU SAKAI

Introduction

The Japanese's constitution's Article 9, the famous "no-war" clause, renounced war as a means of resolving international dispute. By vouching to never maintain land, sea, or air forces, Japan had, in effect, given up the prospect of re-militarization for good.¹ Yet today there are 239,000 active Japanese military units operating in Japan under the guise of a Self Defense Force with an annual budget of just over \$50 billion. The Japanese Self Defense Force is larger in size and spending than all of Great Britain's military units combined.² To this day, the entire constitution has never been changed.

This study focuses on the first twelve years of Article 9, from 1947 to 1959. These years are crucial because they encompass the time period when the outbreak of the Korean War led the United States to drastically re-prioritize their objectives in Japan.³ To thwart the Communist threat, under the order and supervision of the American forces, Japan broke from post-war policy and went from having absolutely no army to one of 75,000.⁴ These twelve years also encompass the change in office of three key prime ministers, Shigeru Yoshida, Ichiro Hatoyama, and Nobusuke Kishi, the last two of whom departed from Yoshida's stance on permanent demilitarization and aggressively pursued re-militarization.⁵

Previous scholarship has focused on Yoshida's regime but neglects to analyze the changes in discourse and rhetoric made by his succeeding Prime Ministers. This project thus aims to fill the gaps in this literature. Because today's pro-revision discourse shows such strong similarity to those of the 1950s, answering how and why the calls for revision were defeated during Hatoyama and Kishi's regimes will contribute to the historical literature on post-war Japan and shed light on the current debates on revision.

Methodology

To address these questions, the project will analyze the changes in Japanese and American discourse over the stated 12 year span and the

Toku recognizes the importance of explaining the project's time frame to the reader, explaining that this selection of dates has a genuine intellectual justification.

Even though Toku uses headings to organize the proposal, he also uses strong topic sentences and well-unified paragraphs to help readers easily find the key points they will be looking for.

The introduction sets up a provocative historical and narrative tension for readers: the contradiction between the Japanese constitution and the political reality of their military.

Toku uses one of several possible strategies for establishing the significance of the study—in this case by connecting it with current events and debates.

¹ Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: New Press, 1999. p.82

² Chinen, Mark A. "Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan and the Use of Procedural and Substantive Heuristics for Consensus." *Michigan Journal of International Law*. 27 (55) (February 2006): 59

³ Dower, John W. *Empire and Aftermath: Yoshida Shigeru and the Japanese Experience, 1878-1954*, Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies. Harvard University, 1979. p. 378

⁴ Moore, Ray A. and Donald L. Robinson. *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State Under MacArthur*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. p. 3

⁵ Gordon, Andrew. *Postwar Japan As History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. p.18

continuity implied by the survival of Article 9. In order to analyze the discourse of Japanese politicians, I plan to examine the correspondence of Prime Ministers Hatoyama and Kishi. These sources are available in electronic form at the National Diet Library. Changes in American discourse will be monitored by following the statements of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in declassified letters, telegraphs, and memoirs found in Northwestern's Government Information archives. In order to investigate what, if any, impact the emerging discourse on national security had on Japanese public opinion, I will also investigate Op-Eds and Letters to the Editor published in the Yomiuri Shimbun, one of Japan's major national newspapers, which is available at the University of Chicago Library as a searchable electronic database and at the Center for Research in the form of microfilm. This work will be the basis of a honors thesis in History.

Toku shows good familiarity with local resources—one of the keys to a successful grant proposal.

This is a model example of a proposal that will employ different types of sources. Toku expertly conveys both the availability and accessibility of the relevant sources as well as the purpose of each and how they will contribute to the overall purpose of the thesis project.

Proposal For Summer Work in Evanston/Chicago

While living in Evanston, I will be within walking or a short train ride distance to all my sources. The University of Chicago and the Center for Research possess extensive archives of Japanese newspapers and Allied occupation documents dating back to 1945. Northwestern University has an impressive collection of declassified documents pertaining to U.S.-Japanese relations between 1945-1965 and the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration has a branch in Chicago where I can view microfilm containing correspondence between American and Japanese diplomats during 1947-1959. The bulk of my time however will be spent getting through the archival records in Japanese. I recently returned from a full-year abroad, 3 months of which have been spent as a Legal Intern in Tokyo and 9 months in Kyoto where I took classes on the Constitution and Japanese History with Japanese students at Kyoto University. During this time, I acquired key familiarity with the constitutional and historical issues at the heart of the Article 9 revision debate as well as in-depth understanding of the workings of the Japanese Diet. I am now fully proficient in the Japanese language and can competently read all the mentioned sources in Japanese. However, getting through Japanese primary sources still takes a staggering amount of patience and time. The summer is the only time I can conduct such thorough research in a foreign language. Lastly, because I was in Japan for most of the year, I need some time to get further acquainted with the historical scholarship about this time period and topic. The selected secondary sources are all essential readings that will help position my research and findings so that they will be in dialogue with the Historical scholarship.

This proposal is a terrific example of an argument for funding a researcher's time (as opposed to, say, a researcher's need to travel to access materials). Even though most of the source materials are available locally, the author makes a good case for summer funding because of the amount of time required to conduct the research in a foreign language.

Toku's argument for funding has already shown how this project is an extension of his undergraduate interests. Thus, he concludes simply by emphasizing the contribution that his project can make to the field.

An analysis of how political discourse on re-militarization was taken by the public and American officials only a decade after the end of World War II is a fascinating opportunity to investigate the roots of the Article 9 debate. At a time when the actual revision, if not complete elimination, of Article 9 is a realistic possibility, this research has incredible applicability not only in understanding the past, but in fully grasping the controversy today.

Primary Sources in English

Foreign Relations of the United States 1946 – 1960 (FRUS).

Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, available at Northwestern University Library

Records of the U.S. Department of State Relating to Political Relations with Japan 1930 – 1959 available in microfilm at the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (Chicago)

Primary Sources in Japanese

Yomiuri Shimbun 1945 – 1965 available at the University of Chicago Library

Yoshida Shigeru's correspondence with his cabinet can be obtained in digital form at the National Diet Library

Ichiro Hatoyama's correspondence with his cabinet can be obtained in digital form at the National Diet Library

Nobusuke Kishi's correspondence with his cabinet can be obtained in digital form at the National Diet Library

Secondary Sources:

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