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Title: How The Japanese State has attained Great Military Power in Global Capitalism (ver.2)

—Global capitals and relative independency of state—

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Introduction

One of the most distinctive features of global capitalism is as follows:

Global capital, i.e., globalized monopoly capitals, have made its relationship with the originated nation state weaker, losing its integral relationship with its nation since the end of 19th century, and especially in the latter half of the 20th century. Under above condition, Japan attained great military power around 2010 and it has been strengthened by the Abe Administration.

The purposes of this paper are as follows:

Firstly, we find out the logic behind how Japan has achieved military power under global capitalism. Secondly, we warn against Japan continuing to move towards obtaining military power.

1. Global capital in Global Capitalism

One of the most distinctive features of global capitalism is that multinational enterprises (globalized monopoly capitals), namely global capitals, have made its relationship with the originated nation state weaker, losing its integral relationship with its nation in the latter half of the 20th century. This is because global capitals have invested in multiple countries or have been economically active worldwide, resulting in several nation states to share common vital interests among them.

Global capitalism was established in the beginning of 21st century, after going through the process of its formation in the 1980's and 1990's. Monopoly capitals (large companies) in monopoly capitalism within a single country have become

the global capitals which are now dominant and economically active in each national economy and over the world economy. Global capitalism is a new stage of capitalism that has shifted away from monopoly capitalism accompanied by a welfare state. Besides, both the model of advanced countries and the model of emerged economies such as BRICs coexist in global capitalism, although there are significant differences between them.

By having transformed to new capitalism, national capitalism, for example the substance of Japanese or American capitalism, has already disappeared. National economy divided by borders, for example the 'Japanese economy', still exists as an inseparable part of global capitalism. This means that the independency of the national economy has been weakened remarkably.

Considering the fact that the relationship between global capitals (multinational enterprises) and nation state are not integral in global capitalism, it should be explained how the Japanese state has attained great military power, and if its power could be sustained when the Japanese economy plays a core part of global capitalism.

2. Attaining Japanese Military Power, and Superpower Nationalism Aiming at Hegemony,

The four conditions of possessing military power are as follows:

A country has:

1. A superior power over the neighboring states in the field of military force.
2. The capability to carry out military operations in the international region or all over the world.
3. The capacity to pay for a large defense spending (USD\$50 billion in Japan).
4. High technology industries and well-developed systematic infrastructure and laws.

With the above four conditions, a state can stand in a prominent position diplomatically and militarily in the international community.

Japan is surely a military power, whose power is almost equal to the UK and France, but it is not superpower like the United States since Japan does not possess nuclear weapons, or extended or intermediate range ballistic missiles (ERBM & IRBM), and bombers etc.

Japan started making policies to attain military power in the latter half of 1980s, and continued to strengthen them, along with the 1st~7th Government Mid-Term Defense Plans (1986-2018). The Japanese army (Self-Defense Force) has been armed with strong weapons such as warships with missile systems and the E767 mid-air early-caution controlling planes etc., and in particular the navy deployed large-sized Aegis warship of Kongoh type to four fleets in 1998.

The US announced the East Asia Security Report (EASR) which is called the Nye-Initiative and was made by the leadership of J.S. Nye, Jr. According to this initiative, both governments agreed with the new strategy of the security in the Asia and Pacific region and proclaimed the US-Japan Security Declaration in April 1996. The important point is that Japan rapidly increased its military presence in this region, corresponding to the size of the economy and technology, stating that “Both governments make efforts collectively and individually in order to become more peaceful and stabilized in the situations of the security of Asia and Pacific region.” This statement means that the Japanese government has declared the distinct intention to use the military power for the international community.

Prof. S.A. Smith pointed out that the missions of the Japan Self-Force are not only to defend its own country, but to also be able to influence the military balance in this region. (S.A. Smith, “Development of the defense cooperation in the US-Japan Alliance”, Green, M.J. & Cronin, P.M. Edited, The U.S.-Japan Alliance,1999.) After the (second) guideline, Japan - US Defense Cooperation was decided by the Japan-United States Security Consultative Committee (SCC) in September 1997, and the Act of emergency-at-periphery law was enacted in 1999.

By the end of 20th century, Japan had become a state that possesses strong weapons similar to that of a military power based on two following points: the level of military force and the declaration of Japanese government. Japan participated in the Afghan Wars in 2001 and Iraq War in 2003, when Japanese fleet dispatched in Indian Ocean, providing logistic support to the US and the UK armies.

Japan attained its military power around 2010, and continued to strengthen its military force and performance. The most important is that the Japanese navy started possessing the helicopter carrier (Hyuga type, DDH,13,500t, 197m total

length) , making the military operation possible independently not only in the area around the country, but also at least in the whole East Asia and West Pacific region.

[Main weapons possessed by Japanese Self-Defense Force in March 2011]

USD\$=¥100

<The Army>

13 tanks of the 2010 type (USD\$95 million per a tank), 10 helicopters of AH -64D type (USD\$110 million per a helicopter)

<The Navy – Main warships>

2 helicopter carriers (DDH, Hyuga-class, 13,500t, USD\$1.1 billion each), 38 patrol helicopters of SH-60K (USD\$70 million each), 2 large Aegis warships of Atago class (DDG, 7,750t, USD\$1.5 Billion), 2 Aegis warships of Kongoh class (7,250t, USD\$1.2 billion), 3 new submarines of Sohryu class (2,900t, with the AIP, USD\$598 million), 3 large transport ships of Ohsumi-class (LST, 8,900t, USD\$503 million each), 2 replenishment oilers of Mashu-class (13,500t, USD\$430 million each)

<The Air Force>

4 planes of the E767 mid-air early caution controlling (USD\$555 million each), 13 air borne early warnings of the E-2C (USD\$99 million each), 4 transport aircrafts with air refueling capability (USD\$223 million each), 93 fighters support (USD\$120 million each).

Below, we can observe that Japanese army has got stronger weapons with highest quality and amended law system related to security in the 2010s.

[Main weapons added from April 2011 to March 2018]

USD\$=¥100

<The Army>

69 tanks of the 2010 type, 52 amphibious vehicles (AAV7), 69 type-16 Maneuver combat vehicles (16MCV, USD\$560 million each), 125 air-to-air missiles of AIM-120, USD\$45 million each), 2 aegis ashore arranged aerial-to-ground(1.3 billion each, from 2018), 13 transport aircrafts of Osprey (V22, USD\$98 million each, scheduled deployment from 2018)

<The Navy>

2 large helicopter carriers (DDH, Izumo-class, 19,500t, 248m total length,

USD\$1.2 billion each), 36 patrol helicopters of SH-60K (mentioned above),
2 Aegis warships of larger class (8,200t, under construction), 6 new submarines
of Sohryu class (mentioned above),

<**The Air Force**>

1 planes of the E-2D air borne early warnings (Advanced Hawkeye USD\$245
million each, since 2018, scheduled 4 planes), 10 stealth fighters of F35A
(USD\$131~180 million each, scheduled 28 fighters), 33 antisubmarine patrol
planes of the P-1 class (USD\$200, scheduled 70 planes), 2 unmanned
reconnaissance planes of Global Hawk (USD\$120 million each, scheduled 4
planes),



2 large Aegis warships of Atago class (DDG, 7,750t, since 2007),
from Japanese Defense Ministry



Large helicopter carriers (Izumo-class, 19,500t, 248m total length,
Since 2017, from Japanese Defense Ministry

Japan kept increasing its position as having a military power, which lead to a
second stage around 2017. Two reasons are as follows: Firstly, Japan has the

high quality level of main weapons, particularly in its navy and air force, which greatly surpass its 2010 level. Japan possessed four fleets of which two larger helicopter carriers went into commission and became flagships in 2015 and 2017, and four other fleets had aegis warships which become flagships. Nowadays the Japanese army can dispatch a fleet easily and carry out military operations in the whole Asia and Pacific region, and Indian Ocean. In fact, Japan has carried out military operations in the East China Sea and South China Sea since 2016. Moreover, Japan would possibly have the capability to arm itself with nuclear weapons within a year, if the government decided to do so.

Secondly, Abe administration succeeded significantly in amending the security law system. The government affirmed the right to collective defense by changing the interpretation of the 2nd clause of article 9 in the Constitution and by enacting new security law in which Japanese army can carry out military action or war together with foreign army.



Japanese aegis warship and the US carrier, Carl Vinson in the the US and Japan joint training in Japan Sea, home page from Japanese Defense Ministry

The formation of the military power and the strengthening of its force has been backed up by an increased defense spending. Total defense spending has been over USD\$50 billion since 2014, and was recently USD\$53.5 billion. In addition, the deferred burden is over USD\$20 billion (\$23.9 billion in 2016). The sum of both is over USD\$70 billion per year. See Table 1. Its size was 7th place (USD\$47.3 billion) in the world ranking in 2016, following France (5th) and the UK (6th), with Korea 10th (USD\$33.8 billion) and Australia 12th (USD\$24.2 billion) in the same year.

[Table1] Defense spending annual settlement: US \$million				
	I Total	II D.B.	II a	II b
2011	48,181	20,365	19,680	685
2012	47,615	20,017	18,468	1,549
2013	47,922	17,728	16,432	1,296
2014	50,628	22,127	20,896	1,231
2015	51,303	23,941	22,501	1,440
2016	51,498	23,923	22,405	1,518
11-16 Average	49,525	21,350	20,064	1,287
2017	53,524	22,142	21,343	799
2018	51,911	21,899	20,127	1,772
*2017 budget after additional one 2018 budget *US \$=¥100				
*D.B. Deferred burden				
* II a Obligatory assurance of national subsidization				
* II b Continuing expenditure				

The expenditure on the purchase of weapons averages over USD\$17 billion, and consists over 35% each year from 2011 to 2018. It is for sure that the expenditure has made it possible to supply the main and strong weapons. See Table 2.

[Table2] Structure of Defense Spending annual settlement: US \$million								
	I Total	1.Weapons	1-a	1-b	1-c	2.R&D	1+2=W	W/ I (%)
2011	48,181	16,041	8,479	2,459	5,103	905	16,946	35.2
2012	47,615	17,078	9,791	2,847	4,440	919	17,997	37.8
2013	47,922	16,005	8,671	2,521	4,813	1,309	17,314	36.1
2014	50,628	17,565	9,591	2,233	5,741	1,294	18,859	37.3
2015	51,303	17,273	8,979	2,469	5,825	1,121	18,394	35.9
2016	51,498	18,193	9,140	2,717	6,336	976	19,169	37.2
11-16計	297,147	102,155	54,651	15,246	32,258	6,524	108,679	36.6
11-16 Average	49,525	17,026	9,109	2,541	5,376	1,087	17,962	36.3
2017	53,524	18,757	8,953	2,515	7,289	1,212	19,969	37.3
2018	51,911	17,070	7,263	2,134	7,673	1,101	18,171	35.0
*2017 Budget after additional one *2018 Budget								
*1-a Artilleries and veicles *1-b Warships and vessels								
*1-c Planes for war *R&D Research and development								

3. Logic behind how Japan attained military power in global capitalism

Global capitals that originated in Japan have invested in many countries that do not necessarily require Japan to attain a great military power, even if they have to pay the necessary cost for the political and social stability in the regions. We should find out how Japan attained military power in global capitalism and look into a relative independency of state activity.

The relative independency is defined by the strategy and policies of the state. Fundamentally, characteristics of the economic base or structure of the country

play a key role. However, sometimes a state counteractively provides huge effects on its economic activities altering the economic and social structure. In addition, the state or government can carry out independent performance relatively. Its independency is one of the important principles related to state activity in politics. Karl Marx formulated both of the determination of economic foundation and relative independency of super-structure, for example state and forms of ideology etc. in his book “Preface of Criticism of Political Economy” in the middle of 19th century.

Japanese superpower nationalism is the major driving force, and the main promoter of great military power, with the purpose of achieving militaristic and diplomatic hegemony in East Asia and west Pacific Ocean, and in the whole Asia, Pacific and Indian oceans in the near future. Superpower nationalists whose major leader is prime minister Shinzoh Abe, and one-time prime minister J. Koizumi etc. have the reins of government since the latter half of 1980s, (except several years when the non-LDP party was in charge; For example, at the time of Democrat administration), and have hegemonism in East Asia and West Pacific ocean by strengthening military power in this region.

The United States has also maintained the military hegemonism in this region in the era of post-Cold War. As the position of the US goes down while Japan increases its position, the co-hegemony of the US and Japan has been formed in the first decade of 21st century in this region, though Japan is militarily and diplomatically submissive to the US. Nowadays co-hegemony of the US and Japan has come into collision with China, because China has become powerful militarily, aiming to attain the hegemony in the same region.

4. Possibility of the Alternative Strategy

We are severely critical of attaining military power and hegemonism, because we think that we should aim to ensure peace, i.e., political and social stability in this region by non-military means. A nationalist government does not drum up support from the majority of Japanese people for strengthening military power, hegemonism and superpower nationalism, though we can partly observe the movement of nationalists; e.g., the group of Japanese Congress (Nihon-Kaigi). But in the case that the middle class who fear being affected may support a nationalist government, it may lead to the movement of superpower nationalists to support hegemonism in Japan.

However, there is a possibility to have an alternative strategy of pacifism to aim international political and social stability by non-military means, rather than attaining military power, will be formed in Japan. And I hope this movement will drum up support from the majority of people based on the same logic of relative independency. Pacifists would take the reins of government, even though it is now minority.