

Japan's basic defence policy was adopted by the Kishi Cabinet in 1957 and called for the enhancement of national security through domestic political stability, the gradual buildup of an effective defence capability and the maintenance of defence arrangements based on the Japan-United States security treaty. In 1968, the basic defence policy was amended to commit Japan to the "three non-nuclear principles" of neither possessing, manufacturing, nor introducing nuclear weapons into the country. These principles led, two years later, to Japan's adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

In 1976, under pressure from the United States to increase defence spending, the Japanese Government introduced the National Defence Programme Outline (NDPO) which called for the systematic expansion and modernization of the Self Defence Forces over a five year period. Anticipating opposition parties' and international criticism, the Cabinet simultaneously announced a decision to limit defence spending to one percent of GNP. This spending limit had detrimental effects on NDPO procurement policies and led to renewed American criticism of Japan's commitment to equitable burden-sharing. In 1985, Prime Minister Nakasone introduced the Mid-term Defence Plan (MTDP) designed to achieve NDPO force levels within five years. In 1987, after a lengthy debate in the Diet, the defence budget was set slightly higher than one percent of GNP. The JDA continued to enjoy preferential funding with respect to other government departments, and with the dramatic increase in the value of the Yen following the G-5 Plaza Accord, Japan soon had the world's third largest defence budget when measured in US dollars.

### **Constitutional Restraints on Defence Policy Making**

Article IX of the Japanese Constitution reads:

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat of the use of force as a means of settling international disputes.

"In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized."

The post-war Constitution was drafted by Occupation authorities, and its legitimacy has at times been called into question by Japanese governing and opposition parliamentarians. The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has a formal policy advocating the revision of the Constitution, but there is little real political support for constitutional reform and revising Article IX would be a particularly divisive issue. During almost 40 years of LDP rule, the Government has expanded the interpretation of Article IX