

A Study on Hayato Ikeda's Political thought and Leadership

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논문요약

이 연구는 일본 이케다 하야토 총리의 정치적 사상과 리더십을 고찰하는 것을 목적으로 한다. 그는 일본에서 좌익과 우익의 투쟁이 정점에 달한 위기 상황에서 총리에 취임하였다. 그는 대장성 등 다양한 관료재직 경험을 바탕으로 경제발전 중심의 위기 극복 정책을 시행하였고 이는 케인즈 주의에 입각한 실질적인 개인 소득 증대에 전념한 것이었다. 이것은 결과적으로 국민의 소득 증대와 경제성장을 불러와 전 정권에서 안보 문제로 야기된 정국 불안을 잠재우는 역할을 했다. 또한 그의 유화적 리더십은 야당과의 갈등을 줄여 국내정치에서의 안정을 불러와 국가발전에 도움을 주었다. 결론적으로 그의 총리 임기는 약 4년에 불과했지만 특유의 리더십과 정치철학을 효과적으로 발휘해 일본이 경제 강국으로 부상하는 데 많은 공헌을 하였다.

주제어 : 이케다 하야토, 정치사상, 리더십, 자유민주당, 소득배증계획

I . Introduction

From 1959 to 1960, Japan was experiencing drastic domestic political turmoil brought about by the US-Japan Security Treaty, which sparked a series of massive uprisings that ended in the historic *Anpo* protests of 1960 (Kapur 2018; McCargo 2012). It was also during that year that Japan was confronted with a violent labor dispute in Kyushu, where miners at Miike Coal Mine and their labor union launched massive protests against the decision of the management to lay off approximately 1,500 miners (Kapur 2018). Such chaotic circumstances, particularly the *Anpo* protests, led to the forced resignation of Nobusuke Kishi, Japan's Prime Minister at the time (Kapur 2018). Hayato Ikeda was then elected as president of the Liberal Democratic Party, after which he rose to power and led the country as Prime Minister from 1960 to 1964 (Kapur 2018).

However, because of the disastrous residue inherited from Nobusuke Kishi's term, the beginning of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda's term may be described as unfortunate, if not hopeless. The scale of political unrest was so remarkable that the restoration of Japan to its status before World War II seemed impossible. Nonetheless, within four years, he served as the nation's prime minister, translated such an impossibility into reality, and at the end of his term, Japan had begun to enjoy a more satisfactory quality of life, as evidenced by significant improvement in its economic status, specifically in both its employment rate and the standard of living of its citizens

(Hamada 1996: Liberal Democratic Party of Japan n.d.).

Hayato Ikeda led Japan from a highly political scenario by directing people's focus to the economy. The Income Doubling Plan paved the groundwork for the 1960s era of rapid growth. Japan began the decade of the economy, rather than a decade of politics, owing to those initiatives. Understanding the leadership that Ikeda performed beginning in the 1960s may greatly aid leaders to achieve what Japan did, which was to be among the nations with the greatest financial growth rates in the world. In terms of actual growth rate, the 1960s were the most spectacular decade in Japanese economic history. Except for 1960, when it was 1.6 percent, the unemployment rate was low, hovering around 1.1-1.3 percent (Hamada 1996). The Japanese economy was in the midst of its most rapid development phase in 1968. This time period (1966-1969) was known as the IZANAMI era (Hamada 1996). Such an achievement amid the adversities faced by Japan makes his leadership worth exploring. Hence, this paper will discuss the political thought and leadership of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda, and in particular, how his term as Japan's Prime Minister contributed to the restoration of the nation's economy, and how dwelling upon those successful strategies could be of benefit for new and incumbent leaders.

II. Literature Review

1. Japan under Prime Minister Nobosuke Kishi

From 1957 to 1960, Japan was under the leadership of Shinzo Abe's maternal grandfather, Nobusuke Kishi, who was once called the "Monster of the Showa Era" because of his notorious rule over the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in Northeast China (Iwami 2012). He was also one of the Japanese authorities who played a crucial role in Japan's declaration of war against the United States on December 7, 1941 (Iwami 2012).

Japan's surrender at the end of World War II made the nation in destitute and placed it in a perilous position, a severe consequence of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a co-signee of Japan's declaration of war against the United States, Nobusuke Kishi was classified as a suspected Class-A war criminal, and was consequently imprisoned for three years (Kapur 2018; Bix 2001). Nonetheless, no charges were pressed against him by the United States government, and despite being reputed as a Class A war criminal, the United States appointed him as the man who was the most qualified to lead Japan in a pro-American direction during the post-World War II era (Kapur 2018; Bix 2001).

As Japan's post-World War II leader, Nobusuke Kishi primarily focused his term as Prime Minister on the revision of the 1952 US-Japan Security Treaty, which the United States

government imposed upon Japan to end its military occupation of Japan and restore Japan's sovereignty as a nation (Kapur 2018). The treaty secondarily aimed to establish a military alliance between Japan and the United States (Kapur 2018).

Nevertheless, at the beginning of his term as the nation's Prime Minister, Nobusuke Kishi perceived the treaty as an agreement that strongly favored the United States more than it did Japan. The treaty stated Article 9 of the US-imposed Constitution of Japan (1947):

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 or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as another war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized (para 13).

Determined to revise Article 9 of the constitution, Nobusuke Kishi flew to the United States, where he laid out his proposal for revising the constitution before the United States Congress (Samuels 2001). Unaware of Nobusuke Kishi's close ties with Hideki Tojo, who was executed for war crimes, the United States, through the Eisenhower administration, agreed to the proposal of Nobusuke Kishi, whom the administration considered the most pro-American leader of Japan (Miller 2019).

However, the revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty

sparked controversies and opposition in Japan. As a response, Nobusuke Kishi legislated and executed the Police Duties Bill, which expanded the role of the police force, providing it with the authority to crush any form of protest and to conduct home searches without any need for a search warrant (Kapur 2018).

The bill led the Japan Socialist Party and the Sohyo Labor Federation to take action and hold protests in the face of the newly acquired powers of the police force in order to try to kill the Police Duties Bill (Kapur 2018; Samuels 2001).

2. The 1960 *Anpo* Protests

In 1959, it was clear to the Japanese public that Nobusuke Kishi intended to revise the term limits of the President of Liberal Democratic Party, who was not allowed to serve over two years due to the rules of the party. When it was founded in 1955, the term of president of the Liberal Democratic Party was only two years, and there was no regulation on re-election. Kishi insisted on a four-year term, saying, "The LDP's two-year term of office is unstable compared to foreign countries because the prime minister is replaced every two years." (Yakushizi 2016). Japan is a cabinet system, so the leader of the majority party becomes the prime minister, meaning he wanted to be prime minister for a longer period of time.

However, this intention frustrated the finalization of his plans to revise the US-Japan Security Treaty, triggering further opposition from a broader segment of the public,

including the members of the Liberal Democratic Party, to which he ironically belonged (Kapur 2018; Bix 2001). The planned revisions of the treaty, although expected to place Japan on par with the United States, received much opposition, as the envisioned new treaty implicitly placed Japan in a position where its chances of becoming involved in another war were evidently high (Kapur 2018; Bix 2001).

In 1959, a nationwide protest held by a newly formed coalition called the People's Council for Preventing the Revision of the Security Treaty successfully killed the Police Duties Bill and recruited a large number of individuals who held the same views opposing the revision of the treaty (Kapur 2018). Widely aware of the growing opposition against the revisions, Nobusuke Kishi brought in 500 police officers, who were tasked with physically ousting his opponents from the Socialist Diet, and subsequently passed the revised treaty with the presence of only the members of his party (Kapur 2018). Enraged by this anti-democratic move, the public united and waged protests on a nationwide scale, eventually forcing Nobusuke Kishi to resign from office (Kapur 2018).

3. Japan under Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda

The resignation of Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi opened the door for the election of a new president of the Liberal Democratic Party by the name of Hayato Ikeda, who subsequently replaced Nobusuke Kishi with hopes of paving the way for Japan's restoration. However, the political turmoil that Nobusuke Kishi's leadership left was so pronounced and

seemed so uncontrollable, and the emphasis that his leadership placed on politics was so exponential, that the restoration of Japan's economy seemed hopeless.

Despite being significantly higher than it was before and during World War II, the nation's annual domestic product growth rate remained at 7.1% from 1945 to 1958 (Beckley 2018). At the end of Nobosuke Kishi's term, the nation suffered from an unemployment rate of 1.6% (Beckley 2018).

Although the nation made economic progress during Nobusuke Kishi's leadership, which was brought about by economic assistance provided by the United States, global inflation at the time was so pronounced that any nominal gain made by Japan appeared negligible.

Ikeda's entry into Japanese politics as the nation's Prime Minister raised the hopes of the whole nation, which was venturing into a transition from the highly political situation of the country during Nobusuke Kishi's term to the goal of economic recovery. Ikeda projected that Japan's real gross national product would have grown two times by the end of the decade, compared with the nation's real gross national product at the beginning of his term (Hamada 1996). Every Japanese perceived this as a projection that was unlikely to be translated into reality, referencing the impact of global inflation at the time (Hamada 1960; Liberal Democratic Party of Japan n.d.).

Nevertheless, to the surprise of everyone, the real gross national product of the nation truly doubled at the end of the decade, and between 1960 and 1973, the real income of Japanese citizens, as indicated by the country's real gross

domestic product of the country, had risen three times (Hamada 1996). The unemployment rate during this period was also at a low of 1.1-1.3% in contrast with the 1.6% at the end of Nobusuke Kishi's leadership, consequently lowering the income gap between the socioeconomic classes in the country (Hamada 1996). In addition, the nation unlocked a door that opened technological innovation; Japanese bureaucrats are known for their rigid stance, and permitting foreign technology had been difficult, but cooperation between the government and companies has increased in the Ikeda Cabinet. (Johnson 1982; Liberal Democratic Party n.d.). Consequently, the standard of living of every Japanese citizen significantly improved, bringing about greater satisfaction in everyday life, as opposed to how people were living in chaotic socioeconomic conditions during Nobusuke Kishi's term (Liberal Democratic Party n.d.).

A president of Liberal Democratic Party during this period was allowed to lead the party for a period of two years and no more than two terms. Nonetheless, the outcomes of his long-term plan and goal for Japan became evident as soon as the first years of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda's premiership (Hamada 1996; Liberal Democratic Party n.d.). It was then inevitable for the period he served as the nation's Prime Minister to be called "the Golden 60s of Japan" (Liberal Democratic Party n.d.), as Japan's economy underwent significant transformation (Burrett 2016).

With the limitations imposed upon his term, and with the milestone he managed to achieve for the Japanese nation, this writer cannot help but wonder about how Prime Minister

Hayato Ikeda was able to aid the nation in escaping from political turmoil during Nobusuke Kishi's term and lead it to economic restoration. Hence, this article aims to explore the political thought and leadership of Hayato Ikeda that formed the foundation of Japan's economic recovery, which was actually an economic miracle.

4. Ikeda's Policies: *Teishisei* and Economic Growth

Ikeda rapidly created a cabinet consisting of fresh, younger faces, signifying a new governmental vision and displaying continuity and confidence in the midst of continuing turmoil. Ikeda's government quickly adopted a "Low Posture" or *Teishisei* policy, replacing Kishi's violent and aggressive tactics with well-choreographed public gestures toward peace with opposition groups. Ikeda further weakened resistance by promising action on better social security, tax cuts, and public projects, and, at the end of the year, by launching a broad program of national "income doubling," claiming that this objective would be achieved within 10 years (Marotti 2006). For most of the Cold War, the LDP pushed for conservatism, which has come to be characterized as "postwar conservatism" after the administrations of Hayato Ikeda to Keizo Obuchi. The LDP defined conservatism as a party that did not desert the poor, pursued enlightened self-interest based on the concept of international cooperation, and held a preference for fiscal health that allowed for intergenerational justice in terms of assets and opportunities (Funabashi 2016 as stated in Teo 2019).

By promising to deliver high growth and substantial material

benefits to all in short order, Ikeda positioned the government behind the effects of an economic expansion underway at least since the mid-1950s - one fueled by domestic consumption, trumpeted by advertising, and associated with profound changes in how people worked, lived, and conceived of their lives (Marotti 2006).

III. Research Methodology

To achieve the aforementioned aim of this study, I began by formulating the research question, "What was the political thought and leadership of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda that formed the foundation of Japan's economic miracle?"

From this research question, I isolated the keywords "political thought" AND leadership AND "Hayato Ikeda" AND "Japanese economy," all of which formed the search words for the subsequent Google and Google Scholar searches conducted. Revisions of these keywords were done when Google and Google Scholar failed to display articles containing information that directly answered the previously posed research question.

From the search results, a total of six articles containing significant information were chosen. A systematic review of these articles was then conducted by first isolating the significant statements or statements that describe the political thought and leadership of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda; secondly, formulating the themes reflected in the isolated statements, and finally, delineating these themes.

Four distinct approaches can be used to analyze historical data in research. These are as follows: (1) source critique; (2)

sequence analysis, including time-series analyses and process theorizing; (3) comparison techniques; and (4) counterfactual studies (Buckley 2016). For this study, comparison techniques are utilized in assessing the leadership style and political philosophies of Ikeda in relation to his predecessors and successors. In the social sciences, the comparative approach is especially important. In social science research, there are three traditional comparators: across location, across time, and against a precisely described counterfactual condition of the world (Beckley 2016).

IV. Findings: The Political Thought and Leadership of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda

1. Income Doubleing Plan and Government Role

Since World War II, the underlying premise of any economic strategy in Japan has been that it should be founded on the principles of free business and free markets. The aforementioned plan took this notion a step farther than earlier ones in that it prioritized only a few major issues, rather than stressing details in every sector (Fujioka 1963). According to this approach, the national economy was split into two parts: the public and private sectors. Only for the former were actual and realistic initiatives outlined; for the latter, the plan provided only predictions and basic advice, leaving everything else to the initiative and inventiveness of private persons and businesses (Fujioka 1963).

The plan's five components were as follows: (1) expanding social overhead capital, such as roads, harbors, factory sites, and water facilities, which tend to lag behind direct productive capital; (2) strengthening the industrial structure by increasing the relative importance of sectors where labor is more productive, such as the heavy and chemical industries; and (3) promoting foreign trade and international economic relations (Fujioka 1963).

The public sector was the plan's focal point; the government had direct authority over it. The government's role was to promote good elements for economic growth while removing negative aspects; to preserve price stability while providing money for economic expansion; and to reduce business volatility via effective fiscal and monetary policies (Fujioka 1963). The government's participation in this plan was emphasized as providing a guidepost for the private sector to construct its own strategy. Another characteristic of the plan was that it spanned a longer period of time, especially when compared to prior Government programs. This was due to the plan's requirement for Japan to transition to an open economy, advances in science and engineering, social security, and human education and training (Sakisaka 1963).

2. International Relations and Open Market

The geopolitical environment shapes cross-national patterns of economic growth in an important but frequently ignored way. Without Japan's relationship with the United States, its spectacular postwar economic boom in the 1960s would not

have been conceivable.

This assertion has been made by policymakers, political scientists, economists, historians, and journalists on both sides of the Pacific. Massive domestic investment, foreign technology acquisition, protectionist obstacles, and well-designed industrial policies helped a coalition of Japanese officials and businesspeople set Japan on a path of export-led prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s. Economic growth surged significantly as a result of these foresight measures, and Japan rose to the pinnacle of the global economy (Beckley 2018).

3. Keynesianism and the Income Double Plan

Extant literature attests to the influence of Keynesianism on the political thought and leadership of Prime Minister Ikeda from 1960 to 1964. To understand how this type of economics formed the foundation of Japan's economic miracle led by Hayato Ikeda, one ought to understand its three underlying principles: theory, policy, and ideas. The theory pertains to Keynesianism itself, or the theory that places importance on monetary and fiscal programs as a means to improve employment conditions and income, which ought to be the basis of any economy-related decision (Wakatabe 2021). On the other hand, the policy may be viewed from two perspectives—either a deficit-spending fiscal policy or macroeconomic management of aggregate demand (Wakatabe 2021). Meanwhile, ideas may pertain to socialism or liberalism and the preservation of capitalism (Wakatabe 2021).

An important question is: How was the theory of

Keynesianism exhibited in the political thought and leadership of Hayato Ikeda?

When he assumed the office of the Prime Minister in 1960, Hayato Ikeda perceived the focus of Japan to have fallen solely on its political relations with the United States, which resulted in the neglect of the economic growth of the nation (Kapur 2018). As was previously presented, the annual economic growth rate of Japan from 1958 to 1960 remained at 7.1%, and its unemployment rate was at 1.6% at the end of Nobusuke Kishi's premiership (Hamada 1996). Keynesianism came into the picture when Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda legislated and executed the Income Double Plan, a policy that aimed to raise the income of individual Japanese citizens by as much as two times through three key approaches: doubling the gross national product of the country, achieving full employment for every Japanese citizen by improving employment opportunities, and improving the standard of living in the country (Zakowski 2011; Samuels 2001; Nakamura 1985 as cited in Lu 1997). On the whole, the plan aimed to achieve 26 million yen in GNP at the end of a decade guided by the following objectives: 1) introduction and development of technological innovations and a competent labor force and 2) an annual growth rate of 9% from 1960 to 1963 (Zakowski 2011; Nakamura 1985 as cited in Lu 1997).

The plan was apparently grounded in the theory, policy, and ideas of Keynesianism, as the plan was grounded in the use of monetary and fiscal programs as means to improving the employment and income of Japanese citizens. The theory was then translated into policy, whose implementation was focused

in five directions: 1) promotion of modernization of agriculture, 2) modernization of medium and small enterprises, 3) accelerated development of less developed regions, 4) appropriation of land areas for industries and review of regional distribution of the projects of the public sector, and 5) active participation in the development of world economy (Nakamura 1985 as cited in Lu 1997). All of these directions were in line with the management of aggregate demand from the macroeconomic perspective. Therefore, it can be asserted that the political thought of Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda was a product of influence from Keynesian theory.

What is noteworthy is that as a result of his Keynesian approach to the economic problems that confronted Japan at the time, the aim to increase the growth rate of the economy was achieved at 10% annually, as opposed to the envisioned 9%, and the aim to double the income of Japanese individuals was achieved at the end of four years, rather than the projected 10-year period (Zakowski 2011; Liberal Democratic Party n.d.).

4. Leadership in the Spirit of Tolerance and Patience

Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda was fully aware of the devastating consequences of the uprisings that Nobusuke Kishi had created with the opposition parties of the Japan Socialist Party, the Soho Labor Federation, and his own Liberal Democratic Party. Built on this awareness, his leadership centered on and promoted the spirit of tolerance and patience, which were apparent in his dialogue politics and

party modernization (Liberal Democratic Party n.d.). These were apparent in the ties he had built with opposition parties, with which he engaged with utmost sensitivity and care (Liberal Democratic Party n.d.).

Such a spirit of tolerance and patience was also evident in the four constraints that he had set in the defense capabilities of Japan. Primarily, he admitted to the impossibility of revising Article 9 of the US-imposed constitution, the amendment of which sparked the uprisings during Nobusuke Kishi's term (Sant 2010). Secondly, he promoted peace education among the youth serving in the military at the time (Sant 2010). Third, he shifted the focus of Japan from rearmament to economic growth and security (Sant 2010). Finally, he prohibited conscription in the constitution, consequently resulting in a smaller number of young individuals enlisting in the army (Sant 2010).

During his four years as the nation's Prime Minister, Hayato Ikeda's term was characterized by marked stability and the near absence of conflict with the opposition parties (Liberal Democratic Party n.d.).

V. Conclusion

This study aimed to uncover the political thought and leadership of Hayato Ikeda, who was Japan's Prime Minister from 1960 to 1964, the period which historians from the country and elsewhere across the globe referred to the Golden 60s, when Japan's economy was restored and made to flourish following significant improvements in the nation's gross

national product and Japanese citizens' employment, income, and standard of living. Such a milestone within a short period of time seemed impossible at the inception of his being the Prime Minister due to the residue of the political turmoil left by Nobusuke Kishi; nonetheless, such an impossibility had turned into a reality even before the projected deadlines he set at the beginning of his term. Stability was also apparent in every sector of Japanese society, which was almost free of any uprisings from both the opposition parties and the general public. Also, his case provides hints on how to resolve conflicts and develop the economy in a society where ideological confrontation between the left and the right is severe. Such achievements within his four-year term as the Prime Minister can be associated with his political thought and leadership, which, according to the research conducted in line with this matter, was grounded in the influence of Keynesianism. This was demonstrated by how he dealt with the economic predicaments that had confronted Japan primarily through his Income Doubling Plan and the spirit of tolerance and patience which he made evident in all aspects of the Japanese society.

Ikeda Hayato attempted to transcend the acrimonious politics of the 1950s. What separated Ikeda's from to other government plans is that it relied on the prospect of international relations. The desire of the United States to consolidate the Cold War alliance offered Japan an opportunity to enter the lucrative American market, and Japanese business took advantage of the opportunity. The correspondence between the decline in US-Japan relations and the end of

rapid Japanese growth, on the other hand, is consistent with the argument that the formation and strengthening of the US-Japan alliance in the early Cold War decades were critical in facilitating Japan's exceptional economic performance (Beckley 2018).

However, the World Trade Organization has now restricted or outlawed many of the instruments that Japan utilized to boost growth and create internationally competitive businesses, such as export subsidies, import tariffs, and foreign investment restrictions (Beckley 2018). As a result, any other action to be taken by subsequent governments must abide by these modern-day policies. The underlying challenge, therefore, is to manage a growing understanding of the geopolitical and international political relations inside and outside of Japan. Although the economic growth of Japan at that time is mainly attributed to Ikeda's policy, it cannot be overlooked that the surrounding circumstances of the post-World War era and the Cold War, enabled the realization of alliances in and among nations. Paired with leadership skills and that fit in with the demands of the nation, and having a leader open to foreign relations and policies were of great impact in the long term. In principle, economic convergence is conceivable, but Japan's experience shows that it will be the exception rather than the rule, and that the success of any development model will be influenced to some extent by the geopolitical conditions of a nation. The essential argument is that economic development research should pay more attention to historically unique geopolitical situations.

Japan was fortunate to have been led by a Prime Minister

who achieved so much within such a short span of time. If it had not been for him, the nation would have continuously suffered from the detriments of the past administrations, and would have had to deal with continuously with the economic challenges that they had lived with since World War II.

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투고일 : 2021년 9월 15일 . 심사일 : 2021년 9월 25일 . 게재확정일 : 2021년 10월 16일

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<Abstract>

A Study on Hayato Ikeda's Political thought and Leadership

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This study aims to examine the political thought and leadership of Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato. He took office as prime minister to deal with the *Anpo* protest at a time when the struggle had reached its peak in Japan. When ideological confrontation between the left wings and right wings was severe in Japan, he implemented policies to overcome the crisis that were focused on economic development, based on the experience of bureaucrats in the Ministry of Finance. He devoted himself to increasing Japanese people's personal income based on Keynesianism. In addition, Japan's policy was focused on economic growth, not on rearmament, to stabilize society. This reduced conflict by creating a conciliatory relationship between the opposition and ruling parties. In conclusion, his term as a Prime Minister was only about four years, but he contributed immensely to Japan's rise as an economic powerhouse.

Keywords : Hayato Ikeda, Political thought, Leadership, Liberal Democratic Party, Income double plan