

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The Japanese constitution, mainly article 9 has been a debate from the beginning. Mainly due to its unprecedented way of maintaining a military for a country to be passive¹ instead of active. Although it may seem controversial today, it has proven before that Japan in a pacifist state gained many respect from society, especially when the country can thrive—and even flourish—after the war and became an economic giant.

In Yoshida's era, a doctrine was used, it was called the Yoshida doctrine. One of the doctrine was that the Japanese self defense forces will be armed lightly and will not be used abroad. Today however, the Japanese SDF had been widely use abroad the country, not under the Japanese flag, but the flag of the United Nations. Serving peace keeping operations in various conflict zone, and even provides military training centers with a total of 7 times. Though Japan has the United States as their defense on any on going military actions towards them, the US has served well in its duty.

The Japanese SDF had been used in wide range of variety in maintaining peace and security around the world, its military power in only for the use maintaining is suffice for the matter. The US provides many supports towards the Japanese military and for what it stands, it is enough for Japan to not create a more active military, and that is what the US intended to do from the end of World War II and has proved efficient towards the matter.

The Japanese Self Defense Forces are mainly used in

¹ Passive here is in a way that the Japanese Military may not conduct operations where they are the ones conducting offensive measure. The Japanese Military has the sole purpose of self defense.

times when the Japanese sovereign is in a state of trouble, it is deployed only when the United Nations favors to do so, however in terms of national territory and does not concern the International realm, the UN may not be able to do so. DPRK had made testing's on its military arsenal, it may also been an act of show of force especially towards the western backed South Korea. A total of 91 times, the North Korean army has tested its missile and Nuclear, with a goal to make their ballistic missile further and further².

Whilst North Korea is upgrading their offensive armaments, other Asian countries are upgrading their Defensive armaments and creating new defensive policies, training their combatants for a preparation for conflict, and create various simulations on tackling a ballistic missile attack on the population. The course of the ballistic missile is always a threat, before it was just a threat for countries that are neighboring with North Korea, now it is threatening countries as far as the United States.

These cause the international society to raise their defenses and give sanctions³ either multilaterally or bilaterally. Hence, DPRK does not seem to be bothered by these sanctions and continues its military program on missile development.

Japan's inability to further enhance their military movements relies on their most closet ally, the US. USA had stationed many of their military personnel and arsenal off the coast of Japan. The seventh fleet of the US Navy is deployed at Yokosuka, Japan. The fleet consists of 140 aircraft, 50-70 ships, and a nuclear powered Aircraft carrier, the fleet also includes dozens of destroyers and cruisers that are equip with

² Amanda Erickson from The Washington Post, *A timeline of North Korea's five nuclear tests and how the U.S. has responded* (April 14 2017)

³ The United Nations had set upon several resolutions that sanctioned DPRK for their Nuclear testing, these sanctions are, but not limited to: resolution 1718, resolution 1874, resolution 2087, resolution 2094, resolution 2270, resolution 2321, resolution 2371, resolution 2375.

state of the art defense armaments, it also has the defense measure in neutralizing an ICBM.

The real threat that seems to be forgotten by the DPRK when testing their nuclear armaments is collateral damage⁴ than can destroy the environment or causes unwanted effects on humans. North Korea's current Nuclear weapon has a blast radius of more than 4 times the radius that of what had been dropped in Hiroshima. A total blast range of 4.2 miles of damage, it is half as powerful as the current US nuclear arsenal⁵

The aftermath of any nuclear blast, Japan has experience it in first hand. When the US hit 2 atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With recent events such as the Fukushima nuclear reactor meltdown and its devastating effects towards the environment, Japan could not stand still when there is such threats within reach. Shinzo Abe has fight for the right of reforming the controversial article 9 in order for Japan to take action towards any incoming threats. However, many sees that Abe's way of trying to eliminate the threat seems undiplomatically, people argue that having a good defense force is enough and that the North Korean threat may be dealt by bilateral agreements instead of full out war.

North Korea's Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) has reached far beyond the worlds expectations. Starting from the shortest range, the Nodong which could travel 1000Km, the medium range missile that is called Taepodong 1, which could cover the People's Republic of China and Japan, and last but not least, the Taepodong 2, DPRK's most significant ICBM could reach as far as the US, covers Indonesia and most Middle Eastern Countries .

⁴ Collateral Damage as explained by Mangai Natarajan in his book *Kejahatan Dan Pengadilan Internasional*, as accidental or un deliberate damage on objects or humans that is not the military when the situation happened.

⁵ A news report by Bonnie Berkowitz and Aaron Steckelberg on the comparisons of nuclear blast range, with the title *North Korea tested another nuke. How big was it?*, 2017

United States assistance totaled about US\$1.9 billion during the occupation, or about 15 percent of the nation's imports and 4 percent of GNP in that period⁶. That amounts to more than one-third of the \$65 billion in goods that the United States exported to Japan in 2013. Today, Japan is a mature democracy, the world's third largest economy and one of America's most important allies in the Asia-Pacific⁷.

Japan inability to neutralize the threats made by DPRK left Japan in a notion that their views need to be changed in order for Japan to thrive in the near future. Their security policy of pacifism cannot conduct a more aggressive contact with the conflicting party, with the US policy of decreasing their military budget towards Japan, and Japan increasing their own budget. Shinzo Abe's cabinet has approved a \$42 billion defense budget, the largest ever in the country's history⁸. This leads to an evaluation that leads to a change in policy.

Japan's change in their policy is in accordance with reality in the international society. These changes are the changes that effects the mandate of the Japanese Self Defense Forces, in 2016 the JSDF change their mandate. The most significant of them all is regarding the mandate on deploying the JSDF, before the year 2016 the JSDF can only be deployed by the agreement of the UN, however the Japanese government spearheaded by Shinzo Abe changes the mandate in order for the Japanese people to be more active in maintaining peace and security.

B. Research Question :

This paper will try to answer this Research Question :

“Why Japan change their policy from pacifist to a more

⁶ This was taken from a report by the U.S Library of Congress with the title *Patterns of Development*, (2011)

⁷ This was taken from Patrick Christy's journal *America's Proud History of Post-War Aid*, (2014)

⁸ A report made by Ankit Panda with the title *Japan Approves the Largest Military Budget in History*, 2014

active military, despite having a good record being a pacifist country?"

C. Theoretical Framework

For this undergraduate Thesis, the writer will use two Theories that are specifically discussing on decision making and how politics work in the security stage of international politics. The melancholy in East Asia regarding the crisis that has been built by DPRK will determined the new face of Japan in the forthcoming years.

Constructivism Theory

The framework presents that a state may be driven by such political ideas and norms of the people, or mainly the political elites. Constructivism pays close attention to change in the states society, beliefs and interest, and establishes accepted norm of behavior. The main unit of analysis in constructivism is also on an individual level (elites) which will be used to explain of the issue that has been brought by the writer.

The common theme of constructivist is how political actors define themselves and their interest, thus modifying their behavior and altering the states interest⁹. Although power is not irrelevant, constructivism emphasizes how ideas and identities are created, how they evolve, and how they shape the way states understands and responds towards given situations. The constructivism theory will mainly follow as how Alexander Wendt¹⁰ uses it to explain certain conflicts.

Social structures have three elements: shared

⁹ An argument brought by Stephen M. Walt in his *Journal International Relations: One World, Many Theories*, 1998

¹⁰ Alexander Wendt (born 12 June 1958) is a political scientist who is one of the core social constructivist scholars in the field of International Relations. He's approach on conflicts using constructivism has explained many. Some which, that are profound was the explanation of the fall of the Soviet Union that both realism and liberalism failed to explain.

knowledge, material resources, and practices. First, social structures are defined, in part, by shared understandings, expectations, or knowledge. These constitute the actors in a situation and the nature of their relationships, whether cooperative or conflictual. A security dilemma, for example, is a social structure composed of inter-subjective understandings in which states are so distrustful that they make worst-case assumptions about each other's intentions, and as a result define their interests in self-help terms. A security community is a different social structure, one composed of shared knowledge in which states trust one another to resolve disputes without war. This dependence of social structure on ideas is the sense in which constructivism has an idealist view of structure¹¹.

The logics that is being produced from the three elements according to Wendt, the daily life of international politics is an ongoing process of states taking identities in relation others, casting them into corresponding counter-identities, and playing out the result. The international system would not be played out in different culture of anarchy were it not conceptualization of identity. Hence, identity matters not merely when we look at specific states. It is the key to Wendt's systematic argument.

According to Wendt, the intersubjective rather than material aspects of structure which influences behavior. Intersubjective structures are constituted by collective meanings. Actors acquire identities, which Wendt defines as "relatively stable" role-specific understandings and expectations about self, by participating in collective meanings. Identities are significant because they provide the basis for interest, in turn, develop in the process in defining situations. However, this identity could be changed by the relations that a state has. The social aspects of the people and how they see a certain event changes the perspective towards

¹¹ Jackson and Sorensen in their book entitled *Introduction to International Relations and Approaches*, 2006

the relations amongst the two, thus resulting a change in identity.

Wendt discusses how different kinds of anarchy are constructed in interaction between states. What kind of anarchy prevails depends, according to this argument, on what kinds of conceptions of security actors have, on how they construe their identity in relation to others. Notions of security differ in the extent to which and the manner in which the self is identified cognitively with the other, and it is upon this cognitive variation that the meaning of anarchy and the distribution of power depends. Accordingly, positive identification with other states will lead to perceiving security threats not as a private matter for each state but as a responsibility of all

With the differences in past and current situations regarding the state of DPRK and Japan. These two countries will undergo several changes in their policy, especially in terms of security policy. Japan with their article 9 of their constitution cannot pose any aggressive activity in the form of any military movement. The continuation of this could lead an unsecure nation, thus over the course of several years, the Japanese government led by Shinzo Abe re-interprets article 9 in order too fulfill the needs of the right of security to the Japanese people. This re-interpretation correlates with how states relate to one another over the years and sees how the changes effect the two parties

This theory will be helpful in this research, because the research will try to explain the causes of Japanese respond Towards DPRK in the perspective of their shifting identity. Even though the research is discussing on security levels, the writer believes a constructivist perspective may answer the question. Social constructivist approach to the study of security by arguing that security threats are not objectively 'out there' in a positivist sense but only come into being through a process of inter-subjective construction. Constructivism will be applied as a means in understanding

that a states identity can shift and the cause of Japan's respond towards the matter is because of this shift.

This theory will also help determine the reason why is it at this particular time the Japanese government shifts its identity towards what is spear-headed by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. A states identity depends on its people, especially the government that holds the country. In today's government, the identity of Japan is slowly shifting towards what was once a great military power, but the shift did not arise in a swift and quick manner, but more subtle transition, this is of course, followed by changes within the Japanese Society and the International Society. In recent events, more so has the identity shifted, in fear that the Japanese security is at stake. Prior to the new government, Japan was peaceful and moved on its own on economic preferences, Japan had an overwhelming feat in developing technology. Hence, at this time period the presence of hostile activity wasn't as close as what they encounter today.

This identity shift is what the writer will be talking about, as to what cause the shift and how the Japanese government react towards the incoming threats in this new shifted identity. The role of the government is very important, the writer understands that in order for a government to work efficiently, the people has to support its government accordingly, and with the already identity of Japan that its country can survive with great economical build. The government needs to shift the people once more in order to meet their expectations and progress forward on creating effective policies.

D. Hypothesis

Japan change their policy from a passive military to a more active military by re-interpreting past treaties in accordance with the threats from DPRK

E. Purpose Of The Research

This research will have the sole purpose of, but are not limited to:

1. Understanding the dynamics of how a state's defense policy may raise others insecurities,
2. Knowing the Japanese Government's method in acquiring support towards having a more active military roles,

F. Research Range

In order for the writer to focus on the issue, the writer will implement limitations towards this research, in which the limitation will be a period when Japanese Prime Minister went on his second term in office, until present day (2012-2017).

G. Research Method

This paper will conduct research through Qualitative research, it is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas. The writer stress's the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Qualitative forms of inquiry are considered by many social and behavioral scientists to be as much a perspective on how to approach investigating a research problem as it is a method¹².

H. Outline

The Research will be discussing on these matters, but are not limited to :

a) Chapter I Introduction

On this chapter, the writer will describe on the basics,

¹² Denzin, Norman. K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2000.

which are background of the issue, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research method, and outline.

b) Chapter II Japanese Military Pacifism

Chapter II will discuss more on when The new Japanese administration rose to power and began to make their way on creating a shift in identity towards a normalization of their military. Their struggle on proving the Japanese society that a country needs to have a normal Military in order to be more active in the international world. Whilst still maintaining to be under the limitations of article 9.

c) Chapter III The Japanese Change in Policy from pacifist to a More Active Security as Response Towards North Korea's Threats

This chapter discusses on how The Japanese Empire response North Korea through several ways. From diplomacy in the form of agreements, to diplomacy in the form of showing force in side by side with the US military. Here the writer will give study cases of what had been done, and predictions by scholars of what might be done in the near future.

d) Chapter IV Democratic People's Republic of Korea's Aggressive Behavior Towards Japanese Security

This chapter explains on how the defensive policies made by DPRK can cause insecurities towards Japan. Japan and allies had been in high alert since Kim Jong Un develops further in his Weapons Arsenal. This has been a wide issue for the people of Japan to evaluate their constitution on defense. The political spectrum that has been caused by missile testing is used by some Japanese politicians in order to gain support towards a referendum.

e) Chapter V Conclusion

This chapter will give a conclusion and suggestions

towards the writer's research.