

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to discuss the early problem identification by projecting the background of the issue along with the research question following it. This chapter also consists of the theoretical framework to answer the research question including the estimated hypothesis subsequently. As the first chapter of this undergraduate thesis, this chapter manages to explain the research method, research purpose and also the writing structure.

A. Background of the Issue

On April 2nd 2013, the United Nations General Assembly endorsed the *Arm Trade Treaty* that was agreed by 156 states and objected by 3 states, while 23 others were abstain (United Nations, 2013). With the aim of achieving international and regional peace; reducing human misery; and promoting cooperation, transparency, and responsible action by and among states, this *Arm Trade Treaty* was established (UNODA, 2013). The treaty consisted of 10 concrete modules as its implementation toolkits, including the module for exports, imports and also the prohibition on transfers. Seeing how serious the treatment toward arm distribution toward trade is, arm trade has proven to be very significant toward the global security maintenance. The maintenance includes the ban of actors from exporting military weaponries permanently or temporarily to condemn its mistake that tangibly violate the global security, including Japan self imposed military export ban after World War 2 as a pacifist country to avoid any possible engagement with conflict or war by providing weaponries (Japan's Policies on the Control of Arms Exports, 2013).

Back to the end World War 2, Japan had transformed into a pacifist country after Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing that crumbled down the state. After Japan lost the war, United States was the one who held the highest authority of Tokyo

during the vacuum of power. United States main agenda during its control in Japan was to reformulate Japan's constitutions in the name of demilitarization, democratization that leads to more open Japan (Korch, 1999). On the security matters, Washington drafted *Article 9* as the main foundation of Japan pacifism. This article was legitimate among Japanese society at that turbulence yet traumatic period and came into effect by May 3rd 1947, containing an idea that Japan will not be allowed to have military forces but *Jeitai* or Self Defense Forces (Umeda, 2006). Japan's *Article 9* doesn't allow the state to deploy its military abroad or involving in any war by any forms as mentioned on its constitution:

“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 other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.” (The Constitution of Japan : Article 9, 1946)

In the summer of 1947, Foreign Minister of Japan, Ashida Hitoshi, stated to United States officials that Japan had the possibility to allow United States to keep its military bases in Japan eventhough United States occupation had ended. In exchange, United States had to guarantee the Japan territorial security in the state of emergency (Jitsuo, 2000). It was proven since at the end of United States occupation in 1952, Washington had signed a military treaty with Tokyo, to protect Japan from outside threat and maintain its military bases in Japan as an access for the operation in Far East (Tsuneo, 2000). Japan has been living under the security umbrella of United States ever since.

For some reasons, this pacifism has brought several exclusivities for Japan, hence ideally Japan will be unlikely to rearm or involve in war with any means. Firstly, Japan was

more than secure from threat since Japan has United States protection by default on their side. The United States protection toward Japan was also an effective measure to protect Japan from its assertive neighbor, especially People's Republic of China. People's Republic of China stated that they were welcoming United States' presence in the region for a constructive role in maintaining stability and not going to challenge it (Goh, 2011). It shows that it is questionable for Japan to rearm while its surrounding neighbors are even welcoming United States as a dominant party.

Secondly, it will be questionable for Japan to rearm while they have been enjoying the economic development since their security measures are guaranteed by the United States as the global major power. Beyond the expectation, this pacifism turned out to be a lucrative philosophy for both Japanese Government and its society as a whole. Japan was known as "free rider" in the economic aspect because the pacifism (that has been manifested into *Article 9* and United States military protection) provided Japan a maximum opportunity to increase its economic power in full focus (Chung-in & Han-kyu, 2000). This economic growth was politically caused by Yoshida Doctrine, an idea that was formulated by Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru to save the Japan actual military expenses for economic reconstruction, while their security matters had been left to United States to be taken care of (Dobson, Gilson, Hughes, & Hook, 2001).

Lastly, from the domestic political condition, it would be contradictive with the Japanese constitution and Japanese society majority value if Japan decided to rearm. This will be unconstitutional since *Article 9* prohibits Japan to be engaging in war in any means such as providing weaponries or sending troops (The Constitution of Japan : *Article 9*, 1946). Japanese society itself has been traumatic of Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombing that caused massive devastation among themselves. Hence, Japanese pacifism is well known as 'Cult of Hiroshima' which portrayed as black corps of the atomic war victim (Cai, 2008). The absence of war and violence around

Japan's circuit has protected its society from that severe trauma.

Its form of pacifism includes the refrain from providing weaponries to international conflict. In 1967, Japan National Diet adopted *Three Principles on Arms Exports*, dealing with situations in which arms cannot be exported from Japan. The three principles blocked Japan interaction in arm trade with Communist bloc countries, countries under arms exports embargo under United Nations Security Council resolutions, and to countries involved in or likely being involved in international conflicts. In 1976, the government of Japan announced the total arm export ban, even toward the states that was not restricted in the 1967 three principles, aside from some technology transfers to the United States (Japan's Policies on the Control of Arms Exports, 2013).

However, its rooted pacifism for more than 7 decades erodes regressively since conservative Shinzo Abe sits in power for the second term. It is quite famous that Shinzo Abe has a strong conservative stance inside himself. This conservativeness is represented by his thought that is strongly willing to bring the 'Great Japan' back by having strong yet more active army (Yellen, 2014). In 2014, Shinzo Abe had officially lifted the Japan decades long military export ban since 1967 (Fackler, Japan Ends Decades-Long Ban on Export of Weapons, 2014). This military export ban lift then enables Japan to export weaponries and military hardware, in particular to its allies in accordance to the three principles. Seeing this situation, it caused the Japan gigantic heavy industry companies such as Mistubishi Heavy Industries, Ltd. and Kawasaki Heavy Industries, Ltd. to be open up for business. This military export ban lift had directly welcomed by the allies such as United States and Australia, who respectively conducted the joint research on the air-to-air missiles and submarines weaponries technology development (Pfanner, 2014). Hence, based on the problematic antitheses above this research is conducted.

B. Research Question

Based on the background mentioned, this thesis has one research question:

“Why did Japan decide to lift the self-imposed military export ban in 2014?”

C. Theoretical Framework

In the attempt to answer the research question, the utilization of theories and concepts are needed. In accordance to Mohtar Mas'oe'd theory is a statement that explains the relation of several concepts in which it attempted to explain a phenomenon that occurred (Mas'oe'd, 1990). Hence, the model and concept below are used:

1. Balance of Power concept

The balance of power concept was derived from two words; *balance* and *power*. As a universal concept, the term of “balance” has the similar meaning with the word “equilibrium”. It universally means the existence of stability within a system due to the existence of several forces composition, in which the sum or of the forces would resulted into zero such as the balance of supply and demand in economics (Dixon, 2001). While power means the ability of a person or a group to make other actors or groups do something in accordance to the power holder will (Budiarjo, 1977).

Contextualized with the international politics, balance of power is a concept that describes a condition where one or more state power is used with the aim of balancing the power of the other state to reach the stability in the international system. Specifically, balance of power is a process where a state is forming a coalition to prevent a state to claim the entire region (Dunne & Schmidt, 2011). Hans J. Morgenthau stated that there are 2 main bases for that equilibrium to exist; (1) there is a demand from society for the balancing actor to exist and (2) without that balancing actor, there will be an actor dominating over the other. He also stated that the term balance of power could be contextualized within four : (1) as a policy aimed at a particular relation with a state, (2) as an actual description of state relationship, (3) as a generally equal

distribution of power and (4) as any distribution of power (Morgenthau, 1985).

In this research, this concept will be used to describe the antitheses on Shinzo Abe excuse to revoke the military ban regarding the power distribution in East China Sea among Japan and People's Republic of China. It is expected to describe what kind of balance of power Shinzo Abe is attempting to achieve and why the United States exclusive presence in the region for maintaining stability seems to be not enough in the status quo.

2. Foreign Policy Decision Making Model

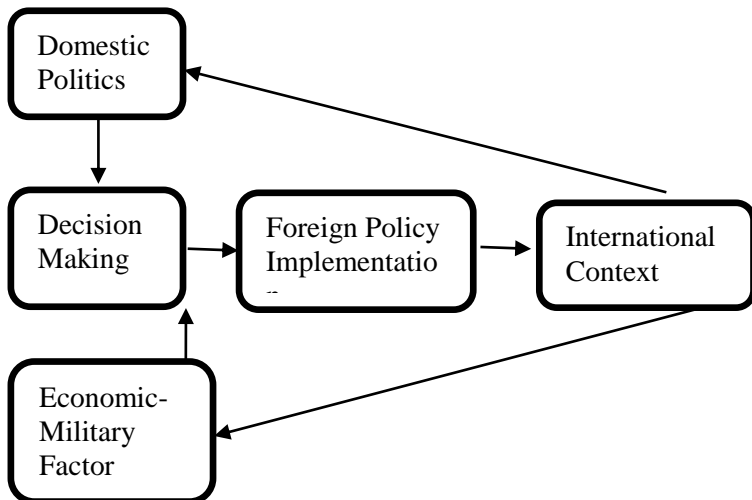
William D. Coplin argues that every foreign policy is a result from the interconnected 3 factors; domestic politics of a state, its economic and military condition and the international context. *First*, policy maker always concerned about the ongoing domestic political issues in the state, including the society vested values, culture and political behavior. The first determinant mainly stated that the political stability or instability does influence a state foreign policy since it encourages policy influence system to work as an input toward that foreign policy. Coplin stated that there are 4 kind of policy influencer; (1) partisan influencer (influencing the decision maker by party in parliament), (2) bureaucratic influencer (influencing the decision maker by the experts and bureaus within the state) , (3) interest group influencer (influencing the foreign policy drafting through the civil interest groups such as think tank, etc) and (4) mass influencer (a form of foreign policy domestic influence by the public opinion and mobility).

Second, foreign policy needs to consider the contingency of military and economic condition of a state, including geopolitical architecture dynamicity as a major security issue. This determinant mainly discusses the nexus between the economy and military condition, which argues the stronger economy a country has, the more ability it has to increase its military capability. The economic strength of a state is determined by its production capacity and trade balance while its military capability is judged by the number

of army and weaponry they have. It includes the skill that the human resources have to conduct the operation.

Third, is the international context that a state aims to champion and the influence of other state/s maneuver that is relevant to the faced problem. The international context aspects within this theory are the geographical, economical and political condition on the global scale. The graphic diagram is drawn below:

Diagram 1 1.1 Coplin Foreign Policy Decision Making



Source : Coplin, W. D. (2003). *Pengantar Politik Internasional : Sebuah Telaah Teoretis*. Bandung: Penerbit Sinar Baru Algesindo.

Using this model, it is expected that this paper will find out the factors behind the Japan decision to lift its self-imposed military export ban. It is also expected that by this theory, this research could explain the correlation among the factors from domestic to international context that leads to this particular foreign policy by Japan.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the background and theories mentioned above, this thesis main assertion lies on a hypothesis that:

Japan revoked the self imposed military export ban in 2014 in order to achieve the balance of power with rising People's Republic of China in East China Sea. Influenced by :

- a) Domestic politics factor : Shinzo Abe and Liberal Democratic Party domination in parliament.
- b) Economic-military factor : a need to rejuvenate the economy in term to increase military budget
- c) International context : United States decline during Obama Rebalancing Asia Agenda

E. Purpose of the research

Given the problematic background and the theory with its hypothesis above, this research is expected to find out the key elements that influence in Japan decision making process in revoking the arm export ban in 2014 under Shinzo Abe administration.

F. Method of Research

This research is conducted using qualitative research method by collecting information from reliable sources and analyzed using the theoretical framework mentioned on the previous part.

G. Writing Structure

This research uses the outline as follows:

Chapter 1

This chapter describes the background of the issue, research question, the theoretical framework taken, the hypothesis determined, method of research, and the outline of the paper.

Chapter 2

This chapter explains about the historical origin of Japan pacifism after World War 2 lost. Also, it discusses how Article 9 and United States-Japan alliance was formed. It also

later explains that the pacifism is also manifested as Japan's absence in any contribution toward war, including exporting weaponries.

Chapter 3

This chapter is specific into the details about the security tension in East China Sea among Japan and People's Republic of China over The Senkaku Islands.

Chapter 4

This chapter presents the concrete reason on why Japan decided to revoke the self-imposed military export ban in 2014. This chapter analyzes about the Japan attempt to establish a more prominent balance of power in East China Sea by increasing United States-Japan alliance by exporting weaponries as form of militarization. This chapter also explains on how its increasing economic power from military export made it feasible for Japan to attain collective self defense right in 2015. It includes on how Shinzo Abe using Liberal Democratic Party domination attempted to influence the foreign policy maker to legalize arm exports in 2014.

Chapter 5

This chapter wraps up the whole research and explanations that have been analyzed in the previous chapters.