

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

After the defeat of Japan in World War II, Japan had no chance except to surrender to the United States (US) as an ally. Japan's government decided to surrender as a form of protection for its society. However, before the defeat of Japan in World War II, Japan was known as a state that had strong military forces. Whereas, Japanese military dynamic occurred after World War II which made Japan faced demand from the US to announce its new Constitution. In Japan's new Constitution, Japan did not have any potential to start a war because of Japan's army forces was disabled in order to prevent the using of offensive military forces to adapting the international conflict in that time. The Article 9, it is stated about Japan's new military policy which contains that the formerly active Japanese military turned into a passive (Chanlet, 2016). Since that time, Japan began under control by the United States in the term of security defense. It can be seen by the existence of US military base in Okinawa, Japan.

Meanwhile, the US emphasized demilitarization and democratization and made Japan into a "pacifist state" (Kimijima, 2006). Pacifism was not only restricting Japanese military forces but also particularly in the limiting of the military budget which would be spent in the defense sector. There are two ways in which we might want to measure military spending; the first way is spending in real terms, and the second is as a percentage of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) (Roser, 2016). Japanese military budget is limited to approximately of 1% of its GDP, an imposed by the Japanese constitution drafted at the conclusion of World War II by General Douglas MacArthur's staff (Kotok, Defense Budgets and Markets & Japan, 2016).

In November 1976, the Cabinet decided that for the time being the defense capability is to be based on the criterion that defense expenditures should not exceed 1% of the GDP of

each fiscal year, and this ratio has not changed even after the end of the cold war (Ikegami, 2013). Moreover, this decision was made as a Japan's commitment toward the international peace. However, by restricting the military budget, it was considered as a realistic option for the first time.

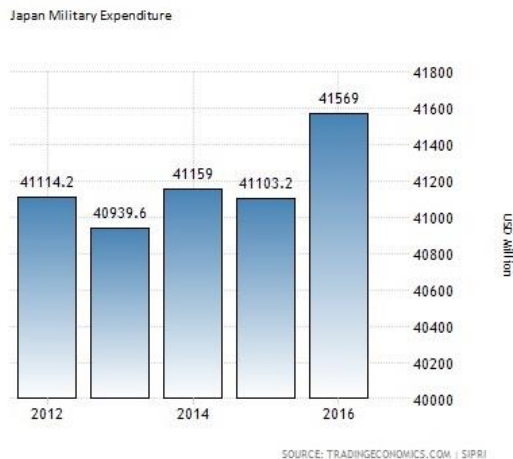
Since the Japanese government did not have to spend a portion of its budget on paying the salaries of Soldiers and purchasing tanks and destroyers, the government could channel the large Japanese household savings into investment in promising industries such as automobiles and electronics (Dekle, 1988). However, 1 percent limitation in the military budget can be considered as driving forces behind the economic growth of Japan. Japan raised with its new economic power. The US primary objective to Japan is demilitarization, and next two were disarmament and decentralization of the economy through the dismantling of powerful economic groups (Tarnoff, 2006). The US had contributed in more focusing to boost Japan economic development. In addition, US had recognized the need to provide assistance for economic recovery and reconstruction in and Japan.

By the economic recovery, Japan has created new technology, such as the low-cost mass production systems, by combining numerous technologies imported from abroad (Takada, 1999). This innovation triggered Japan's economic in having an important role in international scope up to this day, which has been proven by some significant changes of Japanese economic itself. However, the decreased spending budget on military and defense forces are clearly one of the main reasons for Japan's economic miracle (Takada, 1999).

Meanwhile, Japanese military changed to become an important issue especially after the second administration of Shinzo Abe as a Prime Minister. The emergence of defense policy changing under Shinzo Abe can be seen clearly by the enhancement of the power of Japanese military, particularly in the change of military policy, which is the increasing of Japanese military budget which surpasses the 1% of GDP due

to the expansion of military capability. Moreover, in 2013, Japan also significantly increased its military budget over the next five years to acquire surveillance drones, fighter jets, naval destroyers and amphibious vehicles in the region as new defense and security strategies ordered by Japan's conservative Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe (McCurry, The Guardian, 2013). Japan's military budget is significantly increased since Shinzo Abe's cabinet approved a record of the military budget (Telesur, 2015).

Figure 1.1 Diagram of Military Budget Data



Sources: Trading Economic

In addition, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announced that he would no longer keep to the 1 percent of gross domestic product limit on military spending. However, the implications for Japan's budget include an increase in military budget, from 1% of GDP to upwards of 2 or 2½% of GDP (Kotok, Defense Budgets and Markets & Japan, 2016). Japan's defense budget is significantly increased since Shinzo Abe's cabinet approved a record of 812 USD billion budgets for the coming fiscal year, including a record of the military budget of 42 USD billion (Telesur, 2015). The data shows that

military budget in Japan increased to 41569 USD Million in 2016 from 41103 USD Million in 2015 and the military budget in Japan averaged 27022.68 USD Million from 1952 until 2016 (Trading Economic, 2016). However, the Japanese government announced that recently it was biggest military budget ever.

On the other side, during Japan adopts the pacifism and successful in recovery its economic growth, Japan must face a new challenge in economics sector. In 2012, the economics of Japan was in a slow growth which damage to the trading activity (Nakaso, 2014). Industrial products tumbled as export demand continued to weaken which shows that Japan as a third-biggest economy is in a sign of the recession. According to Japan's financial report, Japan industrial faced a declining in economic which caused by some factors, which one of the factors is because of the weakening of the consumer purchasing power and import-export. Against the backdrop of these overlapping events, Japanese economy fell into deflation (Nakaso, 2014). This condition triggered the Japanese government in stabilizing the economic policy.

So, based on the data which has been explained above, Japan which for many years after World War II was a pacifist country, particularly adopted "1% limitation" policy in its military budget, but Japan under Shinzo Abe decided to adopt new policy by increasing the military budget while the economic growth of Japan is currently shrinking. However, it emerges a question about the factors, which become a reason behind the increase of the military budget policy in Japan under Shinzo Abe.

B. Research Question

Based on some facts, it actually explains that Japan under Shinzo Abe adopted new defense policy, particularly in Japan's defense budget, and then the most appropriate research question is *"Why did Japan Decide to Increase the Military Budget under Shinzo Abe?"*

C. Theoretical Framework

To ease the author's analysis in explaining the problems faced and to choose the right concept in forming a hypothesis, a theoretical framework is needed. The establishment of new defense policy by Shinzo Abe in increasing the military budget is important in order to be as an enhancement of Japan's defense. Japan's decision is must be based on the consideration and also it cannot be determined by only one variable. However, in analyzing the reasons of Japanese government under Shinzo Abe decided to increase the military budget, the author uses the Constructivism Theory.

Constructivism Theory

Constructivism is the claim that significant aspects of international relations which are historically and socially constructed, rather than inevitable consequences of human nature or other essential characteristics of world politics (Jackson, 2003). In constructivism, the main analysis unit also located in the level of the individual (elite) which will be used to explain the problem. The constructivism emphasizes the existence of the political actor which determines their interest so that they will change the behavior and the state interest.

Constructivism also emphasizes the social construction of reality, which means that the human relations include the international relations consists of thoughts and ideas and not about the material conditions and forces. Because according to Alexander Wendt, the fundamental principle of constructivism is: *"1) people's actions are based on meanings, 2) meanings arise out of interaction* (Wendt, 1999). Based on these two principles, Wendt stated that interaction among the human will determine their goal which after that become a fundamental of the action that will be decided.

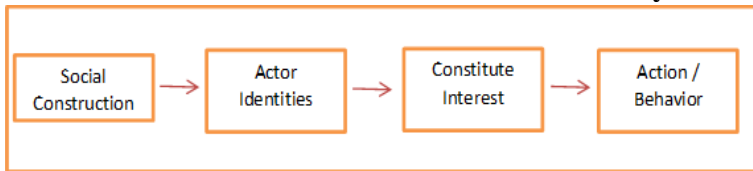
This social world is partly built by the physical entities, but that is the idea and belief about the most important entities; what the entity signifies in the minds of people. The international security and defense system, for example, consists of territory, population, weapons, and other physical

assets. But it is the idea and understanding that the asset is will be understood, organized and used for example. In alliances, armed forces, and so on are the most important. The physical element is there, but it is secondary to the intellectual element that imparts it with meaning, plotting it, organizing it, and guiding it (Jackson, 2003). The thought involved in international security is more important than the physical asset involved because it has no meaning without the intellectual component.

However, according to Ted Hopf, the identity of a state implies its preferences and consequent actions (Hopf, 1998). A state understands others based on the identity which simultaneously reproducing its own identity by the practice of its daily social. Therefore, every identity of the state in a political world is partly the result of the social practice that creates its own identity at home. In this way, identity politics at home constrain and enable state identity, interests, and actions abroad (Hopf, 1998). However, state identity is generally seen as a part of the culture, which most constructivists define as socially shared beliefs (Alexandrov, 2003).

Meanwhile, the theoretical formulation in constructivism claims that a social environment determines the identity of the actor. And then, the identity will determine the interest of the actor, and the interest will determine the form of the behavior, action and the policy from the actor. Interest as the basis of political action or behavior is the product of the identity of the actors. The constructivist theory emphasizes the sources of the emergence of interests by looking at how political actors develop their interests.

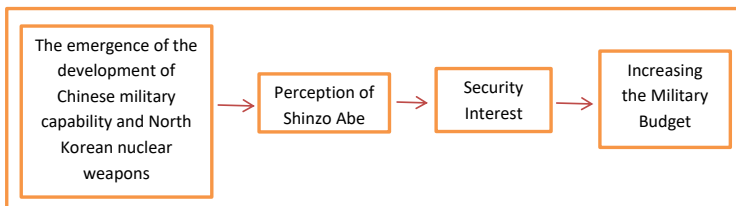
Picture 1.1 Scheme of Constructivism Theory



Sources: The Concept of Identity in International Relations
(Alexandrov, 2003)

Developed countries which spent its military budget certainly have their interests in a matter of military development. No exception Japan which adopted 1% limitation in its military budget. This allows Japan under Shinzo Abe to be better in control and determines the decisions in accordance with Japan's interests in increasing the military budget by Shinzo Abe's perception toward China and North Korea. Constructivism states that the social environment determines the form of actor identity. Then the identity determines the interests, and the interests will determine the behavior that can be a policy. Identity can also affect the shape of the social environment.

Picture 1.2 Application Theory of Constructivism



Sources: The Concept of Identity in International Relations
(Alexandrov, 2003)

Japan is as a state which has a historical background as an imperialist state to China and North Korea. However, Japan feels insecure because of the regional dynamic which happen because the changing condition of the security, which is by the increasing of China's military capability and North Korean nuclear weapon development. This condition then becomes such a threat which triggers as construction to Japan because it is related to the relationship condition between Japan to China and North Korea in the past.

Meanwhile, this constructivism scheme can be implemented in this case by looking at firstly, the emergence of the increasing of China and North Korea which then triggered Shinzo Abe in having perception toward China and North Korea which can be as a threat to the security of Japan. Because Japan which known as a superior state, Japan feel insecure to the increasing of China and North Korea which can threaten the security of Japan. So that, Shinzo Abe decided to increase the military budget as a response to face China and North Korea. Moreover, this theory will help the author to determine the reason for Japan in increasing the military budget by looking at the perception of Shinzo Abe toward both North Korea and China.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the correlation of background and the theoretical framework that has been explained above, the author came up with the hypothesis that in the reason of Japan under Shinzo Abe decided to increase its military budget because of:

1. The emergence of the development of Chinese military capability and North Korean nuclear weapons.
2. The perception of Shinzo Abe toward the emergence of the increasing of China's military capability and the development of North Korea's nuclear weapons

3. The constitute interest which is to maintain the security stability of Japan in order to face the China and North Korea.

E. Purposes of the Writing

The purpose of this research is to identify and understand the new policy under Shinzo Abe in security aspect, particularly in the enhancement of the military defense of Japan. Beside it, the research is also conducted in order to find out the factors of the increased of military expenditure of Japan under Shinzo Abe.

The other important purpose of research purposed is to implement of the knowledge which has already been obtained from the process of studying in the International Relations program by analyzing theory with the existing phenomenon in hope that it will give a positive contribution especially for the students of International Relations. This undergraduate thesis is required to achieve the undergraduate degree in International Relations program, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

F. Research Methodology

This research is formulated in two methodologies: method of data collecting and method of explanative research. The method of data collecting is conducted through the library research and also through the media; printed and electronic media, internet, articles or journals and some reference books. The other method is the method of explanative research; a research which studies the connectivity of cause and effect between two phenomena or more. The explanative research is used to decide whether the connection between the cause and effect is true or false. Referring to the research question, the aim of the explanative research is able to explain the factors of Japan under Shinzo Abe in decided the increasing of the military budget.

After the data was collected, this research comes from the data analysis. Here, the researcher checks for the relevancy

in order to use as the sources in the final paper arrangement. The analysis of the research is divided into two types; they are causality and the descriptive analysis. This thesis will use the descriptive analysis, where at first, this thesis will describe the background and the general description about the factors of Japan under Shinzo Abe in decided the new security policy in increasing the military budget. After describing the main problem, it will go to the deeper analysis in order to prove the hypothesis.

G. The Scope of Research

The scope of research is needed for the researcher in order to give the limitation about the data that will be used. As for the scope of research, it is started on 2012 – present. This is because of Shinzo Abe served as Japanese Prime Minister in the second term (2012 – 2014) and third term (2014 – present). However, since Japan under Shinzo Abe, the government began focusing Japanese military in order to decide a military defense enhancement.

During Shinzo Abe administration, since it was also the establishment of the new security policy in Japan. In consequence, Shinzo Abe decided to take a role in order to increase Japanese military budget to defend its national interest in maintaining its security. Moreover, this research will focus on analyzing the phenomena within the timeline of 2012 – present as the reference. But some of the sources of incident date before 2012 can still be used regarding its connectivity to 2012 up to this year analysis.

H. Outline

This thesis consists of 5 chapters and the explanation of each chapter will be elaborated in detail in sub-chapter. The case is elaborated thoroughly in chapter I as the case of attempting to write a coherent and systematic paper. The outline of the research is as follows:

CHAPTER I describes the background to the problem, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purposes

of research, research methodology, the scope of research and system of writing.

CHAPTER II contains the explanation of the dynamic of Japan's military condition before World War II and after World War II.

CHAPTER III focuses on the explanation about the development of China and North Korea military power in order to prove the first hypothesis

CHAPTER IV will analyze the perception of Shinzo Abe toward China and North Korea and also explain about the Japanese interest to maintain the security stability as factors of the increase on military budget in Japan in order to prove the second and third hypothesis.

CHAPTER V contains the conclusion of all the explanation that has been presented in the previous chapters.

