# CHAPTER IV THE PERCEPTION OF SHINZO ABE AND JAPAN'S SECURITY INTEREST TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA AND NORTH KOREA

In this chapter, the author will explain about the perception of Japan under Shinzo Abe toward the raising of Chinese military and North Korea's nuclear weapons development which can bring a big influence to the security of Japan. However, the perception of the state toward other state is reflected by its behavior toward other state (Cooney, 2007). Meanwhile, by the increase of military activity of China and North Korea, it can trigger Japan in realizing to commit a protection in order to carry out its interest in the conflict area. Japan under Shinzo Abe attempted to increase the military budget is caused by the consideration of the threat from China military and North Korea activity in its nuclear weapons.

At the same time, the existence of the risks about the security problem in a state or in a region can be more develop become a challenge or a factor to all of international society or even in regional. Beside it, the existence of trauma over the two cities in Japan because of the atomic bombs from the allies which made Japan has an implication that nuclear weapon is very dangerous. Indeed, this is based on the nuclear development by North Korea which can create a fear that will threaten the world peace. This chapter also becomes a part to implement the theory as the basic of the research which is Constructivism theory in explaining the existence of perception of Shinzo Abe toward the raising of China and North Korea which could be concern to the identity of Japan so that Japan under Shinzo Abe decided to enhance the military power particularly increase the military budget.

#### A. Perceptions of Shinzo Abe toward China

After the end of the World War II, there was a significant changing in the relationship pattern among China and Japan. Previously, before the World War II, China was a state which imperialized by Japan as the author has explained in the previous chapter. But the condition changes when Japan had a defeat in World War II which made Japanese military in a passive power. And since the end of Cold War, China shows its modernization military which after that the Japanese defense policy under Shinzo Abe would describe how Japan views China

#### 1. The Increasing of Chinese Military Capability

The conflict and tension which has involved in those countries were supported by the defense system behind it. China and Japan, they have a strong military power. Moreover, the most powerful threat to any possible Japanese aspiration of regional hegemony is represented by China. After the Cold War, Chinese military development became one of the contributors to the conflictual relationship between the two countries. Because of the development of Chinese military is also influencing the decision making in East Asia region. Therefore, this condition further strengthens the perception of Shinzo Abe toward China that the military capabilities of China will continually increase and influence Japanese defense and security as a neighbor state (Chanlet, 2016).

The perception of Japan under Shinzo Abe toward China since China began increasing is can be seen by the military capability which currently is owned by China and it can potentially become a threat to the security of Japan and the stability in East Asia region. The insecurity of Japan becomes more because of the modernization of Chinese militaries, such as the military budget which more increase along with the increasingly improving Chinese economy. Therefore, it emerges perception of Shinzo Abe that it does not rule out that China can be a new military power on the global and regional scale.

The mutual national identity and perception of both countries related to the national security and the military power. For Japan and China, their political-economy is also important as the military security but each of them still retains some concerns about others military power (Austin, 2001). Shinzo Abe assumed that China's increasing military power influence Japan in order to move in adopt the strategic posture in more wary toward China. Abe's perception is about looking at the historical perspective and imagines the future so that Abe think that it is important to have some security prevention toward the Chinese raising power.

Abe also sees along with the increasing of the Chinese economy, the government of China puts a more attention toward its military power (Roza, 2014). That condition was be implemented in a defense policy of China in order to protect and maintain the stability of the sovereignty in China and also all of the economic sources. In addition, it can be seen clearly that Chinese military budget also increase annually with the fantastic amount. China's government gives a big portion in the modernization of the military posture. Absolutely, the increasing of Chinese military budget is in line with the increasing of the economic growth in China, which can be marked by the increasing of the GDP in every year. As a state which has a second-highest GDP in the world, it is such a normal when China also locates its concentration to increase the defense and security of the state by increasing the military budget.

Picture 4.1 The Top 15 Countries for Military
Expenditures

The Top 15 Countries For Military Expenditure in 2016

2016 military expenditure by country and share of global total

2016 spending (\$ bn)

We share of total expenditure of the share

| 69.2<br>63.7*<br>55.9 | 215.0* | 611.0   | 36.0<br>13.0<br>4.1   |
|-----------------------|--------|---|---|
| 69.2<br>63.7*<br>55.9 | 215.0* |   |   |
| 63.7°<br>55.9         |        |   | • 4.1   |
| 55.9                  |        |   |   |
| _                     |        |   | • 3.8   |
|                       |        |   | • 3.3   |
| 55.7                  |        |   | • 3.3   |
| 48.3                  |        |   | • 2.9   |
| 46.1                  | ll a   |   | • 2.7   |
| 41.1                  |        |   | • 2.4   |
| 36.8                  |        |   | • 2.2   |
| 27.9                  | 1      |   | • 1.7   |
| 24.6                  |        |   | • 1.5   |
| 23.7                  |        |   | • 1.4   |
| 22.8*                 |        |   | • 1.3   |
| 18.0                  |        |   | • 1.1   |
|                       | 46.1   | ■ 46.1<br>■ 41.1<br>■ 36.8<br>■ 27.9<br>■ 24.6<br>■ 23.7<br>■ 22.8* | ● 46.1<br>■ 41.1<br>• 36.8<br>■ 27.9<br>■ 24.6<br>■ 23.7<br>■ 22.8* |

Sources: Forbes (McCarthy, 2017)

From the diagram above, it shows that in 2016, the amount of military budget in China was in the second position in the world after the US. Meanwhile, we can see that the amount of military budget of Japan which could be only in the eighth position in the world. Therefore, it can be seen that there is Japanese indication that China can be more active in military sector in order to achieve their interest to have a revolution comprehensively. Moreover, China has committed to having a modernization and effort in increasing the capabilities and ability of the armies in facing some threats.

The growth and the increase of the military budget in China which occur annually become a consideration to Japan in order to formulate the security policy as a mechanism of the implementation of the defense system. By the big amount of military spending, China also developed the weapons military which can be proven that in 2013, China was successful in produce the submarine diesel-electric (SONG) which can launch the missile from under the sea and also successful in upgrading other weapons (Andhika, 2015). This table will give more about the kind of military weapon in some sectors, army, navy, and air force:

**Table 4.1 Types of Chinese Military Equipment** 

| Army      | Military Equipment             |
|-----------|--------------------------------|
|           | 31,300 based weapons           |
|           | 16,000 mortars                 |
|           | 14,000 cannons                 |
| Army /    | 8,200 tanks                    |
| Ground    | 7,700 anti-aircraft weapons    |
| Forces    | 6,500 anti-tank weapons        |
|           | 5,000 troop carries vehicles   |
|           | 2,400 rocket launcher system   |
|           | 1,700 boosters weapons         |
| Navy      | 1,882 unit of a carrier ship   |
|           | 760 unit of warship            |
|           | 368 unit of the patrol ship    |
|           | 121 unit of the amphibian ship |
|           | 68 unit of submarines          |
|           | 42 frigates                    |
|           | 39 minesweepers                |
|           | 21 unit of the destroyer ship  |
|           | 8 main harbors                 |
|           | 1 unit of the aircraft carrier |
|           | 1,900 aircrafts                |
| Air Force | 491 unit of helicopters        |
|           | 67 unit of the airfield        |

Sources: (Peningkatan Kekuatan Militer China, 2012)

Based on the table, we can see that the increase of military capability also become an agenda of China which

changes to focus on optimize the development of navy and air force than the ground army. Therefore, this strengthens the presence of Japanese indication under Shinzo Abe about the emergence of the development rival in security matter. Moreover, the climax tension toward both countries was when for the first time Japan stated openly in White Paper which talked about the relationship with China. According to Japan, China is a threat which at any times can threaten Japan because of its significant military development. Japan's perception under Shinzo Abe toward China was consisting in Japanese White Paper in 2008 which stated that:

"Nevertheless, China does not show a clear, specific future vision. From this perspective, there is concern about how China's military strength will impact the regional situation and Japanese Security which is to be carefully analyzed. (Putra, 2015)"

By the defense mechanism which stated in White Paper, the role of Japanese military or SDF troops is expanded which has a goal to have a military cooperation with the ally's countries of the US such as Vietnam, Philippines, and Australia which also has a conflict with China. Japan tried to equate the perception with those countries that China is a threat. Beside it, Japan and other countries which potentially become an ally have a mutual perception that the increase of the military capability of China is not transparent which means that it is such a threat. So that, it is possible to create a favorable cooperation, which can be more binding to facing the threat in the form of intelligent information exchange, collective self-defense like Japan and US (Roza, 2014).

However, the increasing of the military capability of China which happens annually triggers Shinzo Abe in having a perception that China can be more positioned itself as a state which has the biggest military in the Asia Pacific. It also can be meant that recently China is the greatest state in Asia. There is a possibility that China will continue to increase and add

their military capability until China achieve the ambition to rule the world.

# 2. The Aggressiveness of China in Asia Pacific Region

As the author has explained before about the increasing of the military capability in China, this condition actually becomes such a consideration to Japan in strengthening the defense policy, particularly to enhance the military system. It consists of Japanese White Paper which stated that China is as one of the threats in the East China Sea. In Japanese White Paper defense also stated that Chinese military development currently increases with all of the sophistication military postures. In 2011, Japan stated in the White Paper that the development of China is such a threat to Japan.

"Some of these ten vessels conducted exercises in the middle of the East China sea before advancing to the Pacific Ocean. At the time, a Chinese ship borne helicopter conducted to a proximate flight towards and Japanese destroyer Suzunami, which was monitoring the Chinese vessels. At its nearest, it came at a distance of approximately 90 m horizontally and the altitude was approximately 30 m. since it was recognized that flying in this manner posed a danger to safe navigation of the Japanese vessel, the recognition was conveyed to the Chinese government to inquire after the fact via diplomatic routes. Later, another Chinese ship borne. (Putra, 2015)"

Abe's perception absolutely looked at this condition as a big threat that China also can be in a more aggressive in East and South China Sea which is such a real threat to Japan. Therefore, Japanese defense policy leads to the conflict of Pacific China Sea in protecting the sovereignty which is Senkaku island and focuses attention on the aggressiveness of China military in that region. The conflict became in higher

tension after China announced the expanding of Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea in 2013 (Osawa, 2013). ADIZ is air defense mechanism which consists of the border network of the air territory of the state where within the ADIZ itself there is a regulation to the strange airplane to identify their selves and give information about the plan and also the goal for having a flight. Abe's perception toward the Chinese ADIZ claim assumed this condition is a serious threat because of the ADIZ scheme involves Senkaku Island and its position is overlapping with the existence of the border of Japanese ADIZ that already existed before.

By look at the military perspective in Asia especially in East Asia, the Chinese the maritime power is the greatest. It can be seen by the amount of the asset in maritime military of China which compared by other maritime military assets of some countries in Asia. Japan has 42,400 personnel, 52 warship PSC, 7 ground and sea combat equipment, 16 submarines and no one aircraft carrier. And if it is compared with the naval military asset of China, Japan still left far behind (Nankivell, The Rise of Asia, 2015). This condition impacts the level threat of China in the maritime sector. It also can be seen by the picture which shows about the military maritime in Asia.

KESEIMBANGAN MILITER MARITIM ASIA Aset militer maritim dari atan penting di Asia 22,000\* 58,350 42 400 68,000 13,000 45,000 9,000 60,000 13.230 Kapal Induk

Picture 4.2 Maritime Military in Asia

\*Tentara vand dikerahkan maju di Asia dan Pasifik: andka tidak termasuk pasukan vand berbasis di A.S. vand mendukund kawasan ini

Sources: (Nankivell, Jurnal Asia Pasifik Defense FORUM, 2015)

China has been successful emerge as a new power in Asia by the amount of military capability. In the scale of Asia Pacific region, the Chinese military power is the biggest compared with others. By the military capability of China which continues improve annually, and the security policy of China becomes tend to be expansive in the region. It can be seen by the ambition of China which always expands their territory in the East China Sea and the South China Sea. Chinese aggression in both regions is looked at Japan under Shinzo Abe as a threat to Japanese security and stability in Asia Pacific region.

Meanwhile, the Japanese government's belief in the coming threat of the increasing Chinese military capability is stronger. It can be proven by the presence of Chinese military policy which disturbs the defense of Japanese sea in the East China Sea. Meanwhile, China's aggression in expanding its military also fully claimed in the conflict of East China Sea. Issues of territory and possession of the constellation of the Diayou or Senkaku islands which is up to this today still often ignite the battles between China and Japan. Senkaku/Diayou is located in a strategic in the middle of Okinawa and Taiwan. Moreover, this conflict is continuing in high tension which triggers Japan and China at the same time order their military troops to have a patrol in the East China Sea almost every week. The tension of both military armies happened not only in the sea but also in the air (FORUM Staff, 2016).

Shinzo Abe sees the raising of the Chinese military as a threat is due to the increase of Chinese military capabilities, the role of China becomes more aggressive. It makes the military capability that owned by China trigger Chinese role to take a lead in the Senkaku Island dispute. The seizure of the island that holds the potential resources made Shinzo Abe must take a control the movement over China especially the use of military attributes which used in maintaining and controlling the territory of the dispute. So that, in maintaining the state defense and security of Japan, Shinzo Abe is relying on the Japanese military capabilities. Meanwhile, the territory claimed by China is not only done in the East China Sea which directly becomes a threat to Japan. China which tends to expansive also wants to take a control in the South China Sea which has a strategic location in East Asia region. However, the potential threat which was emerged by Chinese military power is also be felt by Japan as Abe's perception that it is concerning in the aggressiveness and fully claimed of China on the South China Sea.

The necessary of the natural resources toward the state is such basic needs as a part of the national interest that needs to be achieved. This also happens in the South China Sea which becomes a conflict by some states in East Asia and Southeast Asia. The conflict dispute in the South China Sea has been disturbing stability in the security of East Asia, especially for China which becomes aggressive in claiming that region. China's aggression is seen by Japan as another threat than in East China Sea dispute. Shinzo Abe feels that Japan need to stop the effort China because of the national interest of Japan disrupted in the South China Sea. Beside it, Japan also has a full commitment to implement a peaceful and stability in the region. Actually, Japan is not a country which also claims the region in the South China Sea and also not a country which also directly involved in that dispute. But, in order to maintain the national interest of Japan which exist in South China Sea, Japan tried to involve within the dispute. Japan also relied upon and takes a benefit in the South China Sea to fulfill the energy needs.

However, to face the aggression of China in the South China Sea, SDF Maritime of Japan has a practice with US Navy Forces and Philippines navy in that region (Nankivell, The Rise of Asia, 2015). Japan under Shinzo Abe also has cooperation with other countries in Southeast Asia which involve in this conflict dispute. Because this condition is really criticized by Japan and other states include the US who feel harmed by China's action that limiting of other countries in conflict dispute region which previously is as free water.

South China Sea dispute become more complicated, especially in the military perspective. Because of China used its military power to maintain the claim fully over the South China Sea. China's aggression also is shown by the plan to build a maritime nuclear power plant which predicted will be used to support the operation in the South China Sea. In reality, this conflict influences the stability order in East Asia region. China becomes more expansive in the South China Sea because it is supported by its military capability which becomes stronger. Abe also thought that other sides that involved in this dispute want to respond the aggression of China which wanted to change the status quo of the ownership

the South China Sea. This condition becomes such a challenge to the security defense of Japan. Abe's perception of China which is aggressive and expansive has been increasing the status of China as a threat for Japan clearly in East Asia.

China becomes so aggressive in expanding its military power especially in fully claiming over the East China Sea and the South China Sea. China's aggression eventually also made Japan consider the emergence of the threat potential from China toward Japanese territory and regional stability in East Asia. However, Japan under Shinzo Abe decided to increase the military budget could not be separated from the global security transformation in East Asia, which absolutely can influence to the Japanese identity as a superior state.

#### B. Perceptions of Shinzo Abe toward North Korea

The nuclear proliferation of weaponry which becomes a serious attention in the global is currently the nuclear proliferation of North Korea. The development of nuclear weapon in North Korea was done secretly. The international world has no valid information about the process of the nuclear weapon development in North Korea. Beside it, there is no information too about the amount that is resulted by North Korea. This unclear data and information which damage the insecurity emerge among the states in the world especially Japan. The inconsistency action of North Korea impacts the insecurity toward Japan as the neighbor state in East Asia and also emerged a perception of Shinzo Abe toward this development which influence to the defense policy in Japan.

### 1. The Development of Nuclear Weapons

Recently, the state's attention regarding the security issue is the possibility of new threat which caused by the development nuclear weapons. This threat becomes so real when the impact that can be caused by the use of the nuclear weapon has not been predicted yet accurately. The ownership and the development of the nuclear weapon can threaten the stability and world peace. States who develop the nuclear weapon has been published that have more than 20,500

warheads include 8 states; US, UK, China, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, and Russia. It can be predicted that it can damage the destruction of the world. That is why nuclear weapon becomes a serious threat toward the global especially for the states that do not develop the nuclear weapon. This condition becomes an insecurity which then triggers a threat toward the guarantee of the state security. This complicated condition also happens to Japan especially as a state that had experienced nuclear in its two cities and destroyed the infrastructure which absolutely gives a trauma. A surprising condition happened, which is North Korea not only develop its nuclear weapon but also began to show its power. North Korea also had nuclear testing which done firstly in 2006. North Korea's nuclear testing has a potential threat to Japan. Because in reality that the other important security issue of Japan is North Korea's nuclear weapon program and the threat which can interrupt to the state stability of Japan.

Therefore, Japan tried to face the threat by increasing its military budget and increase the defense cooperation with the US. The cooperation mechanism with the US involves the cooperation of Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) which is the US nuclear weapon which able to back up Japanese defense from the threat of North Korea nuclear weapon. A strategy that has been done by 6 states which is the Six Party Talks in Beijing to persuade North Korea was failed, meanwhile, nuclear testing of North Korea became more give a confidence to the military power of North Korea. Japan has done a testimony which based on its pacifism which is Japan did not react more strongly toward North Korea, but because of this Six Party Talks was failed Japan continues to raise this issue and condemned the nuclear testing of North Korea. Shinzo Abe stated that the nuclear weapon testing could not be tolerated because it will threaten the peace condition in East Asia. Beside it, the nuclear weapon testing that be done by North Korea also directly get a serious response from international society, including Japan. Japan under Shinzo Abe

in facing North Korea is together with its ally, US, these both countries attempted to against the threat of North Korea.

In addition, in 2009, North Korea changed its ideology from a communist state became a *Juche* ideology. This ideology is using the thought of Kim II-Sung that be announced since 1955. This ideology has a principle that "human control everything and decided everything". By implementing that principle as an ideology or the basic of North Korea, so it is not surprising that all of North Korea's policies are really concerned with other states (Lee, 2001).

North Korea depends on military power and diplomacy in weapon nuclear that is owned by North Korea. North Korea develops nuclear as a weapon nuclear to its military interest. The ownership of North Korean nuclear is made as diplomacy instrument to achieve its national interest. North Korea develops the nuclear weapon also in order to maintain its existence of the state which after all this time North Korea was ignored among the international states because North Korea wants to guarantee the continuity of the regime in order to fulfill the national interest. Beside it, North Korea uses the nuclear weapon as a security support in North Korea. In the beginning, North Korea only used the nuclear as a technology research, but by using the strategic values of the nuclear weapons so that North Korea decided to make nuclear as an instrument of the military power and its weaponry.

## 2. Geographical Location

Geographically, Japan is located in one region with North Korea in East Asia. The distance between Japan and North Korea are close enough so that it does not rule out the possibility that the impact of North Korean nuclear weapon testing can be felt and reach Japan. The nuclear testing threatens the security of Japan and the stability of East Asia. Since that, the relationship between Japan and North Korea continued in high tension because of the nuclear testing that was done by North Korea. Moreover, Japan assumed that it will be harmful because of the nuclear testing can bring dangerous chemicals. The hesitation of the accuracy on the

weapon launching coordinate is caused by still not advanced the North Korean military and it also becomes a consideration for Shinzo Abe.

Beside it, the thing that makes a condition becomes more in tension is during 2013 and 2014, North Korea aggressively had some nuclear weapon testing activity in the territorial waters of the Eastern Sea. As much as 28 times, the nuclear weapon testing that be done by North Korea threatened the security of Japan which geographically those testing directed and could reach the territorial region of Japan (North Korea: Four ballistic missiles fired into sea, 2017). For Japan, North Korean nuclear is very scary though, because Japan can be the main target which was caused by the historical background and the fact that North Korea's missile could threaten Japan with nuclear attack.

North Korea also has been successful in testing the three short-range missiles to Japan Sea. This testing was done on the east coast of the Korean Peninsula up to 190 km which eventually fell into the Japan Sea in 2014 (North Korea: Four ballistic missiles fired into sea, 2017). In addition, in the beginning of 2016, North Korea also had nuclear weapon testing that passed South Okinawa Island. The action that violated the sovereignty made Shinzo Abe increasingly in high tension toward that action. Calculated from February 2016 to September 2016, North Korea averagely had done nuclear weapon testing as much as 17 times that fall down around Japan Sea (BBC News, 2016). Beside it, the Unha-3 ballistic rocket has a range more than 9,600 km and it is capable to carry 500-600 kg warhead. Based on the simulation result, by the North Korean rocket's deep reach, it means that this rocket can reach the continental of US which automatically it can reach Japan too. Meanwhile, by the increasing military budget, it does not mean that Japan would choose to develop nuclear weapon, but it is more likely to note the opportunity to make the choice if North Korea becomes a nuclear weapon power (Cooney, 2007). In 2016, Japan stated in the White Paper which stated about the North Korean threat.

"Given that North Korea may also have achieved the miniaturization of nuclear weapons and acquired nuclear warheads, and that it has not wavered from its position of continuing its nuclear weapons program, it is deemed that with time there will be a growing risk of deployment of ballistic missiles mounted with a nuclear warhead, which have Japan in their firing range. It is the understanding of the Government of Japan that since 2016, North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles and enhancement of their operational capabilities have reached a new level of threat to the region including Japan and the international community" (Ministry of Defense, 2017).

Based on the Japanese White Paper 2016, the "new level of threat" is posed by North Korea is caused by the continuingly increasing of its nuclear weapon. The North Korean nuclear weapon development poses a serious threat in the region security including Japan and even the international community. By looking at the threat condition, Japan initiated some Japanese SDF member to put the Patriot Advanced Capability-3 missile interceptor unit in Department of Defense in Ward Shinjuku, after North Korea announced the threat to launch again the ballistic missile. The placement of missile conveyor was done by Japan as an anticipation effort toward the nuclear testing that can be done by North Korea anytime without any notification. That is why, it is important to increase the military budget because to this end, Japanese government submitted bills to the Diet requesting funding to refueling aircrafts in order to permit Japan strike aircraft to destroy target in North Korea.

## C. Japan's Interest in Maintain Security from China and North Korea

The security environment around Japan region becomes more threaten. The main threats absolutely are because of the emergence China and North Korea as new power and also because of the weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles which becomes such a growing number of new threats. However, because of both threats Japan realized that it is important to implement some actions in maintaining the peace condition in order to make sure the security stability of Japan. It is caused by the role of Japan which will continue to contribute in maintain the security and the stability condition by having a pro-active role than before (Sato, 1998).

Japan under Shinzo Abe had a reformation which represented the basic change in its military policy and the security of Japan since the World War II. Abe's reformation is a logic consequence from the revision process which pushed by the necessary in order to compete and relate to the increasing of China and North Korea as a regional and global new power (The Government of Japan, 2014). This reformation includes the interpretation of Article 9 of Japanese Constitution which done in the context of the regional balance that continually changed in Asia-Pacific region where Japan is more threatened by the raising of China and North Korea.

Japan has an interest to maintain the security capability because of the raising of China and North Korea as new threat, Japan decided to increase the military budget in order to respond some of the threat situation. Japan prioritized the main function to improve its defense structure as a prevention form. As security interest, Japan sees that the development of China's increasing in military capability and North Korean nuclear weapon development can be as insecurity to the security of Japan. However, Japan increased the military budget indeed to be as a strengthening form in order to protect the integrity of Japan region (Bendini, Policy Department, Directorate-General for External 2015). Policies. increasing military budget, Japan can spend more in maintain the security by strengthening its ability to supervise its region as a defense facility from external threats.

According to the identity type, Japan is as a Superior State, which means that it is one of the factors which

contributed to influence Japanese decision making toward the increasing of Chinese military capability and the development of the North Korean nuclear weapon. The existence of Japanese identity is as Japanese response toward China and North Korea, which triggered Shinzo Abe as Japanese Prime Minister decided to enhance the military power particularly increasing the military budget as a form to implement its interest in maintaining the security.

Based on the presence of the indication of Shinzo Abe toward China and North Korea above, we can see that they can give threat to the security of Japan. Therefore, after all this time Japan is as a Superior State because of its rapid progress in the advancement, Shinzo Abe decided to take a decision in order to prevent the competitiveness development with China in East Asia and maintain its security territory from North Korean nuclear weapon testing by increasing the military budget. However, in the Guidelines 1997 also has been referred to the "areas surrounding Japan" as the threat (Cooney, 2007).

Beside it, the interest of Japanese government to have a reinterpretation toward Article 9 of Japanese Constitution which becomes a basis of pacifism in the Japanese military has been ever stated in the defense White Paper of Japan. By the amendment of Article 9, Japanese military can be an active military force which is owned by a normal state. Through the more assertive Japanese military forces, Japan poses to a better strategy to anticipate the increasing of threat from China and North Korea. By analyzing the perception of Shinzo Abe toward China and North Korea, we can see that Japanese government feel the Japanese identity that had been a foundation of Japan feel threatened because of the increasing of the external threat from China and North Korea. Meanwhile, the Chinese modernization in military appears to be a true threat to Japan, because Japan is seeing China as a growing threat. Beside it, China also has a national strategy to be domination in western Pacific (Cooney, 2007).

China and North Korea which are as neighbor states of Japan began to show their power whether it is in the military capability or even in the development of the nuclear weapon. Therefore, Shinzo Abe assumed that it is important to Japan to take an action as a prevention effort which is by increasing the military budget in order to prepare for the hostiles acts against Japan. As a sovereign country, Japan has a realization to protect its citizens especially after the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing. Japanese effort must be respected by other countries because Japan is a sovereign country. Meanwhile, by the increasing of Chinese military capability and the development of North Korean nuclear weapon testing could be said as China and North Korea domestic policy, but then, these conditions give the threat toward the identity of Japan when the increasing of Chinese military and North Korea nuclear testing interrupt the identity of Japan as a superior state and also can give a physical threat directly in Japanese region and can give a dangerous impact to Japanese citizen.

Basically, it can be concluded that Japan has no interest in global security issue because Japan declared as a pacifist state, but it would be different when the global security issue impacts directly toward Japanese security. However, Shinzo Abe in increasing the military budget is such an effective opportunity to Japan in a fight against North Korean nuclear weapon testing and the increasing of the Chinese military. Therefore, by increasing the military budget, Shinzo Abe has a commitment to Japan in order to be harder to continue in maintaining the regional security. In addition, to facing the security issue which relates to the potential threat of China and North Korea toward Japan in East Asia, Shinzo Abe attempted to maximize the military capacity. After the approval of military budget which proposed by Shinzo Abe, Japan becomes more improve the military power and expand the SDF role globally. Moreover, Japanese military capability continued increasingly, which means that it is as a respond of Shinzo Abe perception toward the rising of Chinese military

and the development of North Korean nuclear testing, so Abe thinks that it is important to expand the military role in facing the security issue.