

**TITLE PAGE**

**REINTERPRETATION OF JAPAN'S CONSTITUTION  
DURING SHINZO ABE ADMINISTRATION (2012-2017)**

**UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



**Written by:  
RADEN HARYOYUDO SATRIO ANGGORO  
20140510108**

**Advisor:  
Prof.Dr. H. Tulus Warsito, M.Si.**

**INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH YOGYAKARTA  
2018**

**ENDORSEMENT PAGE**

**REINTERPRETATION OF JAPAN'S CONSTITUTION  
DURING SHINZO ABE ADMINISTRATION (2012-2017)**



**RADEN HARYOYUDO SATRIO ANGGORO**

**20140510108**

This undergraduate thesis has been examined and endorsed by the board of examiners from the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Day/Date : Friday/April 20, 2018  
Time : 08.00 WIB  
Place : R. Kaprodi HI

Examiner Board:

**Prof. Dr. Tulus Warsito M.Si**  
**Advisor/Chief of Examiner**

**Takdir Ali Mukti, S.Sos., M.Si**  
**Examiner I**

**Dr. Sidik Jatmika, M.Si.**  
**Penguji II**

## **STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY**

This page certify the undergraduate thesis under the title “Reinterpretation of Japan’s Constitution during Shinzo Abe Administration (2012-2017)”, has never been used by the other students.

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged. This under graduate thesis composed by my own knowledges from many sources listed in the reference by the writing systematic so it is not violating the ethic in the scientific society or doing plagiarism.

Yogyakarta, April 29<sup>th</sup> 2018

Raden Haryoyudo Satrio Anggoro  
20140510108

## MOTTO

"Fear is not evil. It tells you what weakness is.  
And once you know your weakness,  
you can become stronger as well as kinder."  
(Gildarts Clive)

"If You Win, You Live,  
If You Lose, You Die  
If You Don't Fight, You Can't Win"  
(Eren Jaeger)

"Happiness is like a glass,  
It may be all around you, yet invisible.  
But if you change the angle of viewing a little,  
It reflect light more beautiful than any other object around  
you"  
(Lelouch Vi Britannia)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First of all let me say my highest gratitude to Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala for His kindness and blessing, and because without Him I will never finish this undergraduate thesis as the one from many requirement to graduate and achieve bachelor degree from International Relations Program, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. The second gratitude I say to Prophet Muhammad Shalallahu alaihi wa Salam for His guidance from darkness into the right path of life.

The deepest gratitude I say to Prof. Dr. Tulus Warsito, M.Si. as my undergraduate thesis and umbrella research advisor that give me lot of new knowledges, guidance and suggestion in doing my under graduate thesis. I also give my biggest gratitude to Mr Bambang Wahyu Nugroho, S.IP, MA. and Mr Ali Muhammad, S.IP., MA., Ph.D as the board of examiners of my undergraduate thesis proposal and also Mr Takdir Ali Mukti, S.Sos, M.Si. and Dr. Sidik Jatmika, M.Si. as the board of examiners of my undergraduate thesis defense for their advice, input, and feedback for my undergraduate thesis.

Yogyakarta, April 29th 2018

Raden Haryoyudo Satrio Anggoro  
20140510108

## **DEDICATION PAGE**

This Undergraduate Thesis dedicated to:

My Beloved Mother, Dra. Rr. Sutrawari S.

My Beloved Father, Djarwanto S.Pd

## EXTENDED GRATITUDE

In my college years starting from my first time in campus until graduation, there are a lot of friend that accompany and support me in finishing this study though they are aware or not. Because of that, in this page I want to say my gratitude and thanks to you,

1. Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala as my God that give me strength and help me to find many ways to finish undergraduate thesis.
2. My beloved parent, my mother Dra. Rr. Sutrawati S, and my father Djarwanto, S.Pd that support, pray, and love me every time until today.
3. My Family that always support me in finishing this college.
4. My under graduate thesis advisor Prof. Dr. Tulus Warsito, M.Si that give me a lot of new knowledges and advise me until I finish my undergraduate thesis.
5. My language consultant, Mr. Bambang Wahyu Nugroho, S.IP, MA.
6. All of my lecturer and staff in Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta for arranging the system of study so the students can enjoy and take many lessons from the study in International Relations.
7. Lussy-Sensei for giving me a lot of knowledge about Japan from the language, culture, education and also giving advice and support me to finish my study and go to Japan. Thanks for your support and brought me to Japan in 2016.
8. My bros in college Harits, Aziz, Raihan, and Vega for accompany me wherever and whenever I want to go to hang out, support me whatever I did, and make me understand that I'm not alone. Time I spent with you guys is unforgettable.
9. My Slemans friend Rafy for always helping me for my study and give me advice when I find

- problems. Without you I cannot finish my study well Raf. Hontouni arigatou gozaimasu.
10. Special thanks for Rita Purnamadewi for teaching me BTA and patient with me when I did mistakes.
  11. My GJ gang bocah-bocah alumni Primagama Faris, Iqbal, Masbut, Nina, Akbar, mbak Nana, mbak Aul, mas Sis, Rifky , Netta, Mawan for always hang out with me and become my crazy friend until today.
  12. My BSJ's (Bukak Sitik Jos) members Gita, Dhika, Togi, Dhany, Yuda, Jack (Cahyo), Vania, Winda, and Ajul for giving lessons, support, and advice about life and especially for singing.
  13. My ICA classmates Abi, Gin-Gin, Zaki, Zamzam, Faza, Tahta, Dimas, Rafy, and Rangga including "the intruder" Arwan for giving so many lessons in life and makes my college life more colorful.
  14. My ICA girls friends Mitha, Mongi, AW, Nadya, Safina, Mels, Natt, Azmi, Ndaru, Widya, and Nana for accompany me to eat sometime wkwkwk, and sometime give me advice about study and also about life.
  15. My IPIREL-Senpai mas Z, mas Pascal, bang Jack, and mas Ainun for many advice about study and life.
  16. My Telkoms friends Simbah/ Tunggul, Edo, Masbut, Iqbal, Dhika, Budi, Pak Iz, Driver for always in Telkon Sleman and become my partner in killing time.
  17. My IPIRELS friend that I cannot mention one by one. Thanks for your support and accompany me to finish this study.
  18. My UKM Musik UMY family that teach me soft skill how to organize an organization. I learnt a lot from this UKM and find a new family.
  19. My Old Clock – Heavens Legacy band members Dhany, Rizky, Ananto, Benny, Togi that teach me to lead a group of many different peoples from



many region. I hope this band can go international in the future.

20. My International Relations friends including Reguler and IPIREL studens for being nice to me starting from the beginning until today.
21. For all my UMY friends also for being nice to me starting from the beginning until today.
22. All my KKN 052 2017 friends Liya, Lulu, Arum, Reni, Suko, Dede, Rido, Dayat, and Rizky.
23. All the websites I used to finish this undergraduate thesis.

## ABSTRACT

Japan is a developed country in East Asia. The development of Japan supported by their foreign policy in military field. Japan implemented Pacifism since the Second World War end. Because of pacifist system Japan cannot develop their military force including their military armament. Because of that, Japan allocate their budget in the developing of economic and industry. Because of that, Japan became a country that rapidly grows in economy. But in 2014 Japan Prime Minister Shinzo Abe push the reinterpretation of Article Nine that control the pacifist system. The reinterpretation by Shinzo Abe and cabinets is assigned without voting or Japan citizens Voice. So in this undergraduate thesis will be examine the decision making consideration about the domestic politics and international response toward the reinterpretation of Japan military constitution Article Nine. This Undergraduate thesis also examine Japan military change toward neighbor countries relation.

*Keyword(s): Japan, Japan Military, Japan Constitution, Article Nine, Reinterpretation*

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>TITLE PAGE</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>ENDORSEMENT PAGE</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>MOTTO</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>DEDICATION PAGE</b> .....	<b>vi</b>
<b>EXTENDED GRATITUDE</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>LIST OF PICTURES</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
A. Background of the Study .....	1
B. Research Question .....	5
C. Theoretical Frameworks .....	5
1. Offense-Defense Theory .....	5
2. Foreign Policy Decision Making Theory .....	6
D. Methodology Tools .....	8
E. Hypothesis .....	9
F. Research Purpose .....	9
G. Scope of Research.....	10
H. Outline.....	10
<b>CHAPTER II THE JAPAN PACIFISM POST SECOND WORLD WAR</b> .....	<b>12</b>
A. The History of War and Japan Pacifism.....	12
B. Japan Pacifist Constitution .....	17
C. Japan Pacifist Treaty and Policies in Upholding The Pacifism.....	19
1. Declaration of Human Right .....	19
2. Japan Arms Export Ban .....	21
3. Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation.....	22
4. Building Peace through Education .....	23
D. Development During Pacifist System .....	24
E. Japan-United States Security Cooperation .....	26

<b>CHAPTER III REINTERPRETING PHILOSOPHY OF</b>	
<b>ARTICLE NINE .....</b>	<b>28</b>
A. The Story of Reinterpretation of Article Nine .....	28
B. Japan Action After the Reinterpretation of Article Nine .....	30
1. Japan Lift Export Ban .....	30
2. Military Actions in Overseas.....	31
3. Increasing Military Spending and Military Force ..	32
<b>CHAPTER IV PRIME MINISTER SHINZO ABE AND</b>	
<b>CABINET DECISION IN THE NEIGHBOR</b>	
<b>RELATIONSHIP .....</b>	<b>36</b>
A. Japan Domestic Politics Condition .....	36
1. Japan Mass Media .....	38
2. Lack of Supporter .....	38
B. Japan Economics in Supporting the Military Development.....	42
C. The response in International Context.....	46
1. United States Support in Reinterpreting Article Nine.....	46
2. Rejection from China.....	49
<b>CHAPTER V.....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>57</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Graphic of Japan Military Spending .....	4
Figure 2.1 Graphic Chart of Growth of GDP in Japan.....	25
Figure 3.1 Graphic Japan Military and Defense Expenditure 2016.....	33
Figure 3.2 Graphic Defense Spending Countries 2017 .....	34
Figure 4.1 Graphic of the Polling of Constitution Change by Yomiuri Shimbun.....	40
Figure 4.2 Graphic of the Polling of Constitution Change by Asahi Shimbun.....	40
Figure 4.3 Graphic of the Polling of Constitution Change by Nikkei.....	41
Figure 4.1 Graphic China Military Budget Spending .....	45

## LIST OF PICTURES

Picture 1.1 of Diagram of Foreign Policy Decision Making ...	7
Picture 1.2 of Diagram of Foreign Policy Decision Making in the Reinterpretation of Article Nine of Japan Constitution .....	8
Picture 2.1 of Asia-Pacific Countries Colonized by Japan.....	14

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 of Japan Higher Education Rate .....	21
--	----