

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

In this chapter contains the background of the study, theoretical frameworks, research questions, scope and limitation of the study, methodology tools, hypothesis, and outline.

### **A. Background of the Study**

As we know, Japan is one of the countries who does not have offensive military forces because of Article Nine of Japanese Constitution. After their defeat in World War II Japan adopted a pacifist system, a new military system by Japan that prohibited to develop their military and does not join in any war. In general, pacifism has meant about the using peace and diplomacy in settling any dispute inside or outside the country without using military power, and it is against war and violence. (Robbins, 1976). Beside their pacifist system Japan also have troops called Japan Self Defense Force (JSDF/SDF). JSDF is the only troops owned by Japan and only have the capability to defend its sovereignty without an ability to attack. That was the punishment by the winner of the World War II such as the United States and the Soviet Union. This system also agreed by Japanese peoples itself. Japan Peoples have trauma about what happened in the World War II that they got nuclear bombed twice by the United States in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and about what happened in the war. Japanese peoples are also afraid that Japan will develop more weapons and become enemy of the other countries.

#### *ARTICLE 9.*

*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.* (Cabinet, 1947)

Until today Japan still depending on the power of the United States for their protector. In the Second World War United States win the war against Axis Power lead by German Nazi, Italy, and Japan. After Second World War Japan and the United States became a good ally in the economy, military, and defense (Linda Sieg, 2014). After the signing of Japan Constitution that stated Japan start using Pacifist system, Japan got a successful position in industrialization as a Non-Western Country. Japan had developed very well in the human resource development, the stability of Macroeconomic and development of Infrastructure since the pacifist system used in their constitution (United Nations University - Kimura Fukunari, 2013). So in history, can be said that Japan can develop their power in economic, social, technology and culture are because they did not focus their budget into military and spent it to economic, social, culture, and infrastructure or technology. They are not concerned about their military because they protected by a powerful country.

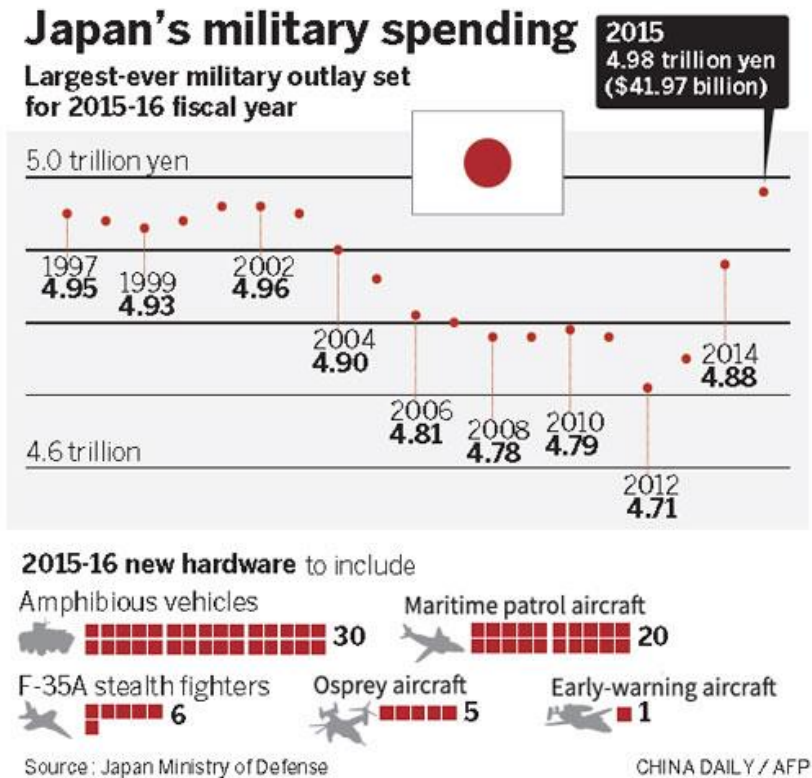
In the pacifist era starting from the signing of Japan Constitution that containing the pacifist article, Japan already made many movements and events in upholding pacifist system. Those events did by Japan in order to maintain the world peace as the world peacekeeper. Japan with their pacifist system banning their arms export to the other countries, declaring to the world that Japan is upholding the human right and protecting women, arms control and disarmament including banning the manufacture, maintain and reparation of military armament, and also boost the education about peace for their children.

However, in 2014 Prime Minister Shinzo Abe asking and pressing for approval to Japan Cabinets to change the philosophy of the Article Nine and “reinterpret” it to a new one.

The changing of interpretation of Article Nine can give a lot of advantages and a new power since the pacifist system to Japan Self Defense Force in defending their allies when they are attacked. The benefits in Reinterpret the Article Nine is more significant than the old interpretation for Japan position in the global peacekeeping (Martin, 2014). This action has lead Japan to passing new security bills in 2015. Those passed bills that approved by Japan Cabinet is about Japan military actions in overseas. The offensive action of military forces is allowed in case of protecting their peoples and alliance when they are under attack or threatened by the other countries (BBC News, 2015).

The interpretation since the signing of Article Nine is Japan only have defense forces without having the ability to attack the other parties or state. Japan cannot sell weapons, buy military arms, develop offensive military force and join into the battlefield. That is the old interpretation of the Article Nine. In the past, they only defend their self and cannot have an offensive army or have full armament army and only had individual self-defense and cannot do collective self-defense, but starting from that new interpretation Japan have new power to upgrade their military strategy to go directly into the battlefield in order to protect their allies without being protected by the other country. Far from 2014, the development of Japan military already supported by the procurement of new intelligence satellite, new missile defenses and command and control networks. This new military procurement is the first time since the post-war period (Hughes, 2004). Also, Japan starts to uphold that new philosophy by the action of starting to lift their export weapons ban since 2014. Since 1967 Japan banned the arms export to the other countries. However, the export ban totally ended in 2014 in Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's era (Soble, With Ban on Exports Lifted, Japan Arms Makers Cautiously Market Wares Abroad, 2015). Japan also start involved in the military action in overseas such as the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation. Japan also increase the budget spending for the military since 2015.

Figure 1.1 Graphic of Japan Military Spending



Source: [http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2015-01/15/content\\_19322187.htm](http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2015-01/15/content_19322187.htm)

This decision by Japan Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was supported by the United States. The Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel said "the reinterpretation of Japan Article Nine can give good benefits for the global security. This decision is an important step to Japan about their support and contribution to regional and global peace and security". Despite agreeing to this reinterpretation, there are several country rejecting. The country who reject this reinterpretation is China. China did not agree

with this reinterpretation because it can threaten the promotion of its domestic policy agenda (Linda Sieg, 2014).

Those new bills is a gate for Japan to normalizing their military system from their pacifism system. By normalizing their military system, Japan will have capability and authority not only developing their economy, infrastructure, and technology, social and culture but also to develop military. Japan will gain full authority to steer their military strategy whether it is come out as an offensive army or defensive army to involve in the war of battlefield.

## **B. Research Question**

Based on the background of the study above, the research questions of this undergraduate thesis is:

Why did Japan under Shinzo Abe reinterpret the Article Nine of Japan Constitution?

## **C. Theoretical Frameworks**

### **1. Offense-Defense Theory**

Offense-Defense Theory is stated by Robert Jervis. Robert Jervis is a Professor of International Affairs at Columbia University. He awarded by University of Louisville Grawemeyer Award for his idea improving the world order. The Offense-Defense Theory have relation to Security Dilemma. There are several categories of this Offense-Defense Theory. The first is when in condition Offense-Defense Balance (ODB) Offense is dominated so the offense has the advantages and it can create an arms race in the world and also can make a country stronger and easily take the other territory. The second is when in ODB defense dominated, the defense has advantages, and it will create a strong power in protecting the security than to attack or take over the other territory (Jervis, 1978).

The relation of this theory and the undergraduate thesis is in the security of Japan and the other neighbor countries. In the context of Offense-Defense theory said

about the booth consequences when Japan still using their pacifism system and choose only to defend their country without developing their armament. The other one is what will happen when Japan develop their armament and choose to be a normal country like the other countries who have a modernized military development.

## **2. Foreign Policy Decision Making Theory**

This theory developed by William D. Coplin in *Introduction to International Politic* book. This theory talking about the way of decision making, the factors of decision making and some aspect before a country make decisions on a certain issue. In deciding order to respond any problems, there are three categorize that influencing the foreign policy decision making. The first is Domestic Politics Situation, the second is the Economic and military situation, and third is International Context.

### **a. Domestic Politics Situation**

Domestic politics situation means that every state has its national interest that shaped its policy. That national interest is shaped by the local government as a place to accommodate the people's voices. People's voices as the aspiration of citizens needed to understand the condition of politics in the country to create a foreign policy or domestic policy. The spreading of aspiration not only collected by local government but also mass media as the important instrument in spreading the aspirations. Mass media also can be a tool to shape the people's voices.

### **b. Economic and Military Situation**

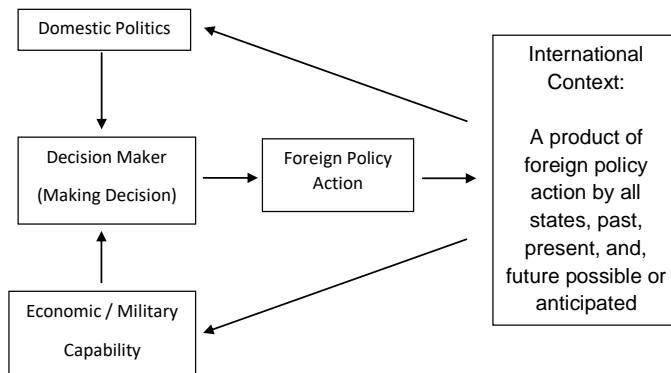
The development of economic also become an important factor in shaping the foreign policy. The country should have the ability to sustain their foreign policy. That ability is a good economic condition or situation and supported by a capable military force to protect their sovereignty. The

condition of geography also become a basic factor as defense and security considerations.

c. International Context

There are three important instruments in discussing the impact of the international context on a country's foreign policy. The first is the condition of geography, the second is politics and the last is economy. The relationship in economy and politics with the other countries also shaped the foreign policy.

**Picture 1.1 of Diagram of Foreign Policy Decision Making**



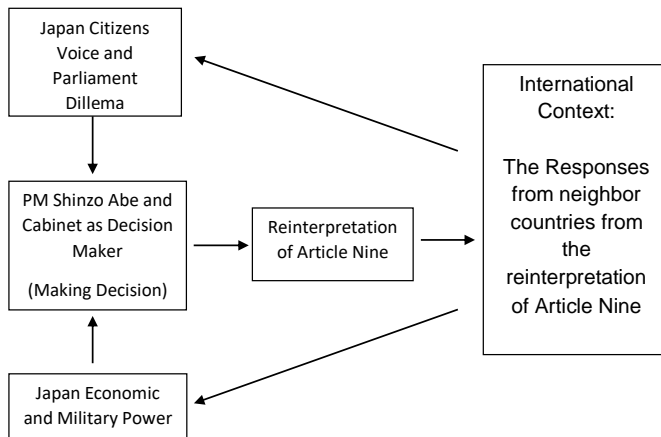
Source:

[https://www.academia.edu/11030333/William\\_D.\\_Coplin\\_Introduction\\_to\\_International\\_Politic\\_Model\\_of\\_Decision\\_Making\\_Proces](https://www.academia.edu/11030333/William_D._Coplin_Introduction_to_International_Politic_Model_of_Decision_Making_Proces)

The application of Foreign Policy Decision Making model in the reinterpretation of article Nine of Japan Constitution not far from Japan government in taking the decision. In the application, Prime Minister

Shinzo Abe and Cabinet is the decision maker that become the actor in passing the foreign policy. The demand of the Japan society, and the dilemma inside the parliament is the domestic politics that should be considered in taking the decision following their economic and military capabilities. After Japan passing new foreign policy, Japan will get response from neighbor countries whether it is good responses or bad responses and it will have another impact in the domestic politics, and in the economics and military capability.

**Picture 1.2 of Diagram of Foreign Policy Decision Making in the Reinterpretation of Article Nine of Japan Constitution**



#### **D. Methodology Tools**

This undergraduate thesis uses qualitative research method by getting information from credible sources to get information about the condition of Japanese Militarism. This



credible sources including books, journal articles, report and official news from credible newspaper or website.

### **E. Hypothesis**

Japan already change from an offensive country (Before and until World War 2) into passive pacifism country. Also, Japan becomes a country that upholds the human rights. Japan wants to have a military force to protect their sovereignty and their allies and to uphold human rights by creating those foreign policies through military bills. There are several points according to the theory to answer the research question:

1. Domestic Politic Situation: Prime Minister Shinzo Abe propose bills, and most of the cabinets agree with those bills. But there are a lot of Japan citizens do not agree.
2. Economic and Military Situation: Japan economy already in a good and stable condition. But Japan does not have a good capability of the military. To make both economic and military balance, Japan should upgrade their military forces in order to protect their sovereignty.
3. International Context: Some countries do not agree with Japan decision to reinterpret their Military Constitution. There is also the country who support Japan to reinterpret Japan Military Constitution that is the United States. The United State believes Japan should reinterpret their Military Constitution in order to give a big contribution to the global peace.

### **F. Research Purpose**

This Undergraduate thesis has the purposes of analyzing the development of the changing of the interpretation of Article Nine of Japan Constitution. The development including the history of Article Nine, the reinterpretation, the response from many actors such as international society also the voice of Japanese peoples.

This Undergraduate thesis also has a purpose to fulfill the last requirement for the undergraduate student to graduate from the bachelor degree in the social science faculty.

### **G. Scope of Research**

This undergraduate thesis examines the military condition in Japan. The scope of this undergraduate thesis is from the leadership of the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe starting from 2012 until 2017.

Regardless of the leadership of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, this undergraduate thesis is also explaining the background and history of the development of pacifist system of Japan starting from the Second World War.

### **H. Outline**

The outline of this undergraduate thesis:

#### **Chapter 1**

In chapter 1 contain the background, theoretical frameworks, hypothesis, methodology tools, research question and outline of the undergraduate thesis.

#### **Chapter 2**

In chapter 2 contain the explanation history of Japan Pacifism did by Japan after World War 2. This chapter contains the reason of Japan implement the policy and choose to depend on The United States.

#### **Chapter 3**

In chapter 3 contain the explanation of the story of the reinterpretation of Article Nine and Japanese perspective about Japan pacifism.

#### **Chapter 4**

In chapter 4 contain the analysis of Japan decision in Reinterpreting Article Nine and also pros and contras about Japan New Militarism.

#### **Chapter 5**

In chapter 5 contain conclusion of the research about the analysis of all chapter in this undergraduate thesis about Japan New Militarism.