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

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## **REINTERPRETATION OF JAPAN'S CONSTITUTION**

## **DURING SHINZO ABE ADMINISTRATION (2012-2017)**

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## 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

## Introduction

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.

#### 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 Unites State 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). 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, 'Reinterpreting' Article 9 endangers Japan's rule of law, 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).

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.

#### Military Condition Post Second World War

Japan pacifism started from Japan involvement in Second World War. Second World War Starting from 1939 until 1945. There are a lot of people approximately over 100 million peoples from 30 countries involved in Second World War. Around 72 million peoples were killed and murdered in The Second World War (Second World War History).

With the leadership of its Emperor Hirohito, the Emperor Showa, Japan signing the strategic treaties Tripartite Pact with German Nazi and Italy forming Axis Power to fight Allies or Central Power (Aizawa). The Tripartite Pact signed on September 27, 1940, in Berlin with the agreement of German, Italy, and Japan to create cooperation in the military alliance. The treaty provides a military cooperation in term of mutual assistance when the countries inside of Tripartite Pact attacked by other countries who were not joining the world war. This Pact recognized the two sphere of power in influencing their territory.

This Pact separated the power of German, Italy, and Japan. German and Italy have domination in establishing the new order in European countries, and Japan has domination in the leadership of the "Greater East Asia." Also, this Pact has the other purpose to make the United States think twice about joining the Allies side (Staff, 2009). Tripartite Pact contains six articles (Yale Law School, 2018)

In that era, Japan has a high military power that could conquest many nations in Asia – Pacific. Japan did a high and aggressive aggression into Asia - Pacific Countries such as South East Asia countries, China, South West Pacific and Pacific Islands and created the war called Pacific War. Pacific War happened between 1941 until 1945 (Williamson Murray, 2001).

In Pacific War, Japan faced the power of United States in controlling the flowing of the fuel and oil. In the first place the United States did not agree with aggression and expansion did by Japan, but they could not settle this problem through diplomacy. The United States was threatening Japan with the embargo of trade and oil to Japan. Facing those embargo, Japan executes the military plan by Isoroku Yamamoto to attack United States Pacific Fleet in Pearl Harbor Hawaii and become the opening gate of United State Joining the Second World War as Japan enemy and the defeated of Japan in Second World War (History.com Staff, 2009).

After the attack on Pearl Harbor by Japan Empire, The United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared war on Japan at that date December 7, 1941. The war happened almost four years. Japan was announcing their surrender to the United States on August 15, 1945. On August 6, and 9, 1945, United State drops the Nuclear Bomb to Hiroshima and Nagasaki (History.com Staff, 2009). Japan surrender formally accepted by the signing of Japanese Instrument of Surrender on September 2, 1945, in Tokyo Bay on the deck of USS Missouri by Japan Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu (Oettinger, 2011).

A year after the legitimation of Instrument of Surrender, Japan promulgating the Japan Constitutions. Japan Constitution promulgated precisely on November 3, 1946, by Japan Cabinet and the effect came on May 3, 1947. Japan Constitution contains the post-war military pacifism ideology hold by Japan that stated in Their Article Nine. This constitution became the evidence of Japan embracing the pacifism system (Library of Congress, 2015). On September 8, 1951, in San Francisco, Japan signed a treaty with United States of America about security and defense. This treaty called "The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan" or "Nihon-koku to Amerika-gasshūkoku to no Aida no Sōgo Kyōryoku oyobi Anzen Hoshō Jōyaku" in Japanese. This treaty contains five articles about cooperation in military, economic and peace (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2018).

## **Japan Pacifist Constitution**

Japan Constitution is known as Pacifist Constitution protecting the peace of Japan in the post Second World War. In this constitution, especially Article Nine, Japan affirmed that Japan would create a peaceful cooperation with the other nations in creating and maintaining peace without pursuing and threatened by war. That word shows on the preamble of Japan Constitution in the first paragraph:

"We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution" (Cabinet, Prime Minister of Japan, 1946)

Article Nine controlling the military system through limiting the military armament and involvement in the war. Through Article Nine Japan also have Japan Self Defense Force (JSDF) which is comprised of Maritime SDF, Ground SDF, and Air SDF. However, those JSDF cannot give an offensive attack because Article Nine prohibit war and military armament (The Law Library of Congress, 2015).

## Japan Pacifist Treaty and Policies in Upholding the Pacifism

The Article Nine makes Japan become a pacifist country. Japan is prohibited to develop their military forces. The developing of military forces in weaponry is also prohibited. This article prevents Japan from joining or creating any war. As the punishment for Japan, Japan must obey what is written in Article Nine. There are several events shows Japan obey the Article Nine:

## a. Declaration of Human Right

Japan is a country that respecting human right of an individual. This is shown in the Universal Declaration of Human Right that adopted and proclaimed on General Assembly resolution 217A (III) on 10 December 1948. Japan see the shape of freedom peace, and justice of the global peace is when the human right is recognized. Beside that all human regardless of their caste, all equal under the law and also all equal to be protected by law in the case of discrimination and violence. "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination"-Article 7 of Universal Declaration of Human (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2018).

In the field in enforcing the human right, Japan ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1985. From those convention Japan implementing efforts to increase the activity and involvement of the woman. This effort lead Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in 2013 outlined his believe of the balance of man and woman on work and rising-child. The rate of woman get a higher education is always increase year by year. The increasing of the rate of the woman in getting a higher education is higher than man (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2014).

## b. Japan Arms Export Ban

Japan Pacifist Constitution took effect further about military arms export. Starting from 1967 Japan implemented export ban for military arms. This policy announced by Prime Minister Eisaku Sato. There are three principles of arms export ban. The first is Japan cannot do military arm export to the countries that using the Communist system or the country that join the Communist bloc. The second is Japan cannot do military arms export with countries under an arms embargo by United Nations Security Council, and the third is the countries who have or involving in any international conflict (Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018).

In the next Prime Minister on the leader of Prime Minister Takeo Miki this policy amendment on 1976. Those new amendment is giving new boundaries to the restriction of arms export ban. The scope of arms export ban was increasing not only for export but also a transfer of technology. The scope of the receiver of that restriction of export and transfer of weaponry is wider into those countries who not included into Three Principles of arms export ban (Sato, 2015).

#### c. Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation

The pacifist system leads Japan to prohibit the production of weaponry including of disarmament for the military. Every country understands the importance of military armament in maintaining their security. But the development of military armament can trigger the arms race between the countries especially the neighbor countries. That development of military armament creating mistrust among countries and creating an insecure condition. That prohibition of development of arms and weaponry lead Japan to give the contribution to peacekeeping in term of military armament (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2012).

Japan also active in initiating the Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation in the context of Weapon Mass Destruction (WMD) in the context of nuclear, chemical and biological weapon. Japan also did a great step in developing the trust of the international community by offering the knowledge about the chemical protection in Chemical Weapon Convention (CWC) by sending their expert on chemical weapon protection to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW). The Chemical Weapon Convention is a treaty in arms control and has aimed to erase the use of the weapon of mass destruction (WMD). The erasing of the weapon of mass destruction is by prohibition in producing, developing and distributing the weapon of mass destruction in the states parties (Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, 2018).

#### d. Building Peace through Education

In developing Peace Education, Japan works together with NGOs, Museum, Schools and all citizens in Japan to create a mutual understanding of peace through peace education. This peace education also encourages the students to have humanitarian thinking such as helping each other. That peace education gives to Japan students since they are in elementary school.

Since elementary school, they were taught about peace and manners so they can have a feel of humanity and good behavior in respecting each other. Japanese students did not have a test or homework in the school until they are in the fourth grade of primary school and only focusing on peace education and manners. This shows in the peace education in Nagasaki, one city that got nuclear bombed. According to National Awareness Survey, 90% of children think that helping and be kind to each other is necessary and they want to be useful for other peoples (Freeman Foundation, 2017)

## **Development during Pacifist System**

Japan should consider the benefits they got after implementing Pacifist System since 1946. Those benefits can be in the form of economic stability, international position, technology advances, or even in their military. Japan shows that they can survive in international by using pacifist system because of the development of economy, infrastructure and technology advances that lead Japan got a good position in international. There are achievements achieved by Japan after implementing Pacifist Systems such as industrial technology and economic development. Through industrialization, Japan achieves a significant growth in per capita and GDP income between the 1870s and 2008 and can be compared with Britain and the United States. That achievement through industrialization leads Japan to become successful industrial Non-Western Country. Japan has historical common in the development of economic such as human resource development, macroeconomic stability, and economic infrastructure (United Nations University - Kimura Fukunari, 2013)

The success of industrialization not far from the development of Japan industrial product that can compete and establish a strong position in the foreign market. The ability to import raw materials is the key to the growth of Japan export and foreign trade. The trading companies or Shogo Sosha also have the important role in promoting business and economy by distributing promotion about the industrial products and also supported by Japan Policy (Kemp, 2018).

## **Reinterpreting Philosophy of Article Nine**

The so-called "Reinterpretation" of Article Nine came out after Prime Minister Shinzo Abe pressing and seeking approval to Japan Cabinet to reinterpret Article Nine on 2014. In that event, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe did not seek for amendment of Japan Constitution but the change of meaning and philosophy of Article Nine with the way of Cabinet fiat and without debate, vote and public approval. From the beginning, after Japan declared to be a fully sovereign country in 1952, Article Nine prohibit Japan to use military force to its minimum condition in almost any aspect. Besides that, it does not prohibit the individual self-defense, but the collective self-defense is strictly prohibited, and this shows and affirmed in Sunagawa Judgement on 1960 in The Supreme Court of Japan (Martin, 'Reinterpreting' Article 9 endangers Japan's rule of law, 2014).

The hard work of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe slowly to took effects. In new interpretation delivered in the leadership of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe allow Japan to do collective self-defense. Japan starting from 2014 rearming their forces as the evidence of reinterpretation. The reinterpretation also gives much power to JSDF and make them be considered a dominant regional force even though Japan decide to not producing the nuclear weapon (Robinson, 2010). In November 2015 Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and his allies approved a pack of 11 bills about the military in the full house of Parliament and took effects on March 29, 2016. Those bills grant JSDF to take actions in overseas combats. Those bills approved by the cabinet called "Peace and Security Preservation Legislation" by its supporters (Soble, 2015).

## Japan Action after the Reinterpretation of Article Nine

## a. Japan Lift Export Ban

Japan did action one by one in strengthening their vision in the new interpretation of Article Nine. Japan as an "anti-militarism" country was written in their law including renounce of military intervention, manufacturing, and settlement of weapon starting to change. Lifting their export ban is one of the major changes in the constitution made by Japan. Nearly 50 years Japan banning Export of military armament finally over on April 1, 2014. This action became a gate of Japan contribution in the world peace (Eva Pejsova, 2016). The one first step did by Japan in action of arms ban lift is holding an event that has the theme "A Maritime Security Exposition" called MAST Asia 2015 Defense Conference. This expo held in May 2015 and became the first ever military industry trade show in Japan. This event held in Yokohama success to attract more than 100 exhibitors from around the world. This event aimed to promote and show to the world that Japan has a good product in military armament. Manager of Defense Programs at ShinMaywa Industries Ltd., Ryo Motosako, said: "Our profile is still low (in the global arena), so we are excited to promote our products to guests from militaries around the world" (Kameda, 2015).

#### b. Military Actions in Overseas

After passing those new bills in 2015, Japan conducted their first and second military mission in 2016. For the first time on 2016, Japan joining United Nations Peacekeeping operation in South Sudan. Actually, this action is prohibited under old interpretation of Article Nine because it is included in collective self-defense, but starting from 2015 that allowing Japan to do collective self-defense in strict condition Japan could do this action. Japan had a mission in South Sudan to rescue the United Nations staffs and the other forces that under siege. Japan took a big role in this mission by defending United Nations basecamp. In this peacekeeping operation, Japan had the limitation in using weapons by the strict rules. Japan allowed to do fire warning and return fire when they are in danger or attacked (Sim, 2016).

The other Japan mission is to protect United States military vessels and aircraft on May 2017. This mission following the growing tension with North Korea. This mission engages Japan Self-Defense Force as United State aircraft protector. Japan issued this mission in order to create a strong bond with the United States as its alliance. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said, "An alliance gets stronger if the partners can help each other, the Japan-U.S. alliance has, without doubt, become stronger than ever" (The Japan Times, 2018).

## c. Increasing Military Spending and Military Force

Under the leadership of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe Japan did a change in military spending. Despite to decrease the military spending, Japan chooses to increase its spending trough Prime Minister Shinzo Abe proposal in 2016. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was requesting the increase of military spending to counter China military power and the ballistic missile threat by North Korea. He was proposing to increase military spending up to 5.17 trillion yen, or \$50.2 billion, 2.9% bigger than 2015. This request including the purchase of the new anti-ballistic missiles and upgrading the land-based missile defense system (Rich, 2016).

This proposals reviewed by the Finance Ministry for Cabinet at the end of 2016 and finally approved on December 2016 for next year starting from April 1, 2017. Different from the other budget proposals that usually shrink after reviewed by Finance Ministry for Cabinet, this request proposal approval did not look much different from its original. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Cabinet approved 5.13 trillion Yen or \$43.66 billion, less than proposed but not much comparing by the usual proposals (Osaki, 2017). This increase from 2016 military budget spending around \$41.56 billion.

#### Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Cabinet Decision in the Neighbor Relationship

Decisions involving the lives of many people and other countries must be taken of many considerations. Cannot be decided by certain people but requires the involvement of the community. The decision also needs to consider the position of the country and its relationship with other countries. That is because the decision can harm or strengthen relationships between countries.

## a. Japan Domestic Politics Condition

In the internal parliament, there is the dilemma between to reinterpret or not. This condition happened because there are many citizens opposing this decision. On the other hand, to reinterpret this Article Nine is also important for the country in order to take bigger contribution to the global peace. The ruling party in Japan, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) yearned Japan to be regarded as a normal country like the other countries that can normally contribute in the international context such as preemptive war, peacekeeping, and do collective self-defense. In Japan also rise and grow a conservative group of right-wing who was fostering the sense of nationalism that believe that military in the Second World War did nothing wrong (Richter, 2016)

In the parliament also emerges a dilemma because of the North Korea ballistic missile test. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said that North Korea ballistic missile test is the biggest threat since the Post World War. Abe said that the tension between both countries is getting worse because of those missile test (Lendon, 2017). Japan will have a bad time in

countering that threat because lack of military technology to counter those missiles if it strikes Japan. Because of that, Japan needs military reform to counter that.

In the case of the reinterpretation of Article Nine, the involvement of Japanese people in deciding whether it is needed to be reinterpreted is very low because Japan government decide it only by 19 members of Congress (King, 2014). The future of Japan is in the hand of all the Japanese people not only in the certain hand. This decision that already passed is without the involvement of the Japanese citizens. In the real condition, there are many respondents did not agree with this reinterpretation. There is around 50 percent of the respondents did not agree with this agenda.

There are several newspapers in Japan did a polling for this agenda. There are The Yomiuri Shimbun, The Asahi Shimbun and The Nikkei did the polling. This polling did by those newspaper in 2016. It is reported in Yomiuri Shimbun in March. There is over 50 percent of the respondents did not agree with the agenda and became the opposition. In the Asahi Shimbun reported in May, the percentage of Japanese citizens that oppose this reinterpretation is in 55 percent. Moreover, in Nikkei reported in May, there is over 50 percent that against about it. This shows that many citizens or over half of them are opposed or disagree with this agenda (Smith S. A., 2016).

b. Japan Economics in Supporting the Military Development

Japan already has big resources to develop their military. The big resources come from their economics and technology. In 2017 the GDP of Japan is 0.6 percent. It increases 0.4 percent than the GDP in 2016 that is 0.2 percent (Trading Economics, 2018). The total GDP Japan got in 2017 is \$4.884 trillion (International Monetary Fund, 2017). Japan has the chance in developing their military into the strong one using their economics by focusing the building of military research center and military industry. It sees in the acceptance and approval of Military Budget Proposals submitted by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and the Cabinet.

However, starting from 2014 Japan creating a loophole to split from the pacifist system. Because of the reinterpretation of Article Nine, Japan budget will be allocated to the military sectors. It can be said that the economy can become a source of military power. The allocation of Japan GDP into military can lead Japan to procure a military armament, create military training, and facilitating the military research. The fully sovereign country should balance their military and economics

## c. United States Support in Reinterpreting Article Nine

In creating or changing a foreign policy must have responses of pros and contrast from the other countries. Starting from the pros country, there is the United States who support this reinterpretation of Article Nine. The United States concerning in this reinterpretation of Article Nine and remilitarization of Japan army because of their intention in maintaining the security of Asia Pacific region and in response to China and North Korea threats (Gibbs, 2010).

Actually since before this event, the United States already encourage Japan to contribute more to the global security. However, Japan always uses their pacifism to avoid the heavy or complicated commitment. The United States wants its allies including Japan to carry more burden in maintaining the peace especially in their neighborhood region (Stratfor Staff, 2013).

The United States also concerned in the security of Asia-Pacific region by the statement of Chuck Hagel as the United States Defense Secretary "The United States has an enduring interest in the Asia-Pacific's peace and prosperity, and our alliance with Japan is critical to our strategy in the region." The United States believes welcoming Japan reinterpretation of Article Nine can develop the more effective alliance with Japan. The United States also believe that this decision is an important step for Japan to the contribution in the world peace and security (Linda Sieg, 2014).

There are a statement from President Donald Trump shows his support to Japan remilitarizing "... if we are attacked, [the Japanese] don't have to do anything. If they're attacked, we have to go out with full force... That's a pretty one-sided agreement, right there... And that is a, that's a real problem." (Chanlett-Avery, 2017).

d. Rejection from China

China is the rising power in Asia countries. Even though China has power in Asia, they still not agree with the reinterpretation and have the negative response. One of China's news said that the movement made by Japan is a "brutal Violation" of their spirit of the pacifist constitution. In the first week of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announcing for the first time about the reinterpretation of Article Nine, it is suddenly booming about the commentary of this event in China, especially in official and academics. China's negative critics come because the reinterpretation of Article Nine is arbitrary without the agreement that involving the representative of peoples voice in the decision making (King, 2014).

This negative critic also come up because of the issue of the lack of mutual trust because of the historical politics and the insecurity of both countries. China did not forget the military aggression in Asia did by Japan in the Second World War. China's leader and peoples also aware of the historical construction about what Japan did in the Second World War will be unleashed by Japan constitution change. (Cheng, 2014).

## e. Consideration to Take the Decision

The development of reinterpretation of Article Nine of Japan Constitution shows that Japan already has the power to compete in the International military combats. It's shown by the development of Japan military budget and Japan military armament. Even though Japan reinterpretation of Article Nine already supported by the cabinets, many of Japan citizens still disagree with this movement.

The reinterpretation of Article Nine itself seen as an important step for Japan to contribute more to world peace. This shows after Japan reinterpret the Article Nine, Japan directly join United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in South Sudan. This shows the intention of Japan to contribute to the global peace.

Beside that the contribution in combatting terrorist also important for Japan. As we knew in 2015, two Japanese peoples became hostages and killed by one of the biggest terrorist group called "ISIS." At that year, even though Japan military is still preparing, Japan still cannot save those hostages. But in a news conference chief government spokesman, Yoshihide Suga said: *"The international community will not give in to terrorism, and we have to make sure that we work together." "Our country's stance -- contributing to the fight against terrorism without giving in -- remains unchanged*" (Al Arabiya News, Agencies, 2015).

This is a hard decision to take to Japan Cabinets. This decision is contra with the most of Japanese citizen though. Japanese citizens think that Japan will become aggressive like they are before, but this decision also important for future Japan. Japan need to protect their sovereignty including the life of Japan citizens abroad with their power. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said "Preserving the safety of Japanese nationals is the responsibility of the government, and I am the person who holds the most responsibility," (Linda Sieg A. S., 2015)

## Conclusion

Japan already have a good position in economic. Thanks to the development of industry, infrastructure, and technology that support the development of Japan economics. However, only developed in economic does not enough for the sovereign country. The richer a person, they need more protection in securing their property. This also applies to the state. The rich country has many weak points and enemies. Because of that, a state needs to protect their sovereignty including peoples and property inside it. By allocating budget into the military, Japan can develop their military strategy. Japan can procure, maintain and produce weapons for their self so strengthening their military.

When foreign policy decision already made by the country, it is needed to wait for a response from the international society. The response from the other countries needed to evaluate the strength or weakness of the foreign policy and determine the benefits for the domestic politics. It is needed by Japan to evaluate this decision whether it can danger the sovereignty or not.

Shinzo Abe can decide Japan should reinterpret the Article Nine because of this movement can give more benefits to Japan and international. Japan has bigger supporting factors than the negative one. Japan can contribute more to global peace and protect their sovereignty inside or outside their country is what Japan get when Japan reinterpret this article. This movement also gives good impact back to the Japanese citizens who oppose this movement. Shinzo Abe sees that the development of military in Asia especially East Asia is dangerous for them because of China and North Korea. So Japan needs more power to counter China and North Korea power because the economic power is still not enough.