

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to discuss the earlier problem with identification on the issue by projecting the background of the issue along with the research question. This chapter also consists of theoretical framework to answer the research question and hypothesis which answers research question. This chapter managed the explanation to the purposes of research, limitation and scope research, research method, and also writing structure.

A. Background

The United States started to build strong relationship to Japan with establishment the ‘Guidelines on Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’ on November 21, 1978. In 1969, the Prime Minister Sato Eisaku stated that Japan and the United States negotiated ‘The New Guidelines on Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation’ after the end of the Vietnam War. The United States tried to focus on the contingencies in Korean Peninsula and Taiwan. The direct threat of the Soviet Union toward East Asia since 1970 to 1980 made the United States focused on the fact of regional defense planning. The 1978 guidelines focused for deterring aggression, actions in response to an armed attack against Japan, and the U.S.-Japan cooperation in the case of situations in the FarEast outside of Japan which will have an important influence on the security of Japan. (Defense, The Guidelines For Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation (November 27, 1978), 1978) The 1978 Guidelines only focused on defense cooperation. The 1978 guidelines referred to the policy of the United States toward Japan for total ban on arms export. Japan only used military only for self-defense. In 1980s, the Japanese defense budget was increased. The defense budget is in the average of 6%. The U.S.-Japan forces increased joint training and exercise. The United States and Japan shared the roles and mission. Japanese forces became

shield and the United States forces became spear. (Green, 2000)

Clinton and Hashimoto Ryutaro agreed to review the 1978 guidelines on April, 1996. The United States and Japan had 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 1997. The 1997 guidelines had seven important parts. The first was 'the aim of the guidelines'. The aim of the old guidelines in 1997 was strengthening the U.S.-Japan cooperation under the normal circumstance. The 1997 guidelines wanted to protect Japan from armed attack against Japan and areas surrounding Japan. The 1997 guidelines also provided the policy direction and general framework for the roles and mission of two countries under the circumstance and during the contingencies.

The second was the basic principles and premises. It had four premises and principles. The first principle was the obligations and rights under the umbrella of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan (the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty). It related the arrangements of the fundamental framework of the U.S.-Japan alliances. It would remain unchanged. The second principle was Japan would conduct all Japanese actions within the limitation of Japan's Constitution and in accordance with the basic positions as the protection of exclusively policy of defense-oriented and its three non-nuclear principles. The third was all actions were taken by the United States and Japan would be consistent with the basic principles of the international law, including the peaceful settlement of sovereign and dispute equality, and relevant international agreements (Charter of the United Nations). The last principle was the Guidelines and programs under the Guidelines will not obligate either government to take legislative, budgetary, or administrative measures.

The third was cooperation under normal circumstances. The United States made it with the purpose to increase the

U.S.-Japan cooperation. The United States had the responsibility to preserve its nuclear deterrent power, its direct deployed forces to the Asia-Pacific region. The United States needed to maintain deployed forces in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan only possessed defense capability within the scope necessary for self-defense on the basis of 'National Defense Program Outline'. There are three important parts, the information sharing and policy consultations, various types of security cooperation, and bilateral program.

The fourth was the response action to an armed attack against Japan. The both governments would take place in two conditions, they are when armed an armed attack against Japan is imminent and when an armed attack against Japan takes place. The United States and Japanese government would intensify information and intelligence sharing and policy consultation. They also would initiate in the early stage bilateral coordination. The fifth was about cooperation in situations in areas surrounding Japan that would have an important influence on Japan's peace and security (situations in areas surrounding Japan). The both governments would respond to such situation depending on circumstances. This part discussed two important things about when a situation in area surrounding Japan is anticipated and responses to situation in area surrounding Japan.

The sixth was about bilateral programs for effective defense cooperation under the guidelines. The United States and Japanese governments would improve their bilateral planning in the comprehensive mechanism. The both governments would establish the common procedures and standards, including not only the U.S. forces and other relevant agencies of their respective government. The SCC would be responsible in presenting directions and validating the progress of work, and issuing directives necessary. The both governments under circumstances also would establish a bilateral coordinator mechanism for coordinating respective activities during contingencies. The last principle in the

guidelines was about timely and appropriate review of the guidelines. The both governments would review and change the guidelines base on the United State-Japan relationship. (Defense, 1997)

The United States increased its relationship toward Japan. It was proven on April, 1st 2014, Shinzo Abe announced that Japan left ban on arms export. It means Japan will come back to be strong state in Asia-Pacific. The announcement of Shinzo Abe got a lot of responds from other states. One respond came from People's Republic of China. People's Republic of China criticized the outline of Japan's defense policy. (NEWS, 2013) People's Republic of China (PRC) thought that the Japanese decision left ban on arms export will never make stability in Asia, but it will make new problem in Asia. On April, 1st 2014, Japan also adopted the implementation guidelines for the Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology. The decision of Japan was inseparable of United States agreement to let Japan develop its capability in defense development. The decision of Japan made international communities including People's Republic of China and North Korea confused of the decision from the United States gave permission to Japan on defense development. While, in the U.S.-Japan history was so sensitive about defense. The United States disabled Japanese defense.

B. Research Question

Based on the background mentioned, the research question of this thesis would be:

Why did the United States decide to create 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015?

C. Theoretical Framework

Mohtar Mas'oe'd in his book *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional: Disiplin dan Metodologi* stated that concept is an abstraction which represents the object, characteristic of object, or phenomenon. He stated that the concept is a word to represent the idea in social science. This research used two concepts of national interest and balance of power to analyze the purpose of the United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for the Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015. Balance of power becomes a reason of the U.S. security interest.

1. National Interest

National interest is used as a tool to analyze the interest of state. Hans J. Morgenthau stated that "national interest is the state's minimum ability to preserve and protect the physical, political, and culture identity from the interruption of other countries." He also stated that national interest is a general concept of the United States Constitution in two ways: general welfare and legal protection rights.

Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton stated that national interest is the fundamental purpose and also the important factors to determine the foreign policy, national interest also means general conception and an element which becomes a vital requirement for the state including the survival of nation and state, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic prosperity. (Plano & Olton, 1999)

The concept of national interest has five general categories which become the purpose of state. The first is preservation, the right of survive which the state has right to self-defense from any threats which disturb the stability of state. The second is independence, state has right to be independence and has right to not obey other countries. The third is territorial integrity, state has the right to maintain territorial integrity. The last is military security, there is not

military interference from other states; and (5) economic wellbeing, it is also called economic prosperity, the government has to guarantee economic stability to create economic prosperity for state.

The general explanation of the national interest is a purpose of the state to be achieved with concerning the needs of that state with the aspired aspects. In this case, the relative equal and fixed the national interests of all countries are its security (covering the survival and needs of nation and state) and welfare. The simple definition of national interest is goal of state. The national interest of state can be seen from internal condition, such as politics, economic, military, and social-culture conditions. The security and economic interests created a new foreign policy of the United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperatio' in 2015. The security interest reasons of the United States were strengthened alliance coordinator, increased Japan's arms defense to balance of power the rise-up of China and the development nuclear and missile North Korea. The economic interest of the United States was cutting cost on the U.S. defense development. Japanese companies would supply components or parts to the U.S. Companies, and they will assemble and export them to Japan and the security partners of both countries. (Platform, 2014)

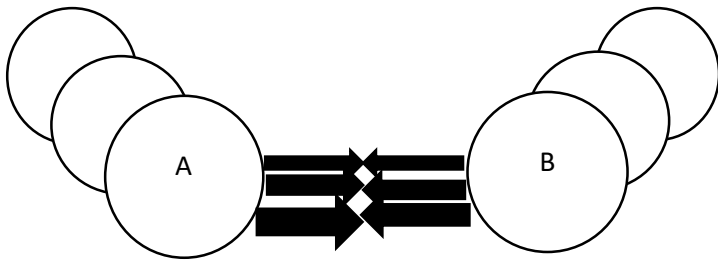
2. Balance of Power

The concept balance of power comes from two words which are balance and power. The concept of equilibrium is a synonym of balance which means stability within the system composed with number of autonomous forces. (Morgenthau & Thompson, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 1985) Balance means stability of system due to the existence several composition forces in which the sum or of the forces would resulted to be zero such as the balance of supply and demand in economics. (Dixon, 2001) Power means the ability of person or a group to make other groups or actor to do something according the holder of power. (Budiardjo,

1977) Hans J. Morgenthau stated that international politics like all politics, is a struggle for power. (Kauppi, 2012) Power is essential and important to states.

Balance of power is a policy of forming defensive alliances to prevent coalition from having a dominant position. (Mas'oeed, 1990) Hans J. Morgenthau also state that the term of balance of power can be contextualized on four ways. The first, balance of power is a policy aimed at particular relations to a state. The second, balance of power is an actual description of a state relationship. The third, balance of power is a general equal distribution of power. The last, balance of power is any power distribution. (Morgenthau, 1985) Hans J. Morgenthau stated that alliances become a necessary function of the balance of power operating with the multiple-states system. (Morgenthau, Thompson, & Clinton, 2005) Morgenthau stated that there are two main patterns of the balance of power. They are the pattern of direct opposition and pattern of composition.

Diagram 1.1 The Pattern of Direct opposition

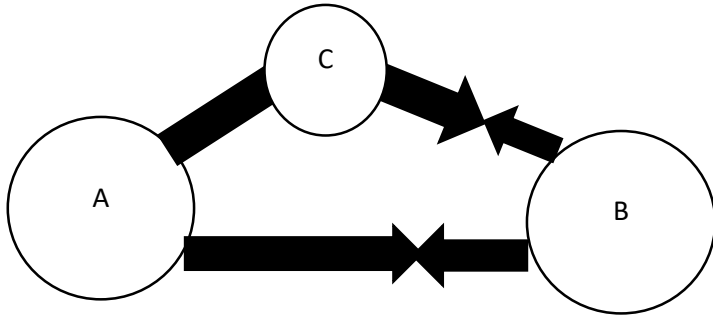


Source: Morgenthau, H. J., Thompson, K. W., & Clinton, W. D. (2005). *POLITICS AMONG NATIONS: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (Seventh ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher

Morgenthau states that this pattern explained about the direct-opposition between the nation that wants to make its power over another nation and the latter. The group A consists

of the United States, Japan, and South Korea. While, the group B consists of China, North Korea, and Russia.

Diagram 1.2 The Pattern of Composition



Source: Morgenthau, H. J., Thompson, K. W., & Clinton, W. D. (2005). *POLITICS AMONG NATIONS: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (Seventh ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Morgenthau stated that this pattern created the crucial security and stability in the relations between A and B. There was a safeguarding the independence of state C for state A against state B. In this case, A was represented by the United States. B was represented by People's Republic of China (PRC). C was represented by Japan. This pattern helped to explain the U.S.-Japan relations toward Chin

Balance of power concept is a part of national interest concept. Balance of power concept explained more the United State' security interest with the balance of power to Asia-Pacific, especially the rise-up China and the development nuclear and missile of North Korea. (Wyne, 2015) The United want Japan increased its armed-defense to balance of power the rise up China and the development nuclear and missile of North Korea

D. Hypothesis

According to the concepts of national interest and balance of power, the reasons of the United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015 were because:

1. Strengthened alliance coordination
2. Increased Japan's arms defense to balance of power the rise-up of China and the development nuclear and missile North Korea.
3. Cutting cost on the U.S. defense development.

E. Purpose of Research

The purposes of this research are:

1. To know the detail of 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015.
2. To know the U.S.-Japan relations in arms transfer.
3. To understand the interest of the United States decision to create 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015.

F. Limitation and Scope of Research

The limitation of research was used to limit the problem which would be observed. It made easier for researcher to write the research that would not deviate from the main problem in the background and the hypothesis. This topic is very broad in scope, so the researcher made limitation from 2011 to 2018 to answer the reasons of the United States decided to create 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015.

G. Research Methods

1. Research Type

This research was casual explanation research. It explained the cause of phenomenon which will be observed. The researcher tried to explain the causes of the United States decided to create ‘The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation in 2015.

2. Source and Type of Research

In this research, the researcher used the secondary data. The data which were used in this research came from books, e-journals, documents, and internet.

3. Data Collection Technique

Collecting data technique in this research used library research. These data came from some books and e-journals. Researcher also visited some website to get online sources, included documents from official web.

4. Data Analysis Technique

Researcher used qualitative method to do verification on the hypothesis set by the researcher. The researcher used content analysis toward some documents and news.

H. Writing Structure

This research uses the outline as follows:

Chapter 1 described the background of the issue, research question, the theoretical framework taken, hypothesis, purpose of research, limitation and scope research, research method, and the writing structure.

Chapter 2 analyzed the foreign policy of the United States. This chapter also analyzed the history of the U.S.-Japan relationship before 2015. This chapter also discussed about the Japan’s pacifism under the United States’ umbrella, included

the establishment of the Article 9, the Three Principles, and total ban on arms export toward Japan.

Chapter 3 analyzed the new guidelines on Japan's arms export restriction. This chapter also more focused on implementation of 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' from 2015 to 2018. This chapter also compared the old guidelines in 1997 and the new guidelines in 2015. This chapter also gave data about U.S.-Japan arms cooperation to Asia-Pacific from 2015 to 2018.

Chapter 4 discussed about the concrete reasons of the United States created 'The New Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation' in 2015 based on concepts of national interest and balance of power. This chapter also analyzed the obstacles of the United States to rebalance Asia-Pacific, included the rise of China and the development nuclear and missile North Korea

Chapter 5 concluded the research and explanation that have been analyzed in the previous chapters.