

CHAPTER II

THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

A. Foreign Policy of the United States

The United States foreign policy becomes the main focus of other states. The national interest of the United States shaped its foreign policy. The United States foreign policy focused on maintaining political division of industrial Eurasia during 1917 to 1991. The hegemony of Eurasia was not serious fear for United States since the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991. Germany and Soviet Union were not the dangerous enemy again for the United States to spread its interest in Eurasia.

The United States changed its view of national security and its relations with the world on November 11, 2001. The United States focused to combat terrorism after the terrorists were success to attack World Trade Center tower in the New York. Terrorism became the unique challenge of the United States. President Bush made a statement in 2002. It became known as “Bush Doctrine” or the doctrine of preemption. Preemptive war is an assumption in the war on terrorism, the self-defense must be anticipatory. (Bardes, Mack C. Shelley, & Schmidt, 2008)

Since 2001 to 2009, the United States focused to Middle East. The terrorism issue became the main focus of the United States and world. On November 2011, the direction of the United States changed from Middle East to Asia-Pacific. The U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton stated that the new program of the United States. It was pivot to Asia. The United States called to increased investment, diplomatic, strategic, economic, and others in Asia-Pacific was seen as countering the rise of China. The commitment of the United States on rebalance Asia-Pacific was proven by the U.S. president visited some countries in Asia. The United States increased

bilateral cooperation especially defense cooperation toward Asia-Pacific countries.

B. History of the U.S.-Japan Relationship

The United States and Japan were to unite a strong alliance postwar. The State Department of the United States refers to the United States-Japan relationship. The United States started to lead Japan since 1945 after the United States bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki as the important economic and security bases of Japan. United States became the winner of World War II. General Douglas A. MacArthur led occupation forces toward Japan since 1945 to 1952. Douglas A. MacArthur took the charge on the Supreme Command of Allied Powers (SCAP) on September, 1945. The United States did occupation toward Japan into three phrases, they were (1) the initial effort to punish and reform Japan, (2) revive the economy of Japan, and (3) the conclusion of a formal peace treaty and alliance.

SCAP dismantled the Japanese army and banned former military officers from taking roles of political leadership. SCAP introduced land reform in economic field. It designed for the benefit the majority of tenant farmers and reduced the power of rich land owners. Douglas A. MacArthur broke up the large Japanese business conglomerates to transform the economic into free market of capitalist system. The Korean War in 1950 made SCAP needed to address that problem. United Nations entered Korean War. Japan became a supply depot for United Nations forces. The Korean War placed Japan firmly within the confines of the United States defense perimeter in Asia in assuring Japanese leadership of state military. The threat of United States changed between 1945 and 1950 from re-armed and militant Japan into the creep of communism in Asia. Finally, the final agreement allowed the United States to maintain its bases in Okinawa and the U.S. government promised a bilateral security pact toward Japan. (State, n.d.)

The United States had drafted an article toward Japan as the main foundation of Japan's pacifism. The Chapter II in the Japan's constitution told about Renunciation of War. In the Chapter II, there is Article 9 which regulates armed restriction to Japan. This article was legitimated among Japanese society. It came into effect on May, 3rd 1947. This Article 9 can be interpreted as the law that prohibited Japan to use armed force even for self-defense, but Japan can develop so fast and significant on military force that had expanded in both strength and reach.(Chinen, 2009)

With reference to the defense policy, the clauses in the new constitution of Chapter II about Renunciation of War in Article 9, which reads:

“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 states will not be recognized.” (Cabinet, 1946)

Ashida Hitoshi as the Prime Minister of Japan stated that Japan had the possibility to give the opportunity for the United States to keep its military bases in Japan even though the occupation of the United States had ended. The United States also needed to guarantee the Japan territorial security of emergency. (Jitsuo, 2000) It was proven since at the end of the United States occupation in 1952. Washington had signed a military treaty with Tokyo to protect Japan from the outside threats and maintain its military bases in Japan. (Tsuneo, 2000)

The United States drafted ‘Three Principles on Arms Export’ toward Japan in 1967. The Three Principles blocked the interaction of Japan on arms trade with Communist bloc countries, countries under arms exports embargo under the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions, and

countries which involved in or likely being involved in international conflicts. The function of the Three Principles was preventing Japan from involved in a war. The Three Principles on arms export is a part of the United States force on Japan arms-transfer. It became an arms export restriction of Japan. The Three Principles on arms export in 1967 was not enough for United States to control Japan. In 1976, the United States made the Japanese Government announced the total arms export ban, even toward the states that was not restricted the Three Principles in 1967, beside from some technology transfers to the United States.

Arms export is a political controversial which raised the proliferation. (Levine & Smith, 2000) Arms export is so important to state to gain more interest on the security and economy fields. The higher technology of arms equipment that can be produce, it can measure the power of state. Arms transfer can involve and rise up the conflict. Arms transfers also become an instrument of influence and indicator for United States political support. (Blanton, 2005)

The United States made Japan became a low-profile military stance. The United States made Japan only could enforce the self-force on the weaponry types. It had been produced only for the 'Japan Self Defense Forces' (JSDF). The JSDF avoided the war potential possession. It combined the restrictions on arms export and the military technology in the dual-use technologies. The United States-Japan cooperation largely lift it from the recourse to the global arms transfers as the standard tool of the statecraft. The United States and Japan continued to articulate the role that expand or change the capability of defense production plays to provide the bargaining power and the potential deterrence, essentially the code word for hedging within the U.S.–Japan ally and outside. It preserved the autonomy strategy. (Hughes, Japan's emerging arms transfer strategy: diversifying to re-centre on the US–Japan alliance, 2017)

The United Nations (UN) launched Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) on April 2nd 2013. ATT is the first international agreement to set the rules to regulate the import and export controls of conventional weapons to contribute international and regional peace and security. The treaty entered into force on December, 2014. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2018) The ATT's process brought all United Nations member states to negotiate binding standards on arms export controls. The aims of this treaty were achieving international and regional peace, reducing human misery, and promoting cooperation, transparency, and responsible action by and among states. (UNODA, 2013) Arms export control is a control on the movement of the conventional weapons and related equipment from one state to other states. (Bromley, Cooper, & Holtom, 2012)

The United States and Japan celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the United States-Japan Relationship. They signed the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. The members of the Security Consultative Committee (SCC) affirmed that the United States-Japan Alliances played the important role to ensure the security and prosperity of the United States and Japan as well as the regional peace and stability. The United States and Japan has an agreement to strengthen their effort to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and seek the peace and security of world without nuclear weapons, while maintaining the necessary deterrence. (Katsuya Okada, 2010)

The United States supported Japan to join the United Nations peacekeeping operation (PKO). The United States also supported Japan's effort on security policy, such as the establishment of the National Security Council (NSC), the adoption of the National Security Strategy (NSS), and the National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG). These efforts were called 'Proactive Contributor Peace' to contribute more active to peace and stability of the region and the international community, and coordinate to other countries its alliance, United States. (Japan, 2019)

NSS stated that the ‘Defense Equipment and Technology’ (DE&T) cooperation was the method of Japan to strengthen and maintain Japanese defense industrial base to support the domestic foundation which supported the national security. (Cabinet Secretariat, 2013) After the NSS was adopted, Japan agreed all objectives on the Three Principles on Arms Export and Their Related Policy Guidelines. The new guidelines referred to the 1967 Old Principles. The Old Principles were established in 1967. It prohibit Japan for arms-transfer to communist countries, countries subject to arms embargoes under the ‘United Nations Security Council’ (UNSC) resolutions, and countries which involved in or likely to be involved in international conflicts, in deference to the pacifist constitution.

The strict principles often deterred the DE&T cooperation. The strict principles made Japan lost the chance to enhance interoperability with the United States and develop its future generation weapons. It made Japan could not develop its own defense technology for the important weapons system that supports ballistic missile defense and anti-air warfare operations, two key priorities for Japan’s Self-Defense Forces.

Pacifism program of the United States toward Japan made the Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru implemented Yoshida doctrine that used military budget for economic reconstruction. (Hook, Gilson, Dobson, & Hughes, 2001) The program made Japan solved the 20 years of economic stagnation and border foreign policy against the territorial tension against assertive and dominative People’s Republic of China. It made Japan becoming more militarized form. It could be seen that there was a matching situation to make the militarization agenda to balance People’s Republic of China (PRC).

The full revision of ban on arms export with the initiation of the ‘Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology’ on April, 2014 that had allowed it to be more open and to extend the range and the function of

global arms transfers in the national security policy. The National Security Strategy (NSS) in 2013 made clear that the defense equipment and technology cooperation should become the main focus in Japan's security activities and part of the 'proactive contribution to peace'. The new Three Principles had exposed a larger range of the mechanisms for the global arms transfers two-ways and one-way moving on from past practices of off the shelf imports and 'Foreign Military Sales' (FMS) and limited co-development and co-production to now full-scale of bilateral and multilateral co-development and co-production. Since 2014, Japan had possibility to export. In 2014, the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announced that Japan left ban on arms export. Barack Obama stood up beside Shinzo Abe when Shinzo Abe was announcing Japan left ban on arms export. There was revision about the U.S.-Japan defense cooperation.