



Japan, and Its Pacifism : A Choice Amid the Rise of China and the Widening of North Korea

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Abstract

This research is about interpretation picture given by the lecturer of foreign policy analysis about Japan pacifism in between of China and North Korea. The central research-problem focuses on the factors that how Japan facing the security challenge amid to real threats between the raise of China and the Widening of Nuclear from North Korea, that will affects a state's foreign policy decision in the field of security, power structure through defense procurement. This research is build by foreign policy analysis concept, also the rational choice approach. The result shows that the output that will be obtained from the changing of foreign policy will make it easier for Japan to take a part in bilateral and multilateral military exercise with countries other than the United States, including Southeast Asia countries such as the Philippines which has maritime disputes with China and welcoming Japan's expanded security role.

Keywords: Japan, China, North Korea, Foreign Policy, Proactive Pacifism

1. Introduction



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What foreign policy analysis can we have from the pictures?

The picture above shows that we are forced to pull back on Japan's past history after World War II. What can be learned from the picture is the implementation of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) lessons. Foreign Policy as an extension of Domestic Policy, contains strategic interests to be achieved. The basis of the approach of Foreign Policy itself is an external factor and an internal factor, which will then form a perception, which will enter the realm of the decision making process, and produce an output or policy. Based on this understanding, the external factors here are China and North Korea, as external threats to Japan. And the internal factor is the National Constitution of Japan. My interpretation of this picture is to review how Japan faces security challenges amid two real threats, North Korea and China, and their impact on Japan's foreign policy in the field of security, from the power structure to defense procurement.

History says that Japan's was one of the superpowers during World War II and even before. Founded hundreds of thousands of years ago, Japan was able to research and develop the country well. Although superior in this regard, Japan has a slight absence in the power component in a country, namely in the military field. This absence is commonly known as pacifism. Pacifism itself comes from the Latin paci- which means 'peace' and -ficus which means 'to make', in other words Japan wants to show the world



that Japan is a peace-loving country. The conflict that would occur in the world and around Japan in 2018, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan came up with an analysis report on foreign policies taking into account the effects of climate change. In Japan, however, the notion of environmental security is not very familiar. In that way is environmental security different from “human security” or “non-traditional security?” why are the environmental issues related to the security? How should Japan’s foreign security policy address environmental issues?. But the geographical coverage of the report does not include Northeast Asia fraught with many factors most likely to affect Japan. (Sekiyama, 2020).

Japan begins to issue a new constitution which contains articles on defense. Article 9 of the constitution states that the Japanese will forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means to resolve international disputes. In addition, the constitution stipulates that land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potentials will not be defended. This is because of the legal framework on which Japan's post-war pacifism was based (Sebok, 2013). The changes in Abe’s security policy must be seen within the context of the constantly shifting regional environment. Japan feels threatened above all by China, which is modernizing its military and assertively pursuing its foreign policy, as well as by North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs (Alexandra, 2015).

Abe hereby begins to shape foreign policy under the banner of proactive pacifism that underscores the ongoing shift in Japan's security and defense policies. At current policy, Japan aims to strengthen military deterrence and strengthen its security alliance with the United States. This is an important domestic driver for Abe's policies.

Pacifism is meant to deny the existence of a role meaning to the military and the use of force as a means to pursue the national interest of the state. In the context of post-war Japanese politics, pacifism supported Japan's complete disarmament, neutrality between



the Western bloc and communists, and the abolition of the United States-Japan alliance. They also strongly support legal barriers to Japanese military use (Izumikawa, 2010).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Foreign Policy Concept

The concept of foreign policy is a concept that affects to the national interest. Because, the national interest is the key to foreign policy. There are several definitions of foreign policy. Foreign policy is a relatively consistent discourse of behavior carried out by a country over a period that it values in relation to other countries (Edward Conrad Smith, 1995: 162).

Foreign-policy analysis is a study of the management of external relations and activities of nation-states, as distinguished from their domestic policies. Foreign policy involves goals, strategies, measures, methods, guidelines, directives, understandings, agreements and so on, by which national governments conduct International relations with each other and with international organizations and non-governmental actors (Jackson and Sorensen, 2016).

The term of foreign policy has been defined in various ways by scholars; however, they are certain that is concerned with behaviour of a state towards other states. Hermann in *The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations*, for instance defined foreign policy as "the discrete purposeful action that results from the political level decision of an individual or group of individuals. It is the observable artifact of a political level decision." By this, it can be seen that Hermann defines foreign policy as the behaviour of states (Bojang AS, 2018).



3. Research Methodology

This study uses a descriptive qualitative research methods, which is a study that seeks to explain the factors that causes various phenomena. To obtained conclusions from the result of research through elaboration or description in detail in the form of senteces. It is namely research that does not use the calculation process and the power of numbers, but uses data descriptions. The data collection is literature study, that come from book sources, or other media such as official and non-official reports, journals, or printed news such as newspapers. The author also using rational choice theory approach. Rational choice theory is a general theory of action and is considered one of the three overarching meta-theoretival paradigms in the social sciences, with structural-institutional theories and cultural theories constituting its main competitors. Rational choice theory explains social phenomena as outcomes of individual choices that can – in some way – be constructed as rational. (Rafael Wittek, 2013).

4. Result and Discussion

The state is one of the important actors in international relations. In conducting relations with other countries, each country has different aims and objectives. The state will take various actions in an effort to achieve or maintain these goals and objectives, one of them by issuing foreign policy. It is often argued that foreign policy of a country reflects its national interest. Foreign policy is likely formulated in accordance with national interest (Jackson and Sorensen, 2003). A country may at any time change its foreign policy. For example, Japan, the country that has changed its foreign policy in the past after the World War II. Facing any kind of threats around the region, Japan has its own policy.

In the post of Second of World War, the defeated Japan was occupied by the United States. The United States Occupation of Japan was aimed at pacifying and democratizing



Japan. Japan defeat in World War II caused by Japanese citizens to reject militarism and support pacifism.

After Japan military expansion and subsequent defeat in the Second of World War, Japan opted for a policy of pacifism. It declared in its national Constitution, Article 9, that would renounce aggressive military action and establish various norms in its defense policy. Japan's exclusively defense-oriented (*senshu boei*) holds that it will not employ defensive forces unless an armed attack is mounted on Japan by another country, such as The United States, and even in such cases, only the minimum force necessary will be employed to defend itself. Japan also adopted the three non-nuclear principles (*hi kaku san gensoku*), vowing to not possess, produce, or allow nuclear weapons within its borders. Moreover, Japan guarantees civilian control of its government and has no intention of becoming a military power that could threaten its neighboring countries (Chijiwa Yasuaki, 2010).

Japan's committed to make pacifism as the basis of its foreign policy, that means Japan's troops is not active or the existence is not recognized under that it is stated in the 1947 Japan's Constitution, Article 9 which also known as the peace clause. Article 9 of the constitution contains as follows :

“ 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 belligerence of the state will not be recognized. ” (Prime Minister of Japan, 1947).

Within these parameters, Japan has ongoing alliance with the United States, especially after the 1950s San Fransisco agreement, then Japan formed a Self-Defense Forces (SDF) that posses the minimum force necessary to defend the nation. The alliance



between Japan and the United State is a very important element of Japan's defense policy, especially since the situation in the region around Japan is far from peaceful or stable.

The U.S. – Japan Alliance also provided a deterrence mechanism critical to Japan's postwar strategy. The asymmetric defense obligations formed the backbone of this strategy by generating credible threats to deter armed attacks. The U.S. stationed troops in Japan and extend its nuclear umbrella over the archipelago to contain communism, signal resolve, and deter aggressors. The challenge has been to retain both of these functions as the security environment dramatically changed and the alliance steadily evolved along with it. (Andrew and Kurazaki, 2016). Threats come from North Korea, and China. North Korea, for example, launched a ballistic missile in June 2006 and carried out its first nuclear test in October. Then, in 2009, North Korea escalated the crisis by relaunching a ballistic missile and conducting a second nuclear test. Japan is actively trying to solve this problem by engaging in the Six Party Talks dialogue, and imposing economic sanctions. Currently, there is no effective alternative, the only way is to negotiate with North Korea from a position of strenght, using economic sanctions and potential economic cooperation.

The other security challenge which Japan faces in the East Asia region is China's rapid rise as a military power. In Asian history, the 21st century will be the first era in which two great powers, Japan and China, emerged simultaneously. Some predict that China will become the second largest economic power, overtaking Japan in 2010, after recording an economic growth rate of more that 10% for the 21 consecutive years since 1989, backed by its growing national power. On the other hand, China does not do enough to disclose the purpose of its military's modernization. Some military experts also noted the transformation of the Chinese nation from a brown-water navy (active in home waters) to a blue-water navy (active on the high seas). The China's military movement has the potential to have a negative impact on the existing regional order. In addition, the cross-strait conflict between China and Taiwan can also have an impact on Japan's security. (Chijiwa Yasuaki, 2010).



Faced with the security challenges in Japan's regional environment, the government under Shinzo Abe's control established the National Security Council (NSC) with its own Secretariat in December 2013 (Alexandra Sakaki, 2015). But, Japan's NSC is unlikely to reach a level of significance comparable to that of the US in terms of developing a foreign policy strategy. On the other hand, Japan is taking advantage of its new National Security Secretariat to intensify security policy cooperation with the US and other countries.

Two publications in December 2013 provided insight into the direction of Japan's security policy under the Abe administration, namely the National Security Strategy (NSS) and the National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG). The two documents outline how the government intends to protect the country from threats and enhance regional and international stability. Most prominent in this strategy document is the concept of "proactive pacifism". By promoting this concept, Abe explicitly rejected the idealistic pacifist ideas of the post-war era and thus justified what he saw as a necessary easing of military constraints. Abe intends to create better conditions for security cooperation with other countries and enhance Japan's ability to influence regional developments.

For the most part, however, its reforms only serve to align existing guidelines with reality and legitimize what the Japanese government is already doing. Although previous strategy documents have called for Japan's contribution to international peace, for example in the form of international peacekeeping missions, humanitarian aid or disaster relief, the guiding idea of "proactive pacifism" is new to the country's security policy.

For the first time, Japan has incorporated its security policy under the slogan "*proactive pacifism, based on the principle of international cooperation*". By adhering to this concept, Japan wants to work with other countries to actively contribute to international security rather than simply reacting to events as it has done in the past after the Korean war. According to the National Security Strategy, an increasingly difficult security environment with complex challenges requires international policy coordination.



Moreover, the only way a state can effectively pursue its national interests (maintain its sovereignty and increase its prosperity) is through cooperation with the international community.

There is consensus among Japanese observers that the term "proactive pacifism" supports Abe's goal of establishing Japan as a "normal" power that does not reject the use of military force. The term seems to have been chosen to be accepted by the Japanese people who were very skeptical about military missions. According to Article 9 of the 1946 Constitution, the Japanese people deprived not only of their right to fight but also their right to maintain a standing army. However, one year after the Korean War (1950–1953) the Japanese Self-Defense Force (SDF) was formed. Japan argued at the time that the Constitution permitted the defense of Japanese territory (individual self-defense). On the other hand, Japan is not allowed to support any other country that is attacked (collective self-defense). For a long time Japan ignored US calls for military contributions. The country avoided international conflict under the policies established by the "Yoshida Doctrine", Yoshida, who served as prime minister in 1946/1947 and from 1948 to 1954 and which significantly shaped Japan's foreign policy.

Abe's concept of "proactive pacifism" was based on a counter-proposal to the Yoshida Doctrine. Abe argues that "passive pacifism" under the Yoshida Doctrine has reduced Japan's security and defense policies to a frightening specter regarding the use of military force but consists only of denial and prohibition, and Japan's international policies and expansion of its defense capabilities have been silenced by this doctrine. Therefore, Abe believes that it is time for Japan to clearly define what foreign policy tools are needed to achieve its own goals. (Andre& Kurizaki, 2016)



5. Conclusion

Under the banner of “Pacifism Proactive”, the Abe’s government has lifted the restrictions, which are : (1) Reinterpreting Article 9 of the Constituion, (2) Changing weapon export rules, (3) Revising the Official Development Assistance Charter. However, it should be noted that Abe’s initiative only serves to accelerate the “normalization process” from the previously “pacifist” in Japan’s security policy. Japan’s Government is simply legitimizing a less restrictive approach to military forces by long time ago to be an accepted practice.

In conclusion, the output that will be obtained from this foreign policy change is that the change will make it easier for Japan to take part in bilateral and multilateral military exercises with countries other than the United States, including Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines which has maritime disputes with China and also Japan’s engagement was desired.

“It is not for joint war fighting, but for capacity building”

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