

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Mostly, people know about Japan as a developed country and is located in the region of Asia. But, Japan has its own stories right after the end of World War II. This country was one of the countries with great military forces in the era of World War II. Unfortunately, Japan was defeated in the battle after the United States dropped 2-times the atomic bomb on two different places in Japan which caused a horrible damage and made Japan withdraw their military forces all over the world as a symbol that they already lost in the battle field.

As having already defeated in World War II, Japan obtained its punishment from the United States and its alliance, those were already stated in the San Francisco Peace Treaty (1947-1952). Under this peace treaty, Japan was forbidden to have or even just to maintain military forces. And even after this peace treaty had already ended up in 1952, Japan tried to keep that condition by creating Self Defence Force in 1954. Hopefully, this SDF could maintain the security in Japan. Moreover, Japan established military co-operation with the United States in 1960 by signing US-Japan Security Treaty. It indicated that Japan had already lost their desires to re-create their own military forces like before when they participated in World War II. (Japan-Guide, 9 June 2002).

The emergence of Islamic extremist movement or well-known as Islamic State of Syria and Iraq had already been become an issue to be concerned by countries over the world these past years. Its brutality of this group took the international attention to focus on this issue.

At first, the appearance of ISIS as a terrorist-group, was only desired to participate in Syria civil war gathered with another terrorist-group al-Qaeda. Moreover, they just wanted to expand its power in the regional of Iraq and Syria. Therefore, the international citizens might consider this issue as regional matters.

Since the years passed, ISIS already becomes more powerful than before. Consequently, several incidents of killing foreign people were done. They officially published it in order to make the world see what they had done as a terrorist-group. Since ISIS clearly showed their actions, the world started to see this as a global issue, not a regional issue any longer.

Japan is one of countries which experienced the brutality of ISIS. Two Japanese journalists were caught and killed after the government rejected to give \$200 million as a requirement to release both hostages. Moreover, after Japan desired to counter what ISIS did to Japan citizens, this terrorist-group stated that they would catch and killed all Japanese they meet. Shinzo Abe seriously concerned this issue as a threat to Japan's national security. This is the statement which was released by ISIS, "*Abe, because of your reckless decision to take part in an unwinnable war, this knife will not only slaughter Kenji, but will also carry on and cause carnage wherever your people are found, so let the nightmare for Japan begin.*" (The Christian Post, February 01, 2015).

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe directly responded to this statement which was cited from ISIS that they would like to kill more Japanese whom might be caught by them. Putting security as a top priority of his administration, Shinzo Abe had ordered greater vigilance at airports and at Japanese facilities overseas such as embassies and school in order to protect the Japanese from ISIS. (CTV News, 2 February 2015).

As reported by The New York Times, Kunihiko Miyake, a former diplomat and researcher at a private think-tank in Tokyo added, *“the levels of safety precautions Japan has taken up until now are not enough. We must review and step up security for Japanese, not only those abroad but here in Japan.”* (1 February 2015).

On the other side, this incident was also provoking people of Japan and the Prime Minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe, to take action in responding to this case. The statement *“to make the terrorists pay the price”* by Japanese Prime Minister had already pictured what Japan was going to react. (The New York Times, 1 February 2015).

Started from that aggressive statement by Shinzo Abe, he is going to make the terrorists pay the price for what already happened, Japan already put its country in condition to fight against ISIS. However, the actions which Japan would take for fighting ISIS had not been decided, whether joining in the western alliance to attack ISIS or doing other ways.

As reported by The Guardian, before killing those two Japanese journalists, ISIS had demanded \$200 million from Japanese government for releasing the hostages. But, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe preferred to give the money to support middle-east countries as a non-military aid to help the refugees which might spread in several middle-east-region as the victims of ISIS. (20 January 2015).

Further actions after the killing of two Japanese journalists, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe initiated to enable Self-Defense-Forces (SDF) to protect Japanese citizens outside of Japan. He stated, *“At this stage, even if Japanese nationals, including members of nongovernmental organizations, are in danger overseas, (the SDF) can’t rescue them, even with consent from countries involved,”* (The Japan Times, February 02, 2015).

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said. *“I want to discuss ways to enable the rescue”* of Japanese citizens overseas. He added, *“it is possible even to use arms to eliminate any danger and to rescue each individuals of Japan out there.”* (The Japan Times, February 02, 2015).

The reaction that had been showed by the Prime Minister of Japan in case of two Japanese journalists which were killed by ISIS was great. Of course, it showed that the government of Japan put their attention in protecting their citizens. But later, the way Japan responded to counter ISIS terrorism was priceless. It is different like Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said earlier, Japan foreign policy to counter ISIS terrorism seemed to be soft rather than hard. This is what Prime Minister Shinzo Abe promised to global communities that he would raise public awareness how Japan’s foreign policy counter ISIS terrorism. (The

Diplomat, 6 February 2015).

Further actions, Shinzo Abe did several diplomatic-visits to Middle-East countries in order to strengthen mutual cooperation and contribute from the standpoint of Proactive Contribution to Peace based on the principle of international cooperation which could result in a solution to stop this problem. (MOFA, 22 January 2015)

The first visit was to Egypt on 18 January 2015. Many aspects were discussed during Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's visit to Egypt, and one of the important things was about the cooperation for regional and international peace and stability. Both countries agreed that terrorism could threaten regional and international peace. They strongly condemned all forms of terrorism, and Shinzo Abe commended President El-Sisi's call for tolerance and mutual understanding among different religions. Both leaders resolved to enhance cooperation in all aspects related to counter terrorism. (MOFA, 18 January 2015).

From the website of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs added, the second visit was to Jordan on 19 January 2015. Quite the same like the first visit to Egypt, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's visit to Jordan, he discussed many things, and one of the important things was about the cooperation to make peace in Middle East. King Abdullah II welcomed the Japan's effort in contributing to make a peace in Middle East. Therefore, both leaders agreed to cooperate in stabilizing the situation in Middle East into peace. The other visits went to Israel and Palestine. This trip was going to discuss the issues between Israel and Palestine. (19 and 22 January 2015).

Not only stopped in the governmental level, the citizens of Japan knew how to respond the ISIS's actions toward the two Japanese journalists. At the same month after the killing of two Japanese journalists, the citizens responded by creating much of image-photoshop to worsen the image of ISIS. They knew that it might not save the two Japanese journalists. However, their action was expected to be able to prevent the future incident. As we know, since the first emergence of this terrorist-group, ISIS had already recruited many people to join. This photoshop-battle was intended to make ISIS not as scary as people think. Japanese knows if those videos of killing created by ISIS was to promote their image as the terrorist who had the power to do anything which may threaten the national security of certain countries. Therefore, Japan tried to stop its effort by bombing the social media with much of photoshop-images about ISIS. The output expected from this efforts was the people could see ISIS not to be as scary as they thought, and people stopped joining this terrorist-group. (The Daily Dot, 23 January 2015).

A month later, on 17 February, 2015, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan had released *"3-Pillar Foreign Policy in Response to the Terrorist Incident Regarding the Murder of Japanese"*. The things that Japan's government wanted to point out their foreign policy in response to ISIS actions are to create and strengthen mutual cooperation with global community, especially countries in the middle east. It is proved by Shinzo Abe diplomatic visit to several Middle East countries and a number of money, \$200 million, which Japan gave to the middle east countries hosting the refugees from Iraq and Syria as a non-military aid and

assistance to help the refugees. This policy was not depicting Shinzo Abe's pretension to use SDF in countering ISIS terrorism. Beside, Japan seems going to use soft-way to cover up this problem. (BBC News, 17 January 2015).

On the other side, the other incident happened. The Jordanian pilot named Moath al-Kasasbeh got burned not long after the killing of the two Japanese journalists. In response to this incident, the government of Jordan released a statement that the response would be "earth-shaking". For the consequence, ISIS got attacked from the military of Jordan. Even, the Jordanian King Abdullah II also participated in attacking ISIS. The estimated 56 ISIS targets in Syria were already bombed by the airstrikes of Jordan. (TIME, 26 February 2015).

It became quite unusual and seemed suspicious due to the responses which pointed out the Japan's foreign policy tend to be a soft-way. Comparing with the hard one, soft-diplomacy needed more time to see the outcome of it. Moreover, what is actually planned by the government of Japan by implementing this policy is questionable. Whereas, if Japan did the same like Jordan had done, they would be able to give direct punishment to ISIS rather than doing such a soft-diplomacy with countries in the middle east.

B. Research Question

After discussing and analyzing the background of the issue on Japan's foreign policy in countering the ISIS terrorism, the writer formulates the research question as follows,

Why does Japan react by using soft way in responding the ISIS terrorism?

C. Theoretical Framework

The writer would like to explain the issue or problem through the concept and theory. Concept is an abstraction that represents an object, characters of an object, or certain phenomenon. One of its functions is to organize ideas, perception, and symbols in the form of classification and generalization. Besides, theory helps to explain and predict a certain phenomenon. According to McCain and Segal, theory is a series of related statements consisting; (1) sentences that introducing terms that refer to the basic concepts; (2) sentences that relating the basic concepts; (3) sentences that relating several theoretical statements with groups of probable empirical analysis on the object (hypothesis). (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990).

In order to avoid the intersection of this research, the writer divides the using of theoretical framework into two parts. First, the writer will use the theory of rational choice to explain any possibilities which were then used by the government of Japan as the considerations to create their foreign policy in countering the ISIS terrorism. Second, the using of foreign policy concept to explain the response and how the government of Japan reacts toward the killing of their citizens through the ISIS terrorism.

a. Concept of Foreign Policy

Different from domestic policy, foreign policy is created to represent the national interest of a state toward the international arena. As a form of national interest, foreign policy has its composition which then could be considered as

foreign policy.

Foreign policy is defined as the actions of governmental officials designed to promote national interests beyond a country's territorial boundaries. Foreign policy is composed of the goals sought, values set, decisions made, and actions taken by states and national governments acting on their behalf, in the context of the external relations of national societies. Foreign policy also outlines strategies to be used by the government to guide their actions in the international arena. (Goldstein & Pevehouse 2013: 127)

The concept of foreign policy explains how a state's actions create to bring the national interest and give the benefit to the state in the international arena. The killing of two Japanese journalists by ISIS has already taken the attention of Japan's government to put actions in responding to this incident.

This concept will explain how the policy, then, could represent the national interest of Japan. Within the policy of using soft-diplomacy in responding to the ISIS action, what Japan is supposed to get by doing so. It became weird when the government of Jordan gave a tough response regarding the killing of their citizen. However, the government of Japan just gave a soft-diplomacy by doing cooperation with middle east countries and the international community.

b. Model of Decision Making

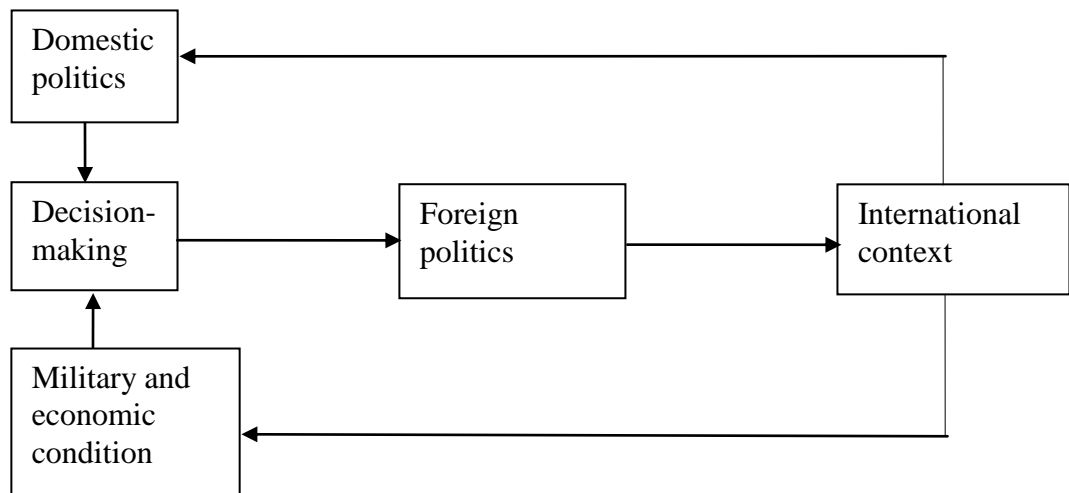
As a state in creating a foreign policy should consider some points of consideration that might influence in the decision-making-process, either in domestic level or even in international level, the theory of international politics by D. Coplin could be applied to analyze the case behind Japan's foreign policy in countering ISIS terrorism.

According to D. Coplin, there are three factors which become the considerations of foreign policy making process. Those are:

1. Domestic condition;
2. Economic and military conditions; and
3. International context, that is a situation where a state that become the purpose of international politics and other state's influences that is still relevant with the issue that is concerned on. (William D. Coplin, 1992).

The decision making of foreign policy was influenced by the determinant factors which may be able to be explained by this further illustration by D. Coplin explaining about the interactions among factors which influence the decision making process.

Scheme I:
The Main Factors Influencing the Form of Foreign Politics
by William D. Coplin



Source: William D. Coplin. *Introduction to International Politics: a theoretical overview*, translated by MarsedesMarbun, Bandung, Sinarbaru, 1992.

Based on the illustration by Coplin which is explained above, there are three factors of consideration which influence the decision making of foreign policy. Those aspects are domestic politics/conditions, military and economic condition, and international context. Of course, these factors are correlated one to another which then become the consideration which results in a policy of a state.

1. Domestic politics

Coplin stated “*to determine the way foreign policy works, it can be observed from the domestic situation of a country.*” The condition of domestic politics of a state could affect in the foreign decision making, either by culture or political system of its state. Domestic politics includes cultural factors which are fundamentally affected the people behavior and domestic politics condition which is currently occurred. In the international politics, even though the State is the actor, but people is the one who are responsible to make the decision to do such action and reaction. People are unlike a State. They decide and play a concept of national interests, arranges strategy, and makes decision or even evaluates the decision which are already executed. In the case of some States, the leader of a State (President, Prime Minister, or King) plays a dominant part of the decision making process. (William D. Coplin, 1992).

For further explanation, William D. Coplin defined the influence of domestic politics into four categories, those are *bureaucratic influencer, partisan influencer, interest influencer, and mass influencer.* (William D. Coplin, 1992).

Bureaucratic influencer tends to the individual or organization within the executive institution of government which help the decision maker in creating and executing the policy. This bureaucratic group is very important in decision making because they distribute the information to the decision maker and execute the policy which is released by the decision maker.

The second type of policy influencer is partisan influencer. They tend to change the demands of society into political matters. The method of this party to influence is pushing the elite politics by preparing the individual who can participate in the decision making. Their concern might be the domestic policy and of course the foreign policy giving impact to the domestic politics.

The third type of this policy influencer is interest influencer. They consist of the individuals who have the same interests, still powerless to be a party. However, their voice is very needed by policy influencer to get support. The last type of this policy influencer is mass influencer. It tends to the public opinion which is considered by the decision maker in creating foreign policy.

In analyzing the domestic politics of Japan, it could be seen by using the type partisan influencer and mass influencer as already explained by Coplin above. Since the incident of the two Japanese killing by ISIS, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has initiated to change the constitution which prohibits Japan to put its Self Defence Force into war overseas by submitting security bill toward the Japanese Diet. The bill for increasing Self Defence Force requires the approval of 2/3 of the Diet. But, the proposal which had already been submitted last year by Abe has not been approved. Moreover, the reaction towards Abe's proposal has not been

entirely positive, Abe and his administration should face the society who thought that Abe's proactive engagement in the Middle East had incited the hostage crisis, and thousands of people go to streets to criticize the legislation about the security bill. (Prospect Journal, 20 February 2015).

The Asahi, Japan's second largest newspaper, also admit in a story that "*some voices say that the government's handling of the crisis should be debated.*" Not only getting criticized by the citizens, political opponents have faulted Abe for taking sides in the conflict of Syria and Iraq and putting a target on Japan's back. (Vice News, 6 February 2015).

2. International context

"International condition is a product of foreign politics of states in the past, present, or even future that might be or be anticipated." (William D. Coplin).

Coplin describes that there are three elements of International condition which possibly affects a state's foreign policy. Those are geographic, economic, and political condition. As furtherly explained, Russet added the geographic factor to be related to international trade, and the behavior in any kind of multilateral relations.

By considering those factors, economically and geographically, it is quite difficult for Japan to do any kind of aggressive actions in that region since the area around ISIS territory is Japan-most-oil supply as its trade-cooperation with some Arab States. Based on the Independent Statistics and Analysis of U.S. Energy Information Administration, Japan is the second largest net importer of

fossil fuels in the world, after China as the largest one and the United States as the third largest oil importer. Some countries which become Japan's most oil importers are the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, and Iran, (www.eia.gov). Therefore, it is quite dangerous for Japan to put any actions in the region of Middle-East, because any kind of aggressive actions may offend the oil distribution to Japan. Therefore, Japan should react carefully in in the area around ISIS territory.

D. Hypothesis:

From the illustration and implementation of both theory and concept, the writer takes a hypothesis statement that Japan reacts by using soft way in responding to ISIS terrorism because:

- a. The limitation of Japan's options on doing hard responds toward ISIS terrorism
- b. Japan-oil-dependency in the area around ISIS territory becomes a significant consideration.

E. Method of Writing

The method of writing in this thesis is using qualitative method. Therefore, in this writing, the writer uses several ways to collect the data in order to discuss the problem, the ways are as follows:

a. Media research

Collecting data from media such as the internet website in order to find any references and sources to accomplish the explanation of the problems.

b. Library research

Collecting data from books or journals to study the relevant sources in order to discuss the problems.

c. Data analysis

Checking the relevancy of the data gained from the media and library research in order to be used as the sources in the final thesis arrangement.

d. Proving hypothesis

By deriving the meaning of the title, the discussion of the problem, and the data analysis.

F. Scope of the Research

In this writing, according to the theme which would be discussed, the writer will limit the scope of the discussion until the release of Japan foreign policy in responding to ISIS terrorism on February 2015. The writer will observe more likely in years back in order to analyze the consideration of Japan applied the foreign policy. Also, this limitation is aimed to avoid the complexity of further analysis.

However, the limitation of scope research will not end the possibility for the writer to utilize other data beyond the mentioned period. This might be happened in case that the data has a strong relations with the research.

G. Organization of Writing

In this writing, the writer divides the topics into several chapters in which they influence each other as a united structural topic.

- Chapter I : This topic will be an introduction chapter of the problem. The requirements are the problem background, purpose of writing, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methods of writing, the research area and the organization or writing.
- Chapter II : This chapter will explain about Japan Foreign Policy in the historical context (before and after World War II).
- Chapter III : This chapter will explain about ISIS as a terrorist-group and its threat toward countries, especially Japan. Then, Japan foreign policy is taken in responding to ISIS terrorism.
- Chapter IV : This chapter will discuss about the motives of Japan in reacting by using soft way in responding to ISIS terrorism.
- Chapter V : This chapter will explain about the conclusion which is the result of the analysis based on the research and data.