

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to discuss the problematic issue along with the research question. The author also put the theoretical framework that will help to identify the phenomenon and formulating a hypothesis. Besides, this chapter contains a brief explanation of research methodology, research objective, research scope, and writing structure.

A. BACKGROUND

The Japanese and American alliance began after Japan's defeat in the Second World War, causing Japan to enjoy various benefits such as transfer of information, modern military equipment, and security guarantee under the American security umbrella. Japan obtains this because it has been signed in The San Francisco Peace Treaty (SFPT) that marked the end of hostilities, termination of the occupation, the details of the settlement of war-related issues and established bilateral military partnership between Japan and the United States (Price, 2001). Instead, Japan was fully supported by the American military and only allowed to have a defense force or Japanese Self Defense Forces (JSDF) to the extent of internal security. After that, the Japanese were required to make a new constitution, especially related to the war's renunciation. In the new Japanese constitution, Article 9 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 another war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the State will not be recognized." (The Constitution of Japan, 1946)

Article 9 has had dual functions, which are a constraint on the remilitarization of the society as well as guidelines for defense policymaking (Jitsuo, 2013). Japan was asked to move towards a more assertive security stance following Japan's position as a major world economic and political force through the mechanism of demilitarization, democratization, and criticism from the United States and other Western nations (Obispo, 2017). Furthermore, in the context of economic assistance and security assistance, Japan, which was requested to end its military operations, obtained a great deal of assistance from the United States.

After the end of the Cold War, Japan and the United States started to deliberately regulate their alliance with the changing international situation and keeping up their strategic interest and strength in East Asia (YANG, 2014). For the United States, the East Asia region is a strategic region with promising markets and Japan is a U.S. alliance as well as a military base in Asia. However, the relations between Japan – the United States has been through ups and downs.

From 2001 until 2006, under the Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi is very attractive to create a better relationship with the U.S. under the Bush administration and has complied with its demands for assistance to Iraq and Afghanistan (Buszynski, 2006). The Japanese began to show the development that they were slowly ignoring Article 9 of The Japanese Constitutions, but under the auspices of America, they remained safe from protests that were raised by several parties. In this period, Japan was still very dependent on the United States, as seen in Koizumi's speech, which indicated that Japan was still dependent on the United States,

“Given that Japan cannot ensure its own security alone, Japan concluded the Japan-US Security Treaty and has firmly maintained the Japan-US alliance as a means of ensuring the security of our nation”
(Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2003).

In addition, Shinzo Abe was then elected as Japan's prime minister, working for just one year. Despite this short period, Abe launched his strategy known as "Abe Doctrine." Through the Abe Doctrine, Abe attempts to stress Japan's desire to be known as an independent country, as the first rank and leader in Asia, as U.S. equal partner, also as liberal-capitalist power facing down authoritarianism (Manurung, 2020). In 2009, under Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio, the relations between Japan and the United the tide seemed low. Yukio renegotiates with President Obama about the relocation of the US military base Futenma to be moved from the city of Nago to the Henoko coast in the northern part of Okinawa (Żakowski, 2019) because of the encouragement from Japanese society.

In 2012, Shinzo Abe took office for the second term and he improves relations between the U.S. and Japan, which endured estrangement in the previous period. Abe points out that Japan has the same stance as the United States, stressing democratic norms and values. In his second tenure, he tried to amend Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution (Sieg, 2019). The planned revision of Article 9 in the Japanese Constitution drew criticism from Masahiro Sakata, former head of the Cabinet Legislation Bureau. He said the revision of Article 9 would obscure the limits of the SDF (Self-Defense Forces), which made it possible for the Diet and the government to give a special mission to the SDF (Yoshida, 2018). On the other hand, through Deputy Secretary of State Armitage, the United States of America said that Article 9 of Japan's Constitution restricts the strengthening of Japan – U.S. partnership (Umeda, 2015).

In 2013, in the agenda of the Security Consultative Committee (SCC 2013), Japan and the United States, was represented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense, extended the Japan - US alliance. Then SCC 2013 produced Joint Statement of the Security Consultative Committee Toward a More Robust Alliance and Greater Shared Responsibilities, one of the points,

“The United States and Japan resolve to be full partners in a more balanced and effective Alliance in which our two countries can jointly and ably rise to meet the regional and global challenges of the 21st century, by investing in cutting-edge capabilities, improving interoperability, modernizing force structure, and adapting Alliance roles and missions to meet contemporary and future security realities.”

With the extension of the Japan – U.S. alliance. The 2013 SCC provides an opportunity for Japan to be more pro-active and is expected to be able to play a role as an international community that contributes to world peace (Listiana & Kurniawati, 2015).

In 2016, Donald Trump was elected as the 45th United States of America's president. It was very unforeseen - guessed by Japan and brought a new chapter in their relationship. Moreover, President Donald Trump lamented that the U.S. – Japan is an unequal military alliance, claiming that *“if the US is attacked, Japan does not have to help us at all”* and *“they can watch it on the Sony television”* (Cohen, 2019). Indeed, Trump's promise at the time of the presidential campaign will uphold the slogan 'America First,' which means that America's interests above other interests include those of its allies. American Government under the Trump administration is very different from Obama. When Obama was the President of the United States, he had "Pivot to Asia" and "re-balancing Asia" as a specific foreign policy towards the Asia region. Whereas

Trump enters the office, no policy concerns in Asia. Furthermore, Trump demands Tokyo to “do more” and have responsibility for Japan itself. Tokyo currently pays roughly \$2 billion to offset the cost of 54,000 U.S. troops there and now Trump Asks Tokyo to Quadruple Payments for U.S. Troops in Japan (Seligman & Gramer, 2019).

Japan's American security umbrella makes other countries consider Japan a free-rider of international security sought and maintained by the international community (Price, 2001). According to Mancur Olson, free riding is a rational act of individuals who rely on other individuals to get benefits even if they only make a little contribution, not even at all (Savigny, 2014). The Japanese government slowly dares to increase its military activity. Although Japan seems to be a stable country with its economy but still underestimated by the global community without the United States' influence as a defender of the Japanese domination policy (Shank, 1994).

Even though the United States guarantees the Japanese people and their territory, it does not mean that Japan is free from threats. A very significant development country, China is a country that once isolates its country from the international community and became the world's second largest economy. Moreover, China has emerged as a new major financier for some small and fragile economic countries (Rajah, Dayant, & Pryke , 2019). Conflict across a geographical boundary, historical problems, and national leadership makes Japanese leaders eager to say China as a potential military threat (Medeiros, et al., 2008). The rise of China that disturbed the power of the United States also made Japan have begun to harbor doubts about whether they can truly rely on Washington to defend the country's interests (Soble, 2015).

Japan's attitude, which always submits to the United States seems to be slowly showing more change in a different direction. Moreover, Japan's economy shows rapid development and they have been able to become one of the leaders in the Asian region. The Japan-US partnership has long been established and has undergone up and down

dynamics. However, the 'master and servant,' asymmetrical relationship with the US as master and Japan as a servant, as described in the post-World War era, is no longer valid (YANG, 2014). In addition, Japan can extend its international influence through cooperation with the US at a regional and global level by participating in regional and global security and political affairs as an "equal partner" to "share more responsibilities" (YANG, 2014).

The alliance between Japan and the United States has always been an exciting topic to explore for over 75 years. In the thesis, written by Aditya Handi Pradipta, entitled "*Kebijakan Shinzo Abe Dalam Strategi Keamanan Jepang*," he examines why Japan needs to amend Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which include the shift in global influence. In another thesis written by Romy Hanggara Malik entitled "*Motif Jepang Dalam Menerapkan Strategi Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP) Di Kawasan Asia-Pasifik*," Romy Hanggara Malik emphasizes that the FOIP aims to fight the power of China and reinforce Japan's leadership in the Asia-Pacific region.

In order to establish a balance between Japan and America, neither of the two writings have addressed the relation with the creation of alliances with weaker countries. Therefore, this thesis's topic would address different issues, namely the description of Japan's strategy under Shinzo Abe's leadership to be equal to the United States. Japan, which no longer wants to be seen as an unequal partner for the United States, has changed its attitude to be more attractive to create mutually beneficial and equality alliances. Abe's underlying agenda was to escape what he called the post-war regime, a legacy of U.S. occupation that conservatives argue deprived Japan of national pride (Sieg, 2020).

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the background mentioned, this proposal has one research question: **“How does Japan equalize its partnership with the United States of America in Japan – U.S. global partnership under Shinzo Abe Administration?”**

C. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. The Alliance Theory

Forming an alliance is a widespread thing to do in the field of international relations. The alliance theory described by Stephen M. Walt is a formal or informal relationship of security cooperation between two or more sovereign states (Walt, 1987). International relations scholar has several definitions related to alliances. Edward H. Fedder concluded that alliances were entered into to establish a balance or restore equilibrium following some systemic shifts that may have resulted from the war, technological change, or which may have been but the result of changes over time interrelationships of dynamic elements (Fedder, 1968). Alliances are only the formal subset of a broader and more basic phenomenon, that ‘of alignment’ (Snyder, 1990). When the State decides to ally, they agree to cover up their weaknesses and unite their strengths.

In the alliance theory, the State has two ways to form its alliance, namely balancing or bandwagoning. In short, Walt stated that Balancing is defined as allying with others against the prevailing threat; bandwagoning refers to alignment with the source of danger.

Table 1. 1 The pattern of Alliance Behaviour

		Balancing	Bandwagoning
Factors of Alliance Formation	Power	Balance for power (go with a weaker side balancing against a stronger side)	Bandwagoning for profit (go with a dominant power)
	Threat	Balance of threat (go with a weaker threat against a stronger threat)	Bandwagoning for survival (go with a threatening power)

Source: **(Jitsuo, 2013)**

Bandwagoning

Bandwagoning is a condition where a weak state is joining the threatening State. This action is based on two factors: the weak country believes that it will reduce the threat by joining it and that the country wants the stolen wealth in a war (Walt, 1987). In many cases, bandwagoning is rarely used, and the State prefers to use a balancing strategy.

Balancing

Walt concludes that states join alliances to protect themselves from states or coalitions whose superior resources could threaten (Walt, 1987). There are two key reasons why the State preferred to use balance, namely the first, to overcome the hegemony of the threat, which would expand much more substantial, and second, entering a weak State will produce much greater power. Furthermore, four variables impact a country's threat level, namely aggregate power,

geographical proximity, offensive power, and aggressive intentions.

With the alliance, Japan and the United States agreed to merge their strengths into a stronger unit. In the relationship between the two nations, though, the United States' hegemony as a superpower is obvious. Japan tends to follow the instructions the Americans have driven. However, Abe started to develop a plan to balance the coalition with the United States during his second administration.

Table 1. 2 Pattern of Japan’s Alliance towards the United States

		Balancing	Bandwagoning
Factors of Alliance Formation	Power	<p>Japan balance of power</p> <p>Japan go with India and Australia against the United States to seek the balancing alliance.</p>	<p>Bandwagoning for profit</p> <p>It is feared that the United States will be more powerful and the coalition will be covered up. <i>(a factor not used)</i></p>
	Threat	<p>Balance of threat</p> <p>Japan, India, Australia, and the United States are no threat to them. <i>(a factor not used)</i></p>	<p>Bandwagoning for survival</p> <p>The United States is not a threatening power for Japan. <i>(a factor not used)</i></p>

In 2006, Shinzo Abe came up with the idea of establishing a quadrangular partnership, later called the Quadrilateral Security Dialog or also called the Quad, between Japan, the United States, India, and Australia (Putri A. I., 2019). Quad I had experienced stagnation and even split. As Abe returned to his position as Prime Minister, Abe tried to bring this coalition together. This time, Abe asked the United States, Australia, and India to concentrate on combating China's increasingly disruptive maritime expansion (Putri A. I., 2019).

In 2016, at the sixth Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), Abe for the first time, introduce a new strategy, namely Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP). In his speech, he said,

“What will give stability and prosperity to the world is none other than the enormous liveliness brought forth through the union of two free and open oceans and two continents. Japan bears the responsibility of fostering the confluence of the Pacific and Indian Oceans and Asia and Africa into a place that values freedom, the rule of law, and the market economy, free from force or coercion, and making it prosperous.” (MOFA JAPAN, 2017).

To realize the strategy, Japan intends to strengthen further its strategic cooperation with countries such as India, which has a historical relationship with East Africa, and the U.S. and Australia, with which it has alliances (MOFA JAPAN, 2017). By adopting a balancing strategy, namely by forming a FOIP alliance, Japan aims to balance the United States' power in Japan – US. partnership. Japan uses balancing for power, which is joined by a weaker side, balancing against a stronger side, based on table 2 above. The alliance of these countries' powers is planned to balance the coalition between

Japan and the United States. Then, Japan will resist the enemy hegemony that is considered to have seriously threatened Japan's existence with the formation of a balanced alliance.

2. Concept of Equality

Numerous labels, such as small power, middle power, and super-power nations, have been given to several countries in the international world. Because of many factors, such as the amount of GDP, the number of troops, the results of war, and several other factors, the label was received. Many countries often want to increase the level of their country with this designation or label. According to Collins Dictionary, equality is the same status, rights, and responsibilities for all the members of a society, group, or family (Collins Dictionary, 2020). Aristotle assume that, because of the absence of relevant resemblances and adequate criteria of comparison, it is difficult to establish true equalities between members of different social classes and individuals of diverse character and abilities (Leyden, 1985). The statement of Aristotle implies that it is quite difficult to treat the classification of the State as equal or unequal. Also, Aristotle added that *“since equal shares would not always be fair, fair shares need not always be equal”*.

According to general international law all the States have the same capacity of being charged with duties and of acquiring rights; equality does not mean equality of duties and rights, but rather equality of capacity for duties and rights (Kelsen, 1944). Furthermore, Preuss conclude that the concept of equality is based upon a plurality of entities that refer to each other, recognize their independent existence, accept their mutual comparability, and hence acknowledge their status of equality (Preuss, 2008).

In this thesis, Japan’s effort to be equal as an alliance with the United States is by carrying out the share of responsibility. As explained by Aristotle, equal does not mean the same. The United as a superpower country clearly has a

greater power than Japan. In addition, the Japanese constitution, which prohibits Japan from becoming a country with an active military, has certainly limited Japanese movements. However, with Abe's agenda making the FOIP, the result is Japan will be the one to initiate the collaboration that will be carried out under the FOIP agenda. Furthermore, FOIP has the potential to make Japan a regional pioneer in the Indo-Pacific. As a result, Japan's capacity as an American alliance partner will increase.

Japan hopes to be able to show the United States that Japan can extend its international influence by creating regional security power. Thus, with this effort Japan wants to equalize its alliance with the United States.

D. HYPOTHESIS

Based on the background and theory mentioned above, this thesis's central assertion lies on a hypothesis that is Japan equalizes its partnership with the United States of America in Japan – U.S. global partnership under Shinzo Abe administration by developing Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP) that allowing Japan became the initiator and to take a lead in the region.

E. PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The purpose of this research is expected to find out how Japan equalizes its partnership with the United States of America under the leadership of Shinzo Abe through Free and Open Indo Pacific (FOIP).

F. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1. Method of Collecting the Data

The data and information collected using the library research technique. The data used are secondary data in the form of books, journals, news, reports, documents, and playing sites related to the materials needed.

2. Method of Data Analysis

This research was conducted using a qualitative research method. The qualitative method is a method that encourages writers to understand phenomena as a whole and carry out a holistic analysis, which needs to be described (Hardani, et al., 2020). In this study, the data analysis is descriptive that encouraging the author to have an in-depth knowledge of the relevant facts. Moreover, the set of facts is processed into empirical generalizations, generating a series of causal relations by formulating hypotheses and arranging prepositions (Mas'oeed, 2010).

G. SCOPE OF RESEARCH

This research is focused on Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe for two periods (2012 - 2020). In 2012, for the second term, Shinzo Abe took office and strengthened relations between the United States and Japan, which experienced estrangement in the previous era. Abe points out that Japan emphasizes democratic norms and values that have the same policy as the United States. He proposed to change Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution during his second term. Japan continues to show its ambition to equalize its relationship with the United States until 2020 under Abe's leadership. Thus, the author will highlight Japan's efforts to equal the United States through Abe's strategy, namely the creation of the FOIP alliance.

H. WRITING STRUCTURES

This research uses the outline as follows:

Chapter I

In this chapter briefly describes the background of the issue, research question, theory, argumentation, research method, and the writing structure.

Chapter II

This chapter contains the explanation of the dynamics relationship between Japan and the United States of America and also Japan's challenges and opportunities in the context of a future alliance with U.S.

Chapter III

The author will be trying to prove the hypothesis on how Japan's balancing strategy to create an equal alliance with the U.S. in Japan – U.S. global partnership under Shinzo Abe Administration.

Chapter VI

In the end of the writing, the writer would wrap up of all explanation into several short paragraphs. Then give some recommendation to the next research.