

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Writing Objective

Japan is known as one of the strong countries in Asia, it is a developed country which has such a good economy, advance modern technology, strong army, and high pride of culture. Japan is a great country, but it has many problems too like other countries in the world. One of its problems is about its history that cannot be erased, whether it is good or bad history. Some of them drive Japan relations with some countries to be awkward, especially with Korea and China.

Right in the 1940s, Japan was in its heyday. Japan was an imperialist nation at that time. Any action of colonial or occupation would leave wounds for the country that being colonized, no exception to the countries colonized by Japanese forces. After World War II ended with Japan suffered a huge defeat after its two big city (Hiroshima and Nagasaki) were bombed by the opponent allies. Japanese colonies began to leave their colonized countries, however even after Japan left, it was remained some concern issues, one of them is *Jugun Ianfu* issue, this remained as bad memories. This issue is sensitive especially for Japan's neighboring countries, Korea and China, and this issue had influenced each other relations. This issue is one of reason that Japan still had awkward relations between several countries whether those countries suffered Japan colonization back then or countries which support *Jugun Ianfu* victims. This thesis will analyze how Japan responds to these International's pressure to solve this issue.

B. Problem Background

Right in 1940s, before Japan's defeat in World War II, the Japanese was one of the great nations and had strong influence at that time. Japan was known as the State of invaders. Japan tried to expand its territory by colonizing the areas around it, specially colonize area which had weak influence in International arena. This is because Japan in this era was a nation of imperialists. Japan colonized the neighboring countries and expands its territory. Cruel, sadistic, and inhuman images were attached condensing to Japan for a various war crimes they had done in their colonial countries. However in World War II, after the two atomic bombs dropped by the Allies in center of the State of Japan, Japan surrendered to the allies. At that time, Japan experienced a total collapse. Starting from the infrastructure, the economy, even the military, everything was paralyzed.

Before World War II ended, Japan was the imperialist countries, by running fascism and Meiji Constitution¹. this following as brief overview related to Japanese imperialism age:

Imperialism as the ideology of Japanese therefore, expansionist ideology embraced the leaders of Japan under the Meiji constitution whose because they comes from a former warrior class, of course, they tend to argue that the weak are doomed to be governed by powerful groups. And most of the responsibility of imperialist gave to

¹ Harianto, D. (2013). *JEPANG PADA PERANG DUNIA II*. Retrieved October 27, 2014, from dharianto: http://dharianto97.blogspot.com/2013/11/jepang-pada-perang-dunia-ii_24.html

the Meiji government puts strong pressure on the military aspect in creating a modern state.²

After two and a half centuries of self-isolation, on 1853 Japan embarked the combative territorial expansion policy. Exactly on the last half of 19th century, the western imperialist countries i.e. England, France and Germany created new destination to continue their expansion to Asia, especially plan to make the partition of China into the center and strategies area. At the same time Japan also started to come with idea to expand its territory into the neighbor countries and other Asia countries.³

In running its government, Japan is firmly pursue the national interests by showing the foreign policy of its own. In forming alliances with other countries, such as the block axis Berlin-Rome-Tokyo, Japan continued to conduct real action.⁴ The first Japan had a war was against China in 1895 and ended with Japan won the war. Then Japan managed to obtain Taiwan and occupied some portions of the island of mainland China. Due to the expansion of influence in China, Japan had conflict with Russia in occupying Manchuria, fought for their both own interests. Russian also had big interests in Manchuria related to the Russian territory in Pacific's shore area. Japan's victory over China, gave Japan confidence in believing on its own armed forces power which were reliable in the pursuit of

² Kuno, Y. (1983). *Perkembangan Perekonomian Jepang*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia. page. 121-122 (Imron Wibosono: Kono Statemen (1993) as Japan's apologizing for Jugun Ianfu case, 2008)

³ Gordon, B. (2003). *Explanations of Japan's Imperialistic Expansion, 1894-1910*. Retrieved October 27, 2014, from <http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/papers/imperialism.htm>

⁴ *Axis Alliance in World War II*. (2014, June 20). Retrieved October 27, 2014, from United State Holocaust Memorial Museum: <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/id/article.php?ModuleId=10007963>

its foreign policy. Therefore the conflict of interests with Russia not only sought to be accomplished through diplomacy, but also through military power.

Finally, a war between Japan and Russia happened in 1904-1905. Through this war, Japan proved the magnitude of progress in forming its military force which had commensurate level with the European's. This war was done both on land and sea area; then Russia was defeated. With this victory Japan industry earned income from raw materials and production areas in a broad market. Besides that, Japan was also very powerful in Korea after they started colonizing Korea peninsula on 1910. Therefore, Japan continued to be a colonial state and began to dominate the eastern and southern Asia.

Shortly after Japan occupied many countries in Asia, precisely in 1945 Japan surrendered to the allies due to World War II situation. Japan was destroyed after the two atomic bombs dropped by the allies in the center of Japan area, those were on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, causing infrastructure, economy, military, and everything to be paralyzed. Mostly, after a war happened between two or more countries they wouldn't get along because of their pride and feel of resentment for each other. However Japan and U.S have a unique relationship. After the defeat of Japan, U.S provided many help for Japan in form of materials and technology transfers in order to rebuild the country and the economy once again. This allowed Japan to be strong immediately after a total collapse before. After this moment Japan rapidly spread its wings to control the regional economy, especially in Asia Pacific.

With the end of World War II, Japan imperialist period ended too. Countries that were once colonized by Japan had been freed from the clutches of Japan. However even when it has already ended, every activity of colonization certainly took a lot of casualties. As history recorded, Japan was known for its sadism of the armies which had become common knowledge for the country that was once colonized by Japan and also became part of the struggle of nations. During occupation era, there were many cruel actions done by Japanese army towards its colonies. This happened due to Japan's interest of the war in Asia Pacific, such as seizing supplies and manpower to build the industry. The Japanese army also gathered men with ages around 16 to 40 years who were recruited to serve as *romusha*, it also happened to women with a range of 16 to 25 years, who were recruited to serve as *jugun ianfu* (sex slaves). One of the Japanese army cruelty is the practice of the exploitation of women, where most of the women were forced to become *jugun ianfu* or comfort women by several ways of violence, trickery, threats and terror. They were then put into a special place called *ian-jo*, a term for a brothel in Japanese language. Although Japan had left its colonies countries and these countries had been freed from its grasp, apparently the action of Japanese army still leaves a very deep hurts, especially for the thousands hundreds of women in colonies. They are victims of *Jugun Ianfu* or comfort women practice conducted by the Japanese Military.

Jugun Ianfu or called comfort women is the term used to refer to prostitutes, who are involved in sex slavery during World War II during the Japanese colonization. *Jugun Ianfu* is a woman who is forced to satisfy the sexual

needs of Japanese troops in the colonies of Japan. The *ianfu* recruited by Japan itself were mostly young and beautiful girls from Japan, however the girls were also taken from Japanese colony countries such as from Korea and China, also from several South East Asia countries, who came into war zones by deception or force. After Japan's perdition on World War II, when Japan left their colony and the army was evacuated, the women (*jugun ianfu*) were abandoned. There were many *Jugun Ianfu* who committed to suicides "*gyokusai*" at the end of the war, as in Saipan for example.⁵

According to Yoshiaki Yoshime, Japanese historian expert who studies this topic for the first time, back on World War II some 200,000 Asian women were forced to become *Jugun Ianfu*, they were placed in brothels in the camps of Japanese military bases. They received daily torture and were raped, and received harsh treatment of the Japanese army. Professor Yoshiaki Yoshimi of Chuo University also stated there were more than 2,000 camps which housed more than 200,000 women of Korea, China, Philippines, Taiwan, Myamar, the Netherlands, Australia, and several European countries to become comfort women. This continued as long as the Japanese government was still in power. Hardships suffered by the *Jugun Ianfu* would overshadow them for the rest of their life and cause physical disability also psychological trauma. Such suffering justified by the occurring phenomenon, lead many *Jugun Ianfu* victims protested. In other hand,

⁵ Levy, C. (2012). The Japanese Imperial Army's "Comfort Women": Political Implications and the Gender of Memory. *Online Encyclopedia Mass Violence*, 2. Retrieve by SENDA Kakô千田夏光, 1973, *Jûgun ianfu, koe naki on.na Hachimannin nokokuhatsu* 従軍慰安婦「声なき女」八万人の告発(The Army's Comfort Women: The Accusation Made by 80,000 'Women without a Voice'), Tokyo: Futabasha 双葉社.

despite receiving increasingly huge attention, this issue is completely disappeared from Japanese educational textbooks following a fierce campaign against recognition of *jugun ianfu*.⁶

The issue of *Jugun Ianfu* or known also as Comfort Women began when a Korean woman spoke out in front of public. In 1991, Kim Han Suk broke the wall of silence by making public speaks related to *Jugun Ianfu*. She spoke as a former Korean *Jugun Ianfu* to give testimony about her story regarding Japanese military action back at that time in front of a packed hall of Tokyo. At the same year in December, Kim Hak Sun initiated a legal action addressing Japanese state to apologize and give compensation for *jugun ianfu* victims during Japanese imperialism. Actually, before Kim Han Suk spoke out on public, in Japan itself the victim had already begun to speak out on the early of 1980's. She was Shirota Suzuko who fought for her voice to be heard by the government and to convince the government to build a memorial for comfort women. Even though her wish was granted, the story of the memorial built for her never got into society.

Ever since Japan was defeated on World War II, Japan always denied its legal involvement in the comfort women issue. The government stated the camps in many countries were privately managed and operated by commercial sex workers. Meanwhile on 1992, a historian expert, Yoshimi Yoshiaki spelled out data that he got from the ministry of Defense of Japan World War II. The data mentioned that Japanese military was indicated to be involved in recruiting agents

⁶ Ibid., page 3

to bring the woman to become *Jugun Ianfu*.⁷ When the facts found by Yoshimi were being published in the media on January 12th, 1993, claimed they 200,000 thousand women of Korea, the Philippines and China claimed they had been forced into brothels occupants during the 1930s until 1940s, causing an uproar in Japan. Further, a group of intellectuals formed a movement called on the Japanese government to end the denial of sex slavery issue and revise the history books, which did not indicate any fact concerning sex slavery *Jugun Ianfu*.⁸ Because of the pressure and uproar on this issue, Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono, as substitute of Mr. Kato, on the 4th August 1993 recognized this fact and expressed apologies for the incident. This statement is known as the *Kono Statement 1993*. The apology contained an acknowledgment towards the role of Japanese military in building and managing brothels during their occupation era in those countries.⁹

Although a positive reaction from most of the government elite, the intellectual, and Japanese people had been seen there are still others side of government elite or Japanese who deny the fact and called it as groundless rumor. The government elite which still deny and called as “right wing” is come from Liberal Democrat Party that have basic on conservative idea which is one of their belief is respect tennoo system (honoring the prior ruler and trust what the prior have done is a good thing for nation). Entering the early of 2000’s the issue had become hot topic on international society and became a more sensitive issue due

⁷ Mere, S. (2014). *Terkuyaknya Fenomena Isu “Ianfu”*. Retrieved November 2, 2014, from Uni Sosial Demokrat: http://unisosdem.org/article_detail.php?aid=8318&coid=3&caid=31&gid=1of
Retrieved from (Kompas : <http://www.kompas.com/kompas-cetak/0706/30/opini/3643521.htm>)

⁸ Ibid.,

⁹ Ibid.,

to the statement and attitude shown by the leaders of the Japanese in responding the *Jugun Ianfu* case rejection statements or attitude shown by the Japanese leader by visiting the shrine were sample forms of historical denial by the state of Japan. For the victims of the Japanese occupation, especially *Jugun Ianfu*, the fact that Japanese government officials visited the Yasukuni shrine was very painful for formers *Jugun Ianfu*; because in addition that it restored the bitter memories in the past, the shrine was a temple built in honor of the Japanese soldiers who died in World War II. Although Japan finally expressed its apology, this apology was in fact not followed by the acceptance that this history was its responsibility. Japanese did not seem to care about the feelings of the nations which had been hurt by its military aggression in the past. In contrary, Japan wanted to convey to young people that its military actions in the past was none other than minor incident in the war, so there is nothing to regret.

Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe himself, even before becoming prime minister, had asked for the admittance of Yohei Kono in 1993 which revealed the involvement of the Japanese military sexual practices being revised again. On 1st March 2007, Prime Minister Abe made a public statement denying the truth of Japanese military organizing sex slavery over *jugun ianfu* case. Abe's denial was seen as if he was trying to spark the controversy and protests from inside and abroad, especially countries where the former *jugun ianfu* came. Some observers see the denial of Abe as a new form of historical violence, particularly over former *jugun ianfu* and dignity of women in general¹⁰. One among them is Alexis

¹⁰ Ibid.,

Dudden, an Associate Professor of History at Connecticut College. She with K.Mizoguchi did a research entitled *Abe's Violent Denial: Japan's Prime Minister and The 'Comfort Women'*, in which she stated that a denial of Abe is violent of history.¹¹

Not just that, the situation began to worsen when Japanese government on *Shinzo Abe* administration era has refused to admit the case of *jugun ianfu* as its legal responsibility, through their demand to revise Kono statement on 1993. Japanese government also refused to give the compensation for *jugun ianfu* victims anymore. This issue not only became concern for countries that had *jugun ianfu* victims but also became a concern by international community. *Jugun ianfu* cannot also escaped from U.S attention.

Precisely on 2007, this issue led the existence of draft House Resolution 121 approved by The U.S. House of Representatives. House Resolution 121 or also called as *HREs 121* was introduced by California Democrat Mike Honda, co-sponsored by more than 160 lawmakers, more than one third of all U.S. Representatives, from both political parties.¹² The HRes 121 is a resolution for *Jugun Ianfu* issue which Japanese - American Congressman Mike Honda of California's 15th congressional district introduced to the American House of Representatives in 2007. This resolution asks for Japanese government formal

¹¹ Dudden, K. M. (2013, February 17). *Abe's Violent Denial: Japan's Prime Minister and the 'Comfort Women'*. Retrieved November 2nd, 2014, from The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus: <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Alexis-Dudden/2368/article.html>

¹² 21, W. A. (2007). The Convention Against Torture: U.S. House of Representatives passes Resolution on "Comfort Women. *Voices from Japan No. 19 Summer*, p. 16. (www.ajwrc.org/english/sub/voice/19-2-1.pdf)

apology to former *jugun ianfu*, and includes this issues (comfort women/*jugun ianfu*) to curriculum in Japanese schools, reflecting to 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 that Japan has ratified.¹³

While the current government of Japan at that time (2007) showed the opposite behavior, the current government attempt to negate *jugun ianfu* victims and their supporter. A right-wing group of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party lawmakers is trying to revise the Kono Statement by claiming a narrow and conservative standpoint. Then, that claim was also used as their base to deny Japanese military's involvement in the sexual slavery system and the fact that the government had any legal moral responsibility. To make it even worse the Prime Minister at that time, Shinzo Abe, tolerated such a stance. Shinzo Abe even stated, "There is no evidence that those women and girls were forcefully coerced into prostitution,"¹⁴ despite testimonies spoken by *jugun ianfu* victims. Japanese government officials responded by dedicating much energy and money to lobby against the passage of the resolution. On June 14th 2007 it was reported that the Japanese right winged politicians group along with some academics published an article in The Washington Post entitled "The Facts" that the data gathered from various sources, stating that:

"no historical document has ever been found by historians or research organizations that positively demonstrates that women were forced against their will into prostitution by the Japanese army," . . . "the

¹³ [Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, Kazuhiko Togo](#). 2008. East Asia's Haunted Present: *Historical Memories and the Resurgence of Nationalism*. ABC-CLIO. Page.148

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, page 17

‘comfort women’ who were embedded with the Japanese army were not, as is commonly reported, ‘sex slaves’,” and many of the women made more money than field officers and “even generals.”

This Japanese Military Sexual Slavery issue has been discussed several times at United Nations’ human rights bodies such as CEDAW, CCPR, CESCR, UPR; starting with the reports of the Special Rapport on Violence against women, its causes and consequences¹⁵. In addition, starting with the United States’ House of Representatives, national assemblies of Canada, Netherlands, European Union and other countries adopted resolutions to demand the resolution of this issue. This means, that the issue was recognized as an important human right issue by the international community. However, despite the desperate situation of the aged survivors, realization of the justice for the victims has been delayed for about 20 years. Furthermore, considering the fact that this crime was committed from 1930s to the end of the Second World War, this delay has continued over a half century. And the survivors have waited for their entire life literally.

Shinzo Abe as a leader who became the head of government of Japan at that time, had the responsibility to resolve this long term issue, Shinzo Abe kept receiving pressure to make decision as soon as possible. Japan was in such a huge dilemma, in one side Japan as the independence country has to protect the nation’s sovereignty while in other side United States is important partner for Japan and vice versa Japan is a significant partner for the United States in a number of foreign policy areas, particularly in U.S’s security priorities, which range from

¹⁵ The Korean Council for Women. (2013). *Submission to the Committee against Torture 50th Session: The Japanese Military Sexual Slavery (“Comfort Women”) Issue*, page. 3

hedging against Chinese military modernization to countering threats from North Korea.¹⁶

Exact on July 30th 2007, the U.S House of Representative passed the House Resolution 121 (HRes 121) after through several debates. According to American daily newspaper, New York Times on Wednesday 1st August 2007, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe expressed his disappointment on Tuesday at the resolution approved by the House of Representative in Washington, which it ask to Japan to acknowledge *Jugun Ianfu* issue as Japan's historical responsibility. Furthermore Mr. Abe commented, "The Resolution's approval was regrettable". News of the approval of the resolution also impacted Mr. Shinzo Abe himself, he faced more calls to resign as Japan prime minister after the crushing defeat of his government Liberal Democratic Party in the election on Sunday for the upper house of Parliament.¹⁷

The solution offered made Japan in awkward position, Japan had been always refused to acknowledge the charges in forcing those women into *Jugun Ianfu* victims, however later the U.S. come and provide a resolution for this problem, Japan with no resistance diplomatically accept this resolution or not trying to put down the resolution.

Afterwards, in his early second term as Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe reaffirmed he would shelve his old plan to review the 1993 government statement

¹⁶ CSR Report. (2015). *Japan-U.S. Relation: Issues for Congress* by Congressional Research Service

¹⁷ Kanlaon. (2007). *House Resolution 121 Passes, Japan Reacts*. Retrieved from <https://anthropologist.wordpress.com/2007/08/02/reading-for-the-day-japan-reacts-to-us-house-passage-of-comfort-women-resolution/> Access on 5th April 2015

(*Kono* statement) that expressed remorse for the suffering of *Jugun Ianfu* before and during World War II. Stated in The Asahi Shimbun (electronic news) when Shinzo Abe was given a question about his old plan to renewing *Kono* statement (Jan 31st 2013) by Kazuo Shii leader of Japanese Communist Party. Shinzo Abe answered,

"The matter should not be turned into a political and diplomatic issue."

"I, as prime minister, will refrain from making further remarks."

"There have been many wars throughout history, involving infringement on the human rights of women,"

"When it comes to the issue of comfort women, my heart aches acutely when I think about those who had to go through painful experiences beyond description. I am no different from successive prime ministers on that point."¹⁸

Then he said it would be appropriate for the chief Cabinet secretary to handle matters related to the *Kono* statement. Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga indicated there will be no review of the *Kono* statement in the near future.

¹⁸The Asahi Shimbun. (2013). *Abe: No review of Kono statement apologizing to 'comfort women'*. Retrieved by http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind_news/politics/AJ201302010077 access on 26th July 2015

A. Research Question

As the history leaves painful memory specially to victim of *Jugun Ianfu* who are from many countries such as Korean, China, Philippine, and Indonesia, it is therefore those *Jugun Ianfu* ask the Japanese government to drop their plan to revise *Kono* statement. Consider *Kono* Statement as symbol of Japanese government apology to *Jugun Ianfu* in 1993. Then U.S came offering the resolution to this issue, called as House Resolution 121. In other hand Japanese government continue made effort to keep their pride of Nation. That is interest to find out:

Why Shinzo Abe's government accept House Resolution 121 offered by U.S to solve Jugun Ianfu issue, whereas the resolution draft ask Japan to acknowledged its involvement towards *Jugun Ianfu* system?

B. Purpose of Research

The aims of this undergraduate thesis are:

1. To examine how the government on Shinzou Abe era reacts and its decision on facing the issue of *Jugun Ianfu* addressed to their country as their responsibility.
2. To know more detailed of contents about House Resolution 121 draft offered by U.S for Japanese government to resolve the case of *Jugun Ianfu*.

Beside to analyze reason of Shinzo Abe and his government decision, this undergraduate thesis will also, find and describe about the issue of *Jugun Ianfu*.

This paper tries to analyze in hope to get the answer and built a hypothesis. This paper is expected to give knowledge for the reader.

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to analyze the main problem, this paper applied theories in international relations study. This is intended to study this issue more focused and cleared. As for the theory used in examining Japanese politics regarding *Jugun ianfu* issue, this paper applies Decision Making Theory of Foreign Policy and Rational Actor. Before explaining the theory used on this paper, at very first this paper will be delivered what is the meaning of theory itself. Theory is the most common form of explanation that tells us why something happens and when things happen, so in addition to use for explanation, the theory is also the basis for prediction. From this understanding, theory can be regarded as a view or perception of something that happened and will happen¹⁹.

Decision Making Theory of Foreign Policy

It is noteworthy to highlight that decision-making theories proposed by William D. Coplin, will be exercised in examining the problem indicated above.

This theory of William D. Coplin stated:

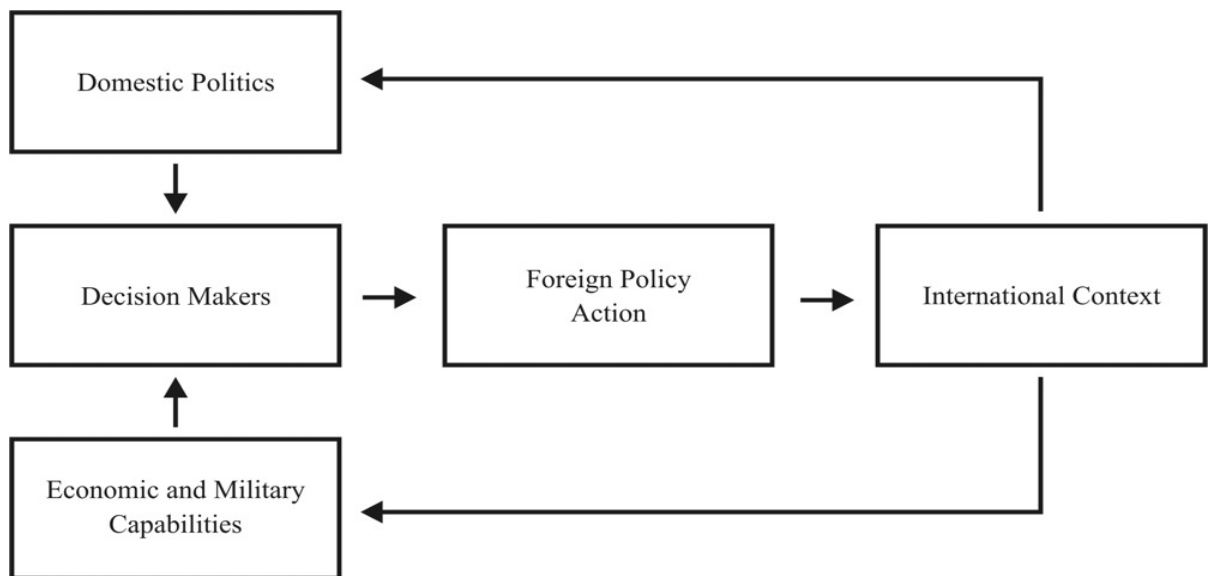
“However wrong if we assume that the foreign policy decision makers to act recklessly. But otherwise, certain foreign policy actions perhaps seen as result of the three considerations that influences the decision making of foreign policy. First, domestic political conditions affecting the foreign policy decision; second, economic and military

¹⁹ Mas'oeed, M. (1988). *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional 'Displin and Metodologi'*. Yogyakarta: PAU UGM

capabilities, and the third, the international context is the special position of the state in relation to other countries in the system.”²⁰

Every decision made by putting many considerations that become factor in exercising the decision-making process. It is pertinent to add here that according to Coplin international context is the product of other states foreign policies, in which international context will unequivocally influence the domestic politics, as well as the economy and military or particular state. Under such condition, these factors finally influence decision makers to formulate foreign policy. Foreign policy always aim to meet its national interest, national interests can be described as the aspirations of a state operationally.²¹ This analysis can be found through the following figure of how four determinants influence foreign policy action

Figure 1: Source: W.D. Coplin & C.W. Kegley, p. 30.



²⁰ Wibisono, Imron. (2008). *Kono Statemen (1993) as Japan's apologizing for Jugun Ianfu case*. Retrieved from Coplin, William D. (1992). *Pengantar Politik Internasional: Suatu Telaah Teoritis*, Bandung: CV Sinar Baru, page. 30.

²¹ Yusuf, Supri. (1989). *Hubungan Internasional dan PolitikLuar Negeri*,. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan

From the scheme above, it can be seen the linkages between the economic, military, domestic political and international context here defined as the product from a variety of foreign policy in the past. Coplin stressed that the center of focus is the ones that plays a role in foreign policy decision making, in other words those who have formal responsibility and actual influence in decisions regarding his country's involvement in the relationship with other actors. Taking an action abroad is more likely to be a process that involves many considerations and complexities. As stated by Coplin foreign policy is particular seen as the result of those three considerations which are influencing the decision makers. Likewise, with the Japanese political decisions in reacting the solutions "House Resolution 121" offered by the U.S is also influenced by three factors above.

E.1 Domestic Politic

Domestic politics has a huge impact on the foreign policy of a country. The relationship between foreign policy-decision makers with political actors or "Policy influencers" in a state is very close in determining policy. Policy influencers will always attempt to influence the behavior of foreign policy. According to William D. Coplin, there are four influencers Policy, (i) the bureaucrats; (ii) political parties; (iii) interest; and (iv) the public opinion.²²

In political decision-making process, Shinzo Abe as the prime minister of Japan at that time, formally apologized on *Jugun Ianfu* case; it is the public opinion factor that played important role in influencing the policy process. After

²² Opcit.,

the discovery of official documents related to the government's involvement on *Jugun ianfu* in 1992, and later published in local newspaper *Ashasi Shimbun*, there was an uproar among Japanese who wanted more clarity from the government. Japan felt the need to give detail information related the *Jugun ianfu issue*. This action was done by Shinzo Abe because of Japanese domestic political situation that calls for firmness of government to confirm whether government at that time was involved or not on the legalization *Jugun Ianfu* system on each Japan's occupation areas.

E.2 Economy and Military Capabilities

The second factor is the ability of the economy and the military. In his theory, William D. Coplin's claimed, in making decision of foreign policy, decision makers should also consider the economic and military power of the state, as well as the weaknesses of state because the commitment and ability have to be balanced and its limitations should be well known, which in the future would impact economic conditions and military. All countries more or less are dependent on other countries, Japan is no exception. Whether in terms of economic or military strength, the more one country depends on other certain country, the more that country is also prone to external constraints. All of economic activities related to trade, whereas many goods are traded including to be related to the defense industry.

For Japan itself, Asia is an important market for its International trade flows. Japan has a lot of interest in this area. Whether it for the economy interests or military interests. So, the government of Japan was feeling it was very

necessary to calm the situation that getting hotter, because of the fact that most of *Jugun Ianfu* victims came from Asia region countries, especially countries clumped with Japan as part of East Asia. Japan desired to restore the positive image in the eyes of the International.

E.3 International Context

The third factor is the International Context. This factor is about the nature of international system and the relationship between the state and the conditions in the system that will set how it will behave. The displacement of political world order after the end of Cold War marked by the collapse of bipolar world system between western and eastern blocks carried a huge influence for countries in the Asia Pacific region, including Japan. In that land of international politics situation particularly, the balance of power was dominant in the Asia Pacific region at the time especially for China and South Korea. In this matter United State which known as Japan's good partner in many fields, gives their concern to help the victims of *Jugun infu*, because cases concerning human rights are highly valued by United State. This action is then also followed by some European countries that continue demand Japan to take responsibility for the case *Jugun Inafu*.

Pressure and threats from around the worlds make Japanese policy makers take the policy in order as their response, the survival for the country. So, based on these three factors Japan made some considerations in determining the direction of their foreign policy. The apologetic statement delivered by Shinzo Abe as prime minister of Japan at the time was very appropriate because, eventhough this action was contrary to what Shinzo Abe and the right wing

executive screams a few months before, apologize is still one of the demands contained in House Resolution 121. This action bursted the emotions of the *jugun ianfu* victims and also international society, and forced the Government of Japan to take responsive action for clarifying the issue to all parties. It was intended also to neutralize the issues that can later be detrimental for the country of Japan.

D. Hypothesis

Shinzo Abe finally apology to *Jugun Ianfu* victims and there will be no revise towards *Kono* Statement and agree with solution offered by U.S. The acceptance of House Resolution 121 by Shinzo Abe towards resolving the *Jugun Ianfu* issue, mainly prompted by the international pressure and conservative basic perspective of Shinzo Abe that treasure relationship with U.S as the closest alliance and also to protecting Japan's image in international politic.

E. Method of Research

In the process of examining, analyzing, and explaining the problem, this paper use the method of research and data analysis preceded through the following approaches:

- Literature study, this method will be practiced to examine the relevant data related to the case in exploring the main problem. The data collected for this research are taken from a reference list of books; magazines; newspapers; and journals
- Internet-based, various data from internet are used since some information and data dealing with the topic forwarded are only available in internet. The format of data are likely to be scripts and journals.

- Data Analysis, in which the relevant data collected will be analyzed and examined in order to gain the validity and relevancy to be used as the source in the research.

F. System of Writing

The outline of this thesis is described as follow:

- Chapter I: Introduction, consist of writing objective, problem background, research question, purpose of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, system of writing.
- Chapter II: This chapter will explain about the history of *Jugun Ianfu* occurred.
- Chapter III: This chapter will describe how the House Resolution 121 was formed and the international community attitude towards Japan due to case of *Jugun Ianfu*.
- Chapter IV: This chapter will explain how the Japanese government (Shinzou Abe era) reacted to the pressure from the international community towards the problem of *Jugun Ianfu* and the reaction of Japan towards House Resoulition 121 as a solution to Jugun Ianfu case offered by the U.S, also the Japanese political policy of *Jugun Ianfu* case.
- Chapter V: Conclusion.