JAPAN'S DEFENSE STRATEGY : THE ALTERNATIVE FOR THE DYNAMIC ASIAN PACIFIC

Yusep Ginanjar¹, Agus Subagyo², Akim³

¹Department of International Relations, Jenderal Achmad Yani University, Indonesia
²Department of International Relations, Jenderal Achmad Yani University, Indonesia
³Department of International Relations, Padjajaran University, Indonesia
Email: Yusep.ginanjar@lecture.unjani.ac.id

ABSTRACT
Since defense became a vital aspect in a sustainability of a country, its presence were inseparable from a policy-making process, especially foreign policy. A country needs a foreign policy to reach the national interest in keeping their existence due to respond several kinds of threats, or challenges in the international environment that was in an anarchic condition. Amidst the rivalries of many interests of various actors, Japan decided to make a change in their policy related with the defense strategy as the plan that Shinzo Abe proposed to finally allow Japan to be more offensive for some cases. As a research objective, this article will analyze how Japan defense policy framework developed from time to time, and mainly talk about how can Japan set aims in their own policy change from defensive to offensive by seeing internal and external factors. Therefore, there'll be a link between how Japan run the policy as resolutions for several problems that arose surround Japan and prevented any harm or disturbance in national security, as the basic things to make sure the national interests are fulfilled. This research used qualitative method in analyzing the relevancy of internal and external factors towards Japan's defense strategy, so that this research will contribute in the form of foreign policy analysis.

Keywords : Foreign Policy, National Interest, National Security, Threats

ABSTRAK
Karena pertahanan menjadi aspek penting dalam keberlanjutan suatu negara, kehadirannya tidak dapat dipisahkan dari proses pembuatan kebijakan, terutama kebijakan luar negeri. Suatu negara memerlukan kebijakan luar negeri untuk mencapai kepentingan nasional dalam menjaga eksistensinya karena merosot beberapa apenjelasan ancaman, atau tantangan di lingkungan internasional yang berada dalam kondisi anarkis. Di tengah persaingan berbagai kepentingan dari berbagai aktor, Jepang memutuskan untuk membuat perubahan dalam kebijakan mereka terkait dengan strategi pertahanan ketika rencana yang diusulkan Shinzo Abe akhirnya memungkinan Jepang untuk lebih ofensif dalam beberapa kasus. Sebagai tujuan penelitian, artikel ini akan menganalisis bagaimana kerangka kebijakan pertahanan Jepang berkembang dari waktu ke waktu, dan terutama berbicara tentang bagaimana Jepang dapat menetapkan tujuan dalam perubahan kebijakan mereka sendiri dari defensif menjadi ofensif dengan melihat faktor internal dan eksternal. Oleh karena itu, akan ada hubungan antara bagaimana Jepang menjalankan kebijakan sebagai resolusi untuk beberapa masalah yang muncul di sektar Jepang dan menegak bahaya atau gangguan dalam keamanan nasional, sebagai hal-hal dasar untuk memastikan kepentingan nasional terpenuhi. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dalam menganalisis relevansi faktor-faktor internal dan eksternal terhadap strategi pertahanan Jepang, sehingga penelitian ini akan berkontribusi dalam bentuk analisis kebijakan luar negeri.

Kata Kunci : Ancaman, Keamanan Nasional, Kepentingan Nasional, Kebijakan Luar Negeri

* Copyright (c) 2020 Yusep Ginanjar, Agus Subagyo and Akim
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.
INTRODUCTION

How’s Japan’s defense strategy change as one of foreign policies in Asia Pacific from defensive to be proactive movement influenced by internal and external factors? Japan’s move to finally expand troops of its military role into more proactive in a limited conditions as a defense policy influenced by the external factors on its perception of threat in seeing China’s acts across the region. Moreover, China’s rivalry with The United States as Japan’s closest allies disturbed its national and regional stability. Beside that, Japan’s domestic related such as their constitution since World War II era limited their ability in using forces for his fundamental interest, has taken Japan to be able to take responsibilities to engage more into several cases in their regional security, and maximizing as simply as Japan’s personal interest in its prosperity and power.

Japan one of East Asian countries with significant improvement in economy and technology sectors in the world. Japan marks its position as the third-largest economy in the world, with the amount of GDP in 2019 reached out the $5 trillion (Investopedia, 2020). With its large improvement of economy, can be a supportive factor to fulfill other sectors such as technology development, infrastructure, defense and security, etc. But still, behind Japan’s power in an economic sector were inseparable with its experience and their ambitions to maximize several sectors that will put Japan as a leading and most advanced country this whole time. Strengthen with the statement shared by Prof. Kiichi Fujiwara, an international politics professor at Tokyo University, that after its lost on the World War II, Japan struggled to improve their certain sectors to increase the economic improvement as the main priorities to fulfill the prosperity of their country, it was done because they travelled tough times during their economic and infrastructure crisis, therefore there was an economic diplomacy as a booster (Kiichi Fujiwara, 2016).

Japan realized that the strength of a country first relies on their ability in budgeting and prioritizing sectors that fit with their strategy in many things, because the world is changing and also the interest of each actors all over the world that goes overlapping one another since that each of them has their own interest as their priority. It means that through the dynamic situation of the political world, nationally and regionally, it’s important to start to address not only what a country needs or another domestic aspect, but also to see how the situation outside of the country. It can be a consideration for a policy making process, especially foreign policy for a country to see whether the policy can be implemented in a certain issues or not. Japan’s change towards its policy became a major issue during the post-war era, where it was approved as an action that challenged the political dynamic in the region and seeking for a way to safeguard the national security against any possible risk of a complex situation (Kiichi Fujiwara, 2016).

Japan’s policies known to be more assertive especially in their security after the Cold War era, which means in any possible actions, Japan tried to be more proactive and increase their sensitivity towards the balance of power that happened in Asia with the concern of its defense based on their experiences related with the Pacific War (Roy, 2004). Based on Rosenau’s statement, foreign policy is one of act done by a country in realizing their own interest and get benefits in their external circumstance (Rosenau, Boyd, & Thompson, 1976). From this, we can conclude that foreign policy has an urgency in fulfilling what a country needs in order to guarantee its personal preference on most of the things, including issues that spread in their surroundings, especially when it comes to security related that influenced by their perception towards threats.

Issues that posed challenges in the Asia Pacific region such as the missile test or ICBM (Inter Continental Continental Ballistic Missile) by North Korea. Based on the history, both of Japan and also North Korea have not established any relations in particular, especially in official ways, ever since the Korean Peninsula. And now Japan’s concern towards North Korea increased since their role threaten by
North Korea approved dozens of ballistic missiles and conducted its sixth and largest bomb test in September 2017, which was approved by the UN Security Council overhaul. During the trial, on 29 August, North Korea fired a ballistic missile with the altitude of about 770 km, traveling 3,700 km across Japan's Hokkaido island as exclusive economic zone before ending up in the Pacific Ocean, until Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said this kind of act were dangerous and provocative, and Japan never tolerate these acts (BBC, 2020). In addition, to releasing a UN resolution to stop missile trials in the interest of weaponry or war on other countries, this issue poses special challenges relating to the security of the Asia Pacific region. However, related to this problem, Japan can do nothing but emphasize its defense policy to handle any possible threats in the future, because North Korea is not the only one, China's movement as a rising power in the region also brought up another challenge.

Based on Tokyo's annual defense review, China with its military that kept on growing became a serious threat to Japan and even bigger than North Korean with their ballistic missile, when the Defense White Paper put China in a certain section as a highlight to show Japan's perception towards China (Kelly, 2020). But other than that, another challenge for Japan came from China even since they had a confrontational issues that influenced their relations over the Senkaku Island, until there were the altercation happened between a Chinese fishing boat and the Japanese Coast Guard in the area that worsens the tensions and triggered for a long-term conflict (Tanaka, 2010). The rivalry of China and the United States in Asian Pacific became a real example of political domination where each of them tried to strengthen their relations with another country to counter the influences and guarantee the own interest. Despite on Japan's relation with the United States, on how China's power that is increasing time by time, and so its influence inside and outside the region of Asian Pacific with their BRI Project take a pressure on Japan's security and defense. Because there'll be any probability of China expanding their power with their resources surround themselves, especially claiming certain region as the part of their territory. Since Japan close with China, this can disturb not only the regional stability, but also national security with its sovereignty being tested out.

In addition for the external situations, the issue of hostage taking of JGC workers or the Japan Gasoline Corporation in Algeria is an important concern for Japan. Related to this problem, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, in an emergency meeting that won seven Japanese workers, was killed in a hostage crisis at the natural gas complex in Algeria, as well as three other workers who are still missing. This confirmation was on the report of Deputy Foreign Minister Minoru Kiuchi who saw and approved the bodies of seven Japanese workers at Yokohama-based JGC Corp at a local hospital (Yoshida, 2018). This is Japan's weakness in responding to hostage issues with limited authority from self-defense forces to go straight in and use the power needed for special missions. Considering that the Self Defense Forces are Japanese weapons which are only in the form of self defense and are not used outside of Japan. This was a big consideration for Japan because they could not go straight to engage in various problems that needs a military assistance related because of limitation from Article 9 of the postwar Japanese constitution (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020). Not only that, Japan's limited capability to go straight handle several problems using their military troops became a serious problem related to Japan's legitimacy in assuring their citizen's safety and prosperity for any kind of threats anytime.

However, by looking at the growing problems, especially in the Asia Pacific region at this time, making Japan not only have to focus on economic development alone, but needs to be more proactive in the development of the military and defense sectors. That's why with their economic surplus and their close relation with the United States, they can build their defense and actively pushing their military troops...
to reach their interest. In Article 9 of the postwar Japanese constitution, Japan abandoned the war and promised not to defend land, sea or air troops. In 1950 a small military force called the National Police Reserve was created; it became the National Safety Force in 1952 and the Self Defense Forces in 1954 (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020). It seems that it had never been used outside of Japan or its waters; as a result, the Self Defense Force’s participation in UN peacekeeping missions or some other specific works has sparked heated debate in Japan and abroad, especially among countries that were victims of Japanese aggression in World War II (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2020). This constitution is an obstacle for Japan which has not been able to carry out good initiative policies that are offensive even in the interests of national security and which must be prioritized. Therefore, it became another internal aspect for the defense strategy change because it was seen as limitations. This is another problem that needs to be handle by Japan revolution on its defense policy.

The fact to see whether the self defence force is a military viewed from several aspects, such as on how self defence force got the budget until $54.5 billion on 2010 as 3.3 percent of world military expenditures which made Japan ranked in top six countries, the increased amount of self defence force troops with 227,950 since 1950, the sophisticated weaponry owned by self defence force, and last since 1990s self defence force joined regular joint maneuvers with another military owned by other states and done several missions overseas as the expansion of their authority and capacity (Sato, 2012). Defense policy change done by Shinzo Abe is actually significant in practical, although it's quite limited because these changes basically occured because of external and internal challenges in seeing what kind of opportunity or risk that Japan will face when the situation around Japan is rapidly changing (Liff, 2015). Eventhough the change seen as significant moves, but still there were some disagreement because of its uncertainty in the realities. There were some debate related on how the policy give such an impact towards public perception, because this whole time Japan tried to focus on its security issues so that any actions related with a policy that giving the military troops even wider authority. The example on how public and the government debated on the matter of Japan’s self defence force mission to Iraq for the purpose of supporting reconstruction which got a poll 46% for the respondents who supported the government’s plans to support the mission with the 43% opposed it (Ishibashi, 2007).

It means that for the expand of military troops in any form such as other than self defense, offensive power projection even nuclear weapon would have a risk for the public of Japan or its neighbouring countries. The relevancy of this article told us on how that what Japan decided were based on what happened around itself, such as the change on political architecture as the first consideration before Japan decide to implement their defense policy. Which means, that Japan saw there were some probability of unstable and uncertainty in the global and regional politics. It is the obligatory for Japan to keep on update towards several important issues and challenges as factors in strengthening certain policies.

Since 2014 and 2015, Shinzo Abe as Japan’s Prime Minister focus on the policy related with collective self defence in an advance way when it has limited authority before to have a right where even in postwar period under three certain conditions to finally exercise their military troops even when they were not directly under attacks (Hughes, 2017). This policy came from a interpretation of Article 9 of the 1947 constitution that goes from situation where there were only some exercises of the right of individual self-defense permitted, to finally open up a wider exercises of the right of collective self-defense in a way where Japan can also strengthen the military relation with the United States as its closest ally. This policy also describe as the self defense forces with legal and clear political means, But still, the expand of self defense forces authority overseas has a limitation where their moves cannot take any decision in participating for several warfare in a certain region to defend another foreign countries interests.
These new authorities will limit any act of using forces for a domination means, that’s why in creating this policies through a transparent and democratic ways, so that this revolutionary steps from Abe seen as proactive contribution to the peace together with the United States as international security partner. It means that the article aware on what Japan decided came from their commitment to build peace and stable condition of international and regional politics, independently or both with the United States. The potential military power of Japan in the Asia Pacific Region at first described as a threat in the security of its neighbors, but Japan is actually not likely to become any kind of threat especially in military aspect to East Asia, one of the reason is because Japan’s military movement aims to create peace guaranteed by The United States (Wilborn, 1994). Strengthen Japan’s relation with the United States will be another way to evolve the self defense forces authorities, in which later, any kind of improvement can be implemented based on their needs.

Japan saw their surroundings has a quite challenging situation in terms of Japan’s dispute with China related to Senkaku Island highlight the relation between Japan and China. The Japanese old constitution that limit their forces moves changed and interpreted on the Article 9 that sounds more proactive, and where there are no laws to show a commitment to deter any possible threats that might come towards Japan itself or even its interests, also the new change in the defense policy will eventually open up another chance for Japan to increase and strengthen its solidity with the United States and enlarge Japan’s contribution in regional security operations (Capistrano & Kurizaki, 2016). In September 2015, Upper House of the Diet allows for collective self-defense to expand the roles for the Japanese Self-Defense Forces in East Asia in achieving not only for the national security, but also in protecting the status quo, regional norms, and the postwar liberal order. As the domestic aspect, some public demonstration shows that there were some debate towards this change.

Some people assumed that with the new change, Japan’s military troops cold be dragged into any the United States led war such as in Middle East since that the expansion of their authorities and scope of exercises. The new policy somehow trying to reassure Japan’s neighbour countries as a defense strategy, where the movements will be a guarantee for the sake of peace while increasing the scope of military troops operations. With the uncertainty that happened as the result of this policy and the strategic change also a chance for Japan to strengthen its role and its alliance will create a probability of security dilemma in the East China Sea region where involve China’s rising power and the United States involved. In addition, the strategic mistrust strengthen by the Senkaku dispute between Japan and Chinese, the future condition will be inseparable of what Japan chooses to engage with the United States in facing China. This article gave a clear description on the negative assumption as a probability if Japan opens up new policy will give a chance to dominate the region with the United States as partner, or creating much more tension in the region because of security dilemma that involve different actors. Whereas the decision made by Japan actually relies on how Japan still have limited moves to do such things related with intervention into certain issues or conflict, but rather focus on stabilizing the region for peace.

If we analyze from the previous research with the similar topic, especially some research submitted in the section of literature review, they agreed on how there were several aspects that influenced Japan’s defense policy. Most of them only focused on each aspect such as public perception, the dynamic of international politics, or a projection of Japan's defense policy to answer the challenging political pattern. But there were no much research that actually explains whole influences whether it is internal or external aspects that act equally important towards this strategy. It is important to see both aspects closely by analyzing why those factors played significant role for Japan’s actions, therefore this research aims to fulfill those gaps.
In this article research uses the neorealist theory approach, which believes that each country must increase their capabilities because of uncertain international situations. In the anarchy system, neorealism believes that in this system, what the state needs is to survive or survive in the international anarchy system by ensuring the achievement of its national interests through cooperation or alliances with other countries (Baldwin, 1993). Because of from the latest literature there were no sources that explain or state the internal or external factors yet, that’s why, this article will discuss on how that Japan change its foreign policy framework in the field of defense influenced by the complexion of both internal and external factors. And how that to make Japan be more proactive in responding to some issues in the Asia Pacific region, by expanding the authority of military troops and strengthening military alliances with the United States. Given that foreign policy is a dynamic process and the application of the meaning of national interests relative to situational situations that are highly volatile in the international environment (Plano & Olton, 1999), so that in Japanese foreign policy through the Shinzo Abe proposal addressed to the whole world will filling in the gaps in Japan’s existing weaknesses in its authority to maintain defense and security while achieving its national interests through military policies or foreign defense which were initially limited.

RESEARCH METHOD

Penulisan artikel ini menggunakan metode studi literatur yang bersumber pada penelitian atau hasil telaha pustaka dari berbagai sumber. Metode ini dilakukan untuk memanfaatkan sumber daya perpustakaan dalam memperoleh data, melacak sumber-sumber sebelumnya untuk menyampaikan kerangka kerja teoritis dan mempertajam metodologi (Zed, 2004:1). Survei literatur dilakukan untuk dua jenis literatur yang dirujuk dalam penulisan artikel ini, yaitu: literatur pembahasan secara umum dan literatur pembahasan menurut sumber-sumber ajaran Islam. To be able to carried out this research, the method that will be used by the author is a qualitative method. Qualitative method is a method used in this study, where the processes and objects in this study have relevance by using qualitative methods. Besides the object of discussion in this study is a phenomenon that is complex so that the qualitative method is relevant as the method used in this study. Where according to Strauss and Corbin qualitative methods are research methods that do not use the research process through statistical or quantitative means in determining research results (Saeful, 2009). Based on Creswell’s statement that said on how qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The Researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words report detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting (Creswell, 2009). So that as a conclusion, this research stresses more on qualitative method where not only related with huaman activities or social issues, but also in describing some variables and their relations to see the major link between one for another. Data collection procedures or techniques in the form of literature studies, namely data collection by utilizing data resources and information from a variety of relevant literature. The type of data used is secondary data, as in literature studies such as books, journals, newspapers, magazines, research results and internet sites (websites) that are considered relevant and have relation to the research to be discussed. From the data obtained is then validated or checked again from the official and trusted website data.
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political Dynamic of Asian Pacific

In the Asia Pacific region, addressed by several issues for example the act of North Korea with its ballistic missile trial, and even up to a bigger scale in which the rivalry of the United States and China were increasing time by time in both economic and military aspects (Kelly, 2020). Of course, from this issues, there are some countries in the region that cannot stay quiet since that the issues have a crucial effect if they are not taking any action or policy yet to guarantee the sustainability of their own defense and security, one of them is Japan. As one of Asian Pacific countries in the region of East Asia, Japan holds much more responsibility and even the opportunity of taking risk if anything happen as the effect of both, the North Korean ambition or the rivalry between the United States and China. It’s clear that since Japan is the closest ally of the United States, another United States’s rival at the moment such as North Korea and China attempt usually try to disturb any interest related with the United States and its allies in the certain region.

For instance, the trial of ballistic missile done by North Korea is actually an act that shows on how North Korea try to prove that they have a power and showing off their practical threats towards the United States. But even though they show the power and threaten the United States by several statements and upcoming plans of the trials, still the closest ally such as Japan got the effect too. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said that this kind of act were dangerous and intolerant after found out that North Korea fired a ballistic missile across Japan’s Hokkaido island (BBC, 2020). This became a real threat when it comes to a missile trial although there’s no damages, but still this act violates the law of sovereignty of a country, because it was passed by the national territory of Japan. Although there were several discussion to suppress North Korea’s ambition, the probability of another trial cannot be guarantee yet. That’s why Japan should be prepare through strengthen its security and defense more proactive to respond several kind of threats in the near future.

Another would the rivalry between the United States and China in the region. They focus on how their domination will take the lead out of several countries in the region. Not only for the political domination, their act with economic means involve some programme that build a partnership between both super power with another country in order to strengthen their beneficial economic relations. China has their own policy to keep on expanding their authority and power across the region, through the economic aspect as the main factor and the key to spread their influences, one of them is the Belt and Road Initiative or BRI. Since 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping informed the BRI project with the total value for almost $124 billion with the main purpose to promote most of infrastructure project to any countries around Indo Pacific including Africa and Europe as well. Some partners such as Djibouti and Pakistan for the making of Marine Bases, and some infrastructure in Colombo, Sri Lanka even Maladewa (Smith, JM, 2018).

Involving several countries in the specific region means that there are few things between China and their project partners that holds several common interest. Those shared values and interest strengthen the relationship between China and its partners so that it become easier for China’s influences to spread rapidly. Other than that, from this kind of partnership, will much likely to threaten another interest belongs to certain country in the regions, such as the United States. The United States has many allies in economic even defense sectors in many region, especially in Asia Pacific or East Asia to be specific. Behind the United State’s actions and policies to back up for its allies in providing or helping the through the improvement of security and defense sectors. For example, the United States in Japan has a commitment to keep up the security partnership and even building and maintaining their military’ bases not only near Japan, but also in another region. To build military bases in several countries as the United
States partners, it means that the United States tried to have a power projection through their military aspects. These acts were the form of maintaining the United States power and influences across the region, which can be the most important thing for the United States to keep their role in many things globally. By the present of China, the interest of the United States to keep their influences in the Asia Pacific threaten by the movements that China gave as a starting point through their project, where mostly search for partners in collaborating for economical or wider interest in politics.

This threat perception made by the United States towards China influenced their foreign policy in the region where the United States made The Quad on November 2017, an opened security dialogue with Japan, Australia and India to create a free and open Indo-Pacific as the newest geographical concept (Financial Express, 2017). This is another movement that reflected on how the United States and Japan having the commitment to stay in line and strengthen their security relations in the region. The terminology of Indo Pacific used more by the United States highlight the focus on their foreign policy in the region, and it’s because of China’s improvement. The United States indirectly aware on the potential of super power as their rival from China’s steps, Japan also felt the same about it as the closest ally. The strategy that involved both the United States and Japan through The Quad have goals to suppress the influences of China as the real threat (Financial Express, 2017). This commitment shows the real attention between the United States and Japan to see China as a threat in the region that has an ability to limit their interest and disturb the stability in the Asia Pacific. Moreover, when we see the as between Japan and China, in which Japan’s cultural affiliation with China in the terms of its written language until moral civilization, overall Japan can be said as the main influence in positive and negative on whole generations of Chinese revolutionaries. therefore this similarities of their civilization heritage were the reasons why there were some conflicts and misunderstandings between both of them (Johnson, 1972).

In the international relations, threat can be seen as a perception of a situation where there is an individual or certain group having and intention and capability to make a harmful consequences towards another individual or group (Davis, 2000). It means that the threat can be assumed as certain activities that caused damages for a specific entity in many issues. The present of those threats can be an urgency that needs to be handle by a country because it sacrifices the stability of national and regional security. Security is a phenomenon that to understand it, we have to see the interdependence pattern that involve every countries internationally (Davis, 2000). It’s also valid for a national security of a country, where the orientation of security or defense policy made by a country will consider anything that happened in global politics, for example anything that can be a threat. Beside that the concept of threat and the ability of a country are the key to make a policy related with security (Davis, 2000). Therefore, when a country knows the aspect not only from outside, but also the inside of a country, on the ability of a country can be a supportive factors to evaluate anything in national security so that the country will know what to prepare its maintenance for the near future. It goes the same with what Japan had travelled so far, to see not only the international or global politics situation that create a chance to see the threats in the region, but also to see the domestic aspect such as the latest policies and public perception that help the country to decide what kind of evaluation needed to support the interests owned by the country.

**Domestic Influences to the Defense Strategy**

To create peace and prosperity that guarantee on how the country can fulfill their interest is inseparable with some specific policy as the main aspect to decide any actions in any issues. During the long road of policy making, Japan faced several challenges such as their limited rights on military troops to expand their territory of practice for any reason due to Article 9 on the last constitution right after World War II as a domestic aspect. This domestic aspect related on how they had another dilemma on following the constitution as a commitment after World War II, or to follow the dynamic situation internationally and be adaptable for specific reason or interests.
Started from 2007, Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe gathered until 13 experts in order to evaluate Japan’s security aspect on what to change or take a revision, one of them is Article 9 (Washington & Lee, 2020). This is another consideration on how every country should be able to use their security and defense sectors as to defend their own territory and interest from any kind of threats.

Until 2008, with the Yanai Commission’s recommendation on the revision of Article 9 to finally expand the authority for Japan’s military troops related to the rights on self defense forces giving an aid for their allies under armed attacks with no precondition at the beginning as the part of the collective self-defense for the threats of North Korea, China, and Russia (Washington & Lee, 2020). Which means, the evaluation that Japan tried to fulfill on its policy see their surroundings as the most possible source of conflict and threats. Through this, it’s clear that the international condition affected the domestic aspect such as policy making and public perceptions that push the change of Japan’s defense policy as a whole. As The United Nations Charter became the source of the collective self-defense concept, in which means to relate to the rights of any country to form a certain alliance and to use their forces as defensive actions if it necessarily needs, so that it is an inherent right for any country to finally step up their military troops. This became very serious since Japan improved their relations with the United States even after the revision to strengthen their ability in defending their rights and principle in the region.

However, the source of domestic aspect of this policy change not only related with the limited rights of Japan because of its constitution or latest defense and security policies, but also for the public perception towards the change. Despite all the changes, The commission’s found out that it wasn’t easy to bring this revolution of Japan’s constitution to affect Japanese public perception, especially when several of them still wanted to respect the content of Article 9 inviolate (Washington & Lee, 2020). This became another dilemma because it means that the public of Japan still worried about Japan’s probability to cause other sparks of conflict of potential war just like what Japan’s do in the World War II. Japan’s public saw their history as a lesson learned, where any kind of revolutionary moves that tried to expand their security or defense becomes more proactive were seen as other problematic things. Although the government guarantee that this revolution will never produce any problems or conflicts since that the revolution also has other limits.

The expansion of Japan’s military troops in practicing their self defense forces for the sake of giving aids to their allies were based on the peaceful missions and self responsibilities. Which means that Japan’s movement still defending for their interest on the urgency to create peace within their country and regional for any possible threats in the upcoming future. With the new rights, Japan will definitely have wider probability to defend not only the interest related with their security stability, but to defend their rights, principle, and the prosperity of their people. This became so important since it is the right of each citizen to be guaranteed by their government not only for the basic things such as providing public services and needs, but also in a bigger scale which providing them a safe and stable place so that they can live their life freely from fear or any threats both inside and outside of their country. It’s necessary also for each country to find the best resolution as a guarantee towards their citizen’s life, one of them is evaluating specific policies.

The responsibilities that owned by Japan even getting heavier since there were the hostage of Japan Gasoline Corporation or JGC workers in Algeria (Yoshida, 2018). This became a major problem related on how Japan’s responsibility to keep their citizen inside and outside of their country safe became a priority. From that case, Japan’s movement limited because of their self defense forces right that cannot do a straight action to handle those problems since the constitution said that it is forbidden. In some other cases, it seems like the constitution violates the right for Japan to do something proper in order to guarantee their
interest, especially for their citizen with no exception. That’s why it’s a big consideration for Japan to learn for their lost in this case to finally more active and hoping that they can solve any further cases that threaten Japan’s interest faster and better. So that these responsibilities became another domestic aspect that influence their consideration in making the defense policies.

Because even if in some cases the public didn’t support the revolution of the constitution, in another side the public needs Japan’s government to be able to adapt and secure their lives. That’s why, public perceptions as the domestic aspect means a lot for Japan’s government to make and process any kind of policies, including for the change in their defense policy by giving the clarification to the public that they will guarantee the change will never cause any threats or problems but a peaceful situation for the betterment in every way. Japan shows their commitment towards the change by saying that it is the part of peaceful mission in facing any threats surround themselves. When the threats coming, with the new policy, Japan would be able to take a risk in protecting their territory and power in the region.

**The Relevancy of The New Defense Strategy**

The correlation between international and domestic aspect for Japan were important aspects, since it’s important to make a policy change based on the needs that came from their public and government perspectives. The international politics in the region helps Japan to evaluate and create the perception of threats and challenges, in example on how foreign countries such as North Korea and China became consideration for Japan and its allies, or the United States presents in the region. So that any kind of possible threats from North Korea’s missile test or China’s military and economic rising in the region, Japan can possibly balance it all with the United States. Other than that, domestic aspects such as public perception and constitution as the roots of the change can also support the policies to be the one who can resolve any problems that threaten the existence of Japan in the region.

It’s necessary for Japan to see those aspects in maintaining and strengthening their position in any possible way. Having dynamic surroundings became a supportive factors on how it’s not the right moment for Japan to stay quiet and give up all of their military rights behind their allies, it is the time for Japan to also exercise their rights for their own good. Because it is the aim of the policies to guarantee Japan’s national security as the part of their interest, so that there will be no problems that came for any risk taken by Japan to expand their military troops authorities outside of their country. Since the rivalry of the United States and China in the region create tensions, Japan’s movement with the United States will propose a balancing power to keep the region peace and stable regardless on any possible threats. Japan do the change in order to make sure that their interest can guarantee their existence and also can be fulfilled in the region, no matter how big the competition is.

**CONCLUSION**

How’s Japan’s defense strategy change as one of foreign policies in Asia Pacific from defensive to be proactive movement influenced by internal and external factors? Japan’s move to finally expand troops of its military role into more proactive in a limited conditions as a defense policy influenced by the external factors on its perception of threat in seeing China’s acts across the region. Moreover, China’s rivalry with the United States as Japan’s closest allies disturbed its national and regional stability. Beside that, Japan’s domestic related such as their constitution since World War II era limited their ability in using forces fulfilling his fundamental interest, and also how the public has their own perception became the reason on why Japan needs to take responsibility to engage more into several cases in their regional security, and maximizing as simply as Japan’s personal interest in its prosperity and power with the full consideration.
The foreign policy change of Japan in their defense sectors is the best way since Japan needs to reconsider certain factors to fulfill and achieve their goals nationally and internationally. With the internal or domestic factor that related with the consideration of policy making process came from the public and Japan’s ability to give a quick respond on several issues, in addition for the external or international factors that only related with the rising of China’s military and economic power and its rivalry with the United States, but also for those issues and threats coming from anything that disturb the stability of Japan’s security.

So, any form of threats that coming from inside or outside of the country, with the change of defense policy change, Japan’s self defense forces can be more proactive and adaptive, to see and handle the challenges or problems in the region with its improvement of quality and quantity backed by their relations with the United States as the closest allies. The assumption on how Japan would more likely giving an aggressive approach was defeated because of their commitment regarding on the peace mission even though there are several possibilities on how the security dilemma may occur in the region, but Japan’s movement can be another balancing power to stabilize the region and prevent any form of domination of power from China. This position will give the possibility of each country to give respond one another and securing their territory and existence into more organized. From the conclusion above, it is important for Japan to see and evaluate the new change of their defense policy from time to time, such as how they respond to issues, how they defend their personal interest and even those interest belongs to their allies. And how the policy change affect the political architecture in the Asia Pacific region to finally able to see is there any possibility for another factor to show up and more significance towards the change and Japan’s relations with the countries surround it. This research pushes the next analysis towards the strategy of Japan especially in the defense and security matters, in which the factors that influence this policies might be carried out by a different aspect as long as the political architecture change from time by time.

REFERENCES
Baldwin, D. A. (1993). Neorealism and neoliberalism: the contemporary debate. Columbia University Press.
BBC. (2020). North Korea fires second ballistic missile over Japan. Retrieved January 26, 2020, from BBC website: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41275614
Capistrano, A. R., & Kurizaki, S. (2016). Japan’s Changing Defense Posture and Security Relations in East Asia. The Korean Journal of International Studies, 14(1), 77–104.
Creswell, J. W. (2009). Research Design California. sage.
Davis, J. W. (2000). Threats and promises: The pursuit of international influence. JHU Press.
Financial Express. (2017). What is India, US, Japan and Australia quadrilateral? Retrieved November 13, 2017, from Financial Express website: www.financialexpress.com/india-news/what-is-india-us-japan-australia-quadrilateral/930476/
Hughes, C. W. (2017). Japan’s Strategic Trajectory and Collective Self-Defense: Essential Continuity or Radical Shift? The Journal of Japanese Studies, 43(1), 93–126.
Investopedia. (2020). World Top Economies.
Ishibashi, N. (2007). The dispatch of Japan’s Self-Defense Forces to Iraq: public opinion, elections, and foreign policy. Asian Survey, 47(5), 766–789.
Johnson, C. (1972). How China and Japan see each other. Foreign Affairs, 50(4), 711–721.
Kelly, T. (2020). Japan lists China as bigger threat than nuclear-armed North Korea. Retrieved January 26, 2020, from Reuters website: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-japan-defence/japan-lists-china-as-bigger-threat-than-nuclear-armed-north-korea-idUSKBN1WC051
Kiichi Fujiwara. (2016). *Japan’s Foreign Policy in a Time of Shifting Geopolitical Goalposts*. Jepang.
Liff, A. P. (2015). Japan’s defense policy: Abe the evolutionary. *The Washington Quarterly, 38*(2), 79–99.
Manyin, M. E. (2003). *Japan-North Korea Relations: Selected Issues*. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.
Plano, J. C., & Olton, R. (1999). Kamus Hubungan Internasional, terj. Wawan Juanda, Putra Abardin.
Rosenau, J. N., Boyd, G., & Thompson, K. W. (1976). *World Politics: An Introduction*. New York: The Free Press.
Roy, D. (2004). Stirring samurai, disapproving dragon: Japan’s growing security activity and Sino-Japan relations. *Asian Affairs: An American Review, 31*(2), 86–101.
Saeful, R. P. (2009). Penelitian Kualitatif. *Equilibrium, 5*(9), 1–8.
Sato, F. (2012). A Camouflaged Military: Japan’s Self-Defense Forces and Globalized Gender Mainstreaming. *The Asia-Pacific Journal, 10*, 1–21.
Smith, JM. (2018). Unpacking the Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Retrieved March 16, 2018, from The Heritage Foundation website: www.heritage.org/asia/commentary/unpacking-the-free-and-open-indo-pacific
Tanaka, H. (2010). The Senkaku islands and mending Japan-China relations. *East Asia Insights, 5*(5), 5.
The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. (2020). Self Defence Force. Retrieved January 27, 2020, from Britannica website: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Self-Defense-Force
Washington, B., & Lee, K. "David." (2020). Abe’s push to change Japan’s defense strategyNo Title. Retrieved January 26, 2020, from Japan Todays website: https://japantoday.com/category/politics/abe's-push-to-change-japan's-defense-strategy
Wilborn, T. L. (1994). *Japan’s Self-defense Forces: What Dangers to Northeast Asia?* DIANE Publishing.
Yoshida, R. (2018). 7 JGC Workers in Algeria Confirmed Dead Three Still Missing.