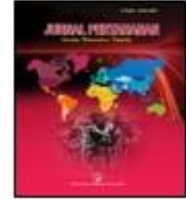




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### IMPROVEMENT OF JAPANESE MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND IMPLICATIONS ON INDONESIA'S NATIONAL DEFENSE

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#### Abstract

In the historical record, Japan was among the most prominent country in military aspect. Japanese military force at that time was evidenced by the strength of their personnel and equipment. This article aims to explore and analyze the development of Japanese military capabilities and ascertaining its implication on ASEAN and the defense of Indonesia. This study uses data analysis technique and narrative qualitative methods, each data that has been collected and validated will be analyzed through data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion/verification. From this study, it can be concluded that the improvement of Japanese military capabilities is strongly related to the interest and conflict between several countries such as China, Japan and North Korea. Therefore, Indonesia needs to have preventive measure in anticipating the rise or improvement of Japanese military capabilities even if it has a harmonious cooperation with Japan in many aspects. After all, Indonesia was one of the direct victims of Japanese imperialism and militarism.

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### INTRODUCTION

In the historical record, Japan was among the most prominent country in military aspect.

Japanese military force can be seen in their successful occupation of Korean Peninsula

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and most of China during World War I. During World War II, Japan pretty much conquered the whole Asia, including Indonesia. But in late 1945, Hiroshima and Nagasaki was bombed by Allied Forces to devastation, causing Japan to surrender to the Allies.

Japan's loss during World War II has impacted Japan, both physically and psychologically. In physical terms, it was the first time for Japan's main islands such as Honshu and Hokkaido to be occupied by enemy forces. In psychological terms, it caused trauma against war. Most of Japanese people loss their pride to the superiority of their nation which was known for its military expansionism.

As the losing country of World War II, Japan experienced many decline in many aspects, including its defense. The occupation government attempted to make Japan a democratic country and institutionalized anti-violence as a way to prevent reemergence of militarism. According to Article 9 of Japanese Constitution drafted by United States (US) in 1947, Japan is strictly prohibited to develop its military power.

The changing interaction between Japan and its neighboring countries in international system has changed the equilibrium between those countries. In order to rebuild their country and economy, Japan gave up their security to the US in a US-Japan security agreement of 1951 which was reaffirmed in 1960. The situation did not last long. The outbreak of Korean War in 1954 brought Japan to change the National Safety Forces (NSF) into Japan Self Defense Force (JSDF).

The next development was the emergence of Cold War between US-led Western Bloc and Soviet-led Eastern Bloc. Conflict between the two superpowers was the main attraction of world politics at that time. However, the fall of Soviet Union ended the Cold War and, directly or indirectly, changed

global political order once again by allowing the emergence of US as sole superpower.

Next, the dispute over the ownership of several islands in South China Sea, namely Spratly, Paracel, Pascadores, Quemoy and Matsu, between China, Vietnam, Taiwan and some Southeast Asian nations such as Malaysia, Brunei and Philippines, has made Japan worried for the possibility of the use of military force. This threatened Japan's position, due to the region being Japan's trade route. Japan was forced to reconsider its foreign policy strategy, especially in regards to regional security. The increasing aggressiveness of countries such as China, North Korea and some Southeast Asian countries as well as increased regional conflicts following the withdrawal of US troops from the Asia Pacific region, forced Japan to protect its economic access itself, politically and militarily. As such, Japan began to consider developing their military. In addition, Japan's interest to transform their defense was also driven by the launch of Taepo Dong I missile by North Korea in 1988 that crossed Japan and fell in Pacific Ocean. It was then followed by the launch of Nodongya missile in 1993. All of those things forced Japan to reconsider its foreign policy strategy, especially in regard to its national defense strategy.

Another factor that prompted Japan to build its military again was the Soviet denials to meet Japan's demands to return the Kuril Islands. Then, there was a dispute between Japan and China over the ownership of Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in East China Sea these last few years.

In line with the current development of Japanese military forces, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDPJ) has agreed to rearm Japanese Army and Navy on a large scale. Reform of the Japanese armed forces will focus on forming Marine Corps, improving air efficiency and missile defense

and arming the army and navy to have the ability to attack enemy naval base.

There is a concern that increased Japanese military capabilities will impact the regional security of ASEAN countries including Indonesia. Therefore, there needs to be a research. The problem to be researched is as follow:

1. How is the development of Japanese military capabilities?
2. How the increased Japanese military capabilities will implicate ASEAN and Indonesia's national defense?

Based on the problems above, this research aims to:

1. Analyze the development of Japanese military capabilities
2. Analyze the implication of increased Japanese military capabilities to ASEAN and Indonesia's national defense

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Military Capabilities

Indicators of military capabilities, as theorized by Hinge (2000), which include Combat Readiness, Sustainable Capability and Force Structure, are relevant indicators to find out the extent of certain state's capabilities. The complexity of military capabilities problem will require a systematic explanation in each variable. Combat Readiness will measure the composition of military forces which consist of land, sea and air forces, unit structure, operation pattern, and supporting technology and equipment.

Military capabilities is an important aspect that should be observed in measuring the extent of influence of Japan's increased military capabilities to the political and defense relations with ASEAN as a region and Indonesia. If so far, the employed indicators have always been dominated by economic and trade aspect, then further research will be required to see how military capabilities can affect pattern of cooperation both to region and state.

### International Relations

Conceptually, International Relations brought a lot of concept that will ultimately bring different perspective in understanding the mechanism of international relations itself. Therefore, the different perspective of International Relations greatly affects how we see an international relations order.

Relationship between international relations and its influence to country's relations with region or other countries can be explained in that difference in IR paradigm will affect the way a cooperation pattern is developed. In practice, a country will have a tendency to appear reactive, static or even "neutral" when the strategic dynamics change rapidly especially in political, economic and defense aspects.

International Relations theory has now developed into multiple paradigms but there are only three popular IR paradigms, namely Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism.

#### *Realism*

Realism has several main assumptions. Realism assumes that nation-state is a geographical actor that unites in an anarchical international system without any institution above them that can govern inter-state relations – meaning there is no world government. Realism also assumes that sovereign state is the main factor in international relations, not intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), or multinational corporations (MNCs).

#### *Liberalism*

Liberalism believes that state's choice, not state's capabilities, is the main driver of state behavior. Unlike realism that believes state is a single entity, liberalism believes in the complexity of state. As such, each state will have different choice due to their culture, economic system, or governmental form.

### *Constructivism*

The main element of constructivism is an assumption that “international politics is created through persuasive thought, collective values, cultural identities and social identities.” Constructivists criticized traditional international relations theory that remains unchanged and affirmed that international relations is a social construction. Constructivism is a critical theory to the ontological foundation of rationalist international relations. If realism prioritizes security and material power, and liberalism prioritizes economic interdependence and domestic factors, constructivism prioritizes the role of idea in shaping international system. In actuality there is an overlap between constructivism, realism and liberalism, but the three remain separated.

### **Foreign Relations and Japanese Military**

Japan has strong economic and military ties with United States and employs its foreign policy based on US-Japanese Security Treaty. Ever since being accepted as United Nations’ member in 1956, Japan has ten times become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, including 2009-2010. Japan is one of the G4 countries that propose the expansion of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. As a member country of G8, APEC, ASEAN Plus 3 and participants of the East Asia Summit, Japan is active in international relations and strives to strengthen its friendship with other countries around the world. The defense treaty with Australia was signed in March 2007 and with India in October 2008. In 2007, Japan was the fifth largest official development donor (ODA) country in the world. Japan's largest ODA recipient country is Indonesia, with total aid of more than US \$ 29.5 billion from 1960 to 2006.

Japan has a dispute with Russia over the ownership of Kuril Islands and with South

Korea over Liancourt Rocks. It also has a dispute with People’s Republic of China and Taiwan over the ownership of Senkaku Islands.

Article 9 of Japanese Constitution contains the renunciation to the use of war and armed forces to resolve international dispute. Article 9 paragraph 2 contains prohibition of the ownership of armed forces and renunciation to the right of belligerency. Japan has a Self-Defense Force governed under Ministry of Defense which consists of Japan Ground Self-Defense Force (JGSDF), Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) and Japan Air Self-Defense Force (JASDF). Their operational chain of command is as follow: from the Prime Minister of Japan to the Minister of Defense and then to the Senior Vice Minister of Defense and finally to the Chief of Staff of the Joint Command Office. The administrative chain of command is: from the Minister of Defense to the Senior Vice Minister of Defense and then to the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces.

### **Japan’s Relations with ASEAN**

Unlike the Western nations (Holland, France, Spain, Portuguese and America), Japan have no longstanding relations with Southeast Asian nations – the core nations of ASEAN. However, Japan is the only country that has colonized Southeast Asian countries although only lasts for less than four years. Therefore, people of Southeast Asia still remember that Japan was an ex-colonizer that fails to plant its cultural influence in Southeast Asia.

### *Japan’s Foreign Policy toward ASEAN*

In general, Japan’s foreign policy to Southeast Asia can be seen on the philosophy Japan’s Prime Minister. Those philosophies can be classified into three main doctrines, namely Yoshida Doctrine, Fukuda Doctrine and Miyazawa Doctrine. These three doctrines determine and shape Japan’s

relationship with Southeast Asia. The three doctrines undergo change to adapt with the change in regional and international context of Japan's foreign policy. Japan's post-WWII foreign policy to Asia in general and Southeast Asia in particular is especially determined by Japan's economic interest. Article 9 of Japan's constitution prohibits Japan to use war as an instrument of foreign policy.

During Cold War, Japan began to transfer economic aid to Southeast Asia. In addition to provide reparation to its former colonies, Japan also prepared Southeast Asia as a market for its exported products. Japan's aid to Southeast Asia was practically tailored to meet its export strategy. For instance, Japan aided the development of transportation in Southeast Asia as well as smoothing the entry of its exported products.

Meanwhile, Indonesia as a petroleum rich country was obviously targeted by Japan who needs large amount of energy for its industries. Japan's increased needs of energy, both petroleum-based and natural gas-based, strengthened Japan-Indonesia ties. Indonesia guaranteeing Japan's energy needs automatically put it on the higher priority list for Japan's aid compared to other Southeast Asian countries.

#### *Japan's Relationship with ASEAN in Multiple Aspects*

Japan's relationship with ASEAN unofficially began in 1973 and became official in 1977 with the first ASEAN-Japan forum, which is a meeting between ASEAN's and Japan's senior officials. Up to this day, ASEAN-Japan cooperation continues to focus on human resources development and ASEAN integration.

Ever since institutionalized on March 23<sup>rd</sup> 1977, ASEAN-Japan cooperation continues to develop through multiple forums such as:

- a. ASEAN-Japan Forum which is a Senior Officials Meeting
- b. Post Ministerial Conference (PMC)
- c. ASEAN Economic Ministers-Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI)
- d. ASEAN-Japan Summit
- e. Businessmen Meetings

Reinforcement of ASEAN-Japan cooperation is marked by ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit, December 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> 2003 in Tokyo and the signing of Tokyo Declaration for the Dynamic and Enduring ASEAN-Japan Partnership in the New Millennium and ratification of ASEAN-Japan Plan of Action which is a comprehensive blueprint for ASEAN-Japan partnership that identifies the scope of partnership and provides direction for future partnership.

The scope of ASEAN-Japan partnership includes trade, investment and tourism. ASEAN-Japan Promotion Centre on Trade, Investment and Tourism which was established on May 25<sup>th</sup> 1981 is currently referred as ASEAN-Japan Centre (AJC). In addition, several forms of ASEAN-Japan partnership were also agreed including: security and politics (Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia), maritime security (ASEAN Maritime Forum), Transnational Crime Plus Japan Consultation, capacity building (People Building Peace; Human Resources Development in Asia). The 10<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit in 2007 recorded Japan's commitment to assist Narrowing Development Gap program for Southeast Asian countries which will be delivered through ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (ACJEP) scheme. ASEAN leaders also appreciated Japan's effort to support the realization of ASEAN Community in 2015 and the implementation of Vientiane Action Plan (VAP) and Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI).

At the 11<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit in November 21<sup>st</sup> 2007 in Singapore, a Joint Statement on the Conclusion of the Negotiations for ASEAN-Japan Economic in Services, Investment and Economic Cooperation was adopted. ACJEP Agreement has gone through negotiation stage and signed in early 2008. As part of ACJEP, Japan and ASEAN will begin a negotiation for service and investment sector one year after ACJEP entry into force. Japan has proposed the creation of ASEAN-Japan Dialogue on Environmental Cooperation in which the first meeting was held in March 2008 in Hanoi, Vietnam back-to-back with 1<sup>st</sup> Officials Meeting for EAS Environment Minister Meeting.

At the 41<sup>st</sup> ASEAN PMC Session with Japan on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 2008 in Singapore, it was agreed to increase partnership in energy efficiency, renewable energy and food resiliency. Japan also stated its commitment to provide 500 thousand anti-viral stockpiling in each ASEAN countries to assist the handling of communicable disease especially Avian Influenza. On the occasion, Japan also proposed an increased cooperation in natural disaster, environmental and climate change sector.

## **Japan-Indonesia Relationship**

### *Bilateral Relations*

Through its diplomatic capabilities, economic power and military potential as well as its strong alliance with United States, Japan is one of the more developed countries in Asia that will always be relevant to determine political, security and economic strategy in Asia and Pacific region. Japan's strategic position has forced Indonesia to put Japan as one of its key partners in realizing Indonesia's national interest in many aspects of life, both for national development program and its participation in keeping world order in accordance with the preamble of 1945 Constitution through multiple

bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation.

Ever since the advent of political reform and democratization, Indonesia felt that Japan has shown its good-will to assist in rebuilding Indonesia's political stability and economic power. In this regard, Indonesia also appreciates Japan's commitment and support in keeping and maintaining the territorial integrity of Republic of Indonesia from many symptoms of national disintegration.

### *Cooperation and Political Relations*

Japan-Indonesia diplomatic relations is based on the peace agreement between Japan and Indonesia in January 1958. Ever since, bilateral relationship between the two countries has been excellent, intimate and continues to grow without significant obstacles.

The close bilateral relation between the two nations is also reflected by a number of agreements entered by the two parties as well as a multitude exchange of notes between the two governments providing a stronger foundation for a better cooperation in various sectors.

Some of the aforementioned agreements and treaties between Indonesia and Japan are as follows: First, "The Treaty of Amity and Commerce," signed in Tokyo on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1961. Second, "The Air Transportation Agreement," signed in Tokyo on January 23<sup>rd</sup> 1962. Third, "The Agreement on the Cooperation in Science and Technology," signed in Jakarta on January 12<sup>th</sup> 1981. Fourth, "The Agreement on the Avoidance of Double Taxation," signed in Tokyo on March third 1982. Since 1966, there have been around two hundred notes on cooperation exchanged by the two governments covering varied sectors like fisheries, agriculture, forestry, improvement on food production and monetary help.

The two countries conjointly belong to variety of organizations and forums at the regional and international level like the United Nations, ESCAP, APEC, world organisation and ASEM. inside the framework of association regional cooperation, Japan is one in all the most dialogue partner of Association of Southeast Asian Nations and a member of the ARF. moreover, Japan still sees Republic of Indonesia as a stabilising consider geographical area though Indonesia still must address the economic condition. signed in Tokyo on March 1982. Since 1966, there have been around two hundred notes on cooperation exchanged by the two governments covering varied sectors like fisheries, agriculture, forestry, improvement on food production and monetary help

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Japan has its own enthusiasm for keeping up its participation with Republic of Indonesia Indonesia in varied universal forums, as in giving equal backings to the assignment of each other in regional and global organization, including the UN's Human Rights Commission and the PDPM Sub-Commission Meeting of the UN.

The significance of Japan-Indonesia connection is likewise reflected in the sheer size of every nation representation in Tokyo and in Jakarta.

Japan is Indonesia's fundamental exchange accomplice, the main export goal

for Indonesian items and also a supply of imports to Indonesia. In December 2007 the exchange value between the two nations has achieved US\$ 30 billion. Then for the time of January to September 2008 the exchange value between the two nations added up to US\$ 32.8 billion.

With relevance energy security issue, the Japanese government could be a bit apprehensive on the continuation of energy provide from Republic of Indonesia when the contract between Indonesia and Japan ends in 2010 and 2011. The Indonesian President has pledged Indonesia's commitment to honor the continued contract and can seriously contemplate Japan's would like for a continuation of energy provide from Indonesia.

The social and cultural relationship between the two nations has been occurring for quite a while and variety of associations are originated because the forum for promoting a fair nearer relation between Republic of Indonesia and Japan. In 2004, the quantity of Japanese tourists jumped to 615,720 then it went down once more to 517,879 in 2005 and born once more in 2004 to 419,213. knowledge from the Ministry of Culture and business showed that in 2007 the amount of Japanese traveller visiting Republic of Indonesia has reached 508,820.

Japan is a crucial country in terms of developing Indonesia's human resources capability primarily within the education sector. In October 2006 from the Indonesian embassy in Tokyo there have been 993 Indonesian students learning in Japan, the majority of them (469 students or 47.23%) were supported by the Japanese government through the Monbukagakusho scholarship program, whereas forty four students or around 4.43% were recipients of scholarship from the Indonesian government, another forty four students were paid by the non-public sectors in Republic of Indonesia. moreover, 270 students or 27.17% were

supported by the non-public sectors in Japan and also the remaining 166 students or 16.71% paid their own tuition.

### *Defense Cooperation*

Defense cooperation that has been held until now is limited to education for Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI)'s personnel. From 1971 to 2010, Indonesia has sent 102 TNI personnel (including Indonesian National Police before Reformation) to participate in Major Course program in Japan, including to National Defense Academy (NDA) of Japan (Ditkarsin Direktorat General of Defence Strategy, 2014).

Through Government of Japan's scholarship program since 1998, Indonesia has sent Taruna Nusantara (Indonesian Cadets) High School graduates to become NDA Cadets in science undergraduate studies. Every year, the government of Japan also provides one scholarship for graduate program. Another graduate studies offer is also provided through Ministry of State Secretariat from Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Meanwhile, 5 Japan's student officers (in 1973-2008) have participated in an education program in Indonesia (Sesko Batch).

On May 23<sup>rd</sup> 2008, Japan Self Defense College (JSDC) visited Secretary-General of Defense Department. Then, on June 9<sup>th</sup> 2008, National Institute for Defense Study (NIDS), similar to *Lemhannas*, also visited Secretary-General of Defense Department. Meanwhile, Japan-Indonesia dialogue was also held in Military to Military Talks (MTMT). The 3<sup>rd</sup> MTMT was held in October 2011 in Tokyo alongside Policy Talks with Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The two parties discussed about general policy for national defense, participation in PKO, Maritime Security and developed further defense cooperation, especially in capacity building. Indonesia discussed about the implementation of

ADMM (ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting) and chairmanship in ASEAN.

The 5<sup>th</sup> MTMT was held in Borobudur Hotel of Jakarta on July 18<sup>th</sup> 2013. The two parties discussed about each countries' National Security Policies, Indonesia-Japan Cooperation (Capacity Building Support, Education and Training Exchange, Moll on Cooperation Activities in the field of Defense, Possibility Procurement of US-2 Amphibian, Update on Regional Security Cooperation (ADMM Plus).

### **National Defense**

National defense is all effort to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Republic of Indonesia and the safety of all people from threat and interference to national integrity (Republic of Indonesia (a), 2002). National defense in Indonesia is arranged in a total defense system which essentially involves all citizens in accordance with each person's role and function to achieve national goal. The national goal of Indonesia is to create a government of Indonesia that protects all the people of Indonesia and all the independence and the land that has been struggled for, and to improve public welfare, to educate the life of the people and to participate toward the establishment of a world order based on freedom, perpetual peace and social justice (Ministry of Defence RI, 2014).

National defense is essentially a national defense that is total and the implementation is based on awareness of the rights and duty of all people as well as confidence in their own strength (Pertahanan (a), 2015). Total implies the involvement of all the people and all the national resources, national infrastructure, as well as the entire territory of the country as one, complete and comprehensive defense.

National defense aims to guard and protect state sovereignty, territorial integrity and safety of the entire nation from all forms of threats.(Republic of Indonesia (b), 2002).



The goal of state defense in guarding state sovereignty includes effort to guard national ideology system and political system. In guarding national ideology, national defense is aimed to guard and secure Pancasila as the national philosophy of Indonesia.

National defense of Indonesia is held with total defense system (Pertahanan (b), 2015). The system has two functions, Military Defense and Non-military Defense. The military defense function of TNI includes military operations of war and military operations other than war. Nonmilitary defense is essentially empowerment of national resources which includes nonmilitary defense forces and civilian defense.

National defense function is to achieve and maintain the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia as a whole defense (Republic of Indonesia (b), 2002). Efforts to achieve and maintain the entire territory of the Republic of Indonesia as a whole defense held in the function of deterrence, enforcement and recovery (Pertahanan (c), 2015).

National defense is held through efforts to build capabilities and deter variety of threats. Defense is held by the government at earliest stage through national defense system. In the face of military threat, the government will place TNI as the main component which will be supported by reserve component and supporting component. As for nonmilitary threat, the government will place ministry/institution other than military as the main element which will be supported by other elements (Pertahanan (d), 2015).

## **METHODS**

### **Source of Data and Research Object**

Primary source of data are selected informants/interviewees which include Japan Defense Attaché and Head of Asia Pacific Sub Directorate of Strategic Analysis Directorate of Directorate General of

Defense Strategy of Indonesian Defense Ministry. Secondary source of data are archives, research reports, books, and scientific journals related to the research object.

Object of this research is the increased capabilities of Japanese military and its implication to Indonesian national defense. Japanese military's capabilities to be researched will be mainly after its loss in World War II and after Japan expressed its desire to reinterpret the Article 9 of its Constitution. Implication to regional security, ASEAN and Indonesian national defense will also be researched.

### **Research Location**

This research is conducted in Japanese Embassy and Ministry of Defense in Jakarta

### **Data Collection Technique**

Data collection in this research will be conducted by using interview and document studies.

### **Data Validation**

The collected data will be validated by using triangulation technique, particularly triangulation of data source. Triangulation of data source/information source is employed to guide the researchers to collect data using various available data.

### **Data Analysis Technique**

Data analysis technique will employ qualitative narrative methods. The collected and validated data will be analyzed through the following steps: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion/verification (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

## RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Development of Japanese Military

Japan is a successful country in economic and technology sector, but lacking in political and military power due to its loss in World War II. Japan was only allowed to own Self Defense Force (JSDF) by the Occupation Government (US) which, as the name suggests, can only be used for self-defense purpose.

Japanese military development can be seen through its experience after the loss in World War II, after Cold War and after 911 Incident. The three periods are the three episodes that signify the shift that occurred in Japan's defense and military policy.

#### *Post-World War II Japan*

Japan lost and surrendered to US and Allies in World War II. As Japan surrendered to the occupation government (US), it entered an era of transition. Specifically in military sector, the occupation government was thoroughly limiting Japan's belligerent potential through demilitarization. This was reflected in the new constitution adapted by Japan, especially in its Article 9, popularly known as peace constitution, which stated that Japan will not own armed forces and will not exercise its right of belligerency. Japan's post-war constitution was based on a draft prepared by occupation forces through Supreme Commander for the Allied Power (SCAP). The article 9 itself was personally included by General Douglas MacArthur, supreme leader of Japan occupation force (Kingston, 2011).

The post-war constitution, especially its Article 9, greatly impacted the decision making for Japan's defense policy. SDG's legitimation has been debated ever since its creation. The creation of SDF did not contradict constitution under the argument that the constitution does not deny the right

of Japan as sovereign state to exercise self-defense (Halloran, 1995).

Based on Interview with *Kasubdit Aspas Distantra* DG of Defense Strategy of Defense Ministry on 2 October 2017 Japan regained its sovereignty in 1952, after the signing of San Francisco Peace Treaty and Japan gained security protection guarantee from US which is explicitly written in Mutual Security Assistance Pact, which was signed in the same year. It was then replaced with Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security in 1960 which stated that Japan will allow US to build military base in its territory as a price for its protection.

Under the leadership of PM Yoshida Shigeru (1946-1947 and 1948-1954) Japan was focused on improving and developing the economy while handing over most of its defense issues to the United States. This policy is known as "Yoshida Doctrine." The main principles in this doctrine are, among others: pacifism, which reflects the article 9 of Japan's post-war constitution, in which Japan will gain protection at the cost of supporting US' policy; and mercantilism which focuses on export-based economic growth. The policy succeeded in reviving Japan as one of the biggest economic power in the world.

In 1957, Japan announced its military security policy known as Basic Policy for National Defense (BPND). Through BPND, Japan gradually improved the military capability of SDF, quantitatively and qualitatively. Japan enacted the first Japan Defense Build Up Program (1958-1961) which justified the quantitative improvement to GSDF in order to force the withdrawal of US army from its territory. Japan also enacted the second Defense Build Up Program (1962-1966) which stipulated the improvement of maritime and air SDF power through procurement of weapons and the third Defense Build Up Program (1967-1971) which focused on the improvement of maritime defense qualitatively (Wang, 2008).

### *Post-Cold War Japan*

The end of Cold War which was signified by the fall of Soviet Union brought significant change to the security situation in East Asia region. The same is also true for Japan. Soviet Union, which was a threat to Japan's security during Cold War, no longer exists. This changed the regional balance of power with US began to radically reduce its presence in Asia – forcing Japan to reconsider its security policy.

Ever since the 1990s, Japan began to transition from its pacifist-isolationist tendency which dominated the defense policy of post-war Japan. Japan became more active in responding to the change in international relations, along with its economic growth which put it as one of the world's economic powers. Japan began to express its desire to be one of the superpowers, not only in economy, but also in security in order to support the stability of international and regional order. This can be seen by Japan's desire to be one of the permanent members of UN Security Council. In addition, Japan also began to expand SDF's operation and mission. For example, Japan began to send its SDF for UN Peacekeeping Operation to assist natural disasters and even non-UN operations.

### *Post-911 Incident*

September 11 2001 attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon opened up a new episode of international security when President Bush of US announced its “war on terror” policy to the world.

As if not wanting to repeat its mistakes during the Gulf War and after Cold War ended, where Japan only rely on its checkbook diplomacy, Japan immediately responded to US' call for action, as one of the members of international community and also US' partner in its alliance. Japan then adopted new law that expanded the

interpretation to Article 9 of its post-war constitution.

The aforementioned new law was, among others, Anti-Terrorism Special Measure Law of 2001, Armed Contingency in Japan Law of 2003 and Law Concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq. With the enactment of those laws, Japan can send SDF to provide humanitarian and non-military aid to US and multinational forces. During the Afghanistan War, Japan sent its minesweeper ship, destroyer, and coast guard ship to protect US Aircraft Carrier Kitty Hawk from Yokosuka Naval Base. In addition, Japan also sent MSDF ships such as *Hamana*, *Kurama* and *Kirisame* to Indian Ocean. The ships were tasked to provide rear support for fuel refill and logistic needs of coalition ships (Mathur, 2004).

### **Improvement of Japanese Military Capabilities**

In general, Japanese military capabilities is aimed to create a highly efficient, mobile and flexible SDF to face the evolving threat around Japan. Several changes to GSDF compared to during Cold War are the addition of latest main battle tank (MBT) which better conforms to Japan's geographical and artillery conditions, reinforcement of air defense using more sophisticated ground-to-air guided missiles, improvement of network and command systems and creation of standby units that can be dispatched quickly and effectively. In addition, air and sea defense improvements are also made with the procurement and upgrades of its defense equipment and the increase of SDF power in southwestern archipelagic regions of Japan to anticipate possible attacks and invasions to the coastal islands. The development of SDF strength is also emphasized on continuous improvement of surveillance and early warning capabilities that are also integrated through development.

The indicators used to see and measure Japanese military capabilities will be the sum of its power (numerical preponderance) and the technology.

### *The Sum of Power*

Quantitative measurement to the sum of power in key sectors is often used as a reference to determine the tangible military capabilities of certain state, although it cannot always be used as absolute measurement for the advantage of one state over another state, due to the existence of many other factors that also affect national military capabilities. Often used as determinants are sum of troops, weaponries, and also military budget compared to GDP.

Based on the sum of troops, Japan has experienced quantitative improvement since rebuilding its defense power after the loss in World War II. When NPR was first created, they only have 75,000 personnel. After the creation of JSDF in 1954, they have 165,000 personnel and 180,000 personnel for NDPG 1976. In 2011, Japan has a ground army of 151,641 personnel and reserve 8,479 reserve personnel (Hackett (a), 2014).

Japan improved the quantity and quality of JSDF during Cold War through its Defense Build Up Program that ended in 1976 NDPG. After that, Japan was more focused on improving its defense quality, especially its maritime and air forces, and streamlining its ground forces by reducing its weaponries, especially its MBTs and artilleries.

Japan's weaponries, especially MBT, artilleries and tug/anti-tank, were reduced. The number of MBT owned by Japan was reduced from 10,400 unit in 2001 to 3,600 unit in 2010, while their artilleries were reduced from 2,120 in 2001 into 1,880 in 2010, and their tug/anti-tank was reduced from 5,084 in 2001 into 3,600 in 2010. However, the reduction was not made to the whole type of those weapons (Hackett (a), 2014). For example, Japan gradually reduced

its Type-74 Tank by replacing it with the newest Type-10 Tank and increased the number of Type-90 MBT. Meanwhile, the number of weaponries owned by ASDF and MSDF was increased, although insignificantly.

Japan currently has 4 unit of reconnaissance satellite, 4 unit of aerial refueling aircraft (KC-967) which has been procured gradually since 2007, 1 unit of aircraft carrier helicopter in 2010 and will continue to increase due to still in development stage and ballistic missile defense system, such as the addition of battleship equipped with this system, from 4 unit of Kongo-class battleship into 6 unit with the addition of 2 Atago-class battleships.

Furthermore, the increase of weaponries can also be seen through Japan's weapon procurement program in the Defense Programs and Budget of Japan Overview of FY 2012 Budget which was enacted by Japan's Ministry of Defense. The budget covered, among others, the development of destroyer helicopter (19,500 ton) as a replacement for Kurama-class destroyer which is no longer developed in 2016, the development of one unit of submarine (2,900 ton) equipped with Torpedo Counter Measure (TCM). In addition, Japan also acquired 4 unit of new generation F-35A fighter aircraft, 1 unit of AH-64D fighter helicopter and 13 unit of Type-10 MBT.

According to SIPRI and IISS' Military Balance 2011, 2012, 2013 and 2014, the number of Japanese personnel, weaponries and military budget is as follow:

#### *1. Personnel*

a total of 247,150 active Japanese military personnel, consisting of 151,050 Army personnel, 45,500 Navy (Maritime) personnel, 47,100 Air Force personnel, 3,500 Central Staff personnel and 12,650 paramilitary personnel. As for reserve troop, it has 56,100 personnel consisting of 46,000

General Reserve Army personnel, 8200 personnel and 800 Air Force personnel  
 Ready Reserve Army personnel, 1,100 Navy (Hackett (b), 2014).

## 2. Weaponries

**Table 1.** Japanese Military Weaponries

<b>Weaponries</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Information</b>
Tank (Main Battle Tank)	777 unit	26 Type-10, 410 Type-74, 341 Type-90
Infantry Vehicles:		
1) AIFV	68 unit	Type-89
2) APC	803 unit	254 Type-73 (Track), 549 (Wheel): 227 Type-82 dan 322 Type-96
3) Reconnaissance	152 unit	105 Type-87, 47 Che. Recce
Artilleries	1.773 unit	
Aircraft:	552 unit	
1) F-15J Eagle	7 skadron	201 F-15J
2) F-4EJ Phantom II	2 skadron	63 F-4E
3) Mitsubishi F-2	3 skadron	76 F-2A/B
4) EW	3 unit	1 Kawasaki EC-1, 2 YS-11EA
5) ISR	17 unit	13 RF-4E, 4 YS-11EB
6) AEW&C	17 unit	13 E-2C Hawkeye, 4 E-767
7) SAR	28 unit	U-125A Peace Krypton
8) Tanker	4 unit	KC-767J
9) Transport	66 unit	Medium: 16 C-130H Hercules, PAX: 50 (2 B-747-400, 13 Beech T-400, 26 C-1, 5 Gulfstream IV/U-4, 4 YS-11). 199 unit T-4, 49 unit T-7.
10) Training	248 unit	7 Air Groups (ASW, MPA, EW, MCM, SAR, TPT, TRG).
11) Marine Corps Aviation	78 unit	
Helicopter:		
1) Attack	109 unit	73 AH-1S Cobra, 10 AH-64D Apache, 26 OH-1 OH-6D
2) ISR	80 unit	Berat: 55 unit (34 CH-47D Chinook dan 21 CH-47JA). Medium: 33 unit (3 EC225LP Super Puma Mk-II VIP, 30 UH-60JA). Ringan: 150 unit (140 Bell-205 UH-1J dan 10 Enstrom 480B TH-480B). 87 ASW, 12 MCM, 4 ISR (OH-6DA), 19 SAR (UH-60J Blackhawk), 12 TPT (2 medium, 10 ringan).
3) Transport	238 unit	
4) Marine Corps Aviation	134 unit	
Submarine	18 unit	2 Harushio, 11 Oyashio, 5 Soryu (plus AIP)
Battleship:		
1) Aircraft Carrier	2 unit	Hyuga-Class
2) Cruiser	2 unit	Atago-Class (Aegis)
3) Destroyer	32 unit	8 Asagiri, 2 Akizuki, 9 Murasame, 5 Takanami (Murasame++), 2 Hatakaze, 4 Kongo, 2 Shirane. 5 Hatsuyuki, 6 Abukuma.
4) Frigate	11 unit	

### 3. Technology

The integration of Japan's advanced technology into its weaponries is Japan's main advantage to cover its shortcomings in quantity. Especially in their ground force, Japan is lacking in quantity compared to other countries in the same region such as China, South Korea and even North Korea.

The additional technology to Japan's weaponries over the past ten years is the operationalization of Type-03 missile Chu-SAM (Surface-to-Air Missile) to reinforce air defense. Japan developed the anti-missile and anti-aircraft defense system to replace the MIM-23 Hawk system. Japan utilized sensor network technology to expand protection and response level against cruise missile.

In terms of air power, Japan has an advanced air defense system by combining fighter aircraft, aerial reconnaissance radar system and other supporting aircraft under ASDF. One of the most pressing issues in ASDF improvement is the procurement of KC-767 aerial refueling aircraft in 2007 (Roy, 2004).

Japan developed prototype aircraft, Advanced Technology Demonstrator-X (ATD-X). Japan's Defense Ministry will use ATD-X to demonstrate its technology and as research prototype to ascertain whether Japan can domestically reach the advanced technology employed for 5<sup>th</sup> generation fighter aircraft. Japan has spent about 39 billion yen (approximately USD 475 million) in this project since 2009, especially after US stopped the selling of F-22 Raptor to Japan (Globalsecurity.org, 2016).

In 2009, Japan finished the development of 16DDH/Hyuga ship and the second ship was finished in 2011 under the code 18DDH/Ise. The two ships are helicopter-carrying destroyer owned by MSDF with total 13,500 ton in mass, 197 meter in length and 33 meter in wide.

In August 2013, Japan's Defense Ministry launched Izumo, the second biggest

helicopter-carrying destroyer that has ever been built since World War II. The ship joined Maritime Self Defense Forces.

### CONCLUSIONS

Based on the research findings and discussion, it can be concluded that:

1. Improvement of Japanese military capabilities is caused by Japan's dissatisfaction to its post-World War II military profile. Thus, Japan tried to improve its international image by improving its military capabilities, quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition, Japan's drive to improve its military capabilities is caused by increased interest and tension between Japan and China, Japan and North Korea and Japan and Russia, all of which are Japan's nearest superpowers. Improvement of Japanese military capabilities is implemented during Shinzo Abe's government under the attempt to reinterpret the Article 9 of Japan Constitution.
2. Improvement of Japanese military capabilities will directly and indirectly implicate ASEAN and Indonesian national defense in particular. Possibility of threat such as espionage, cyber-attack, political intervention and information war can emerge from Japan. Therefore, Indonesia needs to be vigilant in observing and anticipating the rise or improvement of Japanese military capabilities. Although multiple cooperation between Japan and Southeast Asian/ASEAN countries, including Indonesia, in various sectors have already and is currently being held, Indonesia has a reasonable justification to be vigilant to the improvement of Japanese armed forces because Indonesia is one of the direct victims of Japanese imperialism and militarism.

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