

**THE REINTERPRETATION OF ARTICLE 9 AND THE
CHANGE IN ANTIMILITARISM: AN ANALYSIS OF
JAPANESE STRATEGIC CULTURE**

By:

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**A Thesis presented to the Faculty of Humanities President University in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for Bachelor Degree in International Relations
Major in Defence and Security Studies**

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This thesis entitled “**The Reinterpretation of Article 9 and the Change in Antimilitarism: An Analysis of Japanese Strategic Culture**” was prepared and submitted by Nadine Evangelista in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in International Relations in the Faculty of Humanities has been reviewed and found to have satisfied the requirements for a thesis fit to be examined. I therefore recommend this thesis for Oral Defense.

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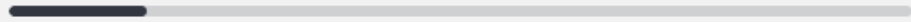
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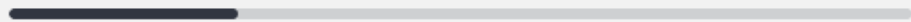
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ABSTRACT

Nadine Evangelista, International Relations, President University.

The Reinterpretation of Article 9 and the Change in Antimilitarism: An Analysis of Japanese Strategic Culture

Adviser: Dr. Muhammad A.S. Hikam, M.A., A.P.U.

In 2014, Japan's Cabinet under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe released a new interpretation of the antimilitaristic provision of Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan. Under the new interpretation, the use of force in collective self-defence is permissible. In the following year, the National Diet acknowledged a set of security bills known as NSL as regulations regarding Japan's new security policies, including the use of force in collective self-defence. This study aims to analyse the change in Japan's strategic culture of antimilitarism using the case study of the reinterpretation of Article 9. In this study, the approach to strategic culture emphasises the role of institutions. Then, the strategic culture of antimilitarism is approached by breaking it down into subcultures of pacifism, anti-traditionalism, and fear of entrapment. This study found that the influential actors in the reinterpretation are Prime Minister Abe and his political party LDP, then the National Diet which was dominated by the LDP-Komeito coalition. The interpretation indicates that certain political camps gained more support in the past years. It also found that the new interpretation does not indicate that Japan is leaving antimilitarism. While the new interpretation and NSL expand the role of JSDF by adding collective self-defence, the interpretation is more or less still restrictive to the practices of the use of force.

Keywords: Japan, Constitution of Japan, antimilitarism, reinterpretation, strategic culture, Shinzo Abe

ABSTRAK

Nadine Evangelista, International Relations, President University.

The Reinterpretation of Article 9 and the Change in Antimilitarism: An Analysis of Japanese Strategic Culture

Pembimbing: Dr. Muhammad A.S. Hikam, M.A., A.P.U.

Pada tahun 2014, Kabinet Jepang di bawah Perdana Menteri Shinzo Abe merilis interpretasi baru dari ketentuan antimilitaristik Pasal 9 Konstitusi Jepang. Di bawah interpretasi baru ini, penggunaan kekuatan bersenjata dalam pertahanan diri kolektif diperbolehkan. Pada tahun berikutnya, Parlemen mengakui seperangkat undang-undang keamanan yang dikenal sebagai NSL sebagai peraturan baru mengenai kebijakan keamanan Jepang, termasuk penggunaan kekuatan bersenjata dalam pertahanan diri kolektif. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis perubahan budaya strategis antimilitarisme Jepang menggunakan studi kasus reinterpretasi Pasal 9. Dalam penelitian ini, pendekatan budaya strategis menekankan pada peran institusi. Kemudian, budaya strategis antimilitarisme dianalisa dengan memecahnya menjadi subkultur pasifisme, anti-tradisionalisme, dan *fear of entrapment*. Studi ini menemukan bahwa aktor yang berpengaruh dalam reinterpretasi tersebut adalah Perdana Menteri Abe dan partai politiknya LDP, kemudian Parlemen yang didominasi oleh koalisi LDP-Komeito. Adanya interpretasi menunjukkan bahwa kubu politik tertentu memperoleh lebih banyak dukungan dalam beberapa tahun terakhir dan juga menemukan bahwa interpretasi baru tidak menunjukkan bahwa Jepang meninggalkan antimilitarisme. Sementara interpretasi baru dan NSL memperluas peran JSDF dengan menambahkan pertahanan diri kolektif, interpretasi tersebut kurang lebih masih membatasi praktik penggunaan kekuatan bersenjata.

Kata Kunci: Jepang, Constitution of Japan, antimilitarism, reinterpretation, strategic culture, Shinzo Abe

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This thesis marks the last stop of my trip as a university student. The trip was undoubtedly not a unidirectional trip. Many people got on and off. Some stayed until the end, some left for they have other destinations. Not to mention the time when I myself almost jumped off (of the train or bus or whatever it is I currently am on), but luckily I managed to see the end of the trip. Now, I'm prepared to face the last stop before hopping off to start yet another trip of my life.

As I always do with every literal trip I have, I thank God for His blessing to keep me safe, no matter how the journey looks and ends up like. Without Him holding my hand, I would not be able to go this far. Indeed, there were times when I lived blindly, cluelessly, and naively, but even during those times He never let go of my tiny hands.

I would also give my thanks to the brave warrior none other than myself (yes, you read that correctly). Dearest self, you have been through some of the worst hardships during this godforsaken trip called university life. Even so, you still fought through till the very end, carrying the weight of responsibility to the most important people around you as well as the huge weight of expectation you imposed upon yourself. All the physical and psychological hurdles, you succeeded in overcoming them all. No word can describe how proud I am of you.

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would not be able to bring any progress, let alone finish the thesis. Just like how they help me, I wish for that one opportunity for me to be able to return the favour.

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Everyone is on their own trip. Whether our trips converge or diverge, it is not ours to decide. At the end of the day, what matters is how you make the most wonderful and memorable trip. And that is exactly what I'm going to do.

Kelapa Gading, May 2022

Nadine Evangelista

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CLB	Cabinet Legislative Bureau
DPJ	Democratic Party of Japan
IGHQ	Imperial General Headquarters
JASDF	Japan Air Self-Defense Force
JCP	Japan Socialist Party
JMSDF	Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force
JSDF	Japan Self-Defense Force
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
NSL	New Security Legislation
SDF	Self-Defense Force
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II