‘Negative Pacifism’ and ‘Positive Pacifism’: 
Japan’s Changing Security Identity and Implications for International Peace and Security

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Statement of Authenticity

I declare that this thesis is the result of my original work and all sources have been acknowledged.

Daisuke Akimoto
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Abstract

This thesis examines Japan’s changing pacifism and its implications for Japan’s security identity from 1945 to the present. Existing literature overlooks a correlation between the shift in the nature of Japan’s pacifism and its changing security identity. Moreover, earlier scholarship tends to focus on a particular theoretical perspective, and, therefore, offers limited theoretical analyses. Accordingly, the main aim of the thesis is to contribute to filling this research gap by applying an alternative framework combined with an eclectic approach and offering a comprehensive analysis of Japan’s pacifism and security identity.

To examine the shift in Japanese pacifism, the thesis employed the concept of ‘negative pacifism’ (Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution) and ‘positive pacifism’ (the Preamble of the Constitution) as an analytical framework. The conceptualisation is derived from a definition of ‘negative-positive peace’ (Galtung 1969). To analyse multiple factors which facilitated the shift in Japan’s pacifism, the thesis applied ‘analytical eclecticism’ (Katzenstein 2008) and integrated the analytical framework (negative-positive pacifism) with orthodox international relations theories and approach. In an application of analytical eclecticism, the thesis proposed four theoretical perspectives of Japan’s security identity (constructivism): (a) pacifist state (classical liberalism/negative pacifism); (b) UN peacekeeper (neo-liberalism/positive pacifism); (c) normal state (classical realism/domestic pressure); and (d) US ally (neo-realism/external-structural pressure).

The main argument of the thesis is that there has been an incremental shift from negative pacifism to positive pacifism in response to domestic and external pressures and that this shift has influenced Japan’s security identity. The core questions asked were: 1) What factors caused the shifts from ‘negative pacifism’ to ‘positive pacifism’?; 2) Has Japan been ‘normalising’ its military power by participating in international peace operations?; and 3) How have the shifts to ‘positive pacifism’ influenced Japan’s ‘core security identity’ as a ‘global pacifist state’?

In order to substantiate the main argument and examine the questions, the thesis investigated the following case studies: (a) Japan’s security policy from 1945-1990; (b) Japan’s contributions to UNPKO in Cambodia and East Timor; (c) Japan’s responses to the US-led War on Terror; (d) Japan’s security cooperation with Australia and its implications for regional security; and (e) the Japanese constitutional revision issue in relation to Japan’s core security identity as a global image. This study concluded that although Japan’s security identity is fluctuating between the four models above, its core security identity has become, and remains that of a ‘global pacifist state’. The findings of this research demonstrated that an analysis based on the concept of negative-positive pacifism as an analytical framework combined with analytical eclecticism as an alternative research method assists in a comprehensive understanding of Japan’s pacifism and security identity. In this way, the thesis made an important contribution to the study of Japanese pacifism, security policy and international relations theory.
List of Abbreviation

ADF  Australian Defence Forces
AIA  Afghan Interim Authority
ANZUS  Australia New Zealand and United States
APEC  Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF  ASEAN Regional Forum
ASA  Association of Southeast Asia
ASDF  Air Self-Defence Forces
ASDT  Associasao Social Democrata Timor (Timorese Social Democratic Association)
ASEAN  Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN ISIS  ASEAN Institute of Strategic and International Studies
AUS CSCAP  Australian Member Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
AUSMIN  Australia-United States Ministerial Meeting
CDGK  Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
COCOM  Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls
CSCA  Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia
CSCAP  Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific
CSCE  Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
DDR  Disarmament, Demobilisation, and Reintegration
DPJ  Democratic Party of Japan
EU  European Union
FEC  Far Eastern Commission
FTA  Free Trade Agreement
GATT  General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GHQ  General Headquarters
GNP  Gross National Product
GOJ  Government of Japan
GPPAC  Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
GSDF  Ground Self-Defence Forces
FPDA  Five Power Defence Agreement
Fretilin  Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor)
FUNCINPEC  United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia
HAER  Humanitarian Assistance and Emergency Rehabilitation
IAEA  International Atomic Energy Agency
ICORC  International Committee on the Reconstruction of Cambodia
IDP  Internally Displaced Persons
IMF  International Monetary Fund
INTERFET  International Force for East Timor
ISAF  International Security Assistance Force
JANZUS  Japan Australia New Zealand and United States
JCP  Japanese Communist Party
JDA  Japan Defence Agency
JDSC  Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation
JFIR  Japan Forum on International Relations
JICA  Japan International Cooperation Agency
JSP  Japan Socialist Party
KPNLF  Khmer People’s National Liberation Front
LDP  Liberal Democratic Party
MSDF  Maritime Self-Defence Forces
MOD  Ministry of Defence Japan
MOJ  Ministry of Justice Japan
MOFA  Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan
NARA  Nippon-Australia Relations Agreement
NATO  North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCR  Non-Communist Resistance
NDL  National Diet Library
NDPG  National Defence Program Guidelines
NGO  Non-Governmental Organisation
NPT  Non-Proliferation Treaty
ODA  Official Development Assistance
PBF  Peace-Building Force
PECC  Pacific Economic Cooperation Council
PKF  Peacekeeping Forces
PKO  Peacekeeping Operations
RIMPAC  Rim of the Pacific
SCAP  Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers
SDI  Strategic Defence Initiative
SDF  Self-Defence Forces
SDP  Social Democratic Party
SEATO  Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation
SNC  Supreme National Council
SRSG  Special Representative of the Secretary-General
TSD  Trilateral Strategic Dialogue
UDT  Uniao Democrata Timorense (Timorese Democratic Union)
UK  United Kingdom
UN  United Nations
UNAMET  United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNAMIC  United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia
UNAVEM 2  United Nations Angola Verification Mission 2
UNICEF  United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UNDP  United Nations Development Programme
UNF  United Nations Forces
UNHCR  United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMISET  United Nations Mission of Support to East Timor
UNMOVIC  United Nations Monitoring Verification and Inspection Commission
UNOMOCHA  UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNOTIL  United Nations Office in Timor-Leste
UNPKO  United Nations Peacekeeping Operations
UNSAS  UN Stand-by Arrangement
UNSC  United Nations Security Council
UNSCOM  UN Special Commission
UNSG  United Nations Secretary-General
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNSMA</td>
<td>UN Special Mission in Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAC</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTAET</td>
<td>United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapons of Mass Destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZOPFAN</td>
<td>Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality</td>
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A Note on Spelling

Spelling will follow English conventions. Accordingly, Japanese names will be spelt with the given name followed by the surname.