

# Why do not young Japanese people protect the country ?

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## I . The concern of problem

A cold war system as well as a collapse of the second half in the 20th century and a socialist system have ended. And after a U.S.-Soviet cold war organization ended, realization of world peace was many people's dreams.

In fact, since the Cold War, Fukuyama Francis at "The End of History" mentioned that through the spread of democracy the world and deepening interdependent between countries, possibility of a peaceful era was larger.<sup>1)</sup> After a collapse of a cold war system, an expectation to peace brought a change in a strained relation in Korean Peninsula as an example. In particular, since the inception of Kim Dae Jung administration, Sunshine policy has built a foundation for inter-Korean exchange. People recognized the fact that Sunshine policy begun to carry out a role in easing tension.<sup>2)</sup> As a result, the exchange proceeded rapidly by the South and North Korea and the first meeting of the two leaders first was realized. That is to say, as 6.15 North-South

Joint Declaration was adopted, the relationship between South and North Korea appeared to be a good relationship since the separation began.

Since 2003, Roh-Muhyun administration that inherited Kim Dae Jung government's Sunshine policy carried out the policy to expand economic aid of North Korea such as a large investment, tourism development and construction of rail network. The relationship between South and North Korea were to be evaluated as an amicable relationship.<sup>3)</sup>

However, since Lee Myung-bak administration's ruling, Lee administration began to review other investments to North Korea. Then North Korea declared possession of nuclear weapons in 2006, the relations of North and South began to cool rapidly. That is to say, as Pierre Hassner said that after the Cold War era is the era of war and peace can exist<sup>4)</sup>, the North-South relations are now strained friendship and cross too. In fact, many researchers pointed out the background of the deterioration of North-South relations in the discussion of the study of international relations was led to failure of Sunshine policy that did not only neglect the North's nuclear development by North Korea's unilateral aid and but also lack security awareness of Korean citizens. As a result, during recent 10 years, the decline of national security awareness has been emerged as an important issue in Korea's national defense and foreign policy.

While the lack of security awareness of South Korea citizen is worried, an incident occurred, the South Korean Navy patrol vessel "Chonan" was sunk in. Concretely speaking, 26 March 2010, South Korean navy patrol vessel "Chonan" (1200 tons, 106 crew) was acting on the Northern Limit Line (equivalent to the 38th sea-Armistice Line) off the coast near the island about 2.5 km Pekryungdo which is west of the Korean Peninsula

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(Yellow sea). Suddenly, the vessel unexpectedly split in two, was sank to explode from the center and 48 people out of the crew were rescued, the remaining people died or went missing.<sup>5)</sup> Then, Korean government announced the fact that the cause of sank of vessel was torpedo attacks of North Korea as a result of a joint investigation. That is to say, sneak attack at night that killed a large ship crew of 46 people were determined to be terrorism in the North. In fact, in the past North Korea has repeatedly committed terrors such as the attempt for South Korean president's assassination in 1983 in Myanmar (including 17 ministers who accompanied Explosion) and the bombing of Korean Air (115 passengers and crew members who died) in 1987. In addition, this incident was reaffirmed to be a terrorist state by the North. South Korean pissed off strongly against frequent victims. The international community too criticized about the terrorism of North Korea.<sup>6)</sup>

Since Sunshine policy has been promoted in South Korea, the discussion about the security of the Korean Peninsula has been begun as the one of security issues in the East Asian international order. However, in spite of growing tensions on the Korean Peninsula in these days, security awareness of Japanese that is located near in Korean Peninsula seems to be not high. In a sense, Japanese seem to think that peace will last forever. In terms of that, Japanese security awareness is a very interesting research subject. Because it also has signed Japan-US alliance, Japan could not be free from the threat from North Korea. But indifference to the security awareness of Japanese society appears to be a typical Japanese sensation. Based on the patrol vessel was sunk on the Yellow sea of Korean peninsula and the artillery attack from North Korea in November 2010, this paper aims to understand how to form a

security awareness and how to clarify the security of their country. In particular, this paper tries to explore the issues of national security in Japan, focusing on security awareness for future generations of young people. In research method, this paper will ask 52 young people why to participate in military action for self-defense in the country if this event happened in Japan as providing information to them about the South Korean patrol vessel “Chonan” to be sunk by the attack from North Korea. In doing so, this paper grasp how young people in Japan protect the country. In the following, it will classify the characteristics of the security awareness of young people in Japan. And based on the content of security awareness survey, it will be verified that how national security awareness of young people impacts on the protection their country. Additionally, the problems in building a security policy in the future will be discussed.

## II. State of security awareness of young people

There are not many studies examining the security awareness of young people in Japan. That means that no discussion is made of security awareness of young people themselves. The reason is that since the conclusion of US Security Treaty, there's no need to discuss security of Japan because there has continued to be in peace for many years now. But today is a tough military confrontation on the Korean Peninsula. Therefore, grasping the security awareness of young people responsible for national security is significant to formulate a policy on Japan's future security. Concretely speaking, the follow statement will explain four trends in security awareness of young people under survey.

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Firstly, as based on the security treaty the United States for the purpose of having a common interest in maintaining peace and security between the two countries, there are views to depend their national security to the U.S. military. Views of young people can be introduced as follows.

Person A) Japan is a country not a war by law. I think it is OK because America is protecting us. (M)<sup>7)</sup>

Person B) Japan has been protected by the United States, I think the SDF is enough. (M)<sup>8)</sup>

Person C) Japan has concluded a bilateral security treaty with the United States. If war comes, the U.S. will to fight. So I do not need arms. Japan is the world's only country affected by a nuclear attack, I am proud of not having a military. I wish to appeal for peace to other countries. (M)<sup>9)</sup>

Person D) Japan is a country not participating in the war. If you want to protect national security, the U.S. military help us. (F)<sup>10)</sup>

Person E) Because today Japan is protected from the U.S., most people probably think we'll fine. (M)<sup>11)</sup>

As the above survey, some of the young people in Japan believe that US protect the security of the Japan. At least, optimism that the US-Japan security cooperation will be continued for national security seems to be implicit in the awareness of young people.

Secondly, because there is not much patriotism to the Japanese, they are not going to act to protect the country. That means that there is self-deprecating awareness of young people. Concretely explaining, there are

the following views.

**Person F)** If Japanese government suddenly performed Constitutional reform, I think many Japanese people revolt. This is because there is no patriotism in Japanese. (F)<sup>12)</sup>

**Person G)** Participating in military action by Japan is unconstitutional and failures to be committed in the past will be repeated. (F)<sup>13)</sup>

**Person H)** No matter what reason, I oppose the war. Therefore, Japan should not use force. (M)<sup>14)</sup>

**Person I)** Although Japan has renounced war, if the troops will be held, people from other countries would think the idea of a foreign attack Japan again. (M)<sup>15)</sup>

Based on the current Constitution, the opinions of young people who have fear for the strengthening of security policy have pointed out the problem from two aspects.

The one is that if the constitution were amended, the act of aggression of Japan might repeat such a fact to be involved in the wars of the past. The other is that in maintaining a peaceful state, Constitution has played an important role. Whether they understand the meaning of Constitution exactly or not, security awareness of young people seems to have a decision based on educated certain content.

Thirdly, there is against the view that strengthening Japan's security policy because enhancing the security awareness of young people might weaken the ability to support the economic development of our young people.

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**Person J)** And enforcing the military draft, young people will be left from business field and the contents such as technology and production will not be able to inherit young people. As a result, the economy is so bad, so I oppose to strengthen the security policy. (M)<sup>16)</sup>

**Person K)** I think I had better send troops from the United States. In Japan, economic policy should be resolved because there are many others such as pensions, priority would be better over there. (M)<sup>17)</sup>

**Person L)** If the state deprive of valuable time when a young life like going to university, I think military service is disabled in terms of designing a life. Looking from across the country, leaving young workers from the labor market will decrease taxes. Therefore, I think enhanced security has a negative effect in society as a whole. (M)<sup>18)</sup>

When the young people's security policy is strengthened as a certain opinion, the budget to the other fields of the economic policy is reduced consequently. Therefore there is a view uneasy about financial development and the case that the function of the social security declines. In particular, according to survey result, there is the view that what youth labor force is taken by the military power away is a social loss.

Fourthly, education about national security seems to be put into effect to avoid the emergency situation even if conscription like Korea isn't put into effect when the Japanese security policy is strengthened. That is to say, there is the view which would like to avoid taking time away in the security education which feels physical pain and mental pain.

**Person M)** I also lack physical strength for going to training like

practice and a training camp of Japan Self-Defense Forces and it isn't probably imagination, but I think it's severe and severe, so I don't want to go. (M)<sup>19)</sup>

**Person N)** 2 years are very important time for young people. When it'll be conscription like Korea, a student will back away from study for 2 years. When even lovers become separate for 2 years again, it would be separated. It doesn't want to be such reason and be concerned with something like conscription. (F)<sup>20)</sup>

**Person O)** Because it's probably very hard to spend young people's most fun and valuable time to protect a country, I don't like that. (F)<sup>21)</sup>

**Person P)** I'm twenty years old now, but now is most fun. I'm studying, also go to a club and am spending a substantial life. But when it'll be conscription like Korea when North Korea is attacked from a foreign country, the former substantial life collapses quickly. I don't seem just thought and been endured at all so, so that isn't liked. (M)<sup>22)</sup>

An opinion above-mentioned is the gentle state of mind of many young people. Many young people aware that they don't have enough physical strength personally, and separating from a sweetheart is disliked even a little. In particular, it's also to be put in the situation that pain is tasted that the young people now dislike it mentally and physically. Even if the pain is to defend a state or the family and oneself, it's the sense of values which would like to spend its fun time first.

But there is also voice that Japanese young boys are too much weak. That is to say, a girl stated like that: "In the case of Korea, if I were guy and high school graduation, I received a physical check-up and went to an army. And I heard that military training was received at the stage



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of the high school in Korea. If I see this environment, Japanese boys in these days can't endure tough situation. So it's opposite reason why I don't want to training for protection country. (F) In other words, in the case of Japanese young people to be called "the herbivorous boy" which is recent years' popularity word and see the increased tendency, this is the view for which it's difficult to expect Japanese security of the men now. A misgiving to a Japanese young man doesn't just regard a lack of security consciousness as a problem. When reinforcement of security consciousness leads to reform of sense of a young man conversely, there is also a view caught affirmatively. The view can be grasped from the following contents.

**Person Q)** I think Japan has a lot of ignorant young people. I have a part lenient to myself, too. I think they become quite another person by experiencing military over the life. When the human relations can be learned, I think it isn't a bad thing to do a military experience and introduce conscription. (F)<sup>23)</sup>

**Person R)** I think it is good experience to enter military and live a group life, and the acquiring skill in armed forces is helpful when an earthquake disaster occurred. And when a bad person of behavior increased out of the Japanese young people now, so I think it's good to change them. (M)<sup>24)</sup>

**Person S)** Japanese young people can be too experienced in a peaceful life and there are a lot of people who don't have the interest in a social problem. Therefore I think Japanese people need to practice like conscription in order to raise the interest to the social problem because I'd like to change the idea that they would like to live without

having trouble. (M)<sup>25)</sup>

When it's judged from description above-mentioned, it's a good opinion that Japanese young people have to make the trigger to which the human relations and awareness lenient to oneself are changed through a collective life. The comment that it's the young people's problem now to make them form the sociality through a group life means feeling that young people also lack the sociality and communication ability.

Before talking on reinforcement of a security policy when we argue, it's necessary that Japanese young people form ability to live in the group. In other words, maybe it can be said that reform of security consciousness is necessary simultaneously with promotion of a policy. That is to say, while the opinion to oppose reinforcement of a Japanese security policy is dominant, it isn't easy that they bring reinforcement of security consciousness and the sociality of the Japanese young people up. It can be understood that this point is the most difficult problem of people who participate in a Japanese security policy.

But the advice which directs in the Japanese young people to strengthen the security policy was given from a person's of young people. When the opinion was confirmed, "although North Korea launched Taepodong as a kind of missile and there is now North Korean abduction issue in Japan, Japan looks peacefully now. However Japan is a dangerous place actually. When I think it's possible to protect a country in case of an emergency only by being maintained by a large country called the United States, I prosper Japan should also have an army. I think that. (M)".

That young people with such opinion say 1 person out of 52 people shows the aspect of the security policy current as of Japan. Though

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Japan touch security in a strained relation in Korean Peninsula, it's caught as it is unrelated to that. When young people in Japan say that a security policy is placed as something unrelated to oneself and when it's an American problem, to strengthen the Japanese security policy seems difficult to be able to get national backing. But, United States, Japan and Korea are building coalition by the government level in a face of security, but it's difficult that people share problem consciousness. When I pay attention to this point, it is significant how to build has to argue an allied relation of a security policy from now on in Korea, United States and Japan.. Theory of Cline is applied by the next chapter and the level of the Japanese national power is confirmed from the angle of the security.

### III. Japanese decline of security consciousness and hard power

The lack of the young people's security consciousness is the important problem of getting in touch with a decline of national power in territory of a security study of international relations. As military trouble has always occurred by politics between the countries, economy and a reason of a religion in an international society, and it's considered as the most important obligation to secure the profit of the own country and the life. A government has concentrated its energy to get the financial power and the military power to maintain the profit of the own country from other countries to achieve state obligation. For example Hans. J.Morgenthau is explaining the act to strengthen the national power as follows. "A politician and the people are pursuing acquisition of freedom, security, prosperity and power. And government considers it is the effective means to get power to strength country. At the same time,

government thinks the competition should be pursued as act which gets power each other in an international society.”<sup>26)</sup>

John.J.Mearsheimer is explaining a point why it's important for a state to get power more specifically. His statement is like next. That is to say, a state most important target is to maintain the life of the people. Therefore, the role of government means that it is important to concentrate the energy on a security policy to conquer such fear because no countries can be convinced that a partner country doesn't use the offensive military power.<sup>27)</sup>

When it's judged from description above-mentioned, a state should pursue various targets including soft power, but it seems important for a target of state taking to choose so whether to put the effort into establishment of state security the national life in front of it. And then, it is Ray S. Cline that the power a state gets in international relations and national power which means the power were explained as the mathematics formula. The formula of Cline is recorded as follows.

$$P_p = (C + E + M) \times (S + W)^{28)}$$

Cline defines that national power is an aggregate of a strategy, military affairs, economy and politics. Concretely explaining, Cline explained that national power is decided about by the military power and a military organization partially, but he said that it's decided by the size in the territory, the nature of the location and the border, the population, natural resources, economic structure, technological standard, monetary system, racial composition, the social integration power, political process, stability of a policy decision and the national awareness which is important above all as intangible property. When the formal coefficient item is

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grasped concretely, the size of the state (the population and territory) will be a basis of the outward form-like national power evaluation. The reason is that while a territory is the foundation which rich resources are offered, the ability and the quality of the national individual are important resources in country. On the other hand, the expansion in a territory through the force is impossible realistically in today's international order by which the border is immobilized. It's difficult that a state also controls fluctuation of the population perfectly. The size of the state offers a formation foundation of economy and the military power, but a possibility beyond the limit of the size of the state is shown to today's technological development and increase of the capital. And then it was needed to relate the size of the state to the various items with which national power is gauged and catch.

Actually, the coefficient of the economy and the military power it's possible to digitize was grasped as the outward form-like element with which the size of the state and the strength of a nation are gauged by Cline.<sup>29)</sup>

While it's different from the value of the strength of a nation of the emphasized past in the outward form-like element, something as a state strategy and national consciousness is surfacing as an important element today. Since putting it in the study in the past of course, the importance of the national consciousness is recognized as a strategy, but there is process which judged that it's impossible to be digitized and wasn't considering as a measurement item.

However when talking on the security policy to strengthen the national power, it's said that the state strategy and the national consciousness are a necessary element in today's study. The reason will be because the

outward form-like element (the size of the state, the financial power and the military power) will be something empty when both factors break off because a strategy (S) is the political decision as which a target is set to protect and increase the profit of the state, and national consciousness (W) is the axis with which decision of a government to national defense and a diplomatic policy is supported. That is to say, when national consciousness to state security is lacked, other elements aren't utilized effectively, and it's meant that there is a possibility that a country faces dangerously in case of an emergency consequently. When Cline gives the coefficient of 0-1 to a state strategy (S) and national consciousness (W) actually, and a strategy and national consciousness reach the most high level,  $S+W=2$  in other words national resources become double. On the other hand there are a lot of defects in a strategy and when national consciousness is lacked, it'll be  $S+W=0$ , and it is explained that national power will be 0 actually.<sup>30)</sup>

For example the Vietnam War is the typical example which indicates the influence by which a lack of national consciousness gives it to security. As the United States which was overwhelming predominance in a military power in 1970's can't reach the consensus by national consciousness to the Vietnam War, what US came to a withdrawal is a good example. In other words, when it's based on the contents of security consciousness of the Japanese young people who analyzed positively by the preceding section, national consciousness (S) is near 0. Of course, 0 is difficult to say, but that's decided and is expensive but is not. That is to say, Japanese national power seems to include a potential possibility that it will be weakened

When it will be focused on consciousness of the young people who will carry the Japanese future based on theory of Cline, a decline of young

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people's security consciousness is also an important problem from the meaning as protecting Japanese life. Therefore this problem might be improved and discussed.

#### IV. Conclusion

The ability of the soft power of country is argued as the value linear measure which estimates new national power in recent years. But when I think as the Korean who is in the armistice state like Korean Peninsula, the utilization of soft power is impossible without the state life. Then it's important to secure the state life as the first problem.

It was fact that victory or defeat was influenced by the size of the state, the financial power and the military power as a war in the past when securing the state life. But the present war is the type that ruin myself inside the own country before going to war against an opposing country.

If national consciousness was a factor in victory or defeat on the war like the Vietnam War as an example, it was caused by which a lack of the national consciousness that today's national collapse has started from a decline of the financial power of the country. In other words, it's meant that a lack of national consciousness is the important factor for which the state life is secured. When the investigation contents about young people's Japanese security consciousness are seen, a lack of security consciousness is different from the parent generation and stands out in particular. It's characteristic that young people recognize the state life as a proper thing and form the sense of values which doesn't consider uncertainty. Even if I say that the young people's

Japanese consciousness is the element which threatens future's Japanese continuous development, it isn't exaggerated. During 20 years, the grown-up age of the Japanese economy is delaying. When the formula of Cline will be introduced specifically, the financial power (E) and the coefficient of (W) become near 0. It's meant that a state is declining according to the formula. When measuring, the limit for which it's difficult to make it correct is here because the national consciousness that it's defined on the study of course is the coefficient which compares and judges various elements overall. But nevertheless there is no room where it's doubted that national consciousness is an important element when defending state security. In other words, the security consciousness of young people in these days is the important theme that should be discussed in the point view of policy study.

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- 8) The Interview of Person B, May 15<sup>th</sup> 2010
- 9) The Interview of Person C, May 27<sup>th</sup> 2010
- 10) The Interview of Person D, May 8<sup>th</sup> 2010
- 11) The Interview of Person E, July 7<sup>th</sup> 2010



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  - 14) The Interview of Person H, April 24<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - 15) The Interview of Person I, April 24<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - 16) The Interview of Person J, April 11<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - 17) The Interview of Person K, July 7<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - 18) The Interview of Person L, June 18<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - 19) The Interview of Person M, June 1<sup>st</sup> 2010
  - 20) The Interview of Person N, June 18<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - 21) The Interview of Person O, May 27<sup>th</sup> 2010
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- Pp = perceived power  
C = critical mass : population + territory  
E = economic ability  
M = military capability  
S = strategy purpose  
W = will to pursue national strategy
- 29) Ibid., pp.35-51.
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