

**PERTAHANAN NASIONAL JEPUN:  
IMPLIKASI SENJATA NUKLEAR DAN PELURU BERPANDU  
KOREA UTARA SERTA CHINA**

**Tesis dikemukakan kepada  
Pusat Pengajian Siswazah untuk memenuhi  
keperluan Ijazah Doktor Falsafah  
Universiti Utara Malaysia**

**Oleh  
MD. NASRUDIN BIN MD. AKHIR**

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## **KEBENARAN MENGGUNA TESIS**

Tesis ini dikemukakan sebagai memenuhi keperluan pengijazahan program Ijazah Doktor Falsafah Universiti Utara Malaysia. Saya bersetuju membenarkan perpustakaan Universiti Utara Malaysia mempamerkannya sebagai rujukan. Saya juga bersetuju bahawa sebarang bentuk salinan sama ada secara keseluruhan atau sebahagian daripada tesis ini untuk tujuan akademik adalah dibolehkan dengan kebenaran penyelia tesis atau Pengarah Pusat Pengajian Siswazah. Sebarang bentuk salinan dan cetakan bagi tujuan-tujuan komersial dan membuat keuntungan adalah dilarang sama sekali tanpa kebenaran bertulis kepada penyelidik. Pernyataan rujukan kepada penyelidik dan Universiti Utara Malaysia perlulah dibuat untuk sebarang rujukan ke atas tesis ini.

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PENGARAH  
PUSAT PENGAJIAN SISWAZAH  
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA  
06100 SINTOK  
KEDAH DARULAMAN

## ABSTRAK

Tesis ini menganalisis kapabiliti pertahanan nasional Jepun terhadap kemungkinan serangan senjata nuklear dan peluru berpandu Korea Utara dan China serta implikasi ke atas keselamatan Jepun. Di samping itu tesis ini menilai dasar keselamatan Jepun berpaksikan dua tunggak utama iaitu, 'kapabiliti pertahanan minimum yang sederhana' dan 'integriti Perikatan Keselamatan Jepun-Amerika Syarikat'.

Tesis ini menghujah *Japan's self-imposed constraints on militarism* berhadapan dengan proses pengubahsuaian secara beransur-ansur akibat tekanan keselamatan oleh Korea Utara dan China. Walau bagaimanapun tesis ini menolak andaian teori neorealisme yang menghujah Jepun akan kembali menjadi kuasa tentera dalam masa terdekat sebaliknya berpendapat andaian realisme pasca klasik lebih realistik dan dominan dalam menilai pertahanan nasional Jepun kontemporari. Walaupun integriti pasifisme semakin dicabar tetapi dasar pertahanan Jepun ke arah *normal state* berhadapan dengan dilema ekoran kekaburan interpretasi ke atas Perlembagaan. Kerajaan Jepun menegaskan bahawa dalam berhadapan dengan bentuk-bentuk ancaman *imminent* dan *illegitimate* peluru berpandu musuh ke atas wilayah Jepun, adalah tidak wajar jika Perlembagaan Jepun tidak membenarkan langkah-langkah pencegahan atau serangan balas diambil. Walaupun *Diet* membuat ketetapan adalah perlu untuk maksud mempertahankan keselamatan negara, mengambil langkah yang melampaui 'kapabiliti pertahanan minimum yang sederhana' namun ia lebih merupakan retorik pembuat undang-undang bagi meredakan ketegangan sementara yang muncul. Persoalan pertahanan nasional Jepun menjadi semakin kompleks apabila Korea Utara serta China membangunkan kapabiliti nuklear dan peluru berpandu yang mencabar keselamatan Jepun dalam situasi ketidakjelasan interpretasi perlembagaan tersebut.

Tesis ini menghujah Jepun tidak mempunyai pilihan selain mendefinisikan semula dasar pertahanan dan Perjanjian Keselamatan Jepun-Amerika Syarikat. Ia disebabkan mekanisme keselamatan multilateral dalam konteks Asia adalah tidak *applicable* untuk direalisasikan dinilai dari perspektif persekitaran keselamatan kontemporari dan sejarah Asia Timur. Sekalipun kumpulan pendesak yang menyarankan Jepun menjadi *normal state* menolak untuk bergantung kepada perlindungan keselamatan dan nuklear Amerika Syarikat selama-lamanya, namun tesis ini menyimpulkan pertahanan nasional Jepun akan terus dipengaruhi oleh faktor-faktor domestik dengan pergantungan kuat ke atas Dasar Keselamatan Jepun-Amerika Syarikat.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses Japan's defense capability over the possibility of a nuclear and missiles strike from North Korea and China as well as its implications towards Japan's security posture. In addition, it also evaluates Japan's security policies based on two major considerations namely 'a moderate defense capability' as well as 'the integrity of the Japan-United States Security Alliance.'

This thesis argues that Japan's self-imposed constraints on militarism are currently faced with a gradual process of change mainly due to pressures from North Korea and China. However, this work rejects the neo-realists notion that Japan would emerge as major military power in the near future but instead argues that the assumptions of the post-classical realists appear to be more realistic and dominant in order to evaluate Japan's contemporary defense posture. Although the integrity of pacifism is constantly being challenged, the movement of Japan's defense posture to a 'normal state' is also faced by the dilemma of vagueness in interpreting Japan's constitution. The Japanese government has reiterated that in facing imminent and illegitimate missile threats towards Japanese territory, it is inconceivable that the country's constitution disallows for preventive measures or even a counter attack. Although the Japanese Diet itself made a resolution that allows for measures that exceed 'the moderate defense capability' currently followed, all this however, has remained much of a rhetoric amongst Japanese law makers, who rather take temporary measures in diffusing external threats. The question of Japan's defense posture remains complex especially in view of the development of their respective nuclear capabilities by North Korea and China that continues to challenge Japan's security posture especially in an environment shadowed by an unclear interpretation of the country's constitution.

This thesis also argues that Japan is currently faced with the need to redefine its defense posture as well as its defense treaty with the United States. This because the mechanisms of multilateral security in the context of Asia are inapplicable for realization especially when evaluated within the context of contemporary perspectives on the current security environment and the history of the East Asian region itself. Although various groups that continue to call for Japan's return to a 'normal state' have rejected the security and nuclear shield provided by the United States, this thesis concludes that domestic factors and a strong reliance on the Japan-United States Alliance will continue to shape Japan's defense posture, at least in the near future.

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## SENARAI SINGKATAN

ABM Treaty	Perjanjian Anti Peluru Berpandu Balistik
ABM	Anti Ballistic Missile
ADD	Agency for Defense Development
ADM	Atomic Demolition Munition
AEBL	Atomic Energy Basic Law
AECL	Atomic Energy Canada Limited
AEI	American Enterprise Institute
AG	Australian Group
AG	Australian Group
ALCM	Air-Launched Cruise Missile
ANU	Australian National University
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand and United States of America
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASAT	Anti Satellite
ASCM	Anti-Ship Cruise Missile
ASDF	Air Self-Defense Force
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAN+3	ASEAN+ China, Jepun, Korea Selatan
ASIATOM	Association on Asian Atomic Energy
ASM	Peluru Berpandu Udara Ke Permukaan
ATR	Advanced Thermal Reactor
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System
BMD	Pertahanan Peluru Berpandu Balistik (Ballistic Missile Defense)
BOK	Bank of Korea
BWR	Boiling Water Reactor
CalTech	California Institute for Technology
CANDU	Canadian Deuterium Uranium Reactor
CBM	Langkah Pemupukan Keyakinan (Confidence Building Measure)
CBW	Senjata Kimia dan Biologi
CEP	Circular Error Probable
Chongryun	General Association of Korean Residents in Japan
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPPNM	Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material
CSBM	Confidence and Security Building Measure
CSCAP	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Asia-Pacific
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DF-21	Dong-Feng 21
DF-31	Dong-Feng 31 (Julang-2)
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone
DOD	Jabatan Pertahanan Negara Amerika Syarikat
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party Taiwan
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DSC	Defense Security Command South Korea
ESA	European Space Agency

EU	Kesatuan Eropah
FBR	Fast Breeder Reactor
FDI	Pelaburan Langsung Asing
FS-X	Fighter-Support Experimental Aircraft
FTA	Kawasan Perdagangan Bebas
G-7	Group of 7
GA	General Atomics
GLONASS	Global Navigation Satellite System
GNP	Keluaran Negara Kasar (Gross National Product)
GPS	Global Positioning System
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency (Agensi Tenaga Atom Antarabangsa)
ICBM	Inter Continental Ballistic Missile
ICBM	Peluru Berpandu Antara Benua (Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles)
IIPS	Institute of International and Policy Studies
INER	Institute for Nuclear Energy Research
IRBM	Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile
JAEC	Suruhanjaya Tenaga Atom Jepun
JAERI	Japan Atomic Energy Research Institute
ASDF	Tentera Udara Jepun
JCO	Japan Conversion Company
JCP	Parti Komunis Jepun
JCS	Joint Staff Council
JDA	Japan Defense Agency
Jiyuto	Liberal Party Japan
JNOC	Japan National Oil Company
JPL	Jet Propulsion Laboratory
JRA	Japan Red Army
JSP	Japan Socialist Party
KAERI	Institut Penyelidikan Tenaga Atom Korea Selatan
KCIA	Korean Central Intelligence Agency
KEDO	Korean Energy Development Organization
KEPCO	Korea Electric Power Corporation
KGB	Komitet Gosudarsternoi Bezopasnosti
KHI	Kawasaki Heavy Industries
KOTRA	Korean Trade and Investment Promotion Agency
KWP	Parti Pekerja Korea Utara
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
LTBT	Limited Test Ban Treaty
LWR	Light Water Reactor
MAD	Mutually Assured Destruction
MHI	Mitsubishi Heavy Industry
Minshuto	Parti Demokratik Jepun
MIRV	Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry Japan
MNC	Perusahaan Antarabangsa (Multi National Corporation)
MOCIE	Kementerian Perdagangan, Industri dan Tenaga Korea Selatan

MOF	Ministry of Finance Japan
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan
Monbukagakusho	Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Sukan, Sains dan Teknologi Jepun
MOU	Memorandum Persefahaman
MRBM	Medium-Range Ballistic Missile
MRV	Multiple Reentry Vehicle
MSDF	Maritime Self Defense Force
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
Mw	Megawatt
MWe	Megawatts of Electric
NAD	Navy Area Defense
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCND	Neither Confirm Nor Deny
NDPO	National Defense Program Outline
NGO	Badan Bukan Kerajaan
NMD	National Missile Defense
N-NDPO	New National Defense Program Outline
NPR	Nuclear Posture Review
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRX	National Research Experimental
NSC	Suruhanjaya Keselamatan Nuklear
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
NTW	Navy Theater Wide
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PAC-3	Patriot Advanced Capability-3
PBB	Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu
PHWR	Pressurized Heavy Water Reactor
PKO	Peace Keeping Operations
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PNC	Perbadanan Pembangunan Reaktor Tenaga Nuklear
PWR	Pressurized Water Reactor
RFIS	Russian Foreign Intelligence Service
ROK	Republic of Korea
RPS Law	Special Measures Law Concerning the Use of New Energy by Electric Utilities
SAC	Second Artillery Corps China
SACO	Special Action Committee on Okinawa
SAM	Surface-to-Air Missile
SCAP	Supreme Command of Allied Powers
SDF	Self Defense Forces
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
SDSC	Strategic and Defense Studies Center
SEANWFZ	Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone
SGTN	Saint Gobain Technique Nouvelle
SLBM	Peluru Berpandu Balistik Letakan Kapal Selam
SLV	Satellite/Space-Launch Vehicle

SM-3	Standard Missile-3
SMF	Pasukan Peluru Berpandu Strategik China
SSBN	Nuclear Ballistic Missile Submarines
SSBN	Strategic Submarine Ballistic Nuclear
SSM	Peluru Berpandu Permukaan Ke Permukaan
STA	Agensi Sains dan Teknologi
Su-27	Sukhoi-27
Su-30	Sukhoi-30
TEPCO	Tokyo Electric Power Company
TERCOM	Terrain Contour Matching
THAAD	Theater High Altitude Area Defense
TLATELOLCO	Latin America Nuclear Free Zone Treaty
TMD	Theater Missile Defense
TNC	Perusahaan Transnasional (Trans National Corporation)
TNT	TriNitroToluene
U-235	Uranium 235
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (Pesawat Tanpa Pengemudi)
UINR	United Institute for Nuclear Research
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNPKO	Operasi Pengaman Pertubuhan Bangsa-Bangsa Bersatu
UNSC	Ahli Tetap Majlis Keselamatan
US ED	US Extended Deterrence
USAF	Tentera Udara Amerika Syarikat
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEC	Weapons Exploitation Committee
WESTPAC	Western Pacific Missile Defense Architecture
WFP	World Food Program
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WPu	Weapon-Grade Plutonium
WTO	Pertubuhan Perdagangan Dunia (World Trade Organization)
WWER	Water Water Energetic Reactor

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# BAB 1

## Pengenalan

### 1.0: Pendahuluan

Dasar pertahanan yang dibentuk selepas tamat Perang Dunia Kedua berjaya mengekalkan keamanan dan keselamatan Jepun walaupun tercetus konflik ketenteraan dan elemen keganasan yang tidak dijangka di beberapa wilayah dunia yang mengakibatkan ketidakstabilan antarabangsa.<sup>1</sup> *Defense of Japan 2003* menegaskan kebarangkalian berlakunya serangan musuh yang besar ke atas Jepun amat tipis tetapi menjangkakan wujud ancaman keselamatan ke atas Jepun akibat bertambahnya kuantiti *Weapons of Mass Destruction* (WMD) dan aktiviti-aktiviti penganas.<sup>2</sup> Jangkaan tersebut berdasarkan senario keselamatan Asia Timur yang tidak stabil, sebahagian besar akibat ancaman senjata nuklear dan peluru berpandu Korea Utara dan China ke atas keselamatan Jepun. Ujian senjata nuklear China yang dilakukan secara berterusan, ujian peluru berpandu balistik Taepodong-I Korea Utara pada tahun 1998 serta pengakuan Pyongyang memiliki senjata nuklear pada September 2002, menyebabkan Jepun menilai semula kapabiliti pertahanan yang dimiliki.<sup>3</sup> Sehubungan itu, dasar pertahanan

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<sup>1</sup> *Defense of Japan 2002*, Tokyo: Urban Connections, 2002, halaman 52.

<sup>2</sup> Zhu Lizhen, "Analysis of Japan 2003 White Paper on Defense," *People's Daily*, 15 Ogos 2003. WMD merujuk kepada senjata nuklear, biologi, kimia, ejen radiologi dan sistem-sistem pelancar senjata-senjata berkenaan. Jean Pascal Zanders, "Weapons of Mass Disruption?," *SIPRI Yearbook 2003: Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, halaman 683.

<sup>3</sup> Ujian senjata nuklear China yang dilakukan sebanyak lima kali pada tahun 1996 menyebabkan Jepun menyekat bantuan pembangunan rasmi (ODA) ke China. Satu P. Limaye, "Tokyo's Dynamic Diplomacy: Japan and the Subcontinent's Nuclear Tests," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Ogos 2000, halaman 324.

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### Senarai Temu Bual

1. Temu bual dengan Ithnin Abdul Jalil, Profesor Madya dari Jabatan Fizik, Fakulti Sains, Universiti Malaya pada 31 Julai 2003.
2. Temu bual dengan Takaaki Yamashita, bekas profesor dan pengarah *Institute of International Relations* di Universiti Nihon, Jepun pada 2 November 2002 di Universiti Keio, Kampus Hiyoshi, Jepun.
3. Temu bual dengan Takaaki Yamashita, bekas profesor dan pengarah *Institute of International Relations* di Universiti Nihon, Jepun pada 13 November 2002 di Yokohama, Jepun.
4. Temu bual dengan Dr. Omar Farouk, Profesor di Hiroshima City University, di Hiroshima pada 29 November 2002.
5. Temu bual dengan Kazumi Mizumoto, Profesor Madya di Hiroshima Peace Institute, di Hiroshima pada 29 November 2002.
6. Temu bual dengan Dr. Omar Farouk, Profesor di Hiroshima City University, di Hiroshima pada 28 November 2002.
7. Temu bual dengan Pegawai Bahagian Dasar Keselamatan Negara, Biro Dasar Luar Kementerian Luar Negeri Jepun (Nama Dirahsiakan Atas Permintaan), di Kementerian Luar Negeri Jepun pada 9 November 2002.
8. Temu bual dengan Tadashi Tashiro, Timbalan Pengarah, Biro Antarabangsa Jawatankuasa Pusat, Parti Komunis Jepun pada 2 November 2002 di Ibu Pejabat Parti Komunis Jepun di Tokyo.
9. Temu bual dengan Dr. Koh Il-Dong, Fellow Kanan di Korea Development Institute, Seoul, Korea Selatan pada 9 Oktober 2002 di Tokyo.
10. Temu bual dengan Dr. Ryukichi Imai, Profesor dan Penasihat Kanan *Japan Atomic Industrial Forum* pada 3 Oktober 2002 di *Institute for International Policy Studies*, Tokyo, Jepun.
11. Temu bual dengan Dr. Yoshihide Soeya, Profesor hubungan antarabangsa di Fakulti Undang-Undang, Universiti Keio pada 3 Oktober 2002 di Tokyo.

12. Temu bual dengan Dr. Ron Huisken, Fellow Kanan di SDSC, ANU, Australia pada 4 Disember 2001.
13. Temu bual dengan Dr. Gary Klintworth, Pegawai Penyelidik di Parlimen Australia pada 6 November 2001.
14. Temu bual dengan Dr. Stuart Harris, Profesor di Research School of Asia-Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra pada 6 November 2001.
15. Temu bual dengan Dr. Paul Dibb, Profesor dan Ketua, *Strategic and Defense Studies Centre* (SDSC) di ANU pada 5 November 2001.
16. Temu bual dengan Dr. Desmond Ball, Profesor di *Strategic and Defence Studies Centre*, ANU, Canberra, Australia pada 5 November 2001.
17. Temu bual dengan Dr. Ron Huisken, Fellow Kanan di SDSC, ANU, Canberra pada 24 September 2001.