Counter-Terrorism in a Pacifist Country: Japan's Case

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Abstract

This article examines the effects of terrorist groups in Japan during the latter part of the 1990s on issues such as national security, social structures, and religion. In addition to being a leading economy and academic research centre, Japan is one of the world's top countries regarding tolerance, respect, and social harmony. However, Japan's economic success has resulted not only in prosperity yet in some social unease and unrest. Although the murder of Abe Shinzo in June 2022 has become the country's top agenda item, there is not enough literature on domestic terrorism in Japan. There were two terrorist organizations in Japan (the AUM and the Japan Red Army). Their dreadful political and military repercussions are still being felt today. At first impression, it appears that Japan approaches the fight against terrorism from a human security perspective rather than a governmental concern. Human security evolved due to the alteration of traditional security attitudes following the Cold War's conclusion and the investigation of new security challenges based on individualizing the sources of insecurity. However, how can it be explained that Japan's security concerns were primarily focused on human security throughout the Cold War? Because of its unique status, the perception of terrorism and the struggle against terrorism in a pacifist culture are exceptional cases.

Keywords: Japan Red Army, Aum Shinrikyo, Shinzo Abe, pacifism, non-traditional security.

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Pasifist Bir Ülkede Terörle Mücadele: Japonya Örneği

Öz

Bu makale, 1990'ların ikinci yarısında Japonya'daki terörist grupların ulusal güvenlik, sosyal yapı ve din gibi konular üzerindeki etkilerini incelemektedir. Japonya, önde gelen bir ekonomi ve akademik araştırma merkezi olmasının yanı sıra hoşgörü, saygı ve sosyal uyum konularında da dünyanın en iyi ülkelerinden biridir. Ancak Japonya'nın ekonomik başarısı sadece refahla değil, aynı zamanda bazı sosyal huzursuzluklarla da sonuçlanmıştır. Haziran 2022'de Abe Shinzo'nun öldürülmesi ülkenin en önemli gündem maddesi haline gelmesine rağmen, Japonya'da terörizm konusunda yeterli seviyede bilimsel literatür olduğunu söylemek güçtür. Japonya kökenli iki terör örgütünün (AUM ve Japonya Kızıl Ordusu) korkunç saldırılarının siyasi ve askeri yansımaları bugün hala hissedilmektedir. İlk izlenim olarak Japonya'nın terörle mücadeleye bir devlet meselesinden ziyade insani güvenlik perspektifinden yaklaştığı görülmektedir. İnsani güvenlik, Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesinin ardından geleneksel güvenlik tutumlarının değişmesi ve güvensizlik kaynaklarının bireyselleştirilmesine dayanan yeni güvenlik sorunlarının araştırılmasıyla gelişmiştir. Bu noktada Japonya'nın güvenlik kaygılarının Soğuk Savaş boyunca öncelikli olarak insan güvenliğine odaklanmış olması nasıl açıklanabilir? Kendine özgü karakteri nedeniyle pasifist bir kültürde terörizm algısı ve terörizmle mücadele istisnai sonuçlar getirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Japon Kızıl Ordu, Aum Shinrikyo, Shinzo Abe, pasifizm, geleneksel olmayan güvenlik.

I. Introduction

While there is evidence that terrorism goes back to ancient times, the current idea of terrorism did not emerge until after the French Revolution.[1] Terrorism is often regarded as one of the most significant impediments to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the modern era. During this time of increased globalization, terrorism has also developed into an astonishingly complicated form that has repercussions for the nation's national security.[2] After the atrocities committed during the Second World War, no nation can afford to be blind to terrorist operations planned and carried out by non-state organizations in other countries. This fact also includes the government of Japan, which is known for promoting peace (pacifist state).

After the end of the Second World War, the US changed Japan's constitution, establishing the country as a pacifist nation.[3] Since then, Japan has established itself as a significant economic participant in international politics and now acts as a model for countries still undergoing economic development.[4] On the other hand, contrary to what the vast majority of people believe, Japan has not always had it so easy. There have been times when they have struggled. Japan began to face challenges in the 1960s in the form of dangers posed by domestic terrorist organizations and movements. The Japan Red Army (JRA), a Marxist and anti-imperialist terrorist organization established in Japan, began its operations worldwide in the 1980s. Aum Shinrikyo, also known as Supreme Truth, is an organization that emerged in the 1990s and shocked the globe with

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1 Meagan L. Smith, "Terrorism Before and After 9/11: A More Dangerous World?", *Research & Politics*, 4.4, 2017, p. 4; https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168017739757; Blake E. Garcia, "Security Versus Liberty in the Context of Counter-terrorism: An Experimental Approach", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28.1, 2016, p. 30-48; https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2013.878704; Larschan Bradley, "Legal Aspects to the Control of Transnational Terrorism; An Overview", *Ohio Northern University Law Review*, 1986, p. 117-148.

2 Sambuddha Ghatak, "The Homegrown Threat: State Strength, Grievance, and Domestic Terrorism", *International Interactions*, 43.2, 2017, p. 217-247; https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2016.1128431; Monica den Boer, "Counter-Terrorism, Security and Intelligence in the EU: Governance Challenges for Collection, Exchange and Analysis", *Intelligence & National Security*, 30, 2015, p. 402-419; https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2014.988444.

3 Peter Brock, "Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945", *The Journal of Military History*, 64.3, 2000, p. 3; https://doi.org/10.2307/120911; Kenneth B. Pyle, "A Renaissance or a Revolution", *Asia Policy*, 24.1, 2017, p. 174-177; https://doi.org/10.1353/ASP.2017.0030.

4 David Arase, *Buying Power: The Political Economy of Japan's Foreign Aid*, Denver, Lynne Reinner Publisher, 1995.

its revolutionary organizational structure and terrorist assaults. Its name translates to "Supreme Truth." There is a widespread misunderstanding that Japan has always been a peaceful nation (平和国家-heiwa kokka).[5] However, this is not the case at all. For a country that prides itself on its pacifism, Japan's fight against terrorism has been a complex and challenging problem for many years, particularly as the country has attempted to deal with events such as the 1995 sarin gas attack in Tokyo. The 20th of March 1995 sarin gas attack on the Kasumigaseki station of the Tokyo subway was the most potent Aum attack, which is still occasionally discussed internationally. Terrorists who arrived from different metro lines simultaneously smashed the bundles with umbrellas as they approached the busiest subway station in Tokyo. As a result of the tragedy, twelve people were killed and between 5,000 and 6,000 were injured.[6] Almost 500 people were exposed to persistent illnesses due to this terrorist attack. The Japanese healthcare system was at the point of collapsing during the attack and the hospital system and security forces were severely criticized. Furthermore, this tragedy influenced the public attitudes of other religious groups. The country's anti-terrorism stance, which portrays a pacifist and humanitarian stance, has been called into question in various ways.[7] This pacifist stance can be understood from Joichi Ito's words; *"If we destroy human rights and the rule of law against terrorism, they win."*[8]

As a pacifist actor, the Japanese counter-terrorism policy is assessed within the context of two major terrorist groups from a sophisticated standpoint to illustrate its distinctive characteristics. In the end, the article examines Japan's approach to counterterrorism and why it could serve as a model for others.

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5   Isao Miyaoka, "Japan's Dual Security Identity: A Non-Combat Military Role as an Enabler of Co-existence", *International Studies*, 48.3-4, 2011, p. 237-255.

6   Angus M. Muir, "Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction: The Case of Aum Shinrikyo", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 22.1, 1999, p. 79-91; https://doi.org/10.1080/105761099265874; Christopher W. Hughes, "Japan's Aum Shinrikyo, the Changing Nature of Terrorism, and the Post-cold War Security Agenda", *Journal Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change*, 10.1, 1998, p. 39-60.

7   Martin Gus, *Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives & Issue*, Sage Publications, 2010; I Itabashi - M. Ogawara - D Leheny, "Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries", in *Japan*, ed. In Y. Alexander, Ann Arbor, MI, Michigan University Press, 2002, p. 337-373.

8   "Rupert Ward LLB BA(Hons) Barrister", *Rwardbarrister*; http://rwardbarrister.co.nz/.

II. Theoretical Framework

The vast and diverse corpus of published material in the social sciences is the underlying cause of the field's typically opaque image.[9] This cloudy picture of social science is highly feasible for terrorism. Because the term terrorism is relatively vague, and it can also be defined in 109 various ways.[10] In recent years, researchers such as Louse Richardson and Paul Wilkinson have attempted to explain the concept of terrorism in a way acceptable to the general population.[11] However, there is currently no widely acknowledged and precise definition of terrorism. In response to this ambiguity, counter-terrorism assumes a complex form. Therefore, theories of international relations continue to seek an answer to the question, "What is the most effective way to fight against terrorism?".[12]

After the 11th of September attacks, researchers began to discuss methods of fighting terrorism within the framework of various international relations theories.[13] It is commonly accepted that military restraint alone will not eradicate terrorism. A significant amount of research was carried out, primarily in the context of realism, liberalism, and constructivism, in the course of the discussion over the strategies and methods of combating terrorism.[14] According to the realistic

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9   Ken Hyland, "Academic Attribution: Citation and the Construction of Disciplinary Knowledge", *Applied Linguistics*, 20.3, 1999, p. 341-367; https://doi.org/10.1093/APPLIN/20.3.341.

10   Alex P. Schmid - A. J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature,* 2nd ed., Amsterdam, Swidoc, 1988.

11   Louise Richardson, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Terrorist Threat*, London, John Murray, 2006; Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism and Liberal State*, Londra, The Macmillan Press, 1977.

12   Lloyd J. Dumas, "Is Development an Effective Way to Fight Terrorism", *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly*, 22.4, 2002, p. 7-12; https://doi.org/10.13021/G8PPPQ.222002.388; Frank P. Harvey, "Addicted to Security - Globalized Terrorism and the Inevitability of American Unilateralism", *International Journal*, 59.1, 2003, p. 27-57; https://doi.org/10.2307/40203902; Lyle E. Bourne, "Military Conflict and Terrorism: General Psychology Informs International Relations", *Review of General Psychology*, 7.2, 2003, p. 189-202; https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.2.189.

13   David L. Hicks, "Mathematical Methods in Counter-terrorism: Tools and Techniques for a New Challenge", *Springer US*, 2009, p. 1-5; https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-211-09442-6_1; Richard A. Falkenrath, "Analytic Models and Policy Prescription: Understanding Recent Innovation in US Counterterrorism", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 24.3, 2001, p. 159-181; https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100151130252;   Hicks.

14   Cynthia Lum, "The Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies", *Campbell Systematic Reviews*, 2.1, 2006, p. 1-50; https://doi.org/10.4073/CSR.2006.2; Douglas V. Porpora, "Critical Terrorism Studies: A Political Economic Approach Grounded in Critical Realism", *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 4.1, 2011, p. 39–55; https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2011.553386.

paradigm, the world system is a state-centric structure.[15] Moreover, it remains unclear how states might fight non-state entities such as terrorist organizations.[16] The more instructive paradigm for counter-terrorism is constructivism which acknowledges non-state actors as actors (agents) of the international system (structure).[17] On the other hand, although liberal institutions are constantly the target of terrorist organizations,[18] liberalism can not conceptualize how to fight these organizations without making concessions.[19] These conceptual frameworks can also be used in Japan, a country whose approach to countering terrorism was predominately constructivist with some realist and liberal elements mixed in.[20] Despite this, no one theory adequately explains how to fight terrorism and, consequently, the 'constructivist realism' synthesis that Nexon.[21] Developed has proved a good option. Furthermore, the absence of a definition of terrorism that is globally acknowledged causes each nation to adopt its description of the term. Consequently, governments have developed and implemented various measures designed to combat terrorism.[22]

Following the macro level of traditional theories such as realism, constructivism, and liberalism, concepts of non-traditional security (NTS)[23] also began to form in my mind concerning counter-terrorism. Besides the most traditional theories, non-traditional concepts have much to offer in studying international

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15   Hans J. Morgenthau, "Six Principles of Political Realism", in *International Politics*, 1948, p. 7-14.

16   John J. Mearsheimer, "The Problem of Terrorism", *UC Berkeley*, 2002; http://globetrotter. berkeley.edu/people2/Mearsheimer/mearsheimer-con5.html.

17   Robert J. Art - Robert Jervis, *International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues,* 12th ed., Pearson, 2014.

18   "Why Terrorists Hate Us", 2006; http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/why-terrorists-hate-us/.

19   T. Dunne, "Liberalism, International Terrorism, and Democratic Wars", *International Relations*, 2009, p. 107-114.

20   A. Bukh, *Japan's National Identity and Foreign Policy: Russia as Japan's Other,* London, Routledge, 2010.

21   Daniel Nexon, "Realism and Constructivism", 2005; http://duckofminerva.com/2005/09/realism-and-constructivism.html.

22   Bruce Gregor, "Definition of Terrorism - Social and Political Effects", *Journal of Military and Veterans' Health*, 21.2, 2013, p. 26-30.

23   Siddharth Mallavarapu, "International Relations Theory and Non-Traditional Approaches to Security", 2009, p. 84; http://wiscomp.org/Publications/141%20-%20Perspectives%20 27%20-%20International%20Relations%20Theory%20and%20Non-Traditional%20Approaches%20to%20Security.pdf.

relations and domestic terrorism.[24] For example, Aum and JRA should be considered in the context of NTS. Furthermore, addressing international relations (IR) and the safety of Japan, a pacifist nation, is a delicate way to approach the topic of human security. NTS, also called critical security studies, has widened actor and threat perceptions of security.[25] Countries that have renounced their right to weaponry and warfare, such as Japan, can now theoretically continue their domestic and international policy by defining their security concerns without resorting to military methods and strategies.[26] As security concerns have expanded beyond the military and civilian spheres, these nations can now employ new justifications. Here is a perfect example of the concept of comprehensive security.[27] It can characterize the US's most powerful military weapons and critical strategic aims. Nonetheless, Japan's comprehensiveness necessitates a continuous emphasis on policies implemented without hard power rather than a military reaction. These policies include tactics such as increasing human security, bilateral relations, interdependence, humanitarian aid, and avoiding hostile governments.

Furthermore, Japan places a high value on keeping a safe distance from belligerent powers. As a result, when extended to interplanetary space, the concept of security in state relations takes on a new meaning. This is perceptible, as the definition of security varies considerably from country to country.

III. Japan and Terror

When reviewing the origins of terrorism, it is all too common to dismiss the significance of historical context.[28] Historiography or chronology may also be included in the relevant literature evaluation if it is determined that employing a historical method would be especially advantageous. The history of terrorism in Japan is intriguing to examine and relevant in its pacifist way, apart from theoretical knowledge and perspective.

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24 Ekaterina Stepanova, "Anti-Terrorism and Peace-Building During and After Conflict", American Psychological Association, 2003; https://doi.org/10.1037/e550082011-001.

25 Alan Collins, *Contemporary Security Studies*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, 2013; Pınar Bilgin, "Güvenlik Çalışmalarında Yeni Açılımlar: Yeni Güvenlik Çalışmaları", *Stratejik Araştırmalar*, 8.14, 2010, s. 30-53.

26 P. J. Katzenstein - N. Okawara, "Japan's National Security: Structures, Norms, and Policies", *International Security,* 17.4, 1993, p. 84-118 (p. 92); https://doi.org/10.2307/2539023; Amitav Acharya - Buzan Buzan, *The Making of Global International Relations Origins and Evolution of IR at Its Centenary,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019, p. 155.

27 T. Akaha, "Japan's Comprehensive Security Policy: A New East Asian Environment", *Asian Survey*, 31.4, 1991, p. 324-40 (p. 332); https://doi.org/10.2307/2645387.

28 Falkenrath.

At the end of the Edo Period in the 19th century, several different samurai organizations, such as the Shishi (志士)[29], were responsible for committing acts of violence against one another. After many years, in the 1970s, Japan was the target of specific terrorist attacks and acts of terrorism in the contemporary meaning. Japan was forced to deal with the Japan Red Army[30] (1969-2001) and Aum Shinrikyo [31] (1987-2000) without compromising the country's pacifist constitution.

The first terrorist organization, the Japan Red Army (Sekigun-Ha, 赤軍- 派), was created by university students and Marxists who introduced themselves as forerunners of the global revolution.[32] Parallel to the rise of anti-imperialism in the 1960s, independence and revolution discourses increased and the JRA politicized Japanese students in response to American imperialism and the Vietnam War (1955–1975). Due to police intervention and surveillance, JRA members were unable to travel freely in Japan after the organization's formation. Therefore it sought to strengthen ties with similar overseas organizations. The original slogan of the JRA was *"one, two, many Vietnams,"* and the group is currently divided into three factions titled "Yodo Group", "United Red Army", and "Lebanon and the PFLP The Japanese Red Army."[33] The JRA planned many attacks in Tokyo, Kuala Lumpur, Paris, Jakarta, Roma, Nepal and Tel Aviv from the 1970s to the 1990s.[34] Japan has suffered diplomatic and political setbacks of these attacks.

In response to the extremist acts of these terrorist organizations, the Japanese people have primarily backed their government's nonmilitary counter-terrorism and compromise efforts.[35] As a result, Japan's anti-terrorism policies have been termed "dovish" rather than "hawkish." The Japanese were afraid of being drawn into this vicious cycle because they believed that the bloodshed that resulted from

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29 Andrew Silke, "Honour and Expulsion: Terrorism in nineteenth-century Japan", *Journal Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2007, p. 58-81.

30 Martin Gus, *Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives & Issue*, Sage Publications, 2010, p. 285.

31 Meredith Box - Gavan McCormack, "Terror in Japan: The Red Army (1969-2001) and Aum Supreme Truth (1987-2000)", *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, vol. 2, no. 6, 2004.

32 Aileen Gallagher, *The Japanese Red Army (Inside the World's Most Infamous Terrorist Organizations*, Rosen Pub Group, 2003, p. 6-14.

33 P. G. Steinhoff, "Student Protest in the 1960s", *Social Science Japan*, vol. 15, 1999, p. 3-6.

34 I Itabashi - M. Ogawara - D Leheny, "Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries", *Japan*, Ann Arbor, MI, Michigan University Press, 2002, p. 337-73.

35 Itabashi - Ogawara - Leheny.

strict counter-terrorism efforts would lead to further violence. They also considered the likelihood that harsh, radical policies would kill many innocent people. Finally, they have raised the possibility of human rights violations against military personnel, civilians and even terrorists.[36] As a result, the country's anti-terrorism policy has been questioned. Japan's counter-terrorism policies came under fire because of its soft nature.

Given how different the AUM's activities were from those of the JRA, they must be addressed in this study. Although AUM adhered to a different ideology and organizational structure than JRA, it was still a second important reason to make ready Japan's anti-terrorism measures. Matsumoto Chizuo (1955-2018), known by his nickname Asahara Shoko, founded the religiously motivated organization AUM on the 2nd of March 1955. Asahara introduced himself in his book as "Jesus" or someone who had achieved "Nirvana."[37]

The AUM's targets were primarily aimed against the conservative Japanese bureaucracy (JRA in a similar manner) and later against the United States, which was the primary driving force behind the formation of this bureaucracy in Japan shortly after the Second World War. The AUM also targeted Zionists and Asahara said that by the conclusion of WWII, Jews had surpassed Japan as the dominant power in the region and were even further ahead. Most volunteers were between the ages of 20 and 30 and were typically well-educated scientists, physicists, chemists, biologists, medical practitioners and electronic engineers.[38] The use of chemical weapons is most certainly AUM's main fear. Engineers, chemists, and biologists who are members of the AUM have participated in the manufacture and research of numerous biological and chemical compounds, including sarin gas, in AUM facilities and nations such as Africa, Russia, and Australia. Sarin gas was one of these chemicals.[39]

The AUM, which had a passion for chemical weapons and is researching means to obtain nuclear weapons, has a profile distinct from past terrorist organi-

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36 Taiji Miyaoka, "Terrorist Crises Management in Japan: Historical Development and Changing Response (1970-1997)", *Terrorism&Political Violence*, 1998, p. 23-52.

37 David E. Kaplan - Andrew Marshall, *The Cult at the End of the World: The Terrifying Story of the Aum Doomsday Cult, from the Subways of Tokyo to the Nuclear Arsenals of Russia*, New York, Crown Publishers, 1996, p. 260.

38 McCormack Box, "Terror in Japan: The Red Army (1969-2001) and Aum Supreme Truth (1987-2000)", p. 3.

39 Gus; Masaaki Sugishima, "Aum Shinrikyo and the Japanese Law on Bioterrorism", *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine*, 18.3, 2003, p. 179-183; https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049023X00001023.

zations. Specifically, the AUM is investigating ways to acquire nuclear weapons. Even though the AUM had already carried out several strikes[40], the actual attack on the international agenda, which is still rarely seen, occurred on the Tokyo Subway on the 20th of March, 1995. This occurrence is still occasionally noted. Twelve people were killed and between 5,000 and 6,000 others were injured due to the attack at the Kasumigaseki metro station.[41]

Although AUM and JRA have different goals and techniques, both groups have evolved as "children of their time". They also differ from other groups because they did not emerge due to early-life issues such as illiteracy or economic deprivation. Following their existence and attacks in Japan, research on the correlation between development and terrorism has changed and been updated.[42]

IV. Japan and Counterterrorism

The earliest anti-terrorism efforts in Japan have long been seen as an exciting and novel topic deserving of study. Despite Japan's status as a pacifist nation with rigorous constitutional requirements and constraints, terrorists have been confronted there. In addition, the Asia region and Japan's allies closely monitored these measures' evolving forms and objectives in the fight against domestic extremism and worldwide terrorism.

Japan is generally seen as a soft (non-militarist) state in the war against terrorism. The state's bureaucratic and political structure mainly makes this country more "reactive" than "proactive".[43] In other words, anti-terrorism actions in Japan often follow terrorist acts. It is commonly accepted, however, that preventative efforts are more effective in preventing terrorism. Katzenstein defines Japan's counter-terrorism policy as "pretty passive" within and "extremely limited"

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40   "Crimes of the Cult; A Case Study on the Aum Shinrikyo", Senate Government Affairs Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, 31.10.1995; https://fas.org/irp/congress/1995_rpt/aum/part05.htm.

41   Tatsuya Mori (Director), *A (Documentary on Youtube)*, Documentary, n.d.; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0241146/?ref_=ttmi_tt.

42   Sambuddha Ghatak - Aaron Gold, "Development, Discrimination, and Domestic Terrorism: Looking beyond a Linear Relationship", *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 34.6, 2017, p. 618-639; https://www.jstor.org/stable/26271485 [accessed the 12th of November 2022]; Jan Bøeò - Tomáš Zeman - Rudolf Urban, "Link between Terrorism and Social, Economic And Security-Political Factors", in *Disaster Management*, Ancona, Italy, 2019, s. 179-190; https://doi.org/10.2495/DMAN190161; Ghatak - Gold.

43   Carol Walker, "Creating A Counterterrorism Policy: Why Has Japan Had A Weak Response?", *Virginia Review of Asian Studies*, 2006, p. 2-3.

outside the country.[44] While confronted with internal terrorism during the Cold War, Japan used minimum police power and stressed civilian security components, causing influential radical groups from the 1970s to flee to the Middle East (JRA-PFLP) or elsewhere. These civilian forces are known as "Kouban" (交番) and they provide intimate ties, cooperation, and integration with society, similar to the "community policing" systems that exist in the West and Türkiye today. Police organizations have been able to diminish and restrict the harshness of the state's response to the JKO and AUM without endangering their credibility by striving to eliminate terror attacks and crime over the long run.[45] Meanwhile, state officials have stated that there are multiple reasons for terrorism. As a result, they have decided to limit the social rights and other areas that radical groups exploit to their benefit rather than combat them violently. Although Japan's fight against terrorism is on a modest scale, the fact that it does not see "force" as the primary factor against it and attempts to overcome it in several ways shows that it operates independently of established international counter-terrorism laws.[46]

Major institutions in the fight against terrorism in Japan; The Cabinet Research Office (Naicho-内調), which is directly connected with the Prime Minister, The Defense Intelligence Headquarters (Jōhōhonbu-情報本部) linked with the Ministry of Defense, the Public Security Intelligence Agency (Koanchosa-cho-公安調査庁) of the Ministry of Justice, and The National Police Agency (Keisatsu-chō-警察庁) of the National Public Safety Commission. The most fundament institutions responsible for the fight against terrorism at the national level are the Special Assault Team (SAT-特殊急襲部隊) and the Special Security Team (SST-特殊警備隊), established in 1977 within the National Police Agency. In Japan, Nacho is responsible for foreign intelligence mostly.[47]

Japan collects intelligence through the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Police; there is no single institution to examine incoming intelligence. This system, according to analysts, has two fundamental disadvantages: (i) The first is the lack of a covert information-gathering team which limits Japan's access to humanitarian intelligence. (ii)

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44 P. J. Katzenstein, "Same War – Different Views: Germany, Japan and Counterterrorism", *International Organization*, vol. 57, no. 4, 2003, p. 738.

45 Taiji Miyaoka; Manabu Watanabe, "Religion and Violence in Japan Today: A Chronological and Doctrinal Analysis of Aum Shinrikyox", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 10.4, 1998, p. 80-100; https://doi.org/10.1080/09546559808427483.

46 Itabashi – Ogawara - Leheny, p. 148–51.

47 Steven Aftergood - John Pike, "National Police Agency (NPA-警察庁)", *Federation of American Scientists (FAS)*, 2000; https://fas.org/irp/world/japan/npa.htm.

No organization collects intelligence from diverse sources and draws judgments. While professionals are expected to examine and convey this intelligence from numerous sources to the Prime Minister's Office, each unit offers this information independently. With this structure, Japan is reactive rather than proactive in its fight against terrorism.[48] Under Shinzo Abe (2012-2020), most of these shortcomings were addressed.

Japan has dealt with various terrorism-related concerns, attempting to address them through the institutions indicated above. They, like other nations, have taken extraordinary precautions to protect personal rights and liberties.[49] Individual rights and liberties are highly valued in Japan, where the declaration *"the legitimacy of the state is founded on the people, not the emperor"* is incorporated in the constitution.[50] According to the Japanese, the emperor and the government were still guilty of dropping two atomic bombs on Japan at the end of the Second World War. Therefore, anytime Japanese authorities attempted to partially meddle in private life based on the state of emergency and security concerns in the war against terrorism, they were faced with tremendous public opposition.[51]

More than two hundred bombings occurred in Japan between 1969 and 1989, and between 1978 and 1990, over seven hundred Molotov bombs and other terrorist activities of a similar nature were carried out.[52] Despite these incidents/attacks, the police have played a relatively insignificant and unofficial role in several aspects of social life. In addition, Japan did not take as many precautions as other countries against the terrorist acts of the JRA in the international arena. These strategies included the payment of ransoms in exchange for releasing terrorists who had previously been caught. Because of this, Japan's anti-terrorist program was given the title *"giving terrorists what they want."*[53] Until the 1990s.

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48   "Japan's Intelligence Reform Inches Forward", *Stratfor*; https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/article/japans-intelligence-reform-inches-forward [accessed the 12th of November 2022].

49   OSCE ODIHR, *Countering Terrorism, Protecting Human Rights : A Manual*, *HDIM*, ODIHR, 2007; https://tandis.odihr.pl/handle/20.500.12389/21202 [accessed the 12th of November 2022].

50   Itabashi - Ogawara - Leheny, "Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries", p. 337-73.

51   Katzenstein, "Same War – Different Views: Germany, Japan and Counterterrorism", p. 743.

52   Peter Katzenstein - Yutaka Tsujinaka, *Defending the Japanese State: Structures, Norms and the Political Responses to Terrorism and Violent Social Protest in the 1970s and 1980s*, Cornell University, 1991, p. Table-2.

53   Itabashi - Ogawara - Leheny, "Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries", p. 346.

In response to criticism of Japan's counter-terrorism tactics, former Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda (1976-1978) remarked that "*human life outweighs the Earth",* emphasizing the significance of the captives.[54] The Japanese have also expressed their support for the compromise agenda that the government is pursuing. According to a survey, 62% of people in Japan support the government's anti-terrorist operations. However, only 23% agree that *"no compromises should be made in the fight against terrorism, no matter the cost".*[55]

According to experts, the JRA's closure represents a victory for Japan's tolerant, patient and long-term counter-terrorism strategy.[56] However, the governments involved have been heavily criticized for their lack of intelligence in the fight against AUM.[57] The legislative plans on technical surveillance and legal interception were repealed to appease public sentiment. As can be seen, even during the most difficult and dangerous moment in their nation's history, the Japanese people remained loyal to pacifism and their constitution, and they ultimately played a critical part in developing the country's soft anti-terrorism policies.

As the number of terrorist strikes worldwide has increased, Japan has been the target of several in recent years. This has led to a debate about Japan's counter-terrorism strategy on a global scale, as well as on the national one. Japan has never taken a rigorous or customized approach to counter global terrorism, just as it has never taken such an approach when dealing with domestic terrorism. Countries worldwide, led by the US, have voiced their disapproval of these policies. Despite widespread condemnation, Japan has contributed financially to UN peacekeeping operations and other global efforts to counter-terrorism. The constitutional barrier, however, has kept Japan from offering military support.[58] After the September 11 attacks, Japan compromised by permitting Japan Self-Defense

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54 "Japanese Hostage Crisis: A Timeline", Agence France-Presse, *NDTV*, 01.02.2015; https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/japanese-hostage-crises-a-timeline-736132.

55 Itabashi - Ogawara - Leheny, "Combating Terrorism: Strategies of Ten Countries", p. 346.

56 Peter Katzenstein - Yutaka Tsujinaka, *Defending the Japanese State: Structures, Norms and the Political Responses to Terrorism and Violent Social Protest in the 1970s and 1980s*, East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1991.

57 Patricia G Steinhoff, "From Dangerous Thoughts to Dangerous Gas: A Frame Analysis of the Control of Social Movements in Japan", unpublished Presentation presented at the American Sociological Association Meetings, New York, 1996.

58 Y. Ryu, "The War on Terrorism and Japan National Identity", *Harward Asia Quarterly*, 2005, p. 13-20.

Forces[59] (JSDF- Jieitai - 自衛隊) to deploy the weapon in only circumstances of the peace process in the international dimension.

There is now no serious threat to Japan in terms of countering terrorist activities, except for the assassination of long-serving Prime Minister Abe and the controversies involving the Unification Church.[60] As a result, the subject of religious and radical groups remains significant in the context of Japan's pacifist constitution, and pacifist Japanese will be questioned about the government's power. The constitutional amendment, which had been at the top of the nation's agenda for the previous years, is now a matter of discussion regarding counter-terrorism and extremist groups. A similar process was set in place in the fight against international terrorism. During the 1990s, Seiroku Kajiyama (1992-1993), the parliamentary secretary-general at the time, campaigned for legislative changes that would allow the JSDF to join in operations with a limited group of foreign countries outside of Japan's borders.[61] In order to combat terror and terrorist attacks, Japan's government has initiated continuing constitutional discussions. These disputes are still going on today.

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59 "Declassified Papers Show U.S. Asked Japan for SDF Support during 1990 Gulf Crisis | The Japan Times"; https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2021/12/22/national/sdf-gulf-war-us-constitution/?utm_source=pianoDNU&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=72&pnespid=oOfOipRN4rOZ4KHotQPyv6UI4w4OuTJ1nRV1FEI3vR2Vro39.UKYM-ZcFEEd3adta8qiF [accessed the 22nd of December 2021]; Jack Edward Holden, "What Factors Influenced Japan's Decision to Dispatch Its SelfDefence Forces (SDF) to Iraq in 2004?", *POLIS Journal*, 2011; https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/2c61/b000ddd4b01caf616eccbd5b82e287b3e59f.pdf.

60 Sakurai Yoshihide, "Geopolitical Mission Strategy The Case of the Unification Church in Japan and Korea", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 37.2, 2010, p. 317-334; https://www.jstor.org/stable/41038704 [accessed the 1st of November 2022]; Kanako Takahara, "Unification Church Could Be Stripped of Special Status after Kishida Probe", *The Japan Times*, 2022; https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2022/10/17/national/kishida-unification-church-investigation/ [accessed the 1st of November 2022]; David McNeill, "The Abe Legacy: A Compendium", *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 20.16, 2022, p. 1-33; https://apjjf.org/2022/16/McNeil.html [accessed the 3rd of November 2022]; "Police Seek Indictment of Man Who Tweeted Kishida Assassination Threat", *The Japan Times;* https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2022/08/24/national/crime-legal/police-indictment-kishida-assassination-threat/ [accessed the 1st of November 2022].

61 Bhubhindar Singh, "Japan's Post-Cold War Security Policy: Bringing Back the Normal State", *Contemporary Southeast Asia,* 24.1, 2002, p. 82-105; Christopher W. Hughes, "Japan's Security Policy, the US-Japan Alliance, and the "War on Terror": Incrementalism Confirmed or Radical Leap?", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 58.4, 2004, p. 427-445; https://doi.org/10.1080/1035771042000304715.

V. Conclusion

The findings of this study suggest that it is not possible to fully understand Japan's counter-terrorism policy through traditional frameworks such as realism and liberalism. Instead, Japan's reactive counter-terrorism policy can be better understood through a non-traditional security (NTS) perspective. This approach emphasizes issues such as human security, human life, and state security. However, Japan's focus on the individual could also align with liberal and structuralist beliefs. Despite primarily dealing with the JRA and the AUM, Japan's anti-terrorism regulations are not necessarily justified by the harm caused by these groups. Japan's approach to combating terrorism does not involve the use of military force, and the country has been resistant to making concessions on human rights and liberties in the name of security. The pacifist structure of Japan's constitution, as well as its complex bureaucracy and political system, have also limited the state's ability to take strong action against terrorists. As a result, Japan's role in the fight against terrorism has been largely limited to providing financial and humanitarian assistance in other countries. It can be concluded that Japan's counter-terrorism efforts have been a consistent and impartial model for governments using hard-power politics to combat terrorism, although some have claimed that it may encourage terrorist groups. However, these allegations have not been supported by evidence, particularly in the case of potential escalation of terrorist attacks in Japan.

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Araştırmacıların Katkı Oranı

Araştırmanın her aşamasından yazar sorumludur.

Çatışma Beyanı

Araştırmada herhangi bir çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.