THE INTER-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMICS AND NATIONAL SECURITY: LINKS BETWEEN SECURITY AND NONSECURITY ISSUES IN U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE RELATIONS

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By

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ABSTRACT

The U.S.-Japan alliance relationship from 1951 to 2001 is an example of overlapping national interests and interstate cooperation. The purpose of this study is to examine how the dynamic security and nonsecurity interests of the U.S. and Japan have shaped their alliance and how these overlapping mutual interests are still viewed as incentives for both nations to maintain their alliance in the post-Cold War era. It first examines the existing theoretical approaches to International Relations (IR) and alliances, focusing particularly on neorealist and neoliberalist approaches. It then describes the interplay of security and nonsecurity factors in the U.S.-Japan alliance relationship since its emergence in 1951 until 2001. Analytical approaches that are based in either the neorealist or neoliberalist paradigms proved inadequate to understand the reality of intraalliance interactions of both countries. Therefore, the study introduces a more comprehensive means of inquiry that incorporates the existing approaches and various levels of analysis in IR into a cohesive framework from which an institutionalist framework is derived and applied to U.S.-Japan alliance relations. The main argument of the study, based on an institutionalist approach, is developed to explain the strength and durability of the alliance and to predict outcomes of interstate interactions. In order to establish this argument, the impact of the alliance on interstate relations during and beyond the Cold War era is examined. Variations in the impact of the alliance are assessed by examining the most important issues, ranging from "high-politics" to "low-politics" issues: (1) territorial disputes during the Cold War period, (2) burdensharing problem, and (3) economic and trade friction. The importance of the suggested approach is determined by a comparison with neorealist approaches, which focus on the salience of a common threat in accounting for maintaining alliance relations, and on relative gains and power in explaining international bargaining outcomes. The study shows that the U.S.-Japan alliance has played an important intervening role between domestic preferences and the international structure in facilitating resolution of conflicts in security and nonsecurity issue areas where cooperation is significantly dependent upon the continuation of credible alliance obligations. The importance of this finding is that the maintenance of the U.S.-Japan alliance in the post-Cold War era depends not only upon the presence of a common threat, as neorealists argue, but also upon the value both countries attach to roles the alliance may perform in facilitating interstate and intraalliance cooperation in the future. Among the roles both countries attach to their alliance are: (1) serving as an instrument for mutual cooperation in security and economic issues; (2) serving as a regional stability power; (3) increasing deterrent capabilities against common threat; and--for the U.S.-- (4) enhancing American hegemony; and (5) preventing Japan's remilitarism. Although the study shows that these roles represent very important incentives for both countries to maintain and enhance their alliance in the foreseeable future, it, however, predicts that the most possible alternative or scenario for the future is transforming the present bilateral setup into a multilateral cooperation system, which is expected to be neoliberalist in form and neorealist in essence. Because neorealism and neoliberalism are still inadequate in explaining long-term changes in IR, the study suggests for further studies to employ constructivism as a new approach to the US-Japan alliance relations, which may help explain how national identity is formed and altered through repeated interactions, which, in turn, help to shape national interests.
ABSTRAK

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRAKT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER ONE:</strong> INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. The Problem of the Study</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. The Objectives of the Study</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. The Significance of the Study</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. The Argument of the Study</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5. Review of Literature</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6. Institutional Framework of the Japan-U.S. Alliance Relations</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7. The Methodology of the Study</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8. The Scope of the Study</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9. The Organization of the Study</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER TWO:</strong> INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ALLIANCE THEORIES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0. Introduction</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Contending Systemic Theories of International Relations: Conflict And Cooperation</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1. Realism</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2. Neorealist Approaches to Interstate Cooperation</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Theory of International Politics 39
B. Unconditional Relative Gains Theory 44
C. Conditional Relative Gains Theory 46
D. Limitations of Relative Gains Theory 47

2.1.3. Liberalism 49

A. Liberalism and Peace Thesis 50
B. Limitations of Peace Thesis 51

2.1.4. The Neorealist Synthesis: A Debate between Neorealism and Neoliberalism 54

2.1.5. International Relations Theory in Post-Cold War Era 56

A. Realist Realignment 57
B. Liberal Realignment 58

2.1.6. Toward a More Holistic Approach to the Study of International Relations 59

2.1.6.1. Structural Realism and Levels of Analysis 60

2.1.6.2. Limitations of Structural Realism 61

2.1.6.3. Alternative Approach 63

A. Structural Level 65
B. Interaction Level 69
C. Nation-State Unit Level (Domestic Attributes) 70

2.1.6.4. Incorporation of All Levels of Analysis 70

2.2. Theories of Alliance Relations 73

2.2.1. Neorealist Approaches 77

A. Neorealism's Negative Perceptions of Alliances 77
B. Reformulation of Neorealist Alliance Theory 79
C. Alliance Relations and Systemic Change 82

2.2.2. Neoliberal Institutionalist Approaches 83

A. Hegemonic Stability Theory 83
B. Similar Assumptions between Neorealism and Neoliberal Institutionalism 85
C. The Significance of International Institutions 86
D. Functional Approach to International Institutions 87
2.3. Toward An Institutional Approach To Alliances

A. The Need for Supplementing Neorealistic Alliance Theory

B. The Impact of Interdependence on Intraalliance Cooperation

C. The Impact of Alliances on Nonmilitary Issue Areas

D. Functional Theory of Alliance Strength

CHAPTER THREE: THE ORIGINS OF THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE AND ITS IMPACT ON HIGH POLITICS ISSUES

0. Introduction

3.1. The Emergence of Japan and the U.S. as Great Powers

3.2. The Origins of the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance: 1945-1951

3.3. The Alliance and “Residual Sovereignty” Solution

3.4. Toward a More Equal Partnership: 1952-1960

3.4.1. Allied Capabilities and Military Commitments

3.4.2. Building Trust 1954-1957

3.4.3. Compromise and Repatriation of Bonin Islanders

3.4.4. More Equal Alliance Relations: 1957-1960

3.4.5. Uncertainty Concerning Reliability of Ally

3.5. The Impact of the Positive Alliance on Territorial Issues: 1960-1972

3.5.1. Developing An Interstate Positive Dialogue

3.5.2. Concessions and the Return of Okinawa

3.5.3. Alliance Durability and the Reversion of Okinawa

3.6. The Impact of the Vietnam War on Alliance Relations

3.7. New Strategy and the Impact of Burdensharing Issue on Alliance Relations
CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF THE ALLIANCE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES IN U.S.-JAPAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

0. Introduction

4.1. The Importance of the U.S.-Japan Economic Relations

4.2. The Conflict before the Mid 1980s: A Historical Perspective

4.3. The Nature of the U.S.-Japanese Trade Imbalance Problem

4.4. The Various Dimensions of Economic Frictions

  4.4.1. The Domestic Dimensions and Constraints

    4.4.1.1. Structural Differences

    4.4.1.2. The U.S.-Japan Pattern of Trade

    4.4.1.3. Philosophy of Economic Structure

4.4.2. The Major Changes in the International Economy Since 1985

  4.4.2.1. Plaza Agreement

    A. Liberalism and Nationalism

    B. Politics and Economics

    4.4.2.2. The Target Zone and the Criticism of Floating Exchange-Rate Regime

4.4.3. Trade Policy Initiatives Since 1988

  4.4.4.1 Multilateral Trade Negotiations

    A. The Uruguay Round

    B. Sectoral Negotiations

    C. Super-301 and Structural Impediments Initiative

4.5. The U.S.-Japan Economic Structure

CONCLUSIONS
4.6. Structural Transformation in the U.S. -Japan Economic Relationship 196

4.7. Redefining the U.S.-Japan Economic Relations in Post-Cold War Era 200

CONCLUSIONS 206

CHAPTER FIVE: THE FUTURE OF THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR BILATERAL TIES 215

0. General Overview 215

5.1. Theoretical and Practical Implications for the Future of the Japan-U.S. Alliance Relations 218

5.1.1. Future Scenarios and Alternatives 219

5.1.2. Neorealist and Neoliberalist Implications 228

5.2. The Maintenance of the Alliance in the Absence of a Common Threat 232

5.3. The Changing Role of the U.S.-Japan Alliance in the 21st Century 234

5.4. The Costs of the U.S.-Japan Alliance Relations 243

5.5. Major Economic and Political Stresses on the U.S.-Japan Alliance Relations 244

5.5.1. Economic Stress 245

5.5.2. Burdensharing Stress 248

5.5.3. International Order Stress 249

5.5.4. Hegemony or Partnership 250

5.5.5. Leadership Stress 251

5.5.6. Mutual Adjustments Stress 254

CONCLUSIONS 257
CHAPTER SIX: THE FUTURE OF THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE RELATIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR MULTILATERAL COOPERATION 257

0. Introduction 257

6.1. Competing Approaches 258

6.2. Theoretical Implications 265

6.3. Toward a More Adequate Alternative 270

CONCLUSIONS 276

REFERENCES 287

APPENDICIES 314

1. APPENDIX A: Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, September 1951 314

2. APPENDIX B: Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security Between Japan and The United States of America, January 1960. 316


5. APPENDIX E: Chronology of Japan - United States Relations, 1945 – 2002 334
| Figure (1) | Framework shows the impact of system structure on stability according to neorealist/structural realism | 44 |
| Figure (2) | Alternative of approaches of IR: Assumptions of Realism and Liberalism | 53 |
| Figure (3) | Incorporation of the existing theoretical approaches to IR into a more cohesive approach | 72 |
| Figure (4) | Two person non-zero or variable sum game theory (positive-sum game) | 77 |
| Figure (5) | Framework of the maintenance of alliances | 81 |
| Figure (6) | Roles attached to The U.S.-Japan alliance | 243 |
| Figure (7) | Framework of bilateral ties between the U.S. and regional states | 264 |
| Figure (8) | Framework of multilateralism shows absolute gains obtained from multilateralism compared with relative gains obtained from bilateralism | 273 |