

**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

Pakatan Amerika Syarikat-Jepun dari 1951-2001 merupakan satu contoh hubungan di mana terdapat pertindihan kepentingan negara dan kerjasama antara negara. Kajian ini bertujuan melihat bagaimana kepentingan keselamatan dan bukan keselamatan yang dinamik antara Amerika dan Jepun mempengaruhi pakatan dua negara tersebut serta bagaimana kepentingan bersama masih relevan bagi kedua-dua negara mengekalkan pakatan itu di zaman pasca Perang Dingin. Kajian ini dimulakan dengan perbincangan mengenai pendekatan teoretikal yang terdapat dalam Hubungan Antarabangsa dan pakatan dengan tumupuan khusus terhadap pendekatan neo-realis dan neo-liberalis. Seterusnya perkincangan bertumpu kepada faktor-faktor keselamatan dan bukan keselamatan dalam hubungan pakatan Jepun- Amerika sejak ia dibentuk pada 1951 sehingga 2001. Pendekatan bersifat analitikal bersandarkan kepada paradigme neo-realis dan neo-liberalis terbukti tidak memadai untuk memahami realiti hubungan pakatan dua negara tersebut. Oleh itu, kajian ini memperkenalkan satu bentuk pendekatan yang lebih komprehensif dengan mengambil kira pendekatan yang ada dan peringkat analisis dalam Hubungan Antarabangsa dan menyatukannya ke dalam satu kerangka yang lebih kohesif bersifat "institutionalist" yang boleh digunakan untuk menganalisa hubungan pakatan Jepun- Amerika. Argumentasi utama kajian berdasarkan kepada pendekatan "institutionalist" ini ialah menjelaskan kekuatan dan penerusan pakatan serta melihat apakah hasil daripada interaksi antara negara. Untuk tujuan ini, dampak pakatan terhadap hubungan antara negara semasa dan selepas Perang Dingin akan dikaji. Kepelbagaian dampak dalam politik pakatan akan dinilai melalui kajian ke atas beberapa isu penting dari isu-isu "high-politics" kepada "low-politics": (1) Sengketa wilayah di zaman Perang Dingin (2) masalah tanggungjawab bersama, dan (3) masalah ekonomi dan perdagangan. Peringkat pentingnya pendekatan yang dicadangkan ini dapat dilihat melalui perbandingan diantara pendekatan neo-realis yang berfokus kepada "salience" ancaman bersama sebagai faktor untuk meneruskan hubungan pakatan, dan keuntungan serta kekuatan relatif bagi menjelaskan "outcomes" dalam rundingan antarabangsa. Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa pakatan Jepun- Amerika memainkan peranan penting dalam menentukan faktor domestik dan struktur antarabangsa dalam penyelesaian konflik isu-isu keselamatan dan bukan keselamatan yang memerlukan penerusan tanggung jawab bersama dalam pakatan. Kajian ini mendapati bahawa penerusan pakatan Jepun-Amerika di zaman pasca Perang Dingin bergantung bukan sahaja kepada wujudnya ancaman bersama, sebagaimana pendapat neo-realis, tetapi juga kepada sejauh mana kedua-dua negara melihat kepentingan peranan pakatan dalam memudahkan kerjasama antara negara dan antara ahli pakatan di masa depan. Antara peranan ini ialah: (1) sebagai alat kerjasama dalam isu-isu keselamatan dan ekonomi; (2) sebagai kuasa penstabil serantau; (3) meningkatkan keupayaan "deterent" menentang ancaman bersama; dan -bagi Amerika—(4) memperkukuhkan hegemoni Amerika; dan (5) membendung kemunculan militarisme Jepun. Walaupun kajian ini menunjukkan yang peranan tersebut merupakan insentif penting bagi kedua-dua negara memperkukuh dan meneruskan pakatan mereka di masa hadapan, adalah dijangkakan kemungkinan besar alternatif yang terdapat di masa hadapan ialah hubungan duahala yang ada sekarang akan berubah kepada sistem kerjasama pelbagai hala, yang bersifat neo-liberalis dari segi bentuk dan neo-realis dari segi intipatinya. Oleh kerana neo-realisme dan neo-liberalisme masih belum memadai untuk menjelaskan perubahan-perubahan yang bersifat jangka panjang dalam Hubungan Antarabangsa, kajian ini mencadangkan untuk kajian selanjutnya menggunakan "constructivism" sebagai pendekatan baru dalam hubungan pakatan Amerika -Jepun. Ia mungkin dapat menjelaskan bagaimana identiti nasional terbentuk dan berubah melalui interaksi berulang yang seterusnya mempengaruhi pembentukan kepentingan negara.

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