

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

Japan is considered one of the leading countries in the world. Japan has been becoming one of the developed countries in Asia. It characterizes as a stable country, influential state, technological excellence, high human work ethic, etc. All of those characteristics showed the great reputation of Japan in the eyes of the world. However, Japan has been dealing with dark history whereas the impact has been continuing until now. It began by the emperor Hirohito making a radio broadcast announcing Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945 (History.com Editors, 2018). It was followed by the signature of San Francisco Peace Treaty by 49 nations on September 8, 1951 in San Francisco, California.

San Francisco Peace Treaty signifies the end of World War II and explains the consequences of losing the party. This includes war reparations. The war reparation is a requirement at the end of the war as compensation for the damage caused. It also requires those who lost the war to pay the victor (Gibbs, 2015).

Relations between Japan and the United States started in the World War II era. Relations between both countries began by became each other enemies in World War II until they become allies based on the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan signed on September 8, 1951 in San Francisco, California through representatives of both countries. According to Ryan Wade Dudley, he defines alliance as:

*“Once a state chooses to form a bilateral alliance, the process is dyadic.*

*Two states enter into negotiations and form an alliance that satisfies the needs of each state. During the management phase, any negotiations to change the parameters of the alliance (extension, reconfiguration, termination) or conditions under which the alliance is enacted are also dyadic. The consequences of a bilateral alliance, or the conflict behavior of the two member states, are generated by actions taken by, or against, a member of the dyad. Thus, any theory addressing the hypothesized response should emerge from the dyad (Dudley, 2011).”*

The United States showed the importance of alliance by celebrating its 60th-anniversary relations. In the past 4 years, The United States alliances together with the Republic of Korea and Japan declared and proclaimed the deeper resistance and continue strength to celebrate their 60th anniversary. The United States has been investing to alliances in Asia since 1945 point on security institutions. It has been expecting to maximize the United States' power in the region (Cha, 2017). The United States and Japan relation has been promoting competence-based cooperation framework as alliance. It has been concerning on tactical and practical measurement that actualize to face the risk in the Asia region and beyond (Hinata-Yamaguchi, 2016). Moreover, the United States and Japan have been managing their relation through objective guideline refer to:

*“provide the general framework and policy direction for the roles and missions of Japan and the United States, as well as ways of*

*cooperation and coordination”*  
(Ministry of Defense, Japan, 2015).”

Even though Japan and the United States become allies, relations between both countries dynamically that sometimes they are in tight relations but sometimes they also in stretch relations. Relations between both countries include the wider scope such as politic, military, economic, and social aspects. All of Japan’s administration has been conducting relations with the United States.

Since Japan and the United States become allies, there were times when they were in high tension. First, Japan and the United States conflict in the economic aspect. This conflict caused by the United States to apply the additional import tariff in August 1971 under Prime Minister Eisaku Satō. Japan viewed the new regulation as the second of the "Nixon shocks" targeting the country and described it as the threat through the "Trading with the Enemy Act" against their Pacific ally. Once again, the United States pressured Japan from 1977-1978 under Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda. It intended to boost the rate of the United States domestic growth. Moreover, it had a direct impact on the political career of administration at the time (Bergsten, 1982).

Second, Japan and the United States conflict in the social aspect. This conflict was caused by the three United States servicemen raped a 12-year-old girl in Okinawa in 1995. It happened under Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama. It triggered a massive demonstration of Japanese. The aftermath of the problem led to the military aspect. The United States and Japan agreed on large-scale relocation of the United States bases in Okinawa in 1996. It was including the transfer of the Marine Corps Futenma Air Station within the

prefecture. The same tragedy recurred under Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda. He defined the tragedy as “unforgivable (Shimizu, 2008).” In those periods, relations between the two countries were in high tension.

Third, Japan and the United States conflict in the political-military aspect. Inconsistency of Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama was the reason behind this conflict. While he wanted to escape from shackles of the United States especially about security matters, but he also favored strengthening their bilateral relations. Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama won the election convey election campaign to end the United States and Japan agreement of the United States military base. He promised to relocate Marine Corps Air Station Futenma (MCAS Futenma) from Okinawa even out of Japan. MCAS Futenma is the United States Marine Corps base in Okinawa. Pressure from internal (Japanese Citizens) that demanded the realization of election campaign and external force (the United States) pressed Japan to decide on the 2006 agreement creating the dilemma to the Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama (Fackler, 2009). Analysts have warned that relations between the United States and Japan could get to their worst period in the postwar alliance (Buerk, 2010). With the final decisions, Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama declared that military base would have to stand in Okinawa brought the huge demonstration that led Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama to resign from his positions.

Under administrations of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Japan deepened its bilateral relations with the United States. The rapidly changing environment in Asia and a set of challenges faces the U.S.–Japan alliance that must be managed well to maintain regional stability (Revere, 2013). Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has been contributing on stabilization the presence of the United

States in the region. It has been expecting to fulfill Japan's role as the United States alliance. In this term, Abe has been keeping good relations with the United States administrations in facing the changing regional dynamics. Japan takes decision and action to consider geography matters (Taniguchi, 2019). In this study, Japan plays the role of the United States alliance. Japan involves the United States dynamic regional situation problem that manifests to support and stabilize the United States presence in Asia. It actualized through Japan's involvement in the case of U.S.-China trade war and North Korea's weapons of mass destruction. In the case of U.S.-China trade war, Japan decided to make trade agreement with the United States, purposed as the assistance to the United States' agriculture sector as the worst impact from the trade war. Japan also supported the United States' opposition toward the case of North Korea's weapons of mass destruction through its collective and particular measurements.

## **B. Research Question**

The background above presented the importance of Japan as the United States' alliance in Asia. This study focused on the relations between the United States and Japan, especially, about the role of Japan in maintaining the United States' position in Asia. This study expected to answer and elaborate the following research question:

1. Why did Japan maintain the United States' position in Asia?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

1. An Economic Theory of Alliance

According to the research memorandum *An Economic Theory of Alliance*, by Mancur Olson, Jr.

and Richard Zeckhauser same as the title explains about the economic theory of alliance. It is a theoretical model about military alliances and other international organizations. This research memorandum is an emphasis on the model's basic assumptions. Explains that the nations behave in their best self-interests and that behind all joint undertakings there is a "public goods" aspect. Through presented explanation, the main conclusions draws into two points that (1) an alliance or other international organization entitled to a less than optimal amount of resources; and (2) in a disproportional way, the burden of an alliance is borne to the larger members by paying more than their proportional share (Mancur Olson, 1966).

Based on the explanation above, the model of military alliances presented on the economic theory of alliance with the issue of study examined. This study is an emphasis on Japan as the alliance of the United States. It has been establishing since Japan lost World War II. As one of the consequences, the demilitarization policy of Japan has been enforcing since two weeks after Japan lost World War II. In line with the model of the economic theory of alliance, as one alliance, the United States has been deploying the U.S. forces in Japan to maintain Japan's security.

## 2. Rational Policy Model

State pursues its national interests through foreign Policy decision-making. A state will acknowledge that it uses the right foreign Policy decision-making if the instrument delivers a state in achieving its national interests and acquiring rightful place among the national community. According

to Padelford and Lincoln, they define foreign Policy as:

*“A State’s Foreign Policy is totality of its dealings with the external environment. Foreign Policy is the overall result of the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into specific courses of action in order to achieve its objectives and preserve its interests” (AS, 2018).*

Through the book, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, Graham T. Allison explained foreign policy behavior with conceptual models to analyze the case of the Cuban Missile Crisis 1962. He thought that rational expectations theories in political science and the study of international relations were inherited from economics, where nations consider the possibility of all options and act rationally to maximize their gains and minimize their losses.

Graham T. Allison constructed three conceptual models of foreign policy such as the rational policy model (Model I), an organizational process model (Model II), and a bureaucratic politics model (Model III). Referring to the three conceptual models, it has a different meaning in terms of the basic analyses and organizing factors involved in foreign policy decisions. However, an organizational process model (Model II) and a bureaucratic politics model (Model III) were the “alternative” conceptual models (Allison, 1969). Because of that, this study

focused to explain foreign policy behavior with Graham T. Allison's rational policy model to analyze the case of Japan in maintaining the United States' position under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

The rational policy model (Model I) is the basic conceptual model of the behavior of national governments. The model I analyzes about the decision taken as the more or less purposive acts of unified national governments. The main purpose of this model is to show the ways of the nation or government that could have taken an action in question, considered to the strategic problem that it faced. The implication of the Model I is that behind the important events there were important causes. Moreover, Graham T. Allison deepened his explanation through rational policy paradigm (Allison, 1969):

- I. Basic Unit of Analysis: Policy Choice  
Decision-making of foreign affairs taken by the nation or national government with considered its strategic goals and objectives.
- II. Organizing Concepts
  - A. The national actor is the nation or government in charge as a rational and unitary decision-maker.
  - B. The problem is the strategic problem faced by the nation. There were threats and opportunities in the "international strategic market place" obligate the nation to act.
  - C. Static selection is relevant action based on foreign policy decision-making toward the problem.
  - D. Action as ratio & choice
    1. Goals and objectives



The principal categories of strategic goals conceived based on its national security and national interests.

2. Options are alternative actions of strategic problem
3. Consequences include advantages and costs in terms of strategic goals and objectives.
4. The choice is the condition where the national actor decides options whose consequences the highest rank in terms of its goals and objectives.

### III. Dominant Inference Pattern

Nation performed a particular action as a purposive pattern to value-maximizing means.

### IV. General Propositions

- A. An increase in the cost of an alternative, i.e., the reduction value of consequences which will follow from the action and reduces the alternative being chosen.
- B. A decrease in the costs of an alternative, i.e., increase the value of consequences which will follow from the alternative and increases of the action being chosen.

### V. Specific Propositions

Deterrence is the likelihood of any particular attack happens from the general proposition.

Based on the explanation above, the rational policy model (Model I) correlates with the issue of study examined. Relating the rational policy model (Model I) to the issue of this study, Japan maintaining the United States' positions in Asia, this study attempt to show how this was a reasonable act from the point of view of Japan, given Japan's strategic objectives. This study analyzed that Japan pursues its national interests through its foreign

policy decision-making in maintaining the United States' positions in Asia.

#### **D. Research Arguments**

This study analyzed that there were the reasons behind every decision taken by the decision-maker. Economic theory of alliance and rational policy model were used as the guide to describe the reasons behind every decision taken by the decision-maker. By applying the two theories to the case, this study analyzed that there were several reasons behind Japan helped the United States to maintain its position in Asia.

Based on the economic theory of alliance, this study analyzed that there were a form of exchange behind the United States and Japan alliance relations. Both the United States and Japan expected probable gains of the form of exchange through alliance relations. Even though, Japan got more benefits than what the United States got from the alliance relations. The decision-maker has decided to help the United States maintaining its position in Asia after considering the probable gains prevail over the probable costs rising from the interaction, where the United States expected Japan to maintain the United States' position in Asia while Japan also sought self-interest in it.

Furthermore, referring to the rational policy model, this study analyzed that this was a reasonable act of Japan under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's administration to make decisions maintaining the United States' position in Asia as its foreign policy, given Japan's strategic objectives to pursue its national interests. This study examined that there are two national interests of Japan in maintaining the United States' position in Asia such as security reasons and economic reasons. Where

Japan's involvement in the case of North Korea's weapon of mass destruction was a reasonable act, given Japan's demilitarization policy to pursue its protection with the United States' defensive equipment as Japan's security reasons while Japan's involvement in the case of the U.S.-China trade war was a reasonable act, given China as Japan's competitor Japan's as economic reasons.

Based on two theories, this study analyzed that each nation-states has different national interest. Alliance binds countries to supports each other. Even though, as an alliance, they could not share their burden in proportional share. The larger member pays the burden of an alliance more than their proportional share. However, Alliance maintains its national interest through gives and takes order.

## **E. Scope of Research**

This study concerns the relations between Japan and the United States, especially the role of Japan as the United States' strategic ally to maintain the United States' position in Asia. In line with that, this study also presents threats and competition faced by the United States in Asia. Moreover, the study limits the Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's second term in office started on December 26, 2012, until 2019. However, it also examines historical cases.

## **F. Research Purposes**

The purposes of the study were as follow:

1. To enrich understanding of introductory studies of international relations, alliances between nations, and international relations theories.
2. To become a general description on Japan maintaining the United States' position in Asia.

## **G. Research Methodology**

### **1. Type of Research**

This research used a descriptive research method to analyze the presented issue based on rational policy model and an economic theory of alliance. This study expected to elaborate Japan in maintaining the United States' position in Asia to face threat and competition while Japan also sought self-interest in it.

### **2. Level of Analysis**

This study comprises of the unit of analysis and the unit of explanation. First, the unit of analysis is Japan playing a role as the United States ally. The unit of analysis can draw that the level of unit analysis is the nation-states. Second, the unit of explanation is Japan is obligation to help the United States to maintain its position in Asia. From the unit of explanation can draw that the level of unit explanation is the nation-states. From the same category between the level of unit analysis and level of unit explanation as nation-states, concluded that the type of analysis is correlation analysis.

### **3. Data Collection Technique**

This study used library research in collecting the data to supports the ideas. Library research is a method used to obtain data and concepts through various types. This study used various sources as references that correlation to analyze the presented issue. The sources were obtained from books, journals and sources of supporting information such as documents, reports, newspapers, news, and research results. Moreover, it also used a source from

information media sites on the internet to relevance the data obtained to be more valid.

#### 4. Data Analysis Technique

This study used the deductive analysis technique to the organized structure of the study. It started with the background of the problem. The background of the problem drew the research question. From the research question, this study found suitable theories. From the theories drew Research argument. Finally, it constructed the foundation of the discussion. Without a clear structure, it would confuse the reader in comprehending the study.

## H. Writing System

Content of this paper includes:

### 1. Chapter I

This chapter determines the background of the study, research questions, theoretical framework, research arguments, scope of research, research purposes, research methodology, and writing system.

### 2. Chapter II

This chapter discusses dynamic relations of Japan and the United States. It presented their relations from enemy of the World War II then, it changed into the United States occupation toward Japan after Japan's surrender, and followed until became an alliance.

### 3. Chapter III

This chapter describes Japan's policy in maintaining the United States' position in Asia under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. In order to support this chapter, there is further explanation about the cases of North Korea's weapon of mass destruction and the U.S.-China trade war.

4. Chapter IV  
This chapter analyzes research arguments about national interests of Japan in maintaining the United States' position in Asia under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. Therefore, the objective of this chapter is to know about how this was a reasonable act from the point of view of Japan, given Japan's strategic objectives.
5. Chapter V  
This chapter represents a summary all of the previous chapter.