

## INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN JAPAN\*

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### I. *Objectives and Methodology*

The objectives of this paper are to figure out what substantive issues and theoretical approaches are receiving scholars' attention in Japan and to present proposals to build a viable transnational community of students of international relations.

To avoid writers' personal conceptions of these problems, the following methods were used; first, a questionnaire was addressed to the members of the Japan Association of International Relations (JAIR) to bring together JAIR members' perceptions of the problems in 1988. The rate of return was about 27 percent; 329 out of about 1,200 JAIR members answered the questionnaire. The results of the questionnaire were suggestive. However, too much dependence on it was avoided because the absolute number of respondents was too low. There may be a difference of opinions whether the rate of return of the questionnaire (27%) was high enough to generalize the result of the questionnaire. Even so, when cross tabulation was used to analyze the answer to the questionnaire, the absolute number in each category was often very small. Therefore, the interpretation of the responses to the questionnaire was carefully done.

Second, there often exists a gap between perception and behavior; it may happen that few studies on an issue were undertaken although that issue was perceived as very important for world politics by many scholars. Therefore, the academic works done by JAIR members were also examined to understand what substantive issues were actively studied and which theoretical approaches were frequently used in research.<sup>1</sup> Third, a research team was organized to examine the result of the questionnaire and the characteristics of international studies made by JAIR members.

The second section of this paper briefly reviews international studies of Japan before the 1980's. The third section figures out JAIR members' primary fields of research. The

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<sup>1</sup> The articles presented in JAIR Journal, titled *Kokusai Seiji (International Relations)* were the main source for this paper, but statistical analysis of academic achievements or the articles in *Kokusai Seiji* was not undertaken because it is too time-consuming. See Sadao Asada ed., *International Studies in Japan: A Bibliographic Guide* (Tokyo: The Japan Association of International Relations, 1988).

fourth section investigates JAIR members' perceptions of the important substantial issues and their works in regard with these issues. The fifth section examines the substantive issues to be studied further in the next ten years. The sixth and seventh sections are devoted to the examination of JAIR members' perceptions on theoretical approaches, the theoretical characteristics of the works done by JAIR members, and major analytic weakness of research. The eighth section argues the principal users of scholarly research on international questions. The ninth section discusses the way in which Japanese scholars contribute to building a viable transnational community of scholars.

## II. *A Brief Review of International Studies in Japan before 1980's*

International studies of Japan mainly consisted from the fields of international politics, diplomatic history, and area studies. Researchers of diplomatic history was basically developed even before World War II, which contributed to the development of diplomatic history thereafter. Historical approaches have been frequently used even in the study of international politics and area studies.

International studies of Japan went through a remarkable development phase after World War II owing to the changes in research environment: First is the liberation of research which have been forbidden under the militarism regime in the prewar times. This allowed the presentation of the achievements of research without any restrictions. Second, the opening of government documents to the public stimulated international studies to a great extent. A few historians who were government officers at the same time have had access to official documents of foreign relations in prewar Japan. However, under the occupation regime, numerous confidential documents were publicly presented as materials for the Tokyo military tribunal. Documents of the ministry of foreign affairs made during prewar Japan were also confiscated by the U.S. army of occupation. The microfished documents were later opened to the public.

War and peace was the most important issue for international students shortly after World War II. The causes of the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War were energetically analyzed. On the other hand, as the Cold War escalated, the studies based power politics approach or ideological perspectives were also actively pursued. The works of H. Morgenthau, E.H. Carr, and G.F. Kennan affected international studies of Japan strongly. The great debate between idealists and realists was developed over not only the methodology by academics, but the actual Japanese foreign policies by academics, journalists, and political parties. The debates over Treaty of Peace with Japan, the revision of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty are listed as examples.

Behavioral science developed in the U.S. during the 1950's and the 60's highly stimulated international study in Japan. R.C. Snyder's decision making theory, K. Deustch's communication approach, and later G.T. Allison's bureaucratic politics model gave a strong impact on the international studies in all fields. The influence of them was particularly strong over young researchers of international politics in Japan. They introduced theoretical approaches of the U.S. to Japan, and energetically examined the usefulness of the theories and the applicability to the cases of Japan and East Asia. On the other hand,

the scholars whose backgrounds were found in European historical approach or Marxism were critical to the quick introduction of American approaches. As a result, the introduction of American political science seemed well-balanced.

The application of behavioral approaches and the improvement of them as well with the increase of interest in peace research characterized the study of international theories in the 1970's. Findings of Japanese characteristics in political behavior, process, and culture were accumulated. However, few original international theories were presented in the 1970's. Many Japanese scholars recognize this theoretical weakness of research, and now make efforts to present original theories and contribute to the study of international relations.

### III. *The Characteristics of JAIR Members*

The number of JAIR members is now about 1,200, and JAIR is one of the largest academic associations in Japan. The JAIR members are mainly composed of researchers who major in international politics, diplomatic history, and area studies. A few scholars who specialize in international law, international economics, and peace research also participate in JAIR. This does not imply that the study of international politics is not independent from diplomatic history or area study nor that the researchers of these fields are simply assembled to one academic association because of the underdevelopment of their own associations. Rather, the close relationship among these research fields is conceived as desirable for the development of individual fields by JAIR members. In addition, the courses of international relations in universities are often taught by not only international theorists but diplomatic historians or area study researchers. As a result, quite many scholars regard several fields as their own specialty (Table 1); out of 204 members who specialize in international politics, 154 (75 percent) have another area of specialization—94 in area studies and 60 in diplomatic history. They, in fact, undertook their research in both fields; it is quite common that diplomatic historians present theoretical models of international politics, and international politics researchers engage in historical studies.

182 of the 329 respondents (55 percent) have studied at foreign universities or research institutes either as students or visiting fellows. This figure looks very high since the percentage of the number of scholars who studied abroad is expected to be lower than this figure in JAIR as a whole. 35 out of the 182 respondents (19 percent) received degrees,

TABLE 1. JAIR MEMBERS' MAJOR FIELDS

	International Politics	Diplomatic History	Area Studies	International Economics	International Law	Peace Research
International Politics	204	60	94	20	10	24
Diplomatic History	60	111	43	3	3	6
Area Studies	94	43	142	9	4	13
International Economics	20	3	9	25	0	4
International Law	10	3	4	0	25	0
Peace Research	24	6	13	4	0	33

N=329

TABLE 2. SPECIFIC MAJOR FIELDS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS  
(Multiple answer)

	(N=329)
(1) International Theories in General	21.6%
(2) International Organizations	6.7%
(3) Studies on the European Community	4.0%
(4) Transnational Relations	8.5%
(5) International Political Economy	17.3%
(6) North-South Problem	14.3%
(7) Economic Friction among Developed Countries	7.3%
(8) Decision Making	13.4%
(9) Security Problems	18.5%
(10) Disarmament	10.9%
(11) Strategic Studies	9.4%
(12) Marxist International Politics Theory	4.9%
(13) U.S.-Soviet Relations	11.9%
(14) U.S.-China Relations	5.5%
(15) China-Soviet Relations	5.8%
(16) U.S.-Japan Relations	17.6%
(17) China-Japan Relations	7.3%
(18) Soviet-Japan Relations	7.0%

either B.A., M.A., or Ph.D. in foreign universities. Moreover, differences of experience between ages can be found; more than 60 percent of the respondents whose ages are between 30's and 50's have studied abroad, but the figure was less in case of the respondents whose ages are beyond their 60's. Finally, it is the U.S. where 55 percent of them studied. Besides the U.S., United Kingdom, other West European countries, and Canada are the countries where quite many Japanese scholars have been to study. It looks remarkable that more than ten percent of the respondents have stayed for research at Oceania countries. On the other hand, only 17 percent of the respondents have studied in third world countries, and few scholars have studied in Socialist countries.

#### IV. *Substantive Issues*

##### 4.1. General Description

The East-West problem is conceived as by far the most important factor determining the basic structure of global international relations; about half of the respondents to the questionnaire ranked this problem as the most important (Table 3). However, the number of scholars who specialize in this problem has been small in comparison with its importance. As a result, not enough academic works are being produced to adequately cover this area.

The economic friction among developed countries is conceived as the second most important factor to affect the structure of international relations. In this case, the problem is being studied very intensively in Japan; the economic friction among developed countries is relatively a new problem, and the situation is still changing so that this problem attracts many scholars. It suggests that the salience of a problem as well as the importance of a problem should be addressed.

TABLE 3. IMPORTANCE OF ISSUES  
(Percent)

	Most	Second
East-West Relations	48.9	15.5
Economic Trade Friction among the Developed Countries	14.0	26.7
North-South Conflict	10.6	22.8
Global Issues	9.4	13.7
Nationalism, Religion, Ideology	13.1	15.5
(NA)	4.0%	5.8

The North-South problem is also seen as one of the most important factors to affect current and future international relations. In fact, the Japanese scholars specializing in international political economy devoted a great deal of energy to this problem in the early 1970's. However, as the economic friction among developed countries escalated thereafter, these scholars diversified their research concern into both the North-North problem and the North-South problem. Nationalism, religion, and ideology are also thought to be one of the most important factors in shaping the structure of international relations. These factors are seen as direct causes of regional military crises. Finally, global issues such as limited natural resources, environment, and food problems, are considered to be less important.

JAIR members' perceptions of the nature and the prospects for resolution of the East-West problem, the economic friction among developed countries, and the North-South problem and their academic achievements on these problems will be investigated more thoroughly

#### 4.2. The East-West Problem

Two-thirds of the respondents regard the nature of the East-West problem as the relationship between the U.S. and Soviet Union. And, one-third argue that East-West relations should be examined as a trilateral relationship among the U.S., Soviet Union, and China (PRC). Owing to Japan's geographical location close to China, Japanese scholars tend to see the East-West problem in the trilateral framework, and this tendency may be common to scholars in other Asian countries. However, it does not necessarily mean that Japanese scholars see China as a global superpower like the U.S. or Soviet Union. Rather, it implies that Japanese scholars see the East-West relations at two levels: The U.S.-Soviet relationship on the global level and the U.S.-Soviet-China relationship on the regional level, although both levels are closely related each other.

East-West relations are basically perceived as a stalemate, and a direct military conflict between the East and the West is thought to be unlikely, although the East-West problem is seen as escalating regional military crises.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the East-West problem is no longer regarded as an ideological conflict between the capitalist world and the socialist world.

<sup>2</sup> As we mentioned, the questionnaire was addressed in 1988.

TABLE 4. JAPAN'S ROLE IN REGARD WITH THE EAST-WEST RELATIONS

Question: What role do you think should Japan play in regard with the East-West relations?

N=329

(1) Japan should take active political leadership in detente and contribute to the improvement of the East-West relations	25.8%
(2) Japan should take an economic approach such as developing economic interdependence with China or Soviet Union	31.3%
(3) The wisest position for Japan is to cooperate primarily with the U.S. position and not try to pursue her own political role	10.6%
(4) Japan should clarify and stress her position as a member of the Western group and should expand active diplomacy from that point of view	21.3%
(5) Others	6.7%
NA	4.3%

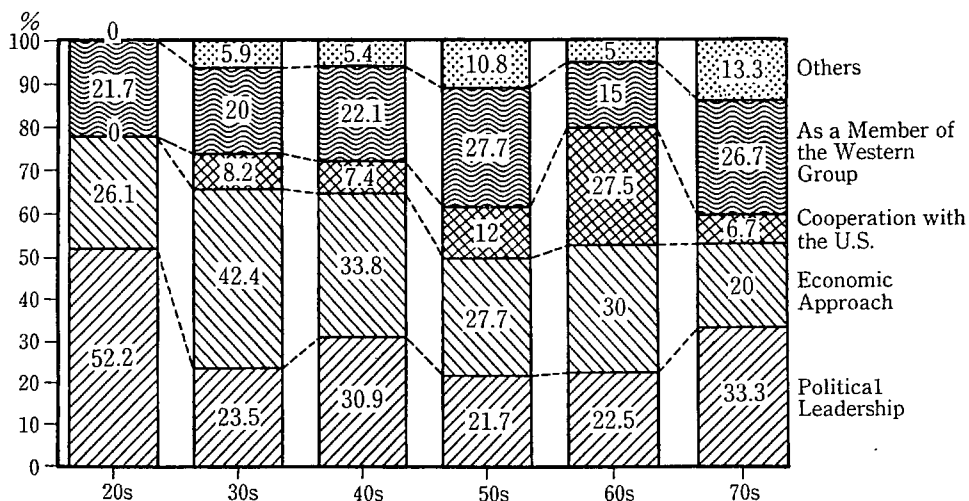
More than 80 percent of the respondents to the questionnaire answered that Japan has to play an active role for amelioration of East-West relations (Table 4). And, the opinions are divided into the following three groups regarding what kind of approaches Japan has to take for that purpose: Economic approach, political leadership, and behavior as a member of the Western group.

First, the economic approach is the idea that Japan can contribute to mitigating the conflict between the East and the West by deepening its economic interdependence with the Soviet Union and China. Second, the political approach insists that Japan has to take political leadership for the resolution of this problem. This opinion is strongly supported by the young generation. Until recently, it was taboo to think of Japan becoming a political giant because of its past experiences before World War II, and therefore the economic approach to international relations was widely supported by Japanese scholars. However, the younger generation seems to have a different attitude from that of the older generation; that is, they have grown up as Japan has made rapid economic growth and became an economic giant, therefore they are irritated by the gap between Japan's economic power and its political behavior in international relations (Fig. 1). As their number increase in JAIR, the idea that Japan should take stronger political initiatives in East-West relations might be strengthened.

The third approach wants Japan to behave more actively as a member of the Western group, and it is strongly supported by the scholars who have studied abroad. Since these studies were made usually in North America or Western Europe, their consciousness as a member of the Western bloc was accentuated.

Quite many scholars specialize in such related issues as the relationship between the U.S. and Soviet Union (12 percent), national security problems in general (19 percent), arms control and disarmament (11 percent), and strategic studies (9 percent). However, as previously mentioned, neither their numbers nor the number of academic works on these issues are enough in comparison with the utmost importance of these issues. Weakness in the study of security and other related issues and the reasons for it are summarized as follows: First, most scholars analyzed the security problems of Japan within a regional framework, and few studies were undertaken from global perspectives. This attitudes may reflect Japan's passive attitude on military problems after World War II; that is, the

FIG. 1. OPINIONS OF JAPAN'S ROLE IN REGARD WITH THE EAST-WEST RELATIONS BY AGE GROUPS (Percent) N=329



Japanese government adopted a policy to concentrate its energy on economic growth and entrusted the U.S. with its security, limiting Japan's role to regional concerns under the U.S. global strategy.

Second, few studies about arms control or strategic studies have been produced in Japan, owing to a strong disdain for the study of military problems. This has been caused by an aversion to its past militarism and by the experience of the Atomic bombs. Therefore, Japanese people tend to think that the usage of any weapons should be forbidden, refusing any argument which tries to differentiate the kinds of weapons. As a result, neither the thought of arms control nor the ideas of strategic studies are understood even from a critical perspective. Even so, it is also a fact that strategic studies tend to be increasing recently.

Third, even the study of disarmament cannot be regarded as highly advanced. Journalistic articles or books on disarmament have frequently been published, and peace movements seeking disarmament have been actively developed. However, these movements have close relationships with political parties such as the Japanese Socialist Party and the Japanese Communist Party. These connections discourage scholars who are afraid that their academic research output might be used by these political parties. The political environment for the study of disarmament, the lack of global perspectives, and the strong feeling against the study of military problems of any kinds have prevented the development of disarmament studies in Japan.

Fourth, a high security feeling shared by many Japanese people also discourages scholars' incentives to undertake the study of security problems. The Japanese security system under the U.S.-Japanese security treaty is conceived to be reliable and the East-West relation is regarded as stalemate so that this problem is not thought to be a salient problem to be investigated urgently. Finally, few studies on Soviet Union have been conducted, which also hinders the advancement of security studies.

It is also a fact that a few Japanese scholars produced sophisticated research in spite of these weakness; U.S.-Soviet military arms race, arms transfer to the Third World countries, and nuclear proliferation were the topics analyzed most frequently. The security policies of the middle power like Canada or Sweden are now being investigated because they are expected to present a model for Japanese security policy.

#### 4.3. The Economic Friction among Developed Countries (The North-North Problem)

The economic friction among developed countries (The North-North Problem) is perceived as the second most important problem to shape international relations. This problem is thought to be caused basically by the change in the structure of international relations, apparent in the decline of U.S. power, and by the change in the nature of international relations like the development of interdependence (Table 5). More than half of the respondents to the questionnaire consider the decline of U.S. power as the most important cause of the economic friction, and one-fifth of the respondents see the economic friction as an inevitable consequence of the deepening of interdependence.

On the other hand, more than one-third of the respondents perceive Japan's economic aggressiveness as the second most important factor rather than as the most important one. It implies that Japanese scholars tend to see Japanese economic aggressiveness escalating the economic friction rather than being the direct cause of the friction. Finally, cultural differences or communication gaps among the U.S., Europe, and Japan were often pointed out as causes of economic friction in the articles, but most scholars consider these factors to be less important.

The answer about the ways for resolution of the economic frictions among developed countries corresponds to the perceptions of the causes of this problem (Table 6); that is,

TABLE 5. THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR CAUSING ECONOMIC FRICTION

	N=329
(1) Decline of America's Power	52.3%
(2) Inevitable consequence of the deepening of interdependence	22.2%
(3) Cultural difference and communication gap between Japan, U.S. and Europe	7.0%
(4) Japan's economic aggressiveness	12.5%
(5) Others	4.0%
No Answer (NA)	2.1%

TABLE 6. THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR FOR PREVENTING FURTHER ESCALATION OF ECONOMIC FRICTION

	N=329
(1) Recovery of America's power	12.2%
(2) Reform of the consciousness of the American people	17.0%
(3) Promoting cooperation among countries	35.9%
(4) Expansion of international exchange	7.9%
(5) Japan to take responsibilities as a great power	19.5%
(6) Others	5.2%
NA	2.4%



most Japanese scholars see the revival of U.S. power as unlikely so that they insist that cooperation among developed countries be strengthened, and they, at the same time, expect Japan to behave as one of the leading countries. The Japanese scholars' answer about the causes and the resolution of the economic frictions among developed countries is very similar to the arguments developed about the decline of U.S. power; in other words, the responding pattern to this question suggests how strongly Japanese scholars have been affected by the arguments of hegemonic stability theories and/or the critics of those theories developed mainly in the U.S.

Although these ways to ameliorate the friction are expected to be taken, a pessimistic prospect for resolution of the economic friction problem is widely shared; about half of the respondents see this problem continuing as it is. When added to the number of the respondents who predict the further escalation of this problem, about 70 percent of Japanese scholars will think that this economic friction will continue or will escalate further.

One of the reasons for the pessimistic prospect can be found in their view that the economic frictions were basically caused by the changes in the structure and the nature of international relations. Another reason is found in their conjecture that greater growth of Asian NIEs (Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong) and the emergence of new NIEs will cause new economic frictions between developed countries and NIEs. Here, a linkage between the problem of economic frictions among developed countries and the North-South problems is clearly recognized.

The issue of the economic frictions among developed countries have been energetically analyzed and discussed among academics, in journalistic articles and in the business community. The ratio of the scholars who specialize this problem properly is not great (7 percent), but the scholars specializing in related fields such as the U.S.-Japan relationship (18 percent), international political economy (17 percent), and decision-making theories (13 percent) are actively involved in the analysis of this issue (Table 2). As a result, the economic friction problems have been investigated from various levels of analysis and by applying various theories. The studies on this issue can be classified into the following three: (1) The researches examining this issue on the international system level, mainly in the context of the changes in U.S. power. (2) The studies focusing on interactions between the U.S., EC countries, and Japan. (3) The analyses of the decision making process of a given country.

Besides abundant empirical and theoretical studies of this issue, the number of policy-oriented researches about it is also increasing. Many scholars commonly insist that Japan has to play a more active role for the resolution of the economic frictions. The use of an interdisciplinary approach for the analysis of the economic friction problems should be also mentioned; joint researches with businessmen, lawyers, and scholars in other fields have frequently been conducted.

The reasons for such intensive study about economic frictions among developed countries basically lies in the nature of this problem. That is, first, this problem gives substantially not only an important influence on current and future international relations but the resolution of this problem is an urgent theme for Japan; the circumstances of this problem are still changing so that scholars as well as government and business leaders are now groping for solutions. Second, the flourish of international political economy in North America has theoretically made a strong impact on Japanese scholars, which has resulted

in the development of international political economy research in Japan.

#### 4.4. The North-South Conflict

As the economic friction among developed countries escalated, scholars diversified their strong concern with the North-South conflict into both the North-South problem and the North-North problem in the 1980's. Even so, many Japanese scholars are still working on the analysis of the North-South conflict; 14 percent of the respondents concentrate on the North-South problem, and most scholars engaging in developing area studies also contribute to the analysis of the North-South conflict from their own perspectives. Besides the various approaches to the North-South conflict, the research field itself is broad because of the differentiation of developing countries.

Among various related issues, the study of ASEAN countries has been cumulatively undertaken so that many scholars consider the study for ASEAN countries highly advanced in Japan. The increasing works about Asian NIEs, particularly about the development strategies of these countries, also characterize the study of the North-South problem in the 1980's. The study of the economic cooperation among the countries in the Pacific area is also increasing, although it is not necessarily appropriate to deal with this study as a field of the North-South problem. The result of the questionnaire that three percent of the respondents regard their major as Oceania area study should be stressed, although that ratio is still low.

Japan's geographical location and its strong political and economic relationship with Asia basically explain the intensive study of Asian countries. Moreover, the Institute of Developing Studies, one of the largest research institute for the study of developing countries, and other institutions such as the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (Kyoto University) and the Research Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) institutionally support the development of these studies in Japan. The studies on other developing areas like Africa, the Middle East, or Latin America, also seem to be increasing, and their number is expected to continue growing.

The relationship between Japan and developing countries or Japan's role for the resolution of the North-South problem is also one of the themes frequently asked in the analyses. The analyses of Japanese aid policy, both bilateral and multilateral, the study of Japanese MNCs, and Japan's role in the resolution of debt problems are increasing.

The study about the behavior of developing countries at the UN or UNCTAD is generally decreasing, although it was one of the main areas of study in the 1970's. The deadlock of the North-South negotiation at the UN agencies directly explains the decline of this study. Besides, as debt issues in developing countries became serious, Japanese researchers' concern shifted to the analysis of the negotiation among the IMF, commercial banks, and the debtor countries. Regarding the UN, the Japanese government's strong commitment to the administrative and budgetary reform of the UN caused a shift of scholarly concern to the problem of UN reform than rather the North-South negotiations at the UN.

Among these issues, the problems of Japanese foreign aid and NIEs were asked in the questionnaire. First, the respondents' opinions are clearly divided into two groups re-

garding whether Japan should allocate its aid, giving a priority to Asia; 53 percent of the respondents insist on the allocation of foreign aid with a priority to Asian countries, while 40 percent of them oppose it. Assuming that the majority of Japanese scholars once supported the allocation policy to attach importance to Asian countries, then the answer to this question suggests that Japanese scholars have begun to vacillate on whether Japan should regard the relationship with Asian countries as supremely important or not, even if most of them accept the idea that Japan has to take more of a leading role in international relations.

The difference of opinions about this question is well explained by whether the respondent has studied abroad; that is, the scholars who have studied abroad tend to expect a global commitment while scholars without such experience tend to emphasize a special relationship with Asian countries. In addition, a difference of opinions between age groups is also found; that is, more than 70 percent of the scholars whose ages are over 60 are Asia-oriented while only half of all other age-groups have the same preference. The older generation tends to think that Japan's commitment should be limited to Asia region, while the younger generation expects Japan to play a more active role on the global level. These differences in perception come from the difference of Japan's power in the past and at present.

Second, the result of the questionnaire shows that many respondents (65 percent) are critical of the usage of Japanese foreign aid, suspecting that the poor in developing countries do not receive the benefits of aid well. Such critical views are often presented both in academic and journalistic articles.

The problem of Asian NIEs is also an issue with which many Japanese scholars as well as the business community are greatly concerned. The respondents have an optimistic opinion about the further growth of Asian HIEs; more than 70 percent of the respondents see the growth of NIEs continuing in the future, and about 60 percent of respondents presume the emergence of new NIEs in this decade. NIEs are regarded as successful countries among developing countries, and NIEs' development strategies are theoretically expected to provide a resolution of the North-South problem.

On the other hand, about 70 percent of the respondents predict that further economic growth of Asian NIEs would sooner or later cause serious trade friction between Asian NIEs and developed countries. As previously mentioned, the problem of the NIEs is regarded as a link between the North-South problem and the North-North problem, and, how to see the NIEs problem determines the substance of opinions about what kind of behavior developed countries should take toward NIEs. The respondents' attitudes toward

TABLE 7. DEVELOPED COUNTRIES' POLICY TOWARD NIEs

How do you believe should the developed countries including Japan act towards the NIEs?

	N=329
(1) The developed countries should support the growth of the NIEs as much as possible by means of opening their domestic markets.	34.3%
(2) NIEs should be distinguished from other developing countries by removing preferential duties.	24.0%
(3) NIEs should join the OECD and be treated as developed countries in the field of trade and finance.	31.0%
NA	10.6%

TABLE 8. CAUSES OF MILITARY CRISES  
(Multiple Answer, Percent)

	N=329
1. Escalation of regional conflict	57.8
2. Military intervention of great powers	48.3
3. Arms transfer to developing countries	48.3
4. U.S.-Soviet arms race	48.0
5. Religious conflict	37.4
6. Racial conflict	34.7
7. Divided nations	31.9
8. Proliferation of nuclear weapons	29.8
9. Boundary conflict	25.8
10. Proliferation of conventional weapons	25.5
11. Existence of military regime	19.5
12. Economic poverty	15.8
13. Ideological conflict	14.9
14. Separation of the East European countries from the Soviet Bloc	12.5

this question are evenly split into the three (Table 7). The number of scholars supporting the third opinion will be increase if the economic friction between Japan and the NIEs becomes more serious.

#### 4.5. Causes of Military Crises and Methods to Manage them

Japanese scholars' perception about the causes of military crises is well clarified by the results of the questionnaire; that is, military conflicts are seen to be basically caused by regional conflicts, which are caused by conflicts between ethnic groups, religious groups, or divided nations, or by conflicts over national border problems. And, the intervention of superpowers escalates these regional conflicts. That is, the arms race between the U.S. and Soviet Union is regarded as an important factor escalating regional military conflicts rather than a direct cause of regional military crises. Its effect on military crises is perceived as catalytic, and regional military crises are not regarded as simple proxy wars. And, the arms transfer to the third world and the proliferation of nuclear and conventional weapons link regional conflicts with the U.S.-Soviet Union conflict. This understanding suggests that ethnic problems in developing countries as well as the U.S.-Soviet Union arms race should be studied more for the resolution of military crises.

### V. *Substantive Issues to be Studied Further in the 1990's*

It is apparent that we have to keep studying the substantive issues above mentioned, because those issues strongly affect the future of international relations. However, there exist several issues to be analyzed more intensively in the next decades. General approaches to be stressed and several substantive issues to be analyzed further are discussed to conclude this section, although both of them are illustrative rather than comprehensive.

Global perspectives as well as regional or Asia-oriented perspectives should be con-

sidered in choosing the subject to be analyzed and in presenting policy proposals. Generally speaking, few original arguments about international relations at global level were developed in international studies of Japan; most arguments about global politics were based on borrowed ideas mainly developed in the U.S. or other countries. Even in policy proposals, visions of the world order were seldom presented by Japanese scholars. The results of the questionnaire clarified that many Japanese scholars expect Japan to be more of a leader in international relations, although it is still controversial whether Japan should give a priority to the Asia-Pacific region in its foreign policy. Therefore, first of all, Japanese scholars have to develop original international studies based on global perspectives and to present a vision of the desirable world order and programs to achieve it.

Based on the general approach, the following issues—security problems, development problems, and global issues including technology and information are expected to be studied more intensively in Japan:

### 5.1. Security Problems

Among various security problems, the study of disarmament is one of the subjects to be intensified in the future. First, more realistic study of disarmament or a staged disarmament approach should be done. Neither an emotional argument that a realistic study of military problems results in the legitimation of holding military power, thereby strengthening militarism, nor an attitude to refuse to recognize the idea of arms control can contribute to the development of disarmament study. Strategic studies also need to be understood for the development of disarmament study in Japan.

Second, Japanese consciousness as a victim of war should be partially changed. As a matter of fact, Japan is the only country which has experienced the destructiveness of Atomic Bombs, therefore disarmament study is expected to be based on this. However, Japan, at the same time, was an aggressor in other countries. Disarmament study ought to be based on the belief that Japanese should behave as neither an aggressor nor a victim of war. Third, a few Japanese studies on disarmament were produced, but they focused on regional levels. In fact, the study on disarmament at each region will become more important in the future. However, at the same time, a comparative analysis of regional disarmament and a disarmament study based on a global viewpoint are also indispensable for the development of disarmament studies.

Besides disarmament, how Japan should behave to manage military crises using non-military methods is another theme to be investigated further. In fact, the participation of the Self-Defense Forces of Japan in United Nations' peace keeping operations was proposed by academics. However, both scholars and government leaders were afraid that the debate over the proposal would cause a Constitutional controversy over the legitimacy of the Self-Defense Forces of Japan so that this proposal was not thoroughly discussed.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, the extent of Japan's burden sharing in security problem is now often discussed, seeing Japan as a free rider of the stable world order under U.S. power. Such a theme has been supported by the argument regarding the decline of U.S. power. Owing to the

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<sup>3</sup> Prime Minister Kaifu's proposal to send a handful of support troops to the Persian Gulf under the aegis of a "U.N. Peace Cooperation Corps" has evoked so much controversy.

strong influence of these theories over Japanese academics, the burden sharing has become a salient problem in security issues. Putting aside the problem of whether this argument is much to the point, it is apparent that the Japanese military problem should be examined from various angles; for example, historical studies of Japan suggest that the further expansion of Japanese military expenditure would have and will raise serious fears in neighboring countries, thereby increasing the instability of Asian regions. However, the influence of Japanese history studies over U.S. international studies is not yet strong enough. As a result, U.S. scholars do not properly emphasize this aspect. It suggests that cooperation across disciplines and across countries can effectively contribute to the development of international studies.

### 5.2. Development Problems

Development problems are now approached by not only development economics or sociology but cultural anthropology. Research based on more comprehensive approach should increase. The number of researchers undertaking field works in developing countries is also increasing. Researches based on more multidisciplinary approach and relevant to actual development problems should be intensified.

If theories of international relations depend on political, historical, or cultural backgrounds of nations, then Japan ought to be able to advance original theories and strategies concerning development problems, different from the theories advanced in Europe or North America.

### 5.3. Global Issues

First, Japan suffered from serious pollution problems, which were another aspects of its rapid economic growth. There is a dilemma between severe restriction on industry for the protection of environment and rapid economic growth, and a well-balanced resolution of this dilemma is indispensable. Japanese scholars have had enough ability and responsibility to develop the study of pollution, or more broadly speaking, environment and other global issues.

Second, advanced technology, knowledge, and information, strongly affect the military, economic and cultural aspects of international relations. These has the dual use between welfare and war. For example, technology for peace uses or for public welfare can be easily applied for military purposes. High technology apparently gives a great impact on the economic friction among industrialized countries. Moreover, appropriate technology transfer or technology dependence is one of the most important problem for development issues. Knowledge and information have common problems. However, neither rules nor systems to manage these new areas have been developed. Japan is one of the most advanced countries in these fields, and the importance of the problem is now widely recognized. Therefore the study of these new resources will expand in the near future.

Third, ethnic problems are regarded as one of the most important and direct causes of regional conflicts by many Japanese scholars. Ethnicity has been analyzed in area studies individually. However, the activities of ethnic groups across nation-states have hardly addressed. More comprehensive and theoretical research on ethnicity should be

undertaken to understand the dynamics of ethnic groups and grope for an effective method to manage regional conflicts.

Fourth, the necessity of perspectives based on interests of human beings is often emphasized, although nation-states are still the main players in international relations. The development of study on human rights is a way to intensify the perspectives of the interests of human beings in international studies. Moreover, the study on human rights also contributes to a pluralistic view of international relations because its substance varies according to the differences of cultural backgrounds of nations.

### VI. *Dominant Approaches used by Japanese Scholars*

The traditional approaches, such as the historical approach and the balance-of-power approach, are regarded as dominant approaches in Japan. The historical approach is seen to be "very popular" by a quarter of the respondents. The fact that one-third of the respondents perceive their majors as diplomatic history appears to contribute to this result. However, not only the diplomatic historians but also the international political scientists see the historical approach as dominant, 25 percent of the historians considered this approach "very popular" while 27 percent of political scientists answered similarly.

The balance-of-power approach is also regarded as "very popular" in Japan by more than 20 percent of the respondents. This perception is strongly held by the older generations; 40 percent of the respondents in their 60's answered that the balance-of-power approach is "very popular" while only 8 percent of those in their 20's selected it as "very popular." In spite of the difference of perceptions by generations, more than half of all generations see the balance-of-power approach dominant, by choosing either "very popular" or "popular." This response does not necessarily imply that international studies using the balance-of-power approach are energetically produced, but it means that the usefulness of this approach is widely recognized by Japanese scholars.

The high popularity of these traditional approaches might suggest that Japanese scholars do not seek the theoretical approach to international relations. In fact, the quantitative

TABLE 9. DOMINANT APPROACHES

What kind of approaches do you think are popular in the Japanese study of international relations?

N=329

	(1) Very popular (%)	(2) Popular (%)	(3) Not popular (%)	
1. Historical approach	26.4	32.5	41.1	100
2. Balance of Power approach	21.3	32.8	45.9	100
3. World System approach	18.5	42.4	39.9	100
4. Decision-Making approach	18.2	44.1	37.7	100
5. System approach	17.0	37.1	45.9	100
6. Transnational approach	10.6	38.9	50.5	100
7. Quantitative approach	8.2	25.8	66.0	100
8. International Regime Theory	7.3	31.3	61.4	100
9. Dependency Theory	5.2	36.5	58.4	100

TABLE 10. OPINIONS ABOUT THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE APPROACH

	N=329
1) I am willing to learn about it.	26.1%
2) I already know it well.	7.3
3) It is flawed.	37.4
4) I am not interested in it.	14.0
5) Others.	6.1
NA	9.1

approach was one of the least popular methods in Japan. In addition, half of the respondents see the behavioral science approach as not deserving to be studied when they selected "it is flawed" or "I am not interested in it."

On the other hand, the world system theory and the decision-making approach are also dominant. These are regarded as "very popular" or "popular" by more than 60 percent of the respondents. In addition, the recent high popularity of international political economy in Japan is strongly influenced by the development of it in the United States. These suggest that a strong demand for theoretical studies of international relations also exists among many Japanese scholars.

The decision-making approach is the most dominant approach, judging by the number of respondents who selected either "very popular" or "popular." Unlike the scholars in the United States, Japanese researchers often use this approach as a tool for their historical studies rather than being interested in the approach itself. It is a characteristic of international studies in Japan, but few original decision-making models were presented.

The world system theory is also seen to be dominant, particularly in younger generations. 28 percent of those in their 20's perceive this approach as "very popular" while only 12 percent of those in their 60's do so. The difference of perceptions by generation is found in the case of the international regime theory.

The dependency theory is now regarded as popular by few researchers in Japan, although it was once energetically introduced and discussed in Japan. The general low evaluation of the dependency theory is basically caused by a critical view of the substance of the theory. It is also a fact that many Japanese scholars who were once interested in the dependency theory shifted their concern to the world system theory.

## VII. *Major Analytic Weakness of Research*

Scholars in Japan have generally endeavored to learn theories mainly developed in the United States and improve and apply them to Japanese cases. However, the theoretical researchers of international relations in Japan were not motivated to produce original theories. As a matter of fact, more than 80 percent of researchers perceive the imbalance between Japan and foreign countries in the production and consumption of academic materials (Table 11). Only four percent of the respondents list theoretical studies as the field where Japan contributes to the progress of international research, while about a quarter of the respondents see area studies and historical studies as such fields respectively (Table 12 and Table 13).



TABLE 11. IMBALANCE IN THE RESEARCH PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION  
(Percent)

	N=329
Remarkably imbalanced (Japan as a consumer)	34.3
Imbalanced	50.5
No imbalance	5.2
NA	10.0

TABLE 12. RESEARCH FIELDS WHERE JAPAN IS ADVANCED

Are there any research fields in which Japanese scholars produced advanced researches, thereby contributing to international research progress? (Percent)

	N=329
Yes	59.9
No	27.1
NA	13.1

TABLE 13. RESEARCH FIELDS WHERE JAPAN IS ADVANCED

For those answering "yes" in the question above (Table 12), choose the fields. (Multiple answer, percent)

	N=253
Area Studies	39.2
Historical Studies	37.3
Theoretical Studies	6.4
Others	5.4

Of course, the international theories in the United States were introduced with criticisms and they were revised frequently in Japan. As a result, theoretical researches in Japan have several characteristics, as previously described. Besides great concern over the world system theory, much dependence on the historical approach and the utilization of the decision making theory characterize methodological approaches of Japanese international studies. Japanese historians often employ the decision-making theory as their main tool for historical studies, but they are not necessarily interested in improving models. Many international political scientists undertake scientific analyses of Japanese foreign policy using the decision making approach, but few of them presented original models.

General negative attitudes toward the quantitative approach in Japan is also striking in comparison with the case in the United States. This negative attitudes were partly caused by the means of introducing the quantitative approach to Japan. That is, a lot of criticisms to the quantitative approach were made according to the understanding of this approach in the United States. However, the quantitative approach was introduced to Japan accompanied with the criticisms to this approach from the United States. As a result, many Japanese scholars did not show much interest in this approach. Moreover, the low evaluation of the quantitative approach was basically caused by the existence of quite many researchers who were critical to behavioral science approach even when it was popular among international theorists in Japan. Marxism has traditionally been influential in Japanese social science, and Marxist researchers are one of the critics.

Although unique Japanese characteristics can be found, Japanese scholars basically

have employed a lot of imported frameworks and key concepts. The strong interest in the world system theory today suggests that the imbalanced relationship of theories between Japan and the United States has not basically changed. The younger scholars are particularly concerned with this theory today as the older researchers once introduced behavioral approaches enthusiastically. Japanese researchers would produce a number of studies applying this theory, and they would criticize it or improve it partially. However, it is not certain whether they would be able to develop an original world system theory.

It is a hard work to produce an original theory. International theories have to be relevant to substantive issues. And also, Japanese studies on prominent issues have several problems to be overcome. Efforts to overcome the weakness of Japanese study on prominent substantive issues, i.e. security, development, and global issues, based on Japanese perspectives and experiences, would contribute to the development of original international theory.

### VIII. *The Principal Users of Scholarly Research*

The number of new universities or departments of international relations are increasing rapidly during the last decade so that the opportunity for students to study international relations is increasingly great.

Besides students, journalists have been very attentive to scholarly research on international relations. A lot of scholars publish articles on current topics of Japanese foreign policy or world politics in journals. Many columnists also use theoretical perspectives of international studies in writing leading articles. Quite a few Japanese scholars of international relations have actively participated in citizen movements such as for peace, protection of the environment, or human rights. They address lectures, present papers, and sometimes organize the secretariats.

It had been a long tradition for scholars in Japan to behave as critics to its foreign policy and commentator to world politics rather than advisers to the government. However, as the needs for internationalization of Japan increase, governments, either national or local, tend to establish committees, where scholars of international relations get involved. Consequently, policy proposals they make on foreign policy have increased, although they are still at a low level in absolute terms.

### IX. *Conclusion*

The papers presented at the Third World Assembly of International Studies show that scholars' perceptions of the important substantive issues have become similar among countries because of the globalization of international events. It suggests that a global viewpoint as well as a national one become necessary for the analysis of international relations and for the resolution of international problems.

At the same time, the papers clarify the dominance of American international theories in the academics of international relations around the world. The intellectual hegemony of American international studies may be based on its dominant national power in inter-

national relations, but it should also be emphasized that it is highly indebted to the prolonged efforts of American scholars in developing international studies.

It is, however, admitted that the American theories have a national or parochial nature, as K. J. Holsti argues.<sup>4</sup> Assuming the existence of various national backgrounds and social values in the world, a variety of innovative approaches are expected to be produced. Non-American scholars are required to present original and convincing theories of international relations for that purpose.

The relationship between theories and substantive issues suggests a way to resolve this problem. That is, as theories often determine ideas of what the important substantive issues are, the themes usually develop original theories appropriate for their analysis. Therefore, Japanese researchers as well as other non-American scholars must discover the important substantive issues based on their own national perspectives and individual values, recognizing the parochial character of the analyses themselves.

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<sup>4</sup> K. J. Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985).