

## DIFFERENT PHASES OF JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

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Regarding the "governmental activity in the international sphere" Brian White once wrote that "...states [are] agents of welfare as well as warfare". The post-World War-II Japan can be considered as an "agent of welfare" which is promoting and projecting the cause of international peace and security. The country has committed herself to a pacific foreign policy with a belief that "war is unjustified and that all international politics should proceed by arbitration and treaties under international law". This commitment is also enshrined in Article Nine of the Peace Constitution of Japan which was framed in 1946 and came into effect the following year. All the post-War War II successive governments in Japan have avoided any military role or military participation in international politics.

Japan's post-War foreign policy can be divided into at least three phases. The first phase covers the period between post-occupation (1952) to the early 1970s. The second phase covers the period between the mid-1970s to the collapse of the East-West Cold War structure in 1989-1999. The third and the current phase of Japan's foreign policy behaviour covers the post-Cold War period.

During the first phase, Japan's foreign policy was influenced by that of the United States. Japan followed the U.S. lead throughout this phase. It was during this phase that Japan reintegrated herself within the international community by establishing diplomatic relations with Western nations and became member of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In addition, Japan concluded the Basic Relations Treaty with South Korea in 1965.

Tending towards neutralism in foreign affairs under the protection provided by the 1951 Security Pact with the United States, Japan concentrated on economic reconstruction which

was totally shattered during the Second World War. This was a phase of dramatic economic expansion of the country.

Like the first phase, Japan followed the U.S lead throughout the second phase of her foreign policy (1970s to the end of the Cold War, 1989-1999) and adopted a low-profile attitude in her diplomatic style, with few exceptions of her intermediary role in conflicts such as ASEAN–Vietnam, Iran–Iraq and Cambodia. Japan's reliance on her security alliance with the United States was the basic pillar of her foreign / defence policy throughout this phase. This posture, however, is being considered by some Japanese and Western writers as a "diplomatic shortcomings" of Japan.

The secret American diplomatic moves during the first part of the 1970s towards People's Republic of China (PRC), oil crisis and the collapse of Indo-China affected Japan's policy towards Asia. In the aftermath of the "shocks of the early 70s" Japan started establishing contacts with Communist states in Asia through aid and trade. The tilt in this regard was the normalization of diplomatic relations with the PRC in 1972. In reaction to the normalization of Japan's diplomatic relations with PRC Taiwan severed her relations with Japan. It was also during this phase that Japan ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1976 and concluded the China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty in 1978.

Despite her low-profile foreign policy attitude, Japan strived to promote to international cultural exchanges not only to make Japanese society open to the world, but also to develop close relationship with different nations of the world. What was different between these two phases of Japan's foreign policy was that during the second phase, especially in the 1980s Japan entered as a full-fledged member of the western alliance system and in 1982 when Yasuhiro Nakasone became the Prime Minister of Japan he tried and favoured a strengthening of his country's military capability.

The third and the current phase of Japan's foreign policy is the most important in terms of her diplomatic style, foreign

economic relations and Japan's role in multilateral organizations. Japan in the post-Cold War period has started flexing foreign policy muscles to play an active role in international politics, of course for the maintenance of international peace and security, partly in response to growing pressure from the United States and other industrial partners, and partly due to the changed post-Cold War international environment. The turning point in this regard was the Allied-Iraq war of 1991 and the passage of UN Peace Keeping Operations Bill of 1992, passed by both the houses of Japan's Parliament-Diet. Japan dispatched the Self Defence Force (SDF) minesweepers to the Persian Gulf in April 1991 which was SDF's first overseas assignment since 1952. Japan spent \$ U.S 13 billion and funded twenty percent of the total cost of Desert Storm.

Another shift from low to active foreign policy profile of Japan soon after the end of the Cold War was her involvement in the Cambodian truce process of the early 1990s, in which Japan intentionally took a well-calculated step and attempted to play a political role in Asian affairs.

The entire post-Cold War period is full of changed diplomatic behaviour and style of Japan. In her post-Cold War relations with the United States, the 1997 Defence Guidelines have set up a new trend in military relationship between both nations. According to the Defence Guidelines, "*The Japanese Self Defence Forces will conduct such activities as intelligence gathering, surveillance and minesweeping to protect lives and property and to ensure navigational safety. U.S. forces will conduct operations to restore peace and security in the areas surrounding Japan*". In order to maintain peace and security in the region both countries are also collaborating on the Theatre Missile Defence system (TMD).

The relations between Japan and Russia in the post-Cold War period is another example of the changed negotiating technique of Japan to resolve the issue of Kuril islands, known as Northern territories in Japan, occupied by the Soviet troops during the last days of the Second World War. The post-Cold War successive governments in Tokyo have "dropped" the "island-

first" policy and seems to determine not only to resolve the issue of Northern territories but to improve economic, political, security, and international cooperation with the Russian Federation. The post-Cold War exchanges of high-level visits between both countries have resulted the Tokyo Declaration of 1993; Krasnoyarsk Agreement of 1997; establishment of the Japanese-Russian Joint Committee on the Conclusion of Peace Treaty; and the Moscow Declaration on Establishing a Creative Partnership between Japan and the Russian Federation 1998.

The Post-Cold War economic and political relations of Japan with the People's Republic of China are constantly growing. Currently Japan is China's top loan source and the biggest trading partner. Despite growing economic and political relations between both countries there exist some irritants. For example, China lambasted U.S-Japan collaboration on anti-ballistic missile system, known as the Theatre Missile Defence and Japan voiced its concern to China over its August 1999 test of a new long-range missile.

In addition to above, Japan's foreign policy is actively concentrating on two other important issues of 1998: the North Korean missile launch and the nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan.

In Korean Peninsula, which is being considered as "the major hangover of the Cold war era", Japan on the one hand has been busy in further cementing her partnership with South Korea, what Professor Song Bock of Yonsei University says that "Japan is the country with which Korea [South] is mostly closely related". On the other hand, in the wake of North Korea's long-range missile launch in August 1998 Japan is seeking to prevent North Korea's missile development program and exports, in order to promote peace and stability in the region. Japan is also seeking Chinese help in this regard to dissuade North Korea from launching another long-range missile.

In the aftermath of the May 1998 nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan, Japan quickly imposed economic sanctions

on Delhi and Islamabad. Since then Japan is constantly working to avert a further escalation of the arms race between India and Pakistan and pursuing Delhi and Islamabad to accede to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

Last, but not least, another important subject matter of Japan's post-Cold War foreign policy relations is her active political and economic participation through forums such as, Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), ASEAN regional Forums, and the active participation in the United Nations' peace keeping efforts.

In sum, the post-Cold War activities of Japan's foreign policy indicate that economic superpower is moving towards a new role in international affairs. Japan will not only have to further enhance its international involvements but also has to develop its own strategic framework for the 21st century in order to achieve the pacific goals of her foreign policy—international peace and security.