
UNIT 10 FOREIGN POLICY OF JAPAN

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10.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to help you understand the underlying importance of economic factors in making and application of Japanese foreign policy. It also brings into focus the various priorities and problems that Japan encounters while implementing the foreign policy. Thereafter, it briefly introduces you to Japanese attempts made towards removing global inequalities by promoting both bilateral, regional and global order, development and peace. After studying this unit, you will be in a position to:

- trace the historical background of Japan's foreign policy
- explain the formulation of Japan's foreign policy and role of various agencies in the same
- assess the main character of Japan's foreign policy as well as defense and security policies.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Today Japan is in a very influential position in the world. Both advanced as well as developing countries hope to improve their relations with Japan. They expect

Japan to provide capital and technology. Meeting developmental challenges and solving international complex political and economic problems is a great challenge to Japan.

The pace of Japan's economic growth in the last few decades is difficult for many to understand. Since World War II Japan has viewed geoeconomic rather than geopolitical influence as the most important source of power in an increasingly interdependent world political economy. However, much Japan may classify its policy as independent, still its foreign policy has a great deal of American influence. The one glaring visible factor in Japan's foreign policy is its democratizing economic content. To some extent Japan did succeed in diversifying its foreign sources of markets, energy and raw materials widely. At the same time these sources became dependent on Japanese goods, services, technology and capital.

Making and implementing foreign policy with a strong geoeconomic factors for a long-term is a difficult exercise for Japan. To provide you a better understanding of Japan's actual foreign relations, for convenient reasons some regions and countries are selected, and introduced. Also introduced to you in this unit is how Japan conducts multilateral relations i.e. through the United Nations by participating in many of its bodies and programme.

10.2 FOUNDATIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY IN MODERN JAPAN

In terms of modernization and industrialization, what the West taught Japan and Japan adopted from the West is indeed impressive. From the recorded account of 20th century, the following events become clear:

- a) In 1900s, Japan brought Western imperialism to a halt in East Asia by defeating Russia, which was then a Western power,
- b) In the 1920s, world trade that was largely dominated by Western countries was challenged by Japanese products copied from Western products and sold at cheaper prices,
- c) In the 1940s, Japan terminated Western colonialism in this part of the world by attempting to build its own brand of colonialism,
- d) In 1960s, Western technological superiority was challenged by imported technology which was improved to meet world market expectations,
- e) In 1990s, by becoming No. 1 creditor country in the world, Japan put an end to Western financial hegemony.

These achievements appear to be remarkable as well as phenomenal for transformation of Japan itself. Considering its achievements at home and influential position in the world many developing countries expect Japan to play a significant role in meeting development challenges as well as solving complex international political issues. Therefore, understanding Japanese foreign policy becomes very important today.

Two sets of circumstances that define Japan's basic position in the world are: (a) geography; conditioned by history and the prevailing stage of technological development, and (b) resource endowment and needs, conditioned by the effective political demands and expectations of the Japanese people. These circumstances cause Japanese government to reflect seriously on the possible implications of their position and on foreign relations in both regional and international terms.

In evaluating Japanese foreign policy issues, it is necessary to keep in mind these geopolitical and geoeconomic factors as well as national security and of resource scarcity factors with its related economic consequences.

10.2.1 Basic Objectives of Japan's Foreign Policy

The basic objective of Japanese foreign policy is to contribute to world peace and stability and to a harmonious progress of the entire international community. Japan claims:

- i) its basic line of foreign policy has been followed without prejudice to the country's friendly and cooperative relations with the Western democracies;
- ii) it is important to maintain and further promote its traditional relations of friendship with its neighbours in Asia;
- iii) its close and abiding relationship with the United States, in particular, is the cornerstone of its foreign policy.

10.2.2 Japan's Foreign Policy Before World War II

For Japan, the 19th century was a period of struggle against countries assumed to be hostile and ready to attack. Therefore, it was natural for the Meiji Constitution to stress the right of the military. From the start Japanese diplomats laboured under the difficulty of foreign language, particularly English and other barriers like Japanese social customs. Besides Genro, army and foreign trade interest groups influenced the decision-making and foreign policy making. Often this led to a lack of communication with other countries in the course of negotiations.

The foreign ministry was a changing institution which went through various phases of development. Up to 1890s a professional service had scarcely been formed. Recruitment was haphazard and career development uncertain. By 1890 and after a professional service had been emerging and there was a uniform quality of entrants. For the next 40 or so years, from this service came the Japanese foreign ministers.

As elsewhere, in Japan also in the 1920s the ministries of defense and trade became more important and influential than the foreign ministry. Military was specially well placed to challenge the civilian government. As military became more influential, the standing of diplomats in society accordingly declined. Once the most popular General called Tojo remarked that "the foreign ministry should confine itself to observing protocol and giving parties to foreign diplomats and leave the real decisions to men with practical knowledge of affairs, namely, the army"

How to sustain a ministry that was declining in importance and how to cope with the challenge of the military were main concerns. Neither professionalism nor seniority counted for promotions. This resulted in diverse responses to the problems of expansion and dealing with military. In 1940s major work of foreign ministry was to perform mopping up operation for the work of military. Inheriting situations that were not its own creation, the foreign ministry was expected to resolve them diplomatically and sustain good relations with foreign countries. Outside powers had little confidence in the Japanese voices for peace. Such great leaders associated with foreign ministry like Shidehara, Tokugawa Iemasa and Shigeru Yoshida proclaimed their distaste for Japan's foreign policies and resigned.

The foreign ministry exists largely for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. Japan's foreign policy over the years has tended to be hardheaded and materialistic rather than altruistic or ideological. There were many ideologies which the individual foreign ministers tried to impart to Chinese or Asians. However, the following are continuing factors in Japanese foreign relations — not fundamental but superficial: economic and commercial, to obtain access to supplies of raw materials and remove obstacles in the way of a profitable overseas trade, defence, to secure Japan's own shores from attack and to prevent the occupation by hostile countries, to remain on good terms with other countries and, where appropriate, to join international bodies and thus improve Japan's prestige among other countries.

Before World War II, there was continuity in Japan being harsh towards China, in Japan being expansive on the Asian mainland and Pacific area.

Though expansion overseas was an important factor in Japan's foreign policy, yet it was not a continuous and uninterrupted theme. From 1870s to 1920s the consensus among the foreign policy makers was 'Join Europe and ignore Asia'. But by the 1930s it was changed for 'Joining Asia and being vigilant for Western opposition'. But by 1942 when Japan became a very expansive power, its expansion had been haphazard and disorderly. When the military agencies were destroyed in the battle, the foreign ministry emerged into the postwar era.

for both its domestic and foreign policies. Western Europe and the United States to a lesser extent, provided such a model for pre-war Japan. Japanese endeavoured to 'catch up' with the model and even surpass it. Modernization was equated with westernization in the minds of most Japanese. But in the post-war period the United States has been the only country that served Japan as a model. Particularly in the areas of defence and foreign policy, the Japanese government has continuously followed the leadership of the United States. Having surpassed the advanced western countries in technology and Gross National Product (GNP), quality of life, the West no longer provides a valid model to emulate. The need for Japan now is to create its own vision and decide what role should it play to contribute to world peace and development.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space below for your answer.
 ii) Check your answer with the answer given at end of this unit.

1) What factors are important to understand Japan's foreign policy?

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2) Name two major achievements by Japan in last 30 years.

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3) Mention the basic objective of Japan's foreign policy.

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4) What are the superficial, continuing factors in Japan's foreign policy?

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10.3 MAKING OF FOREIGN POLICY AND ROLE OF

During the occupation period (1945-52) the authorities introduced a series of reforms to democratize Japan through political and Constitutional changes. Since then such segments of Japanese society like the parliament (Diet), political parties, pressure groups and bureaucracy take part in the process of making Japanese foreign policy.

10.3.1 Parliament

Foreign policy is an act of sovereignty and decided by people through their elected representatives in parliament. To become effective, all treaties to which Japan is a party, need the approval of the Diet. The existence of Standing Committees strengthens its role in the decision-making process. On the basis of relative strength of political parties, composition of committees and its leadership is decided. By far two important committees related directly with foreign policy making are: (1) Budget Committee and (2) Foreign Affairs Committee. Through its power to decide the budget allocations to foreign ministry, the budget committee attempts to influence the foreign policy making. The discussions of the foreign affairs committee are many and varied relating to important diplomatic issues. These committee reports are further deliberated and voted in the House of Representatives. Naturally, it is the majority ruling party that gets the committee headship, influences policy making, votes the proposals and thus wields enormous influence in formulating Japan's foreign policy. Opposition parties, after studying the proposal, depending on the situation, resort to criticising the ruling party, vote against the proposal or even boycott voting. And the proposal gets passed with voting by the ruling party members. It is also possible for members of parliament with commonality of views to form groups and bring pressure on government to follow a particular policy line or to change a continuing policy. Because of practical difficulties, often it is not possible for opposition party members to obtain minute technical details of the proposals and thus fail to carefully examine, and formulate viewpoints and positively influence the discussions.

10.3.2 Ministry of Foreign Affairs

In gathering information about the external setting in which Japanese foreign policy has to operate, the foreign ministry plays an important role. However, in the actual process of making policy, it is the political leadership that is much more influential than foreign ministry officials. While the fortune and importance of foreign ministry varied greatly before World War II, in the post-Second World War period, other ministries like Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), for example, have also become very influential in Japan's foreign policy making. The increase of transnational activities has also given rise to a greater Japanese participation in private and non-official international organizations, which have a beneficial effect in trying to bring people of various nationalities together.

10.3.3 Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI)

Policies related to international trade are the exclusive preserve of MITI. In the administration of international economic policy MITI and Foreign Ministry cooperate despite some differences between them. MITI is a powerful economic planning and regulating body but it is not all powerful. It functions within a framework of numerous competing agencies and interests. MITI's basic powers rest on Diet enacted statutory authority. This authority is exercised generally indirectly through persuasion, advice and inducement. Because of its small budget and relatively less bureaucrats and great achievements, it commands both criticism and appreciation.

Being resource-deficient and highly industrialized, Japan's dependence on international trade is related to its very existence. Given Japan's history as a trading nation, importance attached to MITI and its authority is understandable. MITI transfers its officials often to foreign ministry, Japanese embassies abroad, ministry of finance and other ministries. Since Japan's foreign policy is seen as Japan's foreign economic policy, MITI's role in providing inputs to foreign policy is very important and so far successful also.

10.3.4 Political Parties

Generally, it is the ruling party that assumes a great responsibility and power to determine foreign policy. Based on the principle of majority, all decisions made by the ruling party become policies of Japan. But sometimes factions within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the relative strength of opposition parties make the difference. Then, it is the consensus approach that come to rescue the policy, and the credit when the proposal gets passed, go to all cooperating factions.

When opposition parties simply over-criticize government policies, their policies have no chance.

All important parties have set up foreign affairs divisions which carry out study, research and planning of policy. Usually there exist lobbies within government, parties and factions that work and influence policy of the government. For example: A strong US lobby exists in most Japanese parties. Similarly, China lobby and Korea lobby were active at different times.

The Prime Minister is centrally important to the foreign policy making process because of his constitutional position as the chief executive of the government. This function has been enhanced in recent years through the strengthening of the Secretariat to the Cabinet. As a result the number of parliament members participating in foreign policy related meetings of the LDP has increased. Many foreign policy issues are now discussed in relevant LDP committees: Political Affairs Research Council and International Affairs Division.

10.3.5 Interest Groups

As in purely domestic economic issues, the leaders of the major economic organizations can exercise considerable influence on foreign policy making. However, their influence tends to be overestimated abroad. The interests of business, industry and finance enter the decision-making process through consultation bodies attached to various ministries. Groups with varying interests, size and strength have become very active and influential since World War II. Protecting interests and advancing through pressure are the main concerns of these groups. It was Zaibatsu (family based big financial groups with varied business interests) which were important economic interest groups before World War II. However, in period since World War II, the most influential interest groups at the national level are:

- The Federation of Economic Organizations,
- The Committee for Economic Development,
- The Japan Chambers of Commerce and Industry,
- The Council on Industrial Policy.

The role of the government is to coordinate various domestic economic interests and to protect greater national interest from particular economic interests.

Besides, foreign policy making is also influenced by the activities of trade associations, regional economic organizations, bilateral friendship societies etc.

10.3.6 Public Opinion

Growth of mass media and 100% literacy in Japan have made Japanese citizens aware of general information about contemporary international affairs. This has led to a growth of strong and articulate public opinion. Whether it is Japan-US bilateral relations, or sending Japanese defense personnel overseas to participate in UN peace keeping efforts or even allowing an increase in Japanese military expenditure — the general public can organize massive demonstrations, collect millions of signatures and impress policy makers to change their course of thinking or halt a policy amendment successfully. Also among the bureaucrats such officials exist in Japan who tend to think that "diplomacy cannot be guided by domestic public opinion that are not formed on the basis of reliable information about critical diplomatic problems".

10.3.7 External Factors

Among external factors, it is the United States which has been able to exert maximum pressure on Japan to adopt a particular line of action in foreign policy matters. Most of Japanese foreign economic policy matters are directly or indirectly influenced by both positive and negative external factors. Positive factors were: Korean war, Vietnam war while negative factors were: Nixon shock, oil shock and so on. Thus, Japan's foreign policy is yet to come out of US protective shell.

Thus, each segment of Japanese government and society like parliament, foreign

ministry, MITI, political parties, interest groups, public opinion has a role in influencing the making of Japanese foreign policy.

Until 1970s the relative insulation of foreign policy from public concern had allowed a smooth aggregation of national interests and required only a minimal response to outside demands. However, in the 1980s Japan's increasingly prominent position in the global economy and the rapid changes in the international environment have made such minimal responses less acceptable.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Name important offices/ministries/agencies influencing the making of Japan's foreign policy.

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2) What is MITI?

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3) Why is Prime Minister important in foreign policy making?

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10.4 JAPAN'S DEFENCE AND SECURITY CONCERNS

10.4.1 Defense and Security Policy

The Japanese defense policy is based on two major government decisions. The Basic Policies for National Defense of 1957 and the National Defense Program Outline of 1976.

The objective of national defense is to prevent direct and indirect aggression, and once invaded, to repel such aggression to preserve the independence and peace of Japan.

To achieve this objective, the government of Japan has established the following four principles:

- a) to support the activities of the United Nations, and promote international cooperation, thereby contributing to the realization of world peace.

- b) to stabilize the public welfare and enhance people's love for Japan, thereby establishing the sound basis essential to Japan's security.
- c) to develop progressively the effective defense capabilities necessary for self-defense with due regard to the nation's resources and the prevailing domestic situation.
- d) to deal with external aggression on the basis of the Japanese-US security arrangements, pending more effective functioning of the United Nations in the future in deterring and repelling such aggression.

The National Defense outline is intended to provide greater flexibility for administration, upgrading, and operation of the Japan Self-Defense Forces in responding to any major changes in the domestic or international situation and to provide for a smooth transition to a heightened state of defense preparedness in such an event.

The Constitution of Japan embodies the ideal of pacifism, and Article 9 is an explicit renunciation of war. Yet, this does not deny Japan right of self-defense as a sovereign nation. As long as this right is not denied, Japanese government believes that the Constitution does not forbid maintaining the necessary minimum military strength. Thus Japan has been maintaining its Self-Defense Forces (SDF).

As regards nuclear weapons, Japan holds firmly, as a policy, to its three non-nuclear principles of non-possession, non-manufacture and non-introduction of nuclear weapons to Japan.

10.4.2 Strength of Japan's Defence

In Japan, the Army, Navy and Air Force come under the name of Ground, Maritime and Air Self-Defense Forces. They are significant in their size and capabilities. With one of the highest defense budgets in the world, Japan has produced a sizeable military power — a combination of technical sophistication and efficiency matching best countries in the world. Japan's rearmament is taking place under the American influence. There are also 45,000 American troops in Japan, plus 119 American bases, and Japan is the home base for the US Seventh Fleet.

The Ground Self-Defense Forces — GSDF — has 1,55,000 personnel, with additional 43,000 in reserve. It has 5 regional Commands.

The Maritime Self-Defense Forces — MSDF — has 44,000 personnel, 600 in reserve and bases at Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, Maizuru and Ominato.

The Air Self-Defense Forces — ASDF — has 46,000 personnel.

10.4.3 Constitutional Limits

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution states "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people for ever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation, and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes. To accomplish these, land, sea and air forces as well as other war potential will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the State will not be recognized"

Believing this does not deny Japan its right to self-defense, a substantial build up and maintenance of forces are allowed.

The credibility of the SDF's humanitarian role in search and rescue operations and disaster relief is well established. There have been attempts and influences to amend the Article 9 of the Constitution.

10.4.4 Defence Budget

Defense as a percentage of GNP fails to reach 1 per cent by a fraction always, using the Japanese method of calculation. This is misleading because the method of calculating is different from NATO method. If SDF pensions are included, then the Defense percentage of GNP easily crosses 1 per cent. Since 1985 a significant boost has been given to research and development related to military areas. As the defense expenditure approaches 6 per cent of national annual

expenditure, how much Japan needs to spend when it has officially renounced belligerency as a means of settling international disputes is still uncertain.

10.4.5 Importance of National Security

Various forms of aggression which threatens Japan's security are conceivable depending on the international situation at any given time. These include direct and indirect aggression. Therefore, as a major trading country in Asia and world, Japan's national security is very important. Japan seeks to achieve this by cooperating UN activities for peace and safety, contributing to political and economic development of the world and continuing efforts towards disarmament.

Japan makes self-reliant efforts to maintain a defense capability adequate for deterring and dealing with aggression. Also firmly maintains the U.S.-Japan security arrangements and ensures their smooth and effective implementation.

10.4.6 Regional Global Security

Because of its declining politico-military capability and domestic economic, social and other constraints, the United States of America is not expected by many Asian and other countries to provide order and security. Thus most countries in the regions of East and South-East Asia are looking towards Japan for an important role. None of the Asian countries want Japan to acquire nuclear weapons. However, Japan's security role in South-East and East Asia is acceptable with two principal conditions: (a) that it be played within the framework of its security relations with the United States, and (b) the concomitant military build-up be undertaken in regular consultation with its friends in the region. Still, Japan is undecided and thus unclear about its security role in the region. However, at the world level Japan seeks to work for peace and stability through economic cooperation and by supporting UN activities.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the basic source of Japan's defense policy?

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2) Name the immediate objective of Japan's national defence.

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3) How Japan intends to deal with external aggression?

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4) What are the three branches of Japan's Self-Defense Forces?

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10.5 JAPAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

Since World War II, the economic development of Japan has affected the pattern of its foreign relations. The principles of economic complementarity have had to be compromised for political, legal, cultural or ideological reasons. Japan's foreign relations have been overshadowed by the adjustment problems in the process of integration of its domestic economy with the world market. Japan's post-war leaders also realized that without a strong economic base there could be no political power.

Japan's economic effort took precedence over all other considerations and issues, and thus foreign policy and foreign relations became equated with foreign economic policy and foreign economic relations.

Without military might or territorial ambitions Japan reemerged in the arena of international relations as an almost exclusively economic power. Its economy grew at a phenomena rate from the mid-1950s until the oil crisis of 1973. Even after 1973 Japan's overall economic performance was much better than that of the other industrial nations in the West. Japan's transformation from a semi-developed state to technological power is a rare event in world economic history.

The management of a rapidly growing industrial nation with little domestic natural resources required maintaining regular perfect access to overseas markets to sustain the dynamics of internal economic activity. 'Export or perish' has been its slogan as proved by the structural properties of its economy.

10.5.1 India and Japan

Relations between India and Japan are those between two unequal powers. India has never been on Japan's priority list to deal with. Japan is a member of Western Alliance whereas India is a non-aligned country. Japan's foreign policy has a strong influence of United States, and till recently Japan considered India as a close friend of former Soviet Union and therefore Indo-Japanese relations were confined only to economic field. Now, in the changed circumstances, Japan needs to shed its earlier stances and associate with South Asia in general and India in particular. With its strength in capital and technology Japan can play a significant development role in India.

As India has greatly liberalized its economic policy, the earlier complaints of Japan are no more valid. Japan is trying to assess the changed situation in India and is thinking of investing to the tune of \$2 billion. In the near future even a 'Japanese industrial township' in India may be set up. There is great hope in Indo-Japanese joint ventures both in public and private sectors. Some of the popular Indo-Japanese industrial collaborations are the following:

Automobiles

Maruti Suzuki, Hero-Honda, DCM-Toyota, Swaraj-Mazda, Eicher-Mitsubishi, TVS-Suzuki, and Escorts-Yamaha

Consumer Electronics

Videocon-Matsushita, Weston-Hitachi, BPL-Sanyo, Onida-JVC and Kalyani-Sharp. Besides, there are a number of components-makers both in automobiles as well as electronic areas.

As a developing country India needs greater access to international capital markets. Japan with its high current account trade surplus and shift towards knowledge intensive industries, can transfer its technology and capital as well as relocate gradually some of its industries into India.

Japan is a big exporter, trader and a world power, and India is no match. India's only advantage is its cheap labour, as well as a huge domestic market.

India's exports to Japan include iron ore, some engineering goods, agricultural goods, food items (chutney, tamarind, gaurd gum, fruits, edible nuts), textiles, leather and leather goods, gems, and jewellery. India's imports from Japan mainly consist of machinery and equipment besides synthetics.

Though India and Japan have different geographical, political and historical backgrounds, there exist bilateral agreements between them in the fields of trade, shipping, aviation, science and technology.

A central lesson that India can learn from Japanese experience is the imperative of evolving and applying, with great tenacity and hard work, a strategy for technological development as an integral part of societal development programme.

10.5.2 Japan, North America and European Community

Japan's relations with the United States evolved in the context of the close political, economic and military ties between the two countries since World War II. But in the recent years relations have been strained by the persistence of a large bilateral trade imbalance in Japan's favour. While the US plays the role of a supplier of primary goods to Japan, Japan is exporting large quantities of manufactured goods to US market. Some Japanese argue that Japan should become a military power commensurate with its economic strength and should pursue a foreign policy independent of United States. However, Japan is strengthening its Western-American-alliance instead of abandoning it. Besides, strengthening Japanese solidarity with Western nations always means close cooperation with the United States. Thus, American considerations have always dominated post-war Japanese foreign policy calculations. Also Japan-US Security Treaty has become the cornerstone of Japanese foreign policy. Japan is participating in the United States Strategic Defense Initiative — SDI program. The bilateral defense technology agreement of 1983 provides the framework for Japanese involvement in this project.

Japan's relations with Canada is less strained because of the absence of a conspicuous trade imbalance, the small size of the Canadian market, and the basic complementarity between Japanese manufactures and Canadian natural resources.

Such Western Europe and Japan are highly industrialized and resource poor. The European Community constitutes to be a large, attractive market for Japanese exports, while it offers few primary goods of great importance to Japan. Japan often attempts to diffuse European complaints about Japanese trade practices and to improve Japan's image in Europe.

10.5.3 Japan and NICs

Korea and Taiwan both former colonies of Japan, offer different pictures. Korea-Japan relations have been greatly conditioned by colonial legacy, geopolitical constraints and military-strategic considerations rather than by economic rationality. Japan prefers the status quo of a divided Korea, in as much as either of the alternatives — unification of North and South Korea or conflicts between the two — poses a threat to Japan's economic welfare and security interests. Recently there is some improvement in Japan-South Korea relations. There was a deadlock on negotiations regarding an economic aid package. The then Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro visited South Korea in 1983 and agreed to provide 4 billion worth of assistance.

Taiwan and Japan, caught by one-China policy of the People's Republic of China, lost their formal diplomatic connection but still have pragmatically managed to sustain growing and closer commercial relations.

10.5.4 Japan, Former Soviet Union and China

Relations between Japan and former Soviet Union were in poor shape and showed few signs of improving. Fears of security threat from former Soviet Union led Japan to reassess its security relationships and also to consider more seriously than in the past the regional aspects of its defense. When Mikhail Gorbachev was in power, there had been a series of diplomatic overtures from the Soviet Union to improve relations with Japan. But Japanese government remained suspicious of Soviet peace offensive. Soviet peace strategy did not succeed as long as Japan demanded the return of disputed northern territories. However, breakup of former Soviet Union into Commonwealth of Independent States has further complicated the question of Japanese return of northern territories to Japan and thus improve mutual relations.

The present relations between China and Japan are sustained not so much because of its profitability but by Japanese government's long-term geopolitical considerations. Japan's political relations with China have not changed much. Japan remains cautious about military cooperation with China. Japan does not want the US to help China develop an effective navy that could eventually threaten Japan. China has also expressed concerns about Japan increasing its military strength.

The basic Japanese stance towards China is to support and reap the benefits of its economic modernization. Though Japan favours a developing China, it still fears a developed China.

10.5.5 Japan and Developing Countries

Japan is troubled by the incoherence of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) as a regional organization and its pressure for greater Japanese aid and preferential treatment of manufactured imports from the region. ASEAN countries are anxious about domination of their national economies by Japanese economic power, Japanese resource procurement from the region, and direct investment by Japanese firms. Recent complaints from ASEAN relate to Japan exporting pollution breeding industries to ASEAN region as a result of structural transformation of Japanese economy.

Japan critically depends on oil from the Gulf. Japan adopted a pro-Arab policy after the first oil crisis for securing vital oil supply. As the only major country maintaining friendly relations with both Iran and Iraq, Japan is in a unique position to help resolve Iran-Iraq problems. Japan imports two-thirds of its oil from the Middle East through Persian Gulf Ports.

For this purpose, Japan preferentially allocated its economic and technical aid in favour of those countries in Africa, which posses exportable resources. However, Japan remained silent/indifferent to the question of racism in resource-rich South Africa.

Inspite of instability of Latin American politics, Japan's economic relations with the region have expanded.

Check Your Progress 4

- Note: i) Use the space below for your answer.
ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Name the recent major problem in Japan-US relations.

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2) What are Japan's interest in China?

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3) What is at stake for Japan in the Middle East?

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10.6 JAPAN AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Japan was admitted to the United Nations in 1956. Since then Japan is actively participating in almost every area of UN activities. As the role and scope of these activities increased gradually and reflected in specialised bodies, so also the Japanese contributions grew.

Japan's contributions particularly increased in such fields of UN activities like: (1) The regular budget, (2) The costs of peace-keeping operations.

Japan is also participating and stepping up its contributions to such bodies like:

UNCTAD	:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Program
UNIDO	:	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WHO	:	World Health Organization
FAO	:	Food and Agriculture Organization
IMF	:	International Monetary Fund

It is expected that in the near future Japan may be given a permanent membership in the UN Security Council on the basis of its economic strength.

10.7 INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE AND COOPERATION

Japan has gradually stepped up its external contribution as its economic strength has developed. The volume of its Official Development Assistance (ODA) has been rapidly increasing. Japan accounts for more than 10% of the GNP of the entire world and this has made Japan a major presence on the global scene. Relative decline of America's economic strength, low defense budget relative to Japan's GNP, rapid climb of Yen since 1985, have together led many developing countries to look for Japanese assistance in providing capital, technology and foreign aid. The reach of Japanese diplomatic activity is today growing ever broader and deeper. Three important areas in which Japan makes its international contributions are:

a) cooperation for peace

- b) expansion of official development assistance, and
- c) promotion of cultural exchange.

Solving the debt problem is a major task facing the global economy. To this and Japan needs to make great efforts in coordinating with other major aid giving countries.

The concept of cooperation for peace emphasises a role for Japan in the settlement of international disputes instead of simply leaving the job up to others. It entails (a) engaging in diplomatic dialogues with those countries that are involved in disputes as well as others who could be influential in settling them, (b) cooperation through participation in international conferences, (c) dispatching personnel to take part in international peace keeping activities, (d) aiding refugees and (e) assisting reconstruction.

The principal objectives of Japan's cooperation include (a) helping to raise the standard of living of the recipient nations by supporting self-help efforts for economic and social development, (b) improving friendly relations with the recipient countries, (c) contributing to the development of the world economy as a whole through cooperation in the economic advancement of developing countries, and (d) contributing to the peace and stability of the international community.

The goal is to provide \$ 50 billion in aid during the five year period through 1992. In 1987 Japan provided \$ 7.5 billion worth foreign aid. In 1988 it was \$ 9.13 billion and in 1989 \$ 8.9 billion. Still there is need to raise the quality of Japan's assistance. Because from recipients viewpoint, grants are preferable to loans. The share of grants in Japan's ODA is comparatively very low. And though Japan is one of biggest donor countries in the world, yet its systems for implementation lag far behind those of western nations.

Thus efforts at conflict mediation marks a significant departure from the post-war Japanese pattern of diplomatic passivity. But still the Japanese foreign policy is relatively passive and reactive.

People in other countries do not understand Japan well enough. The speed of Japan's economic growth in the last few decades has been difficult for foreigners to keep pace with. Though Japan is promoting cultural exchange, nevertheless the need for Japan to spread qualitative knowledge globally about itself is great. Japan also must be open to intellectual stimulation from a variety of other cultures.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space below for your answer.
 ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) In which year was Japan admitted to the United Nations?

2) What is ODA?

3) What are the forms of Japan's international contribution?

- 4) How much foreign aid Japan intends to provide from 1992 to 1996?

10.8 LET US SUM UP

It is difficult for a beleaguered country to frame foreign policy. Japan had been a besieged country. Its foreign policy has marked US influence. Despite these limitations Japan has chalked out a foreign policy to secure an honourable place in the world divided into two blocs—haves and have nots—the rich North and the poor South. Japan has added new content in the arena of foreign policy making. Foreign policy generally deals with security problems and political projection of the country concerned. Japan has emphasized on the geoeconomic factors in making and implementing foreign policy of the country. In these efforts Japan has achieved great success. It is now a world economic power. Japan has not only diversified its foreign sources of markets but also has made them dependent upon Japanese goods, services, technology and capital.

Indo-Japanese relations are historical. Indian culture, civilization have left marked influence upon Japan like other east and south-east Asian countries. In the modern period Japan's rise as a modern state in Asia and its victory in Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 served as sources' of inspirations for Indian nationalists. Indian revolutionaries were provided with asylum, encouragement and material aid in their struggle against British imperialism. Japanese Emperor conferred on Indian Poet Rabindranath Tagore the title of "Post laureate of Asia". Japanese goods were preferred in Indian markets. In recent years Japan has again caught the imagination of Indians. In the post-Cold War period Japan has come forward with huge aid and grant for economic development of India.

In the preceding pages all these have been elaborately and analytically recounted.

10.9 KEY WORDS

Geoeconomics	–	Country's economy as determined by its geographical and political position in the world.
MITI	–	Ministry of International Trade and Industry.
SDF	–	Self-defence Force.

10.10 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

- Drifte, Reinhard, 1990, *Japan's Foreign Policy*, 1990, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.
- Nester, William R., 1992, *Japan and the Third world*, Nester Macmillan, London.

10.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) a) Geopolitics
b) National Security
c) Resource Endowment and Vulnerability
- 2) a) Japan challenged the Western technological superiority successfully
b) By becoming world's No. 1 creditor country Japan put an end to Western/ American financial hegemony.
- 3) To contribute to world peace and stability and to a harmonious progress of the entire international community. For this, Japan follows close and abiding relationship with the United States.
- 4) a) economic and commercial
b) obtaining access to supply of raw material
c) removing obstacles in the way of profitable trade
d) defend Japan against external attack
e) remain in good terms with other countries
f) join international bodies to enhance Japan's prestige.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) a) Parliament
b) Ministry of Foreign Affairs
c) Ministry of International Trade and Industry
d) Big business
e) Public opinion
- 2) Ministry of International trade and Industry. Its authority is exercised indirectly. Its power rests on Diet-enacted Statutory authority.
- 3) Because of his Constitutional position as the chief executive of the government and President of the ruling party.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) a) The Basic policies for National Defense of 1957
b) The National Defense program outline of 1976
- 2) To prevent direct or indirect attack, if invaded, to repel such aggression.
- 3) On the basis of Japan-US Mutual Security Treaty.
- 4) a) Ground Self-Defense Forces
b) Maritime Self-Defense Forces, and
c) Air Self-Defense Forces.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) The problem relates to a large bilateral trade surplus in favour of Japan.
- 2) Japan wants to support and reap benefits from China's economic modernization program.
- 3) Japan imports two-thirds of its oil from the Middle East. Safe oil supply is very vital for Japan's economy.

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) In 1956
- 2) Overseas Development Assistance

- 3)
 - a) Cooperation for peace
 - b) Expansion of ODA
 - c) Promotion of Cultural exchange.
- 4) \$ 50 billion.