

**Chapter 1 : Japanese Foreign Policy in the s**

*"This book describes major aspects of Japanese foreign policy from WWII to the present. Bilateral relations with the US, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, Russia, Europe and the Middle East as well as multilateral diplomacy are analysed. Written by a former diplomat who was deeply involved in major.*

The first important landmark in the foreign policy of Japan was the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Japan had a quarrel with China over Korea. She was afraid that some European power might take advantage of the weakness of Korea and establish her control over it. In 1895, Japan gave an ultimatum to the King of Korea to accept the Japanese programme of reforms. The King tried to avoid the issue and consequently Japan attacked Korea and took her King as a prisoner. China entered the war on the side of Korea but was defeated. The Chinese were defeated because they were over-confident, ill-organized and inefficient. In less than a year, the Japanese overran the whole of Korea and Southern Manchuria and threatened Peking. In April 1895 was signed the Treaty of Shimonosheki. China agreed to pay a huge war indemnity and make certain commercial concessions to Japan. She also recognized the independence of Korea and thereby gave a free hand to Japan. The extra-territorial rights of the foreign countries in Japan were ended. However, Japan was not allowed to keep to herself the gains which she got by the Treaty of Shimonosheki. Russia, France and Germany presented a joint note to Japan offering their friendly advice that she should refrain from annexing any part of the Chinese mainland. Japan found herself helpless before the three Powers, and felt humiliated. The joint intervention of the three Powers was not out of any humanitarian consideration. They had their own axes to grind. The Russian imperialists felt that Korea and the Liao-tung Peninsula were of vital importance to their country. If Japan dominated Korea, she would be able to control both sides of the southern outlet of the Japan Sea on which was situated the Russian port of Vladivostok, the intended terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway. If Japan annexed the Liao-tung Peninsula, there would be no possibility of Russia getting an ice-free port in the south. Under the circumstances, Russian interests demanded that Japan must be ousted from those regions. France joined hands with Russia as her faithful ally in world politics. His view was that Christendom must stand firmly against the pagan Orient. He wanted to cultivate good relations, with Russia and no wonder he tried to show himself more zealous than France as a friend of Russian imperialism. He wanted to weaken the Franco-Russian Alliance and rob it of its anti-German slant. It is these considerations that brought Russia, France and Germany together. Having deprived Japan of her spoils of victory, the three powers were most anxious to get whatever they could from the Chinese Government. France got control over all the mines in the three southern provinces adjoining French Indo-China. She also got the right to extend the French railway-line from Annam to China. Russia started her influence in China by the establishment of the Russo-Chinese Bank. She also got Port Arthur. Germany got the lease of the port and district of Kiao-Chow for 99 years and concessions for two railways in Shantung. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance As regards Japan, she had been deprived of her gains from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 by the combined action of Russia, France and Germany. Port Arthur was occupied by Russia herself in 1896. All these were resented by Japan. England was the only country which did not join the other Powers against Japan. No wonder while Japan came to have a grudge against other European Powers, especially Russia, she began to look to England as a friend to check Russian ambitions. It was in these circumstances that the seeds of the Anglo-Japanese alliance were planted. It is stated that Joseph Chamberlain talked of an Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1895. Russia tried to exploit the situation created in China by the Boxer Rising. She overran Manchuria and tried to secure recognition of her position by her influence over the Dowager Empress. There was a lot of opposition from the other Powers to the establishment of Russian military protectorate over Manchuria and Russia was forced to withdraw. Both Japan and England felt that a check could be put on Russian advance by an alliance between the two countries. The Russian attitude was that while she was determined to control Manchuria herself she was not prepared to allow Japan to have a free hand in Korea. There was every possibility of intervention by foreign Powers into the affairs of Korea and that Japan could not tolerate. England also had her own reasons to enter into an alliance with Japan. Throughout the 19th century, England had followed a policy of splendid isolation and consequently had not entered into

any alliance with any country. Thus, while other European Powers had entered into alliances, England had remained completely aloof from them but she began to feel towards the end of the 19th century that isolation was dangerous and not in the best interests of the country. A similar feeling was there on the occasion of the Fashoda incident of 1898. The attitude of the European Powers during the Boer War also made England feel that her policy of isolation was not a right one. She wanted to enter into an alliance with Germany but the attitude of William II was not helpful. All the efforts of men like Joseph Chamberlain to bring together Germany and England failed. When William II was approached for an alliance, his famous reply was. It was under these circumstances that England decided to enter into an alliance with Japan and it was done in the beginning of January 1902. There was another reason why England wanted to enter into an alliance with Japan. Both England and Japan were determined to check the further advance of Russia in the Far East and it was this community of interests that brought the two countries together. Terms of the Treaty: They also expressed their anxiety to maintain the status quo in both the countries. It was agreed that it would be admissible for either of them to take such measures as might be indispensable in order to safeguard those interests if threatened either by the aggressive action of any other Power or by disturbances arising in China or Korea. It was also to do its utmost to prevent other Powers from joining hostilities against its ally. The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902 was revised in 1911. According to the revised agreement, each country was to come to the help of the other if the latter were attacked even by a single Power and the scope of the alliance was also extended to embrace British India. The alliance was to last for 10 years. In 1923, the agreement was again revised in order to remove any danger of England being involved in a war between the United States and Japan. The alliance continued up to 1923. Importance of the Treaty: It is rightly pointed out that there was no other treaty from which both the parties gained so much as did Japan and England from the treaty of 1902. Japan wanted an ally on whom she could depend to put a check to the further advance of Russia in the Far East. This she got in England. According to the treaty, if she was involved in a war with Russia, England was to do everything in her power to prevent other Powers from joining Russia against Japan. This was to enable Japan to deal effectively with Russia. Japan was not so much afraid of Russia alone as she was afraid of the help that Russia might get from some other Powers. Having secured herself by the Treaty of 1902, there is no wonder that Japan chose her own opportunity to begin the war with Russia in 1904, only two years after the Treaty. Great Britain also gained a lot from this Treaty. She was as much interested in checking the further advance of Russia in the Far East as Japan herself. She would like to help Japan in every way so that the latter might be able to deal a blow to Russia. Moreover, England was getting worried over the naval programme of Germany. Germany was building her navy at a tremendous speed and that was liable to threaten the very existence of Great Britain. Under these circumstances, Great Britain wanted to withdraw her ships from the Pacific. This she could do after entering into an alliance with Japan which was a Great Power in the Pacific. It is pointed out that this alliance was of very great importance to Japan from another point of view. It raised the status of Japan. She was admitted on terms of equality by the greatest of the world Empires. The Treaty of 1902 gave Japan a free hand in the Far East. It was undoubtedly a great landmark in her history of expansion in the Far East. She could depend not only upon her own strength but also upon the help which she was to get under the amended Treaty of 1911 which required England to come to the help of Japan if Japan went to war even with one single Power. Its intention, so far as Japan was concerned, must remain a little mysterious. The English diplomats seem to have thought that they would be able to keep Japan in order and to prevent her aggression against Russia. It is easy to see now that this was an entire mistake. This was not the only British mistake. Her negotiators seem to have believed that the effect of this treaty would be confined to the local area of China. But the diplomacy of the Great Powers is world-wide in its action and extent, and an alliance affecting the Sea of Japan was bound to trouble the Mediterranean and the North Sea. She was not indeed on friendly terms either with Russia or with France, but then neither was she with Germany. Germany seems still to have expected or hoped for the former. The Japanese got recognition of their special interest in Korea, and the assurance that Great Britain would keep France neutral in case they went to war with Russia. The British prevented any Japanese combine with Russia and strengthened the barrier against any further Russian advance. The price they paid was small now that the Boer War was over; the British could easily spare the ships to counter France in the Far East; their only

sacrifice was Korea, and that was only a sacrifice of principle. The gain, however, was not so great at the time as it was made by later unforeseen events.

**Chapter 2 : History of Japanese foreign relations - Wikipedia**

*The item Japan's foreign policy the quest for a proactive policy, Kazuhiko Togo represents a specific, individual, material embodiment of a distinct intellectual or artistic creation found in University of Manitoba Libraries.*

The kingdom was Virtually isolated before the s, with limited contacts through Dutch traders. The Meiji Restoration was a political revolution that installed a new leadership that was eager to borrow Western technology and organization. The government in Tokyo carefully monitored and controlled outside interactions. Japanese delegations to Europe brought back European standards which were widely imposed across the government and the economy. Trade flourished, as Japan rapidly industrialized. European-style imperialism and colonialism were borrowed, as in the late 19th century Japan defeated China, and acquired numerous colonies, including Formosa and Okinawa. The rapid advanced in Japanese military prowess stunned the world in when it decisively defeated Russia and gained recognition as a world power. Imperialism continued as it took control of Korea, and began moving into Manchuria. Its only military alliance was with Great Britain. Japan put heavy pressure on China, but China resisted. Although the political system was formally democratic, the Army increasingly seized control in Japan. Indeed in the s, separatist Army elements in Manchuria largely shaped foreign-policy. It joined the Axis alliance with Germany, But there was little close cooperation between the two nations until Japan opened a full-scale war in China, in , taking control of the major cities and economic centers with a long record of atrocities. Two puppet regimes were nominally in charge in China and Manchuria. Military confrontations with the Soviet Union were disappointing to Japan, and it turned its attention to the south. American economic and financial pressures, joined by Britain and the Netherlands, climaxed in the cut off of vitally needed oil supplies in Japan declared war, and in three months scored spectacular successes against the United States, Britain and the Netherlands, as well as continuing the war with China. The Japanese economy could not support the large-scale war effort, especially with the rapid buildup of the American navy. By , Japan was heavily on the defensive, as its Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere collapsed, its navy was sunk, and American bombing started to devastate major Japanese cities. The final blow came in August with two American atomic bombs and the Russian invasion. Japan surrendered, and was occupied by the Allies, or more particularly by the United States. Its political and economic system was rebuilt on the basis of greater democracy, no military capability, and a weakening of traditional monopolistic corporations. Japan was a very minor player in international affairs in the late s, but its economy revived in part as a supply base for the Korean War. Non-involvement became the central focus of Japanese foreign policy, together with very rapid growth of its industrial exports. By the s, Japan, with the second largest economy in the world behind the United States, reached a peak, and leveled off economically. It retained very close relations with the United States, which basically provided it with military protection. South Korea, China, and other countries in the Western Pacific traded on a very large scale with Japan, but still deeply resented the wartime atrocities. Meiji Restoration Beginning with the Meiji Restoration of , which established a new, centralized regime, Japan set out to "gather wisdom from all over the world" and embarked on an ambitious program of military, social, political, and economic reforms that transformed it within a generation into a modern nation-state and major world power. The Meiji oligarchy was aware of Western progress, and "learning missions" were sent abroad to absorb as much of it as possible. Upon returning, mission members called for domestic reforms that would help Japan catch up with the West. European powers imposed a series of "unequal treaties" in the s and s that gave privileged roles to their nationals in specially designated treaty ports. It granted extraterritoriality to foreigners, So that they govern themselves and were not under the control of Japanese courts or authorities. There were numerous trading stipulations favorable to the Americans. The Dutch, British and Russians quickly followed suit with their own treaties, backed up by their own powerful naval forces. The inequality was not quite as severe as suffered by these other countries, but it rankled so much that ending the inequality became a priority that was finally achieved in the s. The humiliation was not as bad as China suffered, but it energized anti-foreign forces inside Japan. On the other hand, the new treaties, provided for tariffs on imports from Europe; imports multiplied by a factor of nine between and , and the tariff

revenue provided major financial backing for the Meiji regime. Exports of tea, silk and other Japanese products multiplied by a factor of four in four years, dramatically stimulating the local economy while causing galloping inflation that drove up the price of rice. The skills and tricks of negotiation had to be learned, so they could compete on an equal basis with experienced Western diplomats. No longer could Westerners be seen as "barbarians"; In time, Japan formed a corps of professional diplomats and negotiators. It took control of Okinawa and Formosa. The aftermath of these two wars left Japan the dominant power in the Far East with a sphere of influence extending over southern Manchuria and Korea, which was formally annexed as part of the Japanese Empire in 1895. Japan took control of the entire Ryukyu island chain in 1879 and formally incorporated it into Japan in 1895. China further paid an indemnity of 90 million silver taels, opened five new ports to international trade, and allowed Japan and other Western powers to set up and operate factories in these cities. However, Russia, France, and Germany saw themselves disadvantaged by the treaty and in the Triple Intervention forced Japan to return the Liaotung Peninsula in return for a larger indemnity. The only positive result for China came when those factories led the industrialization of urban China, spinning off a local class of entrepreneurs and skilled mechanics. They soon began to rule the natives. China took control in the 1910s, and sent in settlers. By the 1920s there were about 2 million. After its victory in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the peace treaty ceded the island to Japan. Japan realized that its home islands could only support a limited resource base, and it hoped that Taiwan, with its fertile farmlands, would make up the shortage. By 1895, Taiwan was producing rice and sugar and paying for itself with a small surplus. Perhaps more important, Japan gained Asia-wide prestige by being the first non-European country to operate a modern colony. It learned how to adjust its German-based bureaucratic standards to actual conditions, and how to deal with frequent insurrections. The ultimate goal was to promote Japanese language and culture, but the administrators realized they first had to adjust to the Chinese culture of the people. Japan had a civilizing mission, and it opened schools so that the peasants could become productive and patriotic manual workers. Medical facilities were modernized, and the death rate plunged. To maintain order, Japan installed a police state that closely monitored everyone. In 1911, Japan was stripped of its empire and Taiwan was returned to China. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 saw Japan and Russia as allies who fought together against the Chinese, with Russians playing the leading role on the battlefield. Japan offered to recognize Russian dominance in Manchuria in exchange for recognition of Korea as being within the Japanese sphere of influence. Russia refused and demanded Korea north of the 39th parallel to be a neutral buffer zone between Russia and Japan. The Japanese government decided on war to stop the perceived Russian threat to its plans for expansion into Asia. After negotiations broke down in 1904, the Japanese Navy opened hostilities by attacking the Russian Eastern Fleet at Port Arthur, China, in a surprise attack. Russia suffered multiple defeats by Japan. Tsar Nicholas II kept on with the expectation that Russia would win decisive naval battles, and when that proved illusory he fought to preserve the dignity of Russia by averting a "humiliating peace". The complete victory of the Japanese military surprised world observers. It was the first major military victory in the modern era of an Asian power over a European one. The Eulsa Treaty led to the signing of the Treaty two years later. The Treaty ensured that Korea would act under the guidance of a Japanese resident general and Korean internal affairs would be under Japanese control. Korean Emperor Gojong was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Sunjong, as he protested Japanese actions in the Hague Conference. Finally in 1910, the Annexation Treaty was signed, formally annexing Korea to Japan. In 1894-95 he oversaw the short, victorious war against China. He negotiated Chinese surrender on terms aggressively favourable to Japan, including the annexation of Taiwan and the release of Korea from the Chinese tribute system. He also gained control of the Liaodong Peninsula with Dairen and Port Arthur, but was immediately forced by Russia, Germany and France acting together in the Triple Intervention to give that back to China. In the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1854, he succeeded in removing some of the onerous unequal treaty clauses that had plagued Japanese foreign relations since the start of the Meiji period. His major breakthrough was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed in 1902. The alliance was renewed and expanded in scope twice, in 1911 and 1922, before its demise in 1923. It was officially terminated in 1923. A diplomatic tour of the United States and Europe brought him to Saint Petersburg in November 1905, where he was unable to find compromise on this matter with Russian authorities. During his first term Japan emerged as a major imperialist power in East Asia. In

terms of foreign affairs, it was marked by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. During his tenure, the Taft-Katsura agreement with the U.S. His second term was noteworthy for the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910. They started with textiles, railways, and shipping, expanding to electricity and machinery. Industry ran short of copper and coal became a net importer. A deep flaw in the aggressive military strategy was a heavy dependence on imports including 90 percent of the aluminum, 85 percent of the iron ore, and especially 79 percent of the oil supplies. Its occupation of Siberia proved unproductive. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, its demands for racial parity, and an increasing diplomatic isolation. The alliance with Britain was not renewed in 1923 because of heavy pressure on Britain from Canada and the United States. In the 1920s Japanese diplomacy was rooted in an largely liberal democratic political system, and favored internationalism. By 1930, however, Japan was rapidly reversing itself, rejecting democracy at home, as the Army seized more and more power, and rejecting internationalism and liberalism. The Americans were originally sent to help check prisoners escape, but increasingly, their role was to watch and block Japanese expansion. China protested furiously, but have little leverage. The Shandong Problem appeared to be a Japan victory, but Tokyo soon had second thoughts as widespread protests inside China led to the May Fourth Movement led by angry radical students. Finally in 1922 with mediation by the U.S. The Japanese operated in terms of traditional Power diplomacy, emphasizing control over distinct spheres of influence, while the United States adhered to Wilsonianism based on the "open door" and internationalist principles. Both sides compromised, and were successful in diplomatic endeavors such as the naval limitations at the Washington conference in 1922.

**Chapter 3 : Japan's International Relations: Politics, Economics and Security - Google Books**

*Japan's Foreign Policy, This book describes major aspects of Japanese foreign policy from WWII to the present. Bilateral relations with the US, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, Russia, Europe and the Middle East as well as multilateral diplomacy are analysed.*

It accommodated itself flexibly to the regional and global policies of the United States while avoiding major initiatives of its own; adhered to pacifist principles embodied in the constitution, referred to as the "peace constitution"; and generally took a passive, low-profile role in world affairs. Relations with other countries were governed by what the leadership called "omnidirectional diplomacy," which was essentially a policy of maintaining political neutrality in foreign affairs while expanding economic relations wherever possible. This policy was highly successful and allowed Japan to prosper and grow as an economic power, but it was feasible only while the country enjoyed the security and economic stability provided by its ally, the United States. Post-occupation Japan[ edit ] When Japan regained its sovereignty in and reentered the international community as an independent nation, it found itself in a world preoccupied by the Cold War between East and West, in which the Soviet Union and the United States headed opposing camps. National security was entrusted to the protective shield and nuclear umbrella of the United States, which was permitted under the security pact that came into effect in April to deploy its forces in and about Japan. The pact provided a framework governing the use of United States forces against military threats—internal or external—in the region. A special diplomatic task was to assuage the suspicions and alleviate the resentments of Asian neighbors who had suffered from Japanese colonial rule and imperialist aggression in the past. With respect to the world at large, the nation avoided political issues and concentrated on economic goals. Under its omnidirectional diplomacy, it sought to cultivate friendly ties with all nations, proclaimed a policy of "separation of politics and economics," and adhered to a neutral position on some East-West issues. During the 1950s and 1960s, foreign policy actions were guided by three basic principles: Adherence to these principles worked well and contributed to phenomenal economic recovery and growth during the first two decades after the end of the occupation. There was growing domestic pressure on the government to exercise more foreign policy initiatives independent of the United States, without, however, compromising vital security and economic ties. The so-called Nixon "shock," involving the surprise visit to China by Richard Nixon and the sudden reconciliation in Sino-American relations, also argued for a more independent Japanese foreign policy. A similar move in Sino-Japanese relations followed. The demand for a more independent foreign policy reflected this enhanced self-image. The move toward a more autonomous foreign policy was accelerated in the 1970s by the United States decision to withdraw troops from Indochina. Japanese public opinion had earlier favored some distance between Japan and the United States involvement in war in Vietnam. The shift therefore required a reassessment of omnidirectional diplomacy. Changes in world economic relations during the 1970s also encouraged a more independent stance. Japan had become less dependent on the Western powers for resources. Oil, for example, was obtained directly from the producing countries in the Middle East and not from the Western-controlled multinational companies. Other important materials also came increasingly from sources other than the United States and its allies, while trade with the United States as a share of total trade dropped significantly during the decade of the 1970s. Thus, political leaders began to argue that in the interests of economic self-preservation, more attention should be paid to the financial and development needs of other countries, especially those that provided Japan with vital energy and raw material supplies. Japanese leaders played a strong supporting role in curbing economic and other interaction with the Soviet Union and its allies in order to help check the expansion of Soviet power in sensitive areas among the developing world countries. The differences in outlook between the older leaders still in positions of power and influence and the younger generation that was replacing them complicated formulation of foreign policy. Under Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, a more hawkish stance on foreign policy was introduced. Japan built up a close political-military relationship with the United States as part of a de facto international front of a number of developed and developing countries intent on checking Soviet expansion. Japan became increasingly active in granting

foreign assistance to countries of strategic importance in East-West competition. The realignment of United States and Japanese currencies in the mids increased the growth of Japanese trade, aid, and investment, especially in Asia. Japan had also become the second largest donor of foreign aid. Senior United States leaders were calling upon Japanese officials to work with them in crafting "a new conceptual framework" for Japan-United States relations that would take account of altered strategic and economic realities and changes in Japanese and United States views about the bilateral relationship. The results of this effort were far from clear. Some optimistically predicted "a new global partnership" in which the United States and Japan would work together as truly equal partners in dealing with global problems. Pessimists predicted that negative feelings generated by the realignment in United States and Japanese economic power and persistent trade frictions would prompt Japan to strike out more on its own, without the "guidance" of the United States. Given the growing economic dominance of Japan in Asia, Tokyo was seen as most likely to strike out independently there first, translating its economic power into political and perhaps, eventually, military influence. Still, the image of Japan as a "military dwarf" was in a sense ironic, as Japan had one of the biggest defense budgets in the world throughout the s and s and defense expenditure is one of the most frequently used indicators of military power. It also had very advanced naval and air self-defense capabilities. These formerly communist countries were anxiously seeking aid, trade, and technical benefits from the developed countries, such as Japan. The United States was forced to look increasingly to Japan and others to shoulder the financial burdens entailed in the transformation of former communist economies in Eastern Europe and other urgent international requirements that fall upon the shoulders of world leaders. Japanese industries and enterprises were among the most capable in the world. High savings and investment rates and high-quality education solidified the international leadership of these enterprises during the mid- to late s. Its economic power gave Japan a steadily growing role in the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other international financial institutions. Investment and trade flows give Japan by far the dominant economic role in Asia, and Japanese aid and investment were widely sought after in other parts of the world. It appears to be only a matter of time before such economic power would be translated into greater political power. The crucial issue for the United States and many other world governments centers on how Japan will employ this growing economic power. But the traditional post-World War II reluctance to take a greater military role in the world remained. However, Japanese officials were increasingly active in using their economic and financial resources in seeking a greater voice in international financial and political organizations and in shaping the policies of the developed countries toward international trouble spots, especially in Asia. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the widely publicized brutalities of communist regimes in Asia in the late s further dampened popular Japanese interest in shifting foreign policy to the left. Meanwhile, the ruling LDP modified its base of political power. By the s, it had markedly shifted the social composition of LDP support away from the traditional conservative reliance on business and rural groups to include every category of the electorate. This shift resulted from efforts by LDP politicians to align various local interests in mutually advantageous arrangements in support of LDP candidates. The LDP had brought together various candidates and their supporting interest groups and had reached a policy consensus to pursue economic development while depending strongly on the United States security umbrella. Domestic political challenges to LDP dominance waxed and waned later in the s as the party faced major influence-peddling scandals with weak and divided leadership, such as the Lockheed bribery scandals and the Recruit scandal. In the coalition government of Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro pledged to continue the LDP policy of economic and security ties with the United States; of responding to domestic and international expectations of greater Japanese political and economic contributions; and of international cooperation through the UN and other international organizations in the cause of world peace, disarmament, aid to developing countries, and educational and technical cooperation. Foreign policy speeches by the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs were widely disseminated, and pamphlets and booklets on major foreign policy questions were issued frequently. Some of the opposing elements included were leftists who sought to exert influence through their representatives in the Diet, through mass organizations, and sometimes through rallies and street demonstrations. In contrast, special interest groups supporting the government—including the business community and agricultural

interests brought pressure to bear on the prime minister, cabinet members, and members of the Diet, usually through behind-the-scenes negotiations and compromises. Partisan political activities of all ideological tendencies were undertaken freely and openly, but the difference in foreign policy perspectives appeared increasingly in the 1950s to derive less from ideology than from more pragmatic considerations. The dominant view was that although the Japanese should be responsible for defending their homeland, they should also continue their security ties with the United States, at least until they could gain sufficient confidence in their own self-defense power, which has been interpreted as not being proscribed by Article 9 of the constitution. Proponents of this view agreed that this self-defense capability should be based on conventional arms and that any nuclear shield should be provided by the United States under the security treaty. The Sino-United States rapprochement of the 1970s and the stiffening of Japan-Soviet relations in the 1980s caused the opposition parties to be less insistent on the need to terminate the security treaty. Only the Japan Communist Party remained adamant. They also agreed that Japan should continue to prohibit the introduction of nuclear weapons into the country. These shared views stemmed from the resurgence of nationalism during the post-World War II era and from the pride of the Japanese people in their own heritage and in the economic achievements of the postwar decades. Except for security-related matters, most foreign affairs issues involved economic interests and mainly attracted the attention of the specific groups affected. The role of interest groups in formulating foreign policy varied with the issue at hand. Similarly, when fishing rights or agricultural imports were being negotiated, representatives of the industries affected worked with political leaders and the foreign affairs bureaucracies in shaping policy. Because of the continuous control of the government enjoyed by the LDP since its formation in 1955, the policy-making bodies of the LDP had become the centers of government policy formulation. Because the unified will of the majority party almost invariably prevailed in the Diet, some observers believed that the Diet had been reduced to a mere sounding board for government policy pronouncements and a rubber-stamp ratifier of decisions made by the prime minister and his cabinet. This situation meant that significant debate and deliberations on foreign policy matters generally took place not in the Diet but in closed-door meetings of the governing LDP. The loss of the LDP majority in the July election for the House of Representatives was bound to affect this situation, but it remained to be seen how it would affect it. The role of public opinion in the formulation of foreign policy throughout the postwar period has been difficult to determine. Japan continued to be extremely concerned with public opinion, and opinion polling became a conspicuous feature of national life. The large number of polls on public policy issues, including foreign policy matters, conducted by the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other government organizations, and the media led to the presumption by analysts that the collective opinions of voters do exert significant influence on policymakers. The public attitudes toward foreign policy that had held throughout much of the postwar period appeared to have shifted in the 1980s. Opinion polls reflected a marked increase in national pride and self-esteem. Moreover, public discussion of security matters by government officials, political party leaders, press commentators, and academics had become markedly less volatile and doctrinaire and more open and pragmatic, suggesting indirectly that public attitudes on this subject had evolved as well. The mass media, and particularly the press, as the champion of the public interest and critic of the government, continues to mold public attitudes strongly. An example of this attitude has been the continued support for whaling through the International Whaling Commission that has brought increasing opposition from several important trading partner countries such as the US, the UK, New Zealand and Australia [2]. This began to change in the late eighties and early nineties, in tandem with a shift in national identity, as understood via a change in its conception of its international role as a great economic power. This shift, ultimately, moved Japan from the realm of pacifism into a more activist assertive power. It was characterized by increased participation in international and regional organizations monetarily and by increased participation in global Peace-Keeping operations and in conflict resolution more broadly, under the umbrella of the UN. This last objective is new, and ends up being very connected to its anti-terrorism policies.

Cooney, Kevin J. *Japan's Foreign Policy Since () Hook, Glenn D. et al. Japan's International Relations: Politics, Economics and Security () excerpt and text search Inoguchi, Takashi.*

Search Toggle display of website navigation Argument: October 30, , Since the election of U. President Donald Trump in , it has been clear that the United States is prepared to withdraw the military, economic, and political leadership that once underpinned the system. But there are still countries out there striving to keep it from crumbling. One of the most important is Japan. To be sure, no single country can replace the United States. Rather, there will need to be several. In such a system, regional actors will take on the major leadership roles. The European Union and Germany are plausible contenders in Europe. But what about the Indo-Pacific region? India is an unlikely candidate. Its own development challenges will distract it from exerting much power beyond South Asia. And although the Association of Southeast Asian Nations has a key role to play in managing security in Southeast Asia, it is unlikely to have any capacity to manage the international order in the wider Indo-Pacific region. Despite being an ardent supporter of many elements of the order, moreover, South Korea has proved too preoccupied with events on the Korean Peninsula to do much elsewhere. That leaves Japan, a status quo power par excellence. Tokyo is highly satisfied with the current order because it has benefited the country greatly, ensuring the peace and stability Japan needed to recover and prosper after World War II. The various international organizations Japan has been able to join, moreover, have given it a louder voice and role in shaping international norms than it otherwise would have had. Tokyo has, in turn, built its international agenda almost solely around upholding and strengthening the liberal international order. For decades, Japan has been a leading contributor of money and personnel to the United Nations, Office of the U. Meanwhile, not only does Japan proactively cooperate with international legal organizations such as the International Court of Justice ICJ and the International Criminal Court, but prominent Japanese legal scholars have long served as justices on the ICJâ€™a testament to the importance the country places on the rule of law. The country has also been a fervent advocate for human rights and freedom of navigation. And as a free trade supporter, Japan stepped up after Trump withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership to revamp the initiative as the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. It was part of his broader Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy , which the Trump administration later endorsed and which places more of the burden on Japan for protecting freedom, the rule of law, and market economies in the region. The time may be right for Abe to go further. He was recently re-elected as the head of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, which means he could remain prime minister until He could use that time to focus on strengthening partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region, where his country enjoys a relatively good reputation. Abe could signal that he is willing to allow others to lean on Japan to hold up the rules-based order. Japanese leadership might even entail dispatching more Japanese troops in noncombat roles to address threats to the international order. In addition to continuing to contribute actively to humanitarian assistance and disaster responses, Japan could be an active participantâ€™even leaderâ€™in U. This is not to suggest that Japan needs to change its constitutional restraints on the use of force by its military or that Japan should take actions that run it afoul of the United States. Nor does regional leadership mean that Japan can ignore its own domestic challenges, namely demographic decline and ballooning debt. Rather, Japanese policymakers might simply consider that it is time for their country to fully embrace its role as a noncombat civilian power and become the predominant regional pillar of the international order. That would mean signaling a willingness to organize and lead groupings of like-minded states to reinforce the existing order across the Indo-Pacific region. Increasingly, Japan could even begin to shape the order around its own vision, although that vision would not likely stray too far from what the current order looks like. Although Japan will never be able to exert global leadership in a way comparable to the United States, it might well decide to provide critical leadership to sustain key elements of the international order in the Indo-Pacific region. It has the power to do so: And in doing so, Japan could very well shore up the confidence of those in other regions that want to do the same. Hornung is a political scientist at the nonprofit, nonpartisan Rand Corp.

**Chapter 5 : Foreign policy of Japan - Wikipedia**

*Japan's foreign policy the quest for a proactive policy. [Kazuhiko TÅ•gÅ•] -- "Bilateral relations with the US, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, Russia, Europe and the Middle East as well as multilateral diplomacy are analysed."*

Okinawa island is the largest of the Ryukyu Islands, and paid tribute to China from the late 14th century. Japan took control of the entire Ryukyu island chain in and formally incorporated it into Japan in . China further paid an indemnity of million silver taels, opened five new ports to international trade, and allowed Japan and other Western powers to set up and operate factories in these cities. However, Russia, France, and Germany saw themselves disadvantaged by the treaty and in the Triple Intervention forced Japan to return the Liaotung Peninsula in return for a larger indemnity. The only positive result for China came when those factories led the industrialization of urban China, spinning off a local class of entrepreneurs and skilled mechanics.

**History of Taiwan** The island of Formosa Taiwan had an indigenous population when Dutch traders in need of an Asian base to trade with Japan and China arrived in . They soon began to rule the natives. China took control in the s, and sent in settlers. By the s there were about 2. After its victory in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the peace treaty ceded the island to Japan. Japan realized that its home islands could only support a limited resource base, and it hoped that Taiwan, with its fertile farmlands, would make up the shortage. By 1900, Taiwan was producing rice and sugar and paying for itself with a small surplus. Perhaps more important, Japan gained Asia-wide prestige by being the first non-European country to operate a modern colony. It learned how to adjust its German-based bureaucratic standards to actual conditions, and how to deal with frequent insurrections. The ultimate goal was to promote Japanese language and culture, but the administrators realized they first had to adjust to the Chinese culture of the people. Japan had a civilizing mission, and it opened schools so that the peasants could become productive and patriotic manual workers. Medical facilities were modernized, and the death rate plunged. To maintain order, Japan installed a police state that closely monitored everyone. In 1911, Japan was stripped of its empire and Taiwan was returned to China.

The Boxer Rebellion of 1900 saw Japan and Russia as allies who fought together against the Chinese, with Russians playing the leading role on the battlefield. Japan offered to recognize Russian dominance in Manchuria in exchange for recognition of Korea as being within the Japanese sphere of influence. Russia refused and demanded Korea north of the 39th parallel to be a neutral buffer zone between Russia and Japan. The Japanese government decided on war to stop the perceived Russian threat to its plans for expansion into Asia. After negotiations broke down in 1904, the Japanese Navy opened hostilities by attacking the Russian Eastern Fleet at Port Arthur, China, in a surprise attack. Russia suffered multiple defeats by Japan. Tsar Nicholas II kept on with the expectation that Russia would win decisive naval battles, and when that proved illusory he fought to preserve the dignity of Russia by averting a "humiliating peace". The complete victory of the Japanese military surprised world observers. It was the first major military victory in the modern era of an Asian power over a European one.

**Takeover of Korea**[ edit ] Further information: The Eulsa Treaty led to the signing of the Treaty two years later. The Treaty ensured that Korea would act under the guidance of a Japanese resident general and Korean internal affairs would be under Japanese control. Korean Emperor Gojong was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, Sunjong, as he protested Japanese actions in the Hague Conference. Finally in 1910, the Annexation Treaty was signed, formally annexing Korea to Japan. In Asia he oversaw the short, victorious war against China. He negotiated Chinese surrender on terms aggressively favourable to Japan, including the annexation of Taiwan and the release of Korea from the Chinese tribute system. He also gained control of the Liaodong Peninsula with Dairen and Port Arthur, but was immediately forced by Russia, Germany and France acting together in the Triple Intervention to give that back to China. In the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1911, he succeeded in removing some of the onerous unequal treaty clauses that had plagued Japanese foreign relations since the start of the Meiji period. His major breakthrough was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance signed in 1902. The alliance was renewed and expanded in scope twice, in 1911 and 1923, before its demise in 1937. It was officially terminated in 1947. A diplomatic tour of the United States and Europe brought him to Saint Petersburg in November 1905, where he was unable to find compromise on this matter

with Russian authorities. During his first term Japan emerged as a major imperialist power in East Asia. In terms of foreign affairs, it was marked by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. During his tenure, the Taft-Katsura agreement with the U.S. His second term was noteworthy for the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910. They started with textiles, railways, and shipping, expanding to electricity and machinery. Industry ran short of copper and coal became a net importer. A deep flaw in the aggressive military strategy was a heavy dependence on imports including percent of the aluminum, 85 percent of the iron ore, and especially 79 percent of the oil supplies. Its occupation of Siberia proved unproductive. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, its demands for racial parity, and an increasing diplomatic isolation. The alliance with Britain was not renewed in 1921 because of heavy pressure on Britain from Canada and the United States. In the 1920s Japanese diplomacy was rooted in an largely liberal democratic political system, and favored internationalism. By 1930s, however, Japan was rapidly reversing itself, rejecting democracy at home, as the Army seized more and more power, and rejecting internationalism and liberalism. The Americans were originally sent to help check prisoners escape, but increasingly, their role was to watch and block Japanese expansion. China protested furiously, but have little leverage. The Shandong Problem appeared to be a Japan victory, but Tokyo soon had second thoughts as widespread protests inside China led to the May Fourth Movement led by angry radical students. Finally in 1922 with mediation by the U.S. The Japanese operated in terms of traditional Power diplomacy, emphasizing control over distinct spheres of influence, while the United States adhered to Wilsonianism based on the "open door" and internationalist principles. Both sides compromised, and were successful in diplomatic endeavors such as the naval limitations at the Washington conference in 1922. The conference set a naval ratio for capital warships of 5:5:3. The result was a de-escalation of the naval arms race for a decade. Japan was required to scrap a capital ship. It set up a puppet government of Manchukuo. Britain and France effectively control the League of Nations, which issued the Lytton Report in 1933, saying that Japan had genuine grievances, but it acted illegally in seizing the entire province. Japan quit the League, Britain took no action. On the contrary, the Army completed the conquest of Manchuria, and the civilian cabinet resigned. The political parties were divided on the issue of military expansion. The new Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi tried to negotiate with China, but was assassinated in the May 15 Incident in 1936, which ushered in an era of ultranationalism led by the Army and supported by patriotic societies. It ended civilian rule in Japan until after 1945. One faction saw The Soviet Union is the main enemy, the other sought to build a mighty empire based in Manchuria and northern China. The Navy, while smaller and less influential, was also factionalized. Large-scale warfare, known as the Second Sino-Japanese War, began in August 1937, with naval and infantry attacks focused on Shanghai, which quickly spread to other major cities. There were numerous large-scale atrocities against Chinese civilians, such as the Nanking Massacre in December 1937, with mass murder and mass rape. By 1940 military lines had stabilized, with Japan in control of the almost all of the major Chinese cities and industrial areas. A puppet government was set up. The USSR was too powerful. Tokyo and Moscow signed a nonaggression treaty in April 1941, as the militarists turned their attention to the European colonies to the south which had urgently needed oil fields. During the Manchurian Incident of 1931, radical army officers conquered Manchuria from local officials and set up the puppet government of Manchukuo there without permission from the Japanese government. International criticism of Japan following the invasion led to Japan withdrawing from the League of Nations. After their victory in the Chinese capital, the Japanese military committed the infamous Nanking Massacre. The Japanese military failed to destroy the Chinese government led by Chiang Kai-shek, which retreated to remote areas. The conflict was a stalemate that lasted until 1945. President Roosevelt imposed increasingly stringent economic sanctions intended to deprive Japan of the oil and steel it needed to continue its war in China. Japan reacted by forging an alliance with Germany and Italy in 1940, known as the Tripartite Pact, which worsened its relations with the US. In July 1941, the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands froze all Japanese assets and cut off oil shipments. Japan had little oil of its own. The United States was firmly and almost unanimously committed to defending the integrity of China. The isolationism that characterized the strong opposition of many Americans toward war in Europe did not apply to Asia. The United States had not yet declared war on Germany, but was closely collaborating with Britain and the Netherlands regarding the Japanese threat. United

States started to move its newest B heavy bombers to bases in the Philippines, well within range of Japanese cities. The goal was deterrence of any Japanese attacks to the south. Furthermore, plans were well underway to ship American air forces to China, where American pilots in Chinese uniforms flying American warplanes, were preparing to bomb Japanese cities well before Pearl Harbor. When the war did start in December , Australian soldiers were rushed to Singapore, weeks before Singapore surrendered, and all the Australian and British forces were sent to prisoner of war camps. Their role was to delay the Japanese invasion long enough to destroy the oil wells, drilling equipment, refineries and pipelines that were the main target of Japanese attacks. Decisions in Tokyo were controlled by the Army, and then rubber-stamped by Emperor Hirohito; the Navy also had a voice. However, the civilian government and diplomats were largely ignored. The Army saw the conquest of China as its primary mission, but operations in Manchuria had created a long border with the Soviet Union. Informal, large-scale military confrontations with the Soviet forces at Nomonhan in summer demonstrated that the Soviets possessed a decisive military superiority. The solution was to send the Navy south, to seize the oilfields in the Dutch East Indies and nearby British colonies. Some admirals and many civilians, including Prime Minister Kono Fumimaro , believed that a war with the U.

### Chapter 6 : Foreign Policy and Defense: Japan's Foreign Relations and Role in the World Today

*"This book describes major aspects of Japanese foreign policy from WWII to the present. Bilateral relations with the US, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, Russia, Europe and the Middle East as well as multilateral diplomacy are analysed.*

Japan was part of trade routes that included much of Southeast and East Asia, and this trade resulted in much cultural exchange as well as material exchange. In the sixteenth century Japan began trading with Western countries, but soon found it disruptive both because of the connections with Christianity and because of the demand it created for precious metals. The government therefore officially limited foreign trade to that with Dutch and Chinese traders. In the 19th century, Asia became more and more attractive to expansionist Europeans and many countries were colonized. China itself was greatly weakened and the old East Asia world order no longer functioned. Western countries aggressively demanded that Japan begin to participate in trade with them, and eventually Japan had no choice but to agree. In the 50s and 60s Japan signed various treaties with Western nations. At the time, imperialism and colonization were the main institutions that defined international relations and Japan soon became a colonizing power of its own, governing both Taiwan and Korea. At the beginning of the 20th century, Japan was recognized by Western powers as a force to be reckoned with, and Japan became a member of the League of Nations. In the years leading to World War II, Japan created a puppet state in Manchuria, and became interested in gaining colonial power in other Asian countries being vacated by European powers. In the years following the defeat of Japan and the subsequent occupation by American forces, Japan has been heavily influenced by the United States in the political, economic and cultural arenas. But with the collapse of the Soviet Union, this relationship has been questioned. Many have asked whether Japan, particularly as a country with great economic strength, should be responsible for its own military. Japan gives much in foreign aid, but complaints continue that it is not yet a responsible member of the First World bloc. These complaints come mostly from Western countries, while another type of complaint comes from many Asian countries. The United States is committed to defend Japan and maintains military bases in Japan partially for that purpose. Trade between the United States and Japan is very important to both countries. The harsh occupation of many Southeast Asian countries left resentment and bitterness, and the Japanese government is today making efforts to improve the relationship with those countries. The countries that make up the EEC are highly developed economically and have an important voice in world affairs. Japan quickly followed suit and is now involved in assisting the Chinese in their efforts to develop their economy. Japan has been the largest source of official development assistance ODA to China. The issue of these islands is under negotiation between the two countries. They have set a goal to resolve the conflict and sign a peace treaty by the year 2005. Trade has gradually developed between the two countries and Japanese business has participated modestly in certain development projects. Student Activity Divide the students into groups:

### Chapter 7 : Kazuhiko Togo (Author of Japan's Foreign Policy, )

*Written by a former diplomat who was deeply involved in major issues of postwar Japanese foreign policy, this revised, expanded and updated third edition of "Japan's Foreign Policy" provides fascinating insider views on Japanese foreign policy from WWII to the present.*

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*a reader about the foreign policy of Japan from to While I was in the process of writing my i-rst draft, I was given an opportunity to combine my writing with teaching.*