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JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST-BIPOLAR SYSTEM ERA

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Abstract. *Introduction.* Following the end of World War II, the world was divided into two opposing camps, with the USSR leading the socialist nations and the USA leading the capitalist nations. The bipolar system kept the world in a state of fear and tension throughout the Cold War period. After the collapse of the USSR and the bipolar system in the early 21st century, Japan's foreign policy underwent significant changes, strengthening its interests within the United Nations. *Goals and objectives.* The aim of this study is to investigate the changes in Japan's foreign policy in the 15 years following the collapse of the bipolar system. This research will examine the political positions of Japan, determine the directions and tasks of its foreign policy, and analyze its negotiation procedures. *Results.* This study is based on primary Japanese language sources, including archive data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, “Nihon Gaimushō Gaikō Seisho” 日本外務省「外交青」, and a collection of important political statements from Japanese political delegations who spoke at the United Nations General Assembly in different years, 「国連総会における日本代表団の声明国連出版物. The research examines Japan's foreign policy after the collapse of the bipolar system. During the late 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century, Japan endeavored to regain its position on the world political stage. As a significant economic donor, Japan aimed to increase its political influence within the United Nations and faced various political struggles to attain permanent membership in the organization. *Conclusions.* Japan's foreign policy was heavily influenced by the “Yoshida Doctrine”, which prioritized achieving economic prosperity and social security. The country was successful in maintaining its relationship with the United States while pursuing these goals. As a developing nation seeking to gain experience in economic development, it is crucial for Kazakhstan to understand Japan's foreign policy directions and tasks during the formation of a new world order.

Keywords: Japan, United Nations, Republic of Kazakhstan, bipolar system, Cold War, foreign policy, international relations, economic diplomacy, Yoshida doctrine

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ЖАПОНИЯНЫҢ ПОСТБИПОЛЯРЛЫ ЖҮЙЕ ДӘУІРІНДЕГІ СЫРТҚЫ САЯСАТЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Kıpısne.* Екінші дүниежүзілік соғыс аяқталғаннан кейін әлем капиталисттік және социалисттік әлем болып екі лагерьге бөлінді. Социалисттік елдердің көшбасшысы КСРО болса, ал капиталисттік мемлекеттер АҚШ-тың ықпалында болды. Осылайша биполярлық жүйе бірнеше онжылдықтар бойы «қырғи-қабақ соғыс» режимінде әлемді үрей мен қорқынышта ұстады. XX ғ. басында КСРО ыдырап, биполярлық жүйе құлағаннан кейін Жапонияның сыртқы саясаты БҰҰ аясындағы мүддесін нығайта түсті. *Зерттеудің мақсаты және міндеттері* – биполярлық жүйенің құлауынан кейінгі Жапонияның сыртқы саясатының он бес (15) жылдағы өзгерістерін зерттеу; Жапон елінің саяси ұстанымдарын талқылау, сыртқы саясаттағы бағыттары мен міндеттерін анықтау; жапондық келіссөздер рәсімдерін талдау. *Нәтижелер.* Мақалада Жапония Сыртқы Істер Министрлігінің «Nihon Gaimushō, Gaikō Seisho» 日本外務省「外交青」 мұрағаттық деректеріне, Біріккен Ұлттар Ұйымы Бас Ассамблеясында сөз сөйлеген жапон саяси делегацияларының әр жылдардағы маңызды саяси мәлімдемелер жинағы 「国連総会における日本代表団の声明国連出版物」 секілді жапон тіліндегі алғашқы дереккөздер негізінде биполярлық жүйе құлауынан кейінгі Жапонияның сыртқы саясаты зерттелді. XX ғ. соңы мен XXI ғ. алғашқы онжылдығында Жапония әлемдік саяси сахнада қайтадан өзіндік орнын іздеуге тырысты. Әлемдік экономикалық донор ретінде БҰҰ аясында саяси салмақ жинауға ұмтылды. БҰҰ-да тұрақты мүшелікке ие болу жолында Жапонияда әртүрлі саяси тартыстар орын алды. *Қорытынды.* Сыртқы саясаты «Ёшида доктринасына» негіздеген Жапония, экономикалық бай қуатты, әлеуметтік қамтамасыздандырылған ел болуға аса мән берді, әрі осы бағытта АҚШ–Жапония қарым қатынасын сақтай білді. ҚР дамушы мемлекет ретінде экономикалық өрлеу тәжірибесін жинақтау тұрғысынан жаңа әлемдік тәртіптің қалыптасуы кезеңіндегі Жапон сыртқы саясатының бағыттары мен міндеттерін білуі өте маңызды.

Түйін сөздер: Жапония, БҰҰ, ҚР, биполярлық жүйе, қырғи-қабақ соғыс, сыртқы саясат, халықаралық қатынастар, экономикалық дипломатия, Ёшида доктринасы

Алғыс айту. Мақала Кейо университетінің түлегі Сугие Кенгоның қолдауымен докторанттың зерттеу жобасының бір бөлігі ретінде дайындалды.


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ВНЕШНЯЯ ПОЛИТИКА ЯПОНИИ В ЭПОХУ ПОСТБИПОЛЯРНОЙ СИСТЕМЫ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* После окончания Второй Мировой Войны мир был разделен на два лагеря: капиталистический и социалистический. СССР возглавлял социалистический блок, а капиталистические страны находились под влиянием США. Эта биполярная система, длившаяся десятилетиями, держала мир в страхе в режиме "холодной войны". В начале XXI века, после распада СССР и краха биполярной системы, Япония начала активнее продвигать свои интересы в ООН. *Цель и задачи исследования* заключаются в изучении изменений, произошедших во внешней политике Японии за пятнадцать (15) лет после распада биполярной системы. В рамках исследования обсуждаются политические позиции Японии, определяются направления и задачи во внешней политике, а также проводится анализ японских переговорных процедур. *Результаты.* Статья ссылается на архивные данные Министерства иностранных дел Японии «Nihon Gaimushō Gaikō Seisho» 日本外務省「外交青書」, а также на сборник важных политических заявлений японских политических делегаций, выступавших на Генеральной Ассамблее ООН 「国連総会における日本代表団の声明国連出版物」 и исследует внешнюю политику Японии после краха биполярной системы на основе японоязычных источников. В конце XX в. и в первом десятилетии XXI века Япония снова попыталась найти свое место на мировой политической арене. Как мировой экономический донор, Япония стремилась набрать политический вес в мировой политике и прошел через различную политическую борьбу, чтобы достичь постоянное членство ООН. *Выводы.* Япония, внешняя политика которой основывалась на «доктрине Ёсида», придавала большое значение тому, чтобы стать страной с богатой экономической мощью и социальным обеспечением, и смогла сохранить американо-японские отношения в этом направлении. РК как развивающаяся страна с точки зрения накопления опыта экономического развития очень важно знать направления и задачи внешней политики Японии в период формирования нового мирового порядка. **Ключевые слова:** Япония, ООН, РК, биполярная система, холодная война, внешняя политика, международные отношения, экономическая дипломатия, доктрина Ёсида. **Благодарность.** Статья была подготовлена при поддержке выпускника Университета Кейо Сугие Кенго в рамках исследования докторанта. **Для цитирования:** Куанбай О.Б. Внешняя политика Японии в эпоху постбиполярной системы // Edu.e-history.kz. 2023. Т. 10. № 1. С. 26–40. (Қаз.) DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2023_33_1_26-40.

Introduction

The global community and nations worldwide take a keen interest in the trajectory of Japan's development, making it a significant role model for several developing countries. The US-Japan relationship, which holds immense significance for the international community and nations in the Asia Pacific region, possesses its own set of advantages. As the bipolar system came to an end, Japan's foreign policy underwent significant changes. In the post-Cold War era, Japan faced a range of new challenges that required a more proactive and independent approach to international relations. One of the most significant changes in Japan's foreign policy was its efforts to become a more active player in global affairs. This involved a shift away from its previous policy of relying heavily on the United States for security and diplomatic support, towards a more assertive and independent stance on the world stage. Another key aspect of Japan's post-Cold War foreign policy was its emphasis on regional diplomacy. This involved strengthening ties with neighboring countries, particularly those in East Asia, and working towards greater regional cooperation and integration. Overall, Japan's foreign policy in the post-Cold War era was characterized by a more dynamic and forward-looking approach to international relations. While there were certainly challenges along the way, Japan's efforts to adapt to the changing global landscape have helped to secure its position as a key player in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.

Materials and research methods

In preparing this scientific article, original Japanese sources such as the “Gaikō Seisho” 「外交青書」 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and statements made by high-ranking officials of Japanese Foreign Policy at the United Nations General Assembly 「国連総会における日本代表団の声明国連出版物」 were consulted. The "Gaikō Seisho" is widely recognized as an invaluable archival record of Japan's foreign policy, offering a comprehensive overview of Japanese foreign policy throughout the decades. Moreover, both current and historical data from Japanese diplomatic history spanning thirty (30) years were utilized as materials for this article. Statistical methods were employed to process quantitative data.

There are several research methods that could have been used in studying the topic of Japanese foreign policy after the collapse of the bipolar system, including: 1. Historical research: This involves examining primary and secondary sources related to the historical events and policies that have shaped Japan's foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. 2. Comparative analysis: This method involves comparing Japan's foreign policy to that of other countries in the region or with similar characteristics to identify similarities, differences, and patterns. 3. Case studies: This approach involves analyzing specific events or policy decisions in-depth to understand how they have influenced Japan's foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. 4. Surveys and interviews: These methods involve gathering data directly from policymakers, experts, and other relevant stakeholders to gain insights into their perspectives on Japan's foreign policy. 5. Quantitative analysis: This approach involves analyzing statistical data related to Japan's foreign policy, such as trade patterns, diplomatic engagements, or military spending, to identify trends and patterns. The article is based on general scientific analysis, induction, synthesis, deduction, and statistical methods. Each historical and theoretical conclusion presented in the article is supported with specific and accurate documentation.

Discussion

To conduct a thorough scientific and expert analysis of Japan's foreign policy after the collapse of the bipolar system, I have primarily used original sources from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. These sources include the Diplomatic Bluebook, 1989 Edition, July 1990, 「外交青書 1989 年版」 1990 年 7 月。外務省、日本。and Diplomatic Bluebook, 1992 Edition, April 1993, 「外交青書 1992 年版」 1993 年 4 月。外務省、日本」 both published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. Another source I used was the Diplomatic Bluebook, 1997, which focuses on Japan's Foreign Policy in a World of Deepening Interdependence, specifically Chapter I on the United Nations 「深まる相互依存の世界における日本の外交政策」 第一章国連 2-2-1 Kasumigaseki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan. Diplomatic Bluebook. 1996, T. Shinyo. Kokuren no saikasseika o motomete 「外交青書 1996 年版」 国連の再活性化を求めて。In addition, I have used current data from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs for comparative data analysis, such as Diplomatic Bluebook 2022 「外交青書 2022 年版」 2021 年の日本の外交と国際情勢、外務省, which covers Japanese Diplomacy and the International Situation in 2021.

To confirm the accuracy of the scientific data presented in this article, I have also used statements made by Japanese delegates at the United Nations. These statements were obtained from the Index to Proceedings of the General Assembly, specifically Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the 48th, 49th, and 51st Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations 「第 49 回国連総会における日本代表団の声明。国連出版物。東京、1995 年。第 51 回国連総会における日本代表団の声明 国連出版物 東京、1998 年」. These publications were published by the United Nations and are available in both New York and Tokyo.

This scientific article also incorporates the research of Russian scientists who have explored Japanese foreign policy during the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. The works of Arin O.A. are referenced, specifically “Asia-Pacific Region: Myths, Illusions and Reality”, as well as Burmistrov P.'s “Japan-DPRK: Aggravation of the North Korean Nuclear Problem” (published in *Asia and Africa Today* in 2005, issue №6). In addition, the book by Strel'tsov D.V., “System of 1955: Foreign and Domestic Policy of Japan in the Cold War Era” from Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, was utilized for this research.

We understand that current information is tomorrow's history, and thus have referred to primary sources from Japanese media of the time, such as the Tokyo Shinbun on January 17, 1993 「東京新聞 1993 年 1 月 17 日」, in our research. Additionally, we have considered the works of prominent international relations scholars who hold significant influence over the political decisions of world powers, shaping the contemporary global order. One such example is Zbigniew Brzezinski's “The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives” (New York: Basic Books, 1997), whose expertise in the field spans several decades.

Results

The collapse of the bipolar system in the early 1990s marked a turning point in Japan's foreign policy. Prior to this event, Japan's foreign policy was largely driven by its security alliance with the United States, which served as a counterbalance to the Soviet Union's influence in the region. However, the end of the Cold War brought about a shift in the global power balance and prompted Japan to reevaluate its foreign policy priorities. Following the collapse of the bipolar system, Japan's foreign policy gained greater prominence within the UN. After World War II, the world was divided into two opposing factions: the capitalist world led by the USA, and the socialist world led by the USSR: “This led to a race for rearmament and the development of atomic bombs, culminating in the emergence of a bipolar system known as *Nikiyokutaisei* 「二極体制」 or *Riyoukyokutaisei* 「両極体制」, which lasted for several decades until the turn of the 21st century. This system kept the world in a state of fear until the collapse of the USSR, leaving the USA as the sole superpower. Japan and its communist neighbors had to look for new ways to approach foreign policy after this event. The end of the “Cold War” 「冷戦」 between the bipolar system marked a significant change in the world's international relations, leaving the USA as the dominant force on the global stage. The collapse of the USSR also prompted a search for new military, strategic, and political-economic answers, resulting in a change in the geopolitical situation in East Asia during the 1990s” (Gaikō Seisho, 1990: 129).

If we analyze the above “Gaikō Seisho” data, we see the following results. As we can see, the “Gaikō Seisho” data provides an accurate depiction of the current international situation. At this juncture, Japan is once again reaffirming its position as a global economic power. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, Japan began to focus more on economic diplomacy and promoting free trade. This shift in emphasis was reflected in the country's foreign policy initiatives, which included the launch of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in 1989 and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. At the same time, Japan sought to strengthen its political and security ties with other countries in the region, particularly Southeast Asia. This was seen as a way to balance China's rising influence in the region and to prevent the emergence of a new bipolar order dominated by the United States and China. Japan also began to play a more active role in regional security issues, including the resolution of the Cambodian conflict and the promotion of peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula.

Throughout its history, Japan's foreign policy has consistently prioritized maintaining peace and stability, reflecting its commitment to pacifism. As a global economic leader, Japan has consistently adhered to the principles outlined in the UN Charter on Security: “However, the changing global political landscape at the end of the 20th century, characterized by deepening economic and

social challenges, raised important questions about the state of the world order and its impact on international relations” (Gaikō Seisho, 1993: 164). According to a Russian scholar, Japan's foreign policy has remained consistent over the past three decades. This view is shared by international experts on foreign policy. After the collapse of the bipolar system, all countries began to reconstruct their political structures, including China and North Korea. Japan, along with the United States, also reevaluated its foreign policy course based on historical bilateral agreements: “The global geostrategic situation in East Asia, including Japan, became more complex after the end of the Cold War. Consequently, a new challenge arose, and Japan needed to restructure its foreign policy course, which had remained unchanged for the past thirty years” (Arin, 1997: 435).

If we analyze the increased instability in the Asia-Pacific region after the collapse of the bipolar system, it becomes apparent that a new world order is being formed. The global political situation has been widely discussed in Japanese media. For example, communist countries such as DPRK and PRC have always hoped for the USSR as an ally and like-minded country in the case of a military conflict in the Pacific region. However, after the collapse of the USSR, Russia still supports these countries, which is a matter of concern for Japan. The Tokyo Shinbun newspaper reacted to this development by stating: “that it is strange that the end of the Cold War has actually increased the level of instability in the Asia-Pacific region” 「奇妙なのは、冷戦の終結がアジア太平洋地域の不安定度を増大させたことです」 (Tokyo Shinbun, 1993:2).

Professor Shinichi Kitaoka (北岡 伸一) from the University of Tokyo is highly critical of Japan's foreign policy, arguing that it has been overly reliant on external factors rather than pursuing an independent path: “It's not surprising that there are doubts about whether Japan has had a coherent foreign policy since World War II, and this is arguably true. A state's foreign policy is determined by various factors, such as military and economic power, but none of these factors alone can fully explain Japan's approach. As a result, it's clear that there is no overarching foreign policy guiding Japan's decisions. It raises the question of whether Japan has made the right choices in its history and whether it has properly considered the foundations of its foreign policy” (Gaiko Forum, 2002: 61). Japan has always sought to have a significant voice in global politics, and this sentiment is shared among respected politicians. They believe that Japan aims to preserve its influence through economic power following World War II. Eminent diplomats and politicians have expressed their perspectives on Japan's foreign policy stance, emphasizing its crucial role in international relations and active efforts to resolve regional conflicts in order to uphold global stability: “It can be argued that Japan pursued a policy of economic diplomacy to sustain its impact in the world after the Second World War” (Burmistrov, 2005: 17). Japan's economic diplomacy is a set of policies and strategies aimed at promoting the country's economic interests abroad, enhancing its international economic competitiveness, and fostering cooperation with other countries to achieve mutual benefits. Some of the key uses of Japan's economic diplomacy include:

1. Strengthening trade and investment: Japan's economic diplomacy seeks to expand trade and investment relationships with other countries, both in traditional and emerging industries. This includes promoting Japanese exports, attracting foreign investment to Japan, and negotiating trade agreements that facilitate the flow of goods and services between Japan and its partners.

2. Enhancing economic competitiveness: Japan's economic diplomacy also aims to improve the country's economic competitiveness by fostering innovation, promoting research and development, and encouraging entrepreneurship. This includes supporting Japanese companies and industries in expanding their operations overseas, as well as attracting foreign talent and expertise to Japan.

3. Addressing global economic challenges: Japan's economic diplomacy is also focused on addressing global economic challenges, such as climate change, income inequality, and the digital divide.

Japan seeks to work with other countries to find solutions to these issues and promote sustainable economic development.

4. Building partnerships: Japan's economic diplomacy is also aimed at building partnerships with other countries, both bilaterally and multilaterally. This includes promoting regional economic integration, participating in international organizations such as the World Trade Organization and the Asian Development Bank, and supporting international development initiatives. Overall, Japan's economic diplomacy is an important tool for advancing the country's economic interests and promoting international cooperation and collaboration.

The changing international landscape did not have an impact on the relationship between the US and Japan. The annual “Blue Book” report on Japan's foreign policy notes that despite the collapse of the bipolar system and the end of the Cold War, the security agreement signed during the Yoshida cabinet era remains unchanged. With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, Japan emerged as the most dominant power in the region. This necessitated a vigilant approach towards its strategic partners and neighbors. However, the official stance of the Japanese government did not include the country's political direction in the last decade of the 20th century as a topic of discussion. The security debate raised a number of critical questions, including whether Japan is a regional power in Asia or a global political force. Should Japan aspire to play a significant role in global politics, or should it limit itself to economic pursuits? How effective is the partnership between Japan and the US, and can Japan chart its own independent foreign policy course?

In his book, “The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives,” Brzezinski describes the relationship between the two countries as follows: “Japan should not solely serve as an unsinkable American aircraft carrier in the Far East, nor should it be America's primary military partner in Asia, or potentially a leading country in the Asian region” (Brzezinski, 1997: 89). However, the esteemed politician Brzezinski was slightly mistaken about the relationship between the USA and Japan. Japan's current course of action helps to maintain peace and stability in the region with its communist neighbors, such as PRC and DPRK. In other words, the US guarantees peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. If the “Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan” *Nihon-Koku to Amerika-Gasshūkoku tonō aidano Sōgo Kyōryoku oyobi Anzen Hoshō Jōyaku* 「日本国とアメリカ合衆国との間の相互協力及び安全保障条約」 were to be terminated, a different situation would emerge in the region. Yoshida Shigeru 「吉田茂」 formulated a policy that prioritized Japan's economic revival, with 99% of the economy devoted to this goal. The “Yoshida Doctrine” 「吉田ドクトリン」 relied on the military defense of the United States, devoting only 1% of GDP to the military while maintaining independence in foreign affairs. This policy has borne fruit for several decades in the development of the Japanese economy and the emergence of the “Japanese miracle”. The Japanese economic miracle *Kōdo keizai seichō* 「高度経済成長」 began in 1950 and continued until the 1973 oil crisis.

Japan's foreign policy aims to ensure the stability, prosperity, and well-being of the country and its citizens. During the lengthy “Cold War” and the confrontation between the capitalist and socialist worlds, Japan had to play a behind-the-scenes role as a member of the Western camp. However, the late 1980s marked a turning point not only in Japan's history but also in its politics: “In 1988, the illegal sale of “Rikuruto” shares by the LDP leader created a major scandal. Eleven members of parliament were charged with bribery, and the trial in the “Rikruto case” 「リクルト事件」 lasted for 13 years and included 322 hearings. The Japanese people's reluctance to vote for the opposition, despite their dissatisfaction with the ruling party, can be attributed in part to the fact that opposition parties were not immune to accusations of political corruption. Almost all opposition parties, including the *Komeito* 「公明党」 PDS *Minshu Shakai Shugi Tō* 「民主社会主義党」 and SDP *Nihon Shakaitō* 「日本社会党」 were involved in financial and other scandals, as was revealed in the Rikruto case. Even the

Communist Party was frequently accused in the media, which undermined its reputation in the eyes of the public. For instance, the “Nosak case” 「野坂参三事件」 in 1992, also known as the “Hakuto” 「白鳥事件」 incident, dealt a severe blow to the party's prestige” (Streltsov, 2019: 90-97). Corruption has had a significant impact on Japanese foreign policy. The prevalence of corruption scandals involving politicians and political parties in Japan has resulted in a loss of public trust and confidence in the government. This has made it difficult for Japanese policymakers to effectively pursue foreign policy goals and to gain support from the Japanese public. The political scandals in Japan have also had an impact on Japan's relationships with other countries. For example, Japan's relations with the United States were strained when it was revealed that politicians in Japan were involved in illegal arms deals with Iran. Similarly, Japan's relations with other Asian countries were affected when it was discovered that Japanese politicians had made controversial visits to the Yasukuni Shrine, a controversial war memorial that is seen as a symbol of Japan's militaristic past. Furthermore, corruption in Japan has led to a lack of accountability and transparency in government decision-making, which has made it difficult for Japan to effectively participate in international organizations and to coordinate with other countries on global issues. Overall, corruption has had a negative impact on Japan's foreign policy and its ability to effectively pursue its interests and goals on the international stage.

In modern times, Japan's diplomacy aims to match its economic power with its political influence. Japan's diplomatic focus shifted towards the United Nations after the collapse of the bipolar system. Japan has been a peaceful country and an economic donor ever since it became a member of the UN: “After the Cold War, Japan gained recognition as a major economic sponsor in the world, actively participating in the resolution of conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, and other regions. Japan alone covers 16 % of the cost of UN peacekeeping operations globally, which is a significant economic sacrifice. This reflects Japan's commitment to addressing some of the world's most pressing issues, such as the refugee crisis. Japan is the leading country among UN member states in providing non-reimbursable financing for refugees. The Japanese government advocated for increasing the number of UN member countries in the early 1990s and pushed for equal authority for Japan within the organization” (Gaikō Seisho, 1998: 152).

Japan aimed to contribute to the reform of the UN Security Council, and this issue was first raised in 1993. At that time, Japan was already considered an economic powerhouse, and therefore, its participation was crucial. However, Japan faced opposition from the PRC during the voting process: “The Security Council reform issue, known as the *Anzen Hoshō Riji-Kai* 「安全保障理事会」 became the primary concern of Japan's official foreign policy. In 1993, Tokyo presented its own views on the reforms of the Security Council to the UN. Morihiro Hosokawa 「細川護熙」 mentioned this in his speech at the UN General Assembly session on September 27” (Index to Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1995: 178).

The Japanese Prime Minister confidently presented Japan's priorities to the global community, stating that Japan could make the most significant contributions to the UN. He also expressed Japan's willingness to participate in discussions on the reform of the *Anzen Hoshō Riji-Kai* 「安全保障理事会」 Security Council: “From June 30, 1994, to 1996, Kono Yohei 「河野洋平」 served as Minister of Foreign Affairs. On February 27, 1994, Kono Yohei made a significant statement on behalf of Japan during the UN General Assembly session. He reported that Japan was prepared to take on the responsibility of a permanent member of the Security Council. The official representative of Japan at the UN, Owada Hisashi 「小和田恆」, repeatedly emphasized the country's international achievements and expressed their eagerness to resolve this issue as soon as possible” (Dai 49-kai Kokuren Sōkai ni Okeru Nihondaihyō-dan no Seimei., 1995: 67). Owada Hisashi played a key role in negotiating and drafting the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which was adopted in 1982. He was

also involved in Japan's efforts to reform the United Nations Security Council, advocating for Japan to be granted a permanent seat on the council. In addition to his diplomatic work, Owada Hisashi also served as a judge on the International Court of Justice from 2003 to 2018, where he was involved in a number of important cases, including disputes between Japan and South Korea over the ownership of the Takeshima/Dokdo Islands and between Japan and China over the legality of Japan's whaling practices.

The topic of Japan's role in the UN Security Council has been a matter of great debate and importance in political circles for many years. It is still a relevant issue even today. Former Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto 「橋本龍太郎」 realized that Japan's actions at the UN needed to be well-considered. In his UN speech, he offered ideas on how to address the issues facing the UN, which were more practical than the proposals of his predecessor, Kono: “The crux of the matter was that Japan should aim to become a non-permanent member 「非常任理事国」 of the Security Council rather than a permanent one. Both official and unofficial media outlets, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, have reported that Japan contributes more funding to the UN than the UK, China, and France, with Germany being the only country to outpace Japan in financial contributions” (Dai 51-kai Kokuren Sōkai ni Okeru Nihondaihyō-dan no Seimei, 1998: 103). Being a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council is important for Japan because it allows the country to have a voice and influence in the decisions made by the council without the same level of responsibility and commitment as a permanent member. As a non-permanent member, Japan can contribute to discussions and decisions related to international peace and security, while also avoiding some of the political and diplomatic challenges that come with being a permanent member. Additionally, serving as a non-permanent member allows Japan to demonstrate its commitment to the United Nations and its role in maintaining international peace and security.

Due to the nature of its constitution, Japan upholds peace and stability as key values in its foreign policy. As such, Japan fully supports the United Nations in all its endeavors, as the organization is instrumental in maintaining peace and security in the region: “Since joining the UN in 1956, Japan has consistently defined its commitment to the organization as a fundamental element of its foreign policy. This is reflected in Japan's contributions to a wide range of UN activities, including finance, peacekeeping operations, disarmament, non-proliferation, development, and more. In recognition of Japan's contributions, it was elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council with an overwhelming majority in 1996. Japan's active role in strengthening the functions of the UN and resolving regional conflicts as a non-permanent member of the Security Council is critical for meeting the international community's expectations for Japan's future role. Japan is also actively engaged in discussions on the reform of the Security Council and has voiced its commitment to discharging its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council with the endorsement of many countries and the understanding of the Japanese people. After the end of the Cold War, Japan has been actively participating with the international community in resolving global issues such as terrorism, environmental problems, refugee crises, and drug trafficking. For example, Japan hosted the 1997 Kyoto Conference on global warming, which led to the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol. Additionally, regional partnership is a key direction of Japan's foreign policy, reflecting its commitment to building strong and mutually beneficial relationships with other countries in the region” (Gaikō Seisho, 1997: 109).

Recently, Secretary General Antonio Guterres acknowledged Japan's significant role in promoting world peace during a press conference at the Japan National Press Club on August 8th, 2022. He specifically highlighted Japan's active contribution to humanitarian aid efforts in Ukraine, which reaffirms Japan's steadfast commitment to the United Nations for several decades: “As the third-largest financial contributor to the UN, Japan is not only a critical pillar of the multilateral system but also a major supporter of various UN initiatives beyond funding. Secretary General Guterres expressed his

appreciation for Japan's solidarity and aid in response to the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, as well as its strong commitment to universal health insurance and leadership in disaster risk reduction. Moreover, Japan's contribution to United Nations peacekeeping demonstrates its global leadership in strengthening the defense of peace, human security, and disarmament. In an era of escalating geopolitical tensions and renewed nuclear threats, Japan's unwavering advocacy for peace and security is more critical than ever” (Statement, 2022: 1).

Despite Japan's impressive economic accomplishments and financial contributions to the United Nations, it has yet to secure a permanent seat on the Security Council. Nonetheless, Great Britain, France, and the United States have expressed their unwavering support for Japan across all areas. This has resulted in Japanese diplomacy prioritizing specific areas of focus: “During the UN General Assembly on September 22, 2004, then-Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi boldly proclaimed Japan's readiness to become a permanent member of the Security Council. However, this statement alone did not lead to any concrete resolution of the issue” (Gaikō Seisho, 1996: 37-38).

On January 12, 2023, Japan and England signed the “Defense Treaty” a significant move for Japan in current politics. Japan is known for allocating a large portion of its economic resources to self-defense, rather than developing and selling military equipment. The Turkish media reported on the meeting between Japanese Prime Minister Fumio Kishida and his English counterpart, Rishi Sunak, during Kishida's diplomatic tour of France, Italy, England, Canada, and the United States: “The meeting resulted in the signing of a defense agreement that allows for the deployment of military forces on each other's territory, taking the bilateral defense cooperation to a new level. The British Prime Minister's Office emphasized that the agreement, which is “the most important defense agreement between the UK and Japan in more than 100 years,” will strengthen the defense and security cooperation of the two countries. Additionally, the statement highlighted that the UK is the first European country to sign a Mutual Access Agreement with Japan, and this new step will reinforce the UK's commitment to ensuring the security and stability of the Indo-Pacific region” (“Milliyet”, 2023:1).

One important aspect of Japan's foreign policy is its Official Development Assistance (ODA), or *Seifu Kaihatsu Enjo* 「政府開発援助」. Providing aid to developing countries is crucial for promoting international prosperity and stability, and Japan is committed to leveraging its economic and technical resources to support developing nations: “For instance, in 1995, Japan established the Japanese Development Association in the Republic of Kazakhstan, which initially provided financial assistance to the newly independent country. However, as Kazakhstan's political landscape evolved, the country transitioned away from donor support and towards self-reliant development, which has contributed to its growing status as a trade partner. Similarly, Japan has been assisting Uzbekistan with its transition to a market economy since the country gained independence, in line with Uzbekistan's importance as a regional player in Central Asia. The Official Development Assistance program for Uzbekistan, published in 2012, prioritizes economic growth, infrastructure development, human resource development, and support for the social sector” (Embassy of Japan in Uzbekistan, 2022: 1).

Japan has always been interested in the Central Asian Countries, but due to the world political situation, it hasn't been able to establish close ties with Kazakhstan. However, Japan has always been interested in the political events that occur in Kazakhstan. In the Diplomatic Blue Book, Japan's views on the January Events in Kazakhstan are briefly summarized as follows: “In January 2022, Kazakhstan declared a state of emergency following protests against fuel price hikes that spread and became more extreme. Kazakhstan requested assistance from the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), and Russian-led Peacekeeping Forces were dispatched, after which the situation calmed down. The unrest led to the resignation of the first President Nursultan Nazarbayev from the presidency of the Security Council and the acceleration of President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev's efforts towards large-scale domestic reforms. In May 2021, Prime Minister Suga and President Tokayev held a summit telephone call and agreed to enhance the strategic partnership

between the two countries in various areas, including politics and the economy. In the same month, Speaker of the House of Representatives Oshima Tadamori held an online meeting with the Speaker of the Kazakh Parliament's Lower House” (Gaikō Seisho, 2022: 149).

In the post-bipolar system, Japan adheres to several political principles in its relations with Kazakhstan. First and foremost, Japan aims to promote peace, stability, and prosperity in the Central Asia region, including Kazakhstan. Japan also seeks to strengthen its economic and cultural ties with Kazakhstan through various initiatives, such as the Official Development Assistance (ODA) program and the Central Asia Plus Japan dialogue. Furthermore, Japan adheres to the principle of respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity in its relations with Kazakhstan. Japan supports Kazakhstan's independence and territorial integrity and opposes any attempt to change the status quo by force. Japan also places great importance on dialogue and cooperation in its relations with Kazakhstan. Japan believes in the importance of diplomatic engagement and dialogue to resolve conflicts and address issues of mutual concern. This is evident in Japan's participation in the Central Asia Plus Japan dialogue, where officials from Japan and Kazakhstan engage in regular discussions on a wide range of issues. Finally, Japan is committed to promoting human rights, democracy, and the rule of law in its relations with Kazakhstan. Japan recognizes the importance of these values for building a stable and prosperous society and supports efforts to promote them in Kazakhstan.

Japan has always been keenly interested in energy issues, and as part of the Dialogue 5 "Central Asia plus Japan," a meeting of energy industry experts was recently held. This step clearly demonstrates Japan's desire to forge even closer ties with Central Asian countries: “The Central Asian countries, which celebrated their 30th anniversary of independence in 2021, are partners in maintaining and strengthening a free and open international order. Japan is promoting diplomacy aimed at contributing to peace and stability in the region. In January and February 2022, Prime Minister Kishida and Foreign Minister Hayashi exchanged congratulatory messages with the leaders and foreign ministers of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan to mark the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. In March, the 6th Expert Meeting on clean energy was held within the framework of the "Central Asia plus Japan" Dialogue 5. At this meeting, working-level experts from the five Central Asian countries and Japan exchanged views on the topic. In June, the 14th Senior Officials Meeting (SOM) was held online, where the five Central Asian countries and Japan discussed ways to strengthen cooperation in the region. At the SOM, officials affirmed the results of cooperation between Japan and the five Central Asian countries in the areas of health, economy, and environment. Following the Foreign Ministers' Special Video Conference Meeting of the "Central Asia plus Japan" dialogue in August 2020, it was agreed to proceed with preparatory work for the next Foreign Ministers' Meeting” (Gaikō Seisho, 2022: 148).

The Japanese people, shaped by centuries of Japanese mentality, have their own unique approach to negotiations. There are three types of negotiations in Japan: *Ringi* 「稟議」, *Nemawashi* 「根回し」, and *Haragei* 「腹芸」. Understanding the meanings of these terms can provide interesting insights into Japanese negotiation strategies. The first type of negotiation is *Ringi*: “*Ringi* is a necessary procedure when purchasing goods or concluding a contract. The purpose is to obtain approval from upper management for proposals made by subordinates. For those unfamiliar with the process, it can be confusing and time-consuming. However, knowing how to navigate this procedure smoothly can make life much easier” 「稟議とは物品購入や契約締結などの際に必要となる手続き。部下が出した提案に上層部の許可をもらうことが目的です。稟議を上げるってどういう意味？なぜ私の稟議書は通らないんだろう？稟議って時間の無駄じゃない？社会人になると、こんな悩みを一度は持つもの。でも、スムーズに承認を得る方法を知れば、あなたのストレスが軽くなるはずですよ」 (Miyabayashi, 2022:1). Japan values advance preparation, especially in matters of international

relations. The second type of Japanese negotiation is *Nemawashi*, which means: "talking to the people involved in negotiations and meetings in advance so that things go smoothly." This approach is often referred to as "advance preparation" 「根回しとは、「交渉・会議などで、事がうまく運ぶように、前もって関係者に話をつけておくこと」 (広辞苑) です。いわゆる事前準備です」 (Shigoto Seikō no Kagi, 2020: 1).

In contrast to Western cultures, where directness is valued, Japanese communication tends to be more indirect. This is evident in the third type of Japanese negotiation, *Haragei* 「腹芸」 which means the art of the stomach: "Haragei involves understanding the other person's true intentions that are not expressed in words during a conversation. It also means conveying one's own message without directly stating it. Japanese society's homogeneity allows for implicit communication, and Haragei is considered a sign of refined, intelligent, and mature conversation.

Overall, the Japanese approach to negotiation emphasizes harmony and avoiding conflict, which is reflected in the importance placed on *wa* 「和」, meaning "harmony." By understanding and respecting these principles, foreigners can effectively navigate negotiations with Japanese counterparts" (Bleistein, 2017: 89).

Japanese negotiation methods come in various forms, all of which showcase a unique Japanese mentality. However, this can sometimes lead to misunderstandings among foreign colleagues in diplomatic relations who are unfamiliar with these methods. For instance, the "playing with the stomach" technique, which involves resolving complex issues over a meal of expensive and delicious dishes, is an example of such a method. Japanese diplomacy values traditional negotiating styles and foreign colleagues must be aware of the subtleties of Eastern culture to successfully engage in diplomatic relations. In light of Kazakhstan's thirty-year history of independence, the country has formed its own diplomatic style that is recognized globally as a peaceful and continuously developing nation. This success can be attributed to the country's adherence to the wise "Kazakh diplomacy," as exemplified by the legendary Ablai Khans and batyrs of the Great Steppe. Similarly, as Japan has its unique "Japanese" diplomacy, Kazakhstan should also strive to incorporate something uniquely "Kazakh" into its foreign policy. Kazakhstan's history of wise, peace-loving, courageous, and bold diplomacy is something that foreign diplomatic corps do not possess, and should be preserved as part of the country's identity.

The article primarily focuses on Japanese foreign policy after the collapse of the USSR and its heavy reliance on an economic structure. It does not discuss Kazakhstan's diplomacy in relations with Japan. However, the changing global political orders, and the ongoing conflicts, make Kazakhstan's diplomacy in maintaining peace and stability and upholding the UN Charter extremely vital. In the coming years, Kazakhstan may bear a significant responsibility for Central Asia, and hence, it must continue to uphold the UN Charter and become a robust economic and military power.

After researching this topic, we have identified several distinctive features and the significance of Japan's foreign policy following the collapse of the bipolar system. After the collapse of the bipolar system, the peculiarity of Japanese foreign policy has been characterized by a number of factors, including:

1. Increased emphasis on multilateralism: Japan has become increasingly engaged in multilateral institutions and has sought to play a more active role in shaping the global order. For example, Japan has been a key participant in the United Nations and has taken a leadership role in initiatives such as the G20 and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

2. Strengthened security partnerships: With the rise of China and North Korea's nuclear threat, Japan has placed greater emphasis on its security partnerships with the United States and other allies in the region. Japan has also pursued closer security ties with countries such as Australia, India, and the United Kingdom.

3. Focus on economic diplomacy: Japan's economic diplomacy has become more prominent in the post-bipolar world. Japan has focused on strengthening economic ties with countries in the Asia-Pacific region, including China and ASEAN countries, while also pursuing trade agreements with countries in other regions.

4. Increased emphasis on soft power: Japan has sought to enhance its soft power and cultural influence in the world through initiatives such as the "Cool Japan" campaign, which promotes Japanese culture and products abroad. Japan has also sought to expand its cultural and educational exchanges with other countries.

5. Active engagement with global issues: Japan has been actively engaged in global issues such as climate change, international development, and disarmament. Japan has contributed to international efforts to address these issues through its participation in the United Nations and other international organizations.

Overall, the peculiarity of Japanese foreign policy after the collapse of the bipolar system has been characterized by a combination of multilateralism, security partnerships, economic diplomacy, soft power, and active engagement with global issues.

Conclusion

After the collapse of the global bipolar system *Riyoukyokutaisei* 「両極体制」 or *Nikiyokutaisei* 「二極体制」 Japan's foreign policy shifted towards closer ties with the United Nations, as Japan assumed the role of an economic donor. The concept of "economic diplomacy" *Keizai Gaikō* 「経済外交」 became a major driving force behind Japan's foreign policy. Despite the collapse of the global bipolar system, the United States remained a superpower in the Far East, and the "Yoshida Doctrine" continued to play a crucial role in Japanese foreign policy. The "security umbrella" agreement between the US and Japan remained unchanged throughout the 20th century and still holds today, with Japan being a powerful economically developed country.

However, after the collapse of the USSR at the end of the 20th century, Japan realized that it needed to gain more political weight within the UN. The weakness of Russia after the Soviet regime re-established led to discussions about the return of the "northern territories" *Etorofu-tō* 「択捉島」 *Kunashiri-tō* 「国後島」 *Shikotan-tō* 「色丹島」 *Habomai-guntō* 「歯舞群島」 of Japan, but the Kuril Islands dispute *Chishima retto funsō* 「千島列島紛争」 remains unresolved. Japanese diplomacy understood that it could only conduct foreign policy within the framework of the US-Japanese agreement 「日本国とアメリカ合衆国との間の相互協力及び安全保障条約」 without risking military conflict. Japan has chosen the path of pacifism, focusing on sustainable economic development and the well-being of its people, rather than engaging in pathos.

Japan's foreign policy after the collapse of the bipolar system was also characterized by its efforts to engage in multilateral diplomacy and to play a more active role in global governance. This included the country's participation in the United Nations peacekeeping operations and its support for the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Japan's unique approach to diplomacy has resulted in incredible success in its economy. As evidence of its success, Japan's "economic miracle" *Kōdo keizai seichō* 「高度経済成長」 has made it a financially rich state, which is always influential in foreign policy. The Japanese government believes that the duty of any state is to make its people rich, powerful, and happy. The Republic of Kazakhstan can learn from Japan's foreign policy, particularly in terms of economic development and being ready for major geopolitical changes in Eurasia in the next ten to twenty years. As a rich region, Central Asia has the potential to become a major player in the global arena. By studying the powerful model of Japan's economic development and pursuing an independent foreign policy, Kazakhstan can be prepared for the big changes ahead.

Japan's foreign policy in the post-bipolar system can be characterized by several important points: 1. Active engagement in international organizations: Japan has actively participated in international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization, advocating for free trade, human rights, and peacekeeping. 2. Strengthening relationships with regional partners: Japan has sought to strengthen its relationships with other countries in the region, particularly with the United States, China, and South Korea, through various economic and security initiatives. 3. Pursuit of a more independent foreign policy: Japan has sought to become a more independent player in the international arena, pursuing a more proactive and assertive foreign policy, particularly in security matters. 4. Focus on economic diplomacy: Japan has prioritized economic diplomacy, promoting free trade agreements and economic partnerships with countries in the region and beyond, as a means to enhance its global influence. 5. Contribution to global challenges: Japan has contributed to global challenges such as climate change, nuclear disarmament, and counterterrorism, through active participation in international frameworks and initiatives.

In conclusion, the collapse of the bipolar system in the early 1990s had a significant impact on Japan's foreign policy. It prompted the country to shift its focus towards economic diplomacy and regional security cooperation, as well as to play a more active role in global governance. These changes in Japan's foreign policy reflected the country's efforts to adapt to a rapidly changing global landscape and to maintain its position as a major player in the international community.

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