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Multidisciplinary
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THESIS STATEMENTS

Emília Henrietta Fábíán

**Japan's Security Policy from the Yoshida to Abe-doctrine: The
Influence of Changing Norms from the Antimilitarism to the Proactive
Pacifism**

Ph.D. dissertation

Advisor:

Dr. Zoltán Gálik
Associate Professor

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Institute for International Studies

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1. Objectives of the Research

Japan can be seen in two ways. Globally, on the one hand she is deemed a successful economic power whilst on the other, her security policy seems dwarfed by the other major World powers. Regionally however, things are different. The majority of East Asian and South-East Asian states have close economic, political and diplomatic ties with her, therefore fear and suspicion play a major role in their interaction.

20th century events greatly influenced Japan's politics. After her defeat in the Second World War she parted from her militarist and imperialist tradition, and was forced to make a U-turn where the pacifist mandate of the constitution guaranteed a solid foundation for peace for the following years. The U.S-Japanese security alliance was created in order to control the militaristic portfolio, which paved the way for a friendly alliance between the two countries. Thereafter the U.S. guaranteed one-sided protection for her and Japan's only task was to focus on economic growth. Because of this agreement, it was assumed that antimilitaristic and pacifistic sentiment would be permanently so deeply ingrained in the Japanese psyche, that they will never change. However, in his 2013 Washington speech, Prime Minister Abe announced that "Japan was back", and that in the future Japan would not only be economic power but would also be concentrating on national security (Abe [2013]).

The main question asked in this dissertation is: How did Japan's security policy change in the time from the middle of the 20th century till the beginning of the 21st century? i.e., which domestic and foreign factors led to a change from a rigid antimilitaristic norm to a proactive pacifist strategy? With this in mind, the main point of this dissertation is to analyse the developments of the security policies' strategies in Japan and illustrate the norms which exercised significant influence on her home defense strategy. These directions therefore, meant a methodology, that with help, is examined the distinct effects of the different norms on two analytical levels. As well as deepening these topics, I have searched answers to the following questions: which norms had the most significant effect on Japan; which were the

factors with whose help the given norm's political influence became certain; and how do the norms and interests effect each other.

Concerning the first analytical level, i.e., regarding the domestic effects, the dissertation examines the U.S. and Japan's security politic relationship, reviewing the most important frames which have existed since the 20th century based on traditional security foundations, and which went through a gradual transition towards the end of the 20th century. Adapting to new security challanges, Japan set out on the path, which besides keeping alive traditions, elaborated a political security concept which adapted itself to the 21st century.

The dissertation argues, that the wider concept of security needs to be examined as it means different things to different parties. In the second half of this work, I have ventured to reveal what the concept meant in the given period, to the Japanese, what those factors were, and the events that influenced and shaped Japanese norms. My goal was to illustrate the complex process of norm change from the time of Japan's first post Second World War Prime Minister -Yoshida Shigeru and the doctrine hallmarked by him up until the present day policies of Abe Shinzo's. Naturally I highlighted the norm change because of the security politic aspects, and that is why in the third part of the dissertation I have reviewed Japan's complex security challenges which serves as a so called, external mirror. Therefore, it illustrates the security politic manifestations and acts as well as the cause-and-effect correlations.

The development of the alliance between the two countries and the examination of its nature can implicitly be the most interpretable, depending on dominant external factors. The permanent element in Japan's security policy is the preservation of cordial relations with China as she emerges as a world power. China's economic growth, which began in the late 20th century continues to strengthen, and she has emerged as a super power on the world stage; a fact that influences Japan's relationship with China. Her economic boom has had an effect on Japan's security policy. Nevertheless, Japan's national defense strategy is defined mainly by her relationship with the United States.

According to the third assumption of the dissertation, China's rise influences the Japanese-American security discourse and development, which has been responsible for the transformation and expansion of the alliance. The security dialogue denotes cooperation between Japan and the USA. I have examined Japanese post-1945 political decisions, initiatives and security doctrines, as well as showing related strategic goals and priorities. In the course of this research, I have paid special attention to the documents taken from the Japan-U.S. security cooperation as well as their effects on Japanese domestic policy and on the general public.

There are certain internal aspects beside the change in global environment which have an impact on the present day defense policy of Japan. The norm change was also noticeable due to these aspects. The public reflection to the all-time defense policy of the active governments often led to the resignation of the Prime Minister during the period examined. The process of internal change is the norm that has been presented in light of the opinion of Japanese citizens in the second level of the analysis.

Regarding time, the dissertation covers a relatively long period as the change in a country's security policy does not become manifest after reflecting on just a few decades. From Japan's point of view fateful changes occurred in the middle of the 20th century, and during the beginning of the 21st century, that support my assumptions. It was not my goal to introduce the events of the past seven decades in terms of politics and history, but to highlight events which supported the country's security political background. The façade of Japan's security policy is constantly changing, and which gained momentum with Abe's government. It does not take an expert to see that this process will deepen in the future, and new developments will take place soon.

The dissertation can be regarded as suppletory in two ways. Japanese security policy is not quite elaborated in Hungary's literary works, so it is reasonable to portray it in a comprehensive manner. Considering the changes in Japan's security policy norms, this essay is the first academic attempt which studies Japanese resources but researches it in Hungarian. In addition, it is new, that the research

fundamentally interprets the events according to the scientific way of Japanese thinking and shows the differences in terms of values.

Additionally, the work can also be seen as new because it has created a glossary of Japanese foreign and security policy concepts, as well as names, and institutes strongly connected to the topic in Hungarian, English and Japanese.

2. Hypotheses

The fundamental hypothesis of the dissertation, combined with further hypotheses were the following:

The security policy of Japan constantly changed in the 20th century. The deeply ingrained rigid antimilitaristic norm following Second World War becomes a proactive pacifist strategy by the first part of the 21st century.

The thesis examined how the security policy of Japan has developed and changed since the middle of the last century to the present time. I wanted to search for an answer to the following question: What were the factors that as a consequence of the antimilitaristic norm gradually changed and led to a reinterpretation of the Constitution? The chosen topic can be regarded as relevant for several reasons. On the one hand conventional security challenges of the states, which were typical of the 20th century implicated with unconventional security challenges, which became apparent mostly at the turn of the century. This was at the time when the negative compulsions, which were influential on the world economy directly affected the advocacy capabilities of countries. In the 21st century Japanese security policy emerged to fulfil a new role, quitting her medium power status. After his accession to office, Prime Minister Abe declared, that he regarded the change of the Ninth article in the Constitution one of his most urgent commitments. As to what the first Prime Minister after Second World War went through for the sake of his antimilitaristic Yoshida-doctrine, and what paved the way to Abe's proactive pacifist doctrine, this question is looked at in hypothesis.

1. Japan, as an Asian country with a Westernized structure seeks to regain her powerful role with the tool of economic interest.

In the case of Japan, the cause of the phenomenon is, that she is an Asian country with a Westernized structure. In the process of questioning, I examined how the country's economic and political structures changed. This theory is supported by concrete historical examples. Reflecting upon this question, I discussed whether the Western structure and the interests of American foreign and defense policies had entered into it, and what role these played had in the Asian region. Also, what political and economic interests and goals motivated it, and what their future aims were.

2. In the U.S.-Japan security alliance the common interest of the two parties involved, is the containment of China in the Asia-Pacific region. This is the reason why Japan with the permission of the U.S. is constantly raising her defense budget and modernizing her Defense Forces, as well as the maintaining of functional American military bases in Japan.

In the course of discussion I reviewed the challenges of Japan's actual security policy, and identified those norms and factors, most of which the country has to shoulder in the present day since there does not seem to be much hope of a solution. In Chapter Five, concerning China's increasing relevance, I have shown in detail, how China interprets the U.S. loyalty of Japan as confrontational. I have also proved how regional arguments, rearmament, and the rise of China, have caused a sharp increase in defense spending in what was for many years a stagnant budget. None of this has changed the fact that China is a major trading partner of Japan. The contradiction of the relationship between the two countries clearly reflects the fact, whether the Japanese government's political direction is to a high degree, influenced by her willingness, to maintain a cordial relationship with China, or not. If the Prime Minister and the government are momentarily on good terms with China, then they may not visit Yasukuni-shrine which is also a home to Japanese war criminals and the political economic discourse continues to be in a cooperative atmosphere. In the course of the hypothesis, I have looked at the relationship between politics and economics and how they influence each other and what effects

they have upon each other, with the help of methodology and indicators detailed in the thesis.

3. The future role of the U.S.-Japan security alliance will change, the parties will shift their positions to a balanced system. The focuspoints of the 21st century's Japanese security policy diverges from her traditional security concept. The central element of Japanese national defense strategy will be exercising the right of collective self-defense.

The task of the last large part of the dissertation is to name the turning point in Japan's security policy, where the economic great power position and the financial contribution proved not to be enough for her American alliance and expected greater responsibility from Tokyo. Entering this road, and at the end of the Cold War she faced such new types of security challenges, which shifted her from the traditional military-political defense structure. All of these statements were supported with energy security indicators. In the light of the growing global challenges she could not slip aside from fulfilling her international obligations. To certify the future alteration of the U.S.-Japan security alliance, the dissertation presented, how Abe Shinzo, being one of the most charismatic politicians in Japanese history, succeeded to reform the architecture of national defense, furthermore, the path led to the practice of the right of collective self-defense which had been actual for a long time, and has been repeated as a mantra.

3. Methodology

Works which discuss Japan's foreign and security policy can be found in great quantity, however, there are not so many analyses which reveal the country's background of normative acts and correlations. Several authors use the concept of "antimilitaristic norm", nevertheless, until now no one has written anything revealing the change of norms in the context of security policy of Japan, in Hungarian. This thesis examines the nature of standard change with the help of qualitative methodology, where chronological case studies frame its base. All this is

correspondent with the analytical method, as Inoguchi also formulated, he views the descriptive methodology as part of their empiric investigation (Inoguchi [2002]: pp.111-112).

As the theoretical background of the research is rather complex, the approach of its method is multidisciplinary, combining the fields of international relations, security and strategical studies.

Leaning on the method of comparative analysis, I introduced the Japanese and Western theories of International Relations first, for the sake of getting acquainted with the peculiar Japanese scientific way of thinking. The theories of International Relations developed mostly in the Western-orientated world, especially in the U.S., and as a consequence, the Western philosophy, the political theory, developed through historical experiences dominated by the authorities. The Japanese theories have not become widespread, except in Japan. The main reason for this was the difficulties concerning language. In the 20th century less people received an academic degree at foreign universities, therefore, less Japanese authors were able to publish works in any other language than Japanese.

In Japan's case it was not possible to clearly apply one theory when outlining the theoretical background. Since Japan is an Asian country with a Western structure, it is necessary to look back to the root theories of International Relations in order to understand her role. Considering the main question of the research, I leant on the theory of Acharya and Buzan who analyzed the existence of non-Western International Relations with the goal of questioning the limited frame of interpretation (Acharya és Buzan [2010]). As a consequence, if I wanted to place Japan's security policy in the context of the international system, then apart from the dominant Western theories I had to be familiar with the Japanese theories, too. Nishida, Tabata, and Hirano's comprehensive theoretical approaches help to answer the problematic questions in the country's international relations, such as the Japanese politicians' relationship with the Yasukuni-shrine, the presence of American bases, as well as the pacifist Constitutions (*ibid* p. 59., Tabata [1944]). The theories shed light on the strategical consequences of certain decisions, and furthermore, they helped to reveal the contradictions behind the decisions.

It is important to remark, that the concepts of antimilitarism and pacifism are often used as synonyms in the academic literature. Therefore, I considered it important to clarify the meanings of the two concepts. In regard of this, the above mentioned points also gets a new meaning. Pacifism is an anti-war tendency, which is against settling debates in a violent manner, whilst antimilitarism is a tendency which wants to abolish militarism and militaristic institutions, but is not against war in every case.

The examination of the basic hypothesis required a complex approach. Firstly I confined myself to examine the correlation between Japan's norms and security policy. It was necessary to outline the historical context in order to understand Japan's security policy after the Second World War (Katzenstein [1996]), Berger [1998]). A strong connection was demonstrated between the Japanese decision-making and the public opinion. Taking into consideration the results of public-opinion polls, I have proved that social acceptance was an important factor without it would have been impossible to make a significant decision on the country. This was also operative for the popularity index of the governments. It is not possible namely to govern with only a few percentile popularity index, as there are serious consequences of the voice of the public opinion. All these are important factors, because they showed, how a social norm evolves, what can be regarded as a rational decision, and how does that effects political decision-making.

The dissertation analyzed the concrete fields and manifestations of Japanese security policy, thus with the appliance of the security complex theory, I could approach the research subject from the development of Japanese identity, furthermore, it was proved that this identity evolved as a result of external effects, and is still forming today. I applied mostly Buzan's security complex theory (Buzan, Waever és De Wilde [1998]). The above mentioned theoretical schools gave different explanations to those decisive Japanese security political decisions which were relevant, in regard of my research questions. The question itself can be interpreted in many ways, however, in the research I focused on the security policy from political and economic perspective. For example, what political steps did the three examined country take, what was the goal of the decision-makers with these acts, and what were the consequences of those. Political announcements had an obvious effect on economic relations, i.e. it was especially noticeable how

much positive announcements encouraged official developments. Previous researches have not drawn a parallel between the political and economic sectors, have not measured the formation of economic indexes following the conduct of foreign policy, and have not explained the reading of the Japanese way of thinking. In the dissertation, applying all the mentioned theories, I examined indicators, like the formation of the military budget, the Japanese popular opinion about the Self-defense Forces, and the bilateral alliance, furthermore, opinions about the amendment of the Constitution, about China, as well as I examined the division of the country's energy import, concerning the new types of security indicators. The dissertation is based on the examination of the interaction and dependancy between Japanese norms and interests, furthermore, to what defines the concept of Japanese interest, we got an explanation through applying these qualitative methods.

I analyzed the formation of the Japanese security political discourse with the method of qualitative analysis through the sources of archives of the Parliamentary Library, the Office of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the official declarations and announcements in the online database of the Ministry of Defense. These primary sources (official documents, speeches, declarations, agreements, and other documents) were arranged in many subdivisions. In the first, Japanese foreign political base documents were processed, namely the official declarations of the Prime Ministers and the Foreign Ministers, the announcements of the Japanese government, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Blue Books of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the White Books of the Ministry of Defense, and the publications of the Japanese National Defense meant the fundamental sources of the analysis, the bases of the official Japanese viewpoint. (MoD [1957], [2010], [2013c], [2014b], [2015], MOFA [1951], [1960], [1978a], [1980], [1993], [1997], Nemzetvédelmi Program Irányelvei [1976], [2013]). It is important to note, that these sources were published in the first place in Japanese, however, the number of published translations in English are constantly growing. Furthermore, I also considered the Japanese-American peace treaty, and other relevant Japanese laws as primary sources. (Such as laws on the peacekeeping operations, the measurements of anti-terrorism, laws concerning the support of reconstruction and humanitarian measurement, and laws preparing the foreign dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces).

The analysis of the challenges which mean a problem when reinterpreting the security dialogue between Japan and the U.S. are based on two qualitative methods: In one respect on analyzing documents which are marked as primary sources, and on a systematic interview process. The methodology of the yearly published sets of the Diplomatic Bluebook and Whitebook could clearly identify the common security challenges of the allied forces and the regional challenges of Japan facing alone. I prepared thorough interviews with several well-known experts concerning the subject (Tokyo Foundation, Institute of Energy Economics) during my university studies in Japan, and during my diplomatic mission accounted altogether more than five years in universities (Ritsumeikan Asia-Pacific University, GRIPS, Waseda University, Keio University, Tokyo University), which also enriched the materials of the primary sources. In the research, these materials did not only mean an added value from the standpoint of theory and academic level, but they also shed light on the correlations, resulting from Japan's regional role and relations. I managed to access numerous information, which were not available to the general public before the appearance of certain governmental politics. The respondents shared their personal opinion in a plain and sincere manner, due to my knowledge of the country's historical, economic, and cultural traditions.

I introduced the internal factors which produced an effect on the process of change of norms through the second qualitative method. I analysed the questions which served as an answer to the fact of the process of change of norms with using interview materials with the above mentioned academics, and the public-opinion polls. Leaning on these primary sources, as well as on the secondary sources, which analyzes Japan's general security policy in the 20th century, an accurate image can be seen of the process of the change of Japan's security policy norms. Among those the most outstanding works are: „*Japan's Security Agenda. Military, Economic and Environmental Dimensions*”, “*Japan's Reemergence as 'Normal' Military Power*” and „*Japan's Remilitarization*” by Christopher W. Hughes, „*Cold War Frontiers in the Asia-Pacific. Divided Territories in the San Francisco System*” by Hara, „*Democracy and the Development of Political Science in Japan*” by Inoguchi, „*Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan*” by Berger, „*Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*” and “*Rethinking Japanese Security. Internal and External Dimensions*”, by Katzenstein,

„Blueprint for a New Japan: The Rethinking of a Nation” from Ozawa, *„Japan’s Changing International Role”* by Mochizuki, *„The Japan-U.S. Alliance. New Challenges for the 21st Century”* by Nishihara, and *„Japan’s Dual Identity and the U.S.-Japan Alliance”* by Soeya.

4. Results of the Research

Japan has come a long way over the past seven decades. As a prophet on the side of peace which was defeated in the Second World War she has become an economic great power. She won back her national pride due to her economic strength, by which she tried to fulfil the international and allied duties with more or less success. In regard of the research questions of the dissertation the goal was to identify the marks of changes of Japan’s security policy, i.e., which were the factors, that the antimilitarist norm ingrained after the war changed to a proactive pacifist strategy to the beginning of this century. The thesis introduced the process of the change of norms from political, economic, and social aspects, as well as it examined that which external and internal factors led to their development. The validity of this basic hypothesis will prove true in the complex entirety of the part-hypotheses.

1. The economic influence is the tool to retrieve the position of power

“Japan as an Asian country with a Western structure endeavors to regain her regional role of power with the economic enforcement of her interests.”

Changes which happened in Japan’s security environment and institutional architecture reasoned the specification of the analytical frame. In the course of historical reviewing the period from the policy of Yoshida Shigeru, the first long serving Prime Minister after the Second World War to the announcement of the proactive turn by the present Prime Minister Abe Shinzo, I assumed, that the Cold War and the era which followed it, carried significant dynamism in it. On this point I separated the era before and after the Cold War. After 1945 the culture of antimilitarism defined her national security interests, therefore, this perception

became deeply incorporated in the public opinion of the society. However, the peaceful phase was disconcerted by the Korean War which encouraged the Americans, who were protective of Japan, to permit for them a formation of a minimal capacity with the purpose of self-defense. In light of reshaping the political structure of the country, and the country's political structure based on the American model, Prime Minister Yoshida was able to declare the strategy of economic development, which laid the foundation of the security interpretations of the 20th century. This new norm, which was named as Yoshida-doctrine, contributed to the elimination of the damaged confidence and self-assessment problems. In this regard, based on my research, I revealed that the official development assistance policy, which offered financial support, played a more important role in the system of economic-diplomacy, than initially expected, and contributed to build a better relationship with her neighbours and regional countries, but at the same time, she managed to shape a strong economic dependency, of which the country could profit well enough until the present day. This ODA-norm (Official Development Assistance) determined her security policy and role in the region for a long time. The mottoes of disseminating of human security and the democratic values in fact served as a tool for economic interest.

As the member of the American alliance system she already pursued to form a more equal partnership with the U.S. 15 years after the war. An element of this was the revision of the 1960 security agreement. Despite the sharp difference of opinion between the political will and the general public the forced ratification was not remained without any consequences. Neither domestic political conditions, nor the external impacts did not allow the alteration of the usual practice, and as a consequence, it was proven, that the norm of the economic development has henceforward overwritten the conventional interpretation of the security.

The country's security environment changed in the 1970's, and the appearance of new types of challenges caused a feeling of discomfort to the Japan society, who enjoyed the benefits of a comfortable security system. These peculiarities were also noticeably reflected on the popular opinion which was generated by the role of the Self-Defense Forces. With the Vietnam War, the normalization of the Chinese and American relationship, and the oil crisis, a new process had begun, namely beside

the norm which strictly focused on the economic security the questions of military security began to arise which previously meant a taboo.

According to the first hypothesis of the dissertation “*Japan as an Asian country with a Western structure endeavors to regain her regional role of power with the economic enforcement of her interests*” gained credibility in that following the Second World War, the nation, which was doomed to be passive in politics, could only enforce her interests by increasing her economic strength. It should be noted, that she succeeded in obtaining the latter to a high extent. To the question how did she come into conflict with other neighboring countries as she compromised herself with the American internal and external security, and the Western type of modernisation, however, a number of issues, arising from the growth of China shed light on possible answers.

2. Japan with the consent of the U.S. increases her defense expenditure in order to contain China

“In the U.S.-Japan security alliance the common interest of the two parties involved, is the containment of China in the Asia-Pacific region. This is the reason why Japan with the permission of the U.S. is constantly raising her defense budget and modernizing her Defense Forces, as well as the maintaining of functional American military bases in Japan.”

The development of the change of Japanese norms was accurately traceable in light of the security challenges in the 21st century. In the regard of the U.S. military bases at Okinawa, the disputed islands, the rearmament, the questions of the history interpretation, the nuclear deterrence, the rise of China, as well as the asymmetry of the bilateral security alliance, I examined the effects of the different norms, which at the same time helped to answer the questions, that which norms exercised the greatest significance in the development of Japan’s security policy, which were the factors, with those help the political influence of the given norm gained certainty, just as they revealed the correlations between norms and interests.

In terms of the seven mentioned fields, I identified at least three factors, which led to wielding influence of the given norm to the country's security political direction, these are the followings: (1) the relationship of national and international power structure, (2) the relationship between the politicians and the general public, just as (3) the social acceptance and support of the norms.

Norms, which are structurally supported, doubtlessly shape the country's defense policy. The antimilitarist norm, the norm of the return of the four islands, which are named as the Northern Territories occupied by Russia, the Japan-U.S. security alliance and the collective mechanism of the nuclear deterrence are all norms, which were entirely supported by the political decision makers. At the same time, the fact that Japan's security policy focus can be influenced by international power relations also gained certainty. In terms of the norm of the return of the four islands, the norm itself also changed, since the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party), which was in power in the 1950s, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs initially supported the reclamation of only two islands. Due to the ideological conflict of the Cold War, Japan backed by the United States, shaped a new strategy, demanding the return of all the four islands.

Regarding the issue of the American military bases in Okinawa, controversial interests were experienced in the relationships of political decision makers and the general public. The presence of military bases and soldiers meant the only conflict, which several times was genuinely apparent between the allies. There are a number of reasons, why the Japanese government can not adequately handle the situation. On one hand, the island which mounts only one percent of the country's territory, given her geographical position has a particular significance for both the U.S. and for Japan, too. As the bilateral security agreement and the Article 9 of the Constitution mean a strict limitation for Japan, the people in Okinawa have to bear a great share of the burden of stationing the allied contingency. Beside the financial burden, the physical presence also generated several conflicts, which the actual governments tried to delay with the promise of relocating the bases. The Japanese society is divided on the issue, because of the local nature of the problem, they are not supporting the relocation out of the island, except of course of the islanders

themselves. Furthermore, the current government has no interest in confronting with her ally in this area.

The social understanding of the norms were examined in light of the support of the public opinion. The subject of the argumentation was within the unsolved territory questions the disputed islands claimed by China, as well as interpretational problems concerning their history. Among the neighbouring countries, China mean the greatest challenge for Japan. Prima facie their relationship may only simply seem a power rivalry, however, if it is deeply analyzed, its uncommon complexity can be understood. On a political level it is clearly visible, that the Senkaku-narrative was created by Beijing, as they officially only claimed these islands in 1971. I proved, that the growing Chinese confidence is directly related with the outbreak of the debate. Articles of the domestic press about highlighting patriotism, as well as the multiplication of articles about the Diaoyu-islands, which is the Chinese equivalent for the Senkaku-islands purportedly supported the nationalistic discourse. The growing Chinese economy provided enough confidence not only to declare empty political statements from the end of the 1990s, but the Chinese narrative could also be noticed in their behaviour. As an answer to the feeling of threat from China, from the middle of the 2000s the Japanese started to evaluate them in a more negative manner.

In regard of the two country's political and economic relations, there is a considerably deep gap between rhetorics and reality. It was proved in the above mentioned lines that the principle of separated politics and economy which was applied from the 1970s for some decades, also functions well in the present. They are each other's greatest trading partner, and the balance of trade is in favour of China, as well as the volume of Japanese capital investment in China are a number of significant factors, that the Cold War sentiment in the political level and the cold interactions of the current governments could not mark a deep effect. There needs to be more dominant factors, which go beyond the two countries, in order to stagnate or burden the economic relations. It is not enough the fact, that the political orientation of the Japanese government greatly influences whether it annoys China or not. If the incumbent Prime Minister and his government shows a pro-China attitude, then they do not visit the Yasukuni-shrine, which also enshrines the souls of Japanese war criminals, and the political-economic discourses are held in a more

cooperative atmosphere. The most charismatic Japanese Prime Minister of the 21st century, Abe Sinzo has also not continued the practise of his predecessors by visiting the shrine, instead, as an excellent strategic thinker played with the trump-card, which would fundamentally change the image shaped of the country.

The assymetrical architecture of the U.S.-Japan security alliance after the war met with a minimal Japanese response in the following decades, the majority of the general public accepted the maintenance of the evolved practise and the antimilitaristic norm. Japan, who focused on reviving the economy, enjoyed the protection of her ally, which did not mean a serious regional challenge, as long as it did not clash the sphere of economic growth of China. If Japan would be economically strong, but politically weak, China could cope with her, however, with a proper backing the balance of power had also changed. Ipso facto Japan's role in the Asian region means a confrontative perception for China, whose physical manifestations testified these statements. In close context with these developments, the changing security environment after the Cold War had a significant impact on the shifting norms of Japan's security policy. It was more noticeable, when East-Asia got into China's focus, which encouraged the allies to take actions. Through the examples of China's written and verbal behaviours, I came to the conclusion, that China created the disputed narrative of the Senkaku-islands in order to test Japan, as well as to break her monopoly of sovereignty. The next example of this narrative is the intensification of the Chinese nationalism, which tradition goes back to half a century. Finally, the the most consequent explanation seemed to be the testing of the U.S.-Japan bilateral alliance. This permanent Chinese testing aims to find the weaknesses of the alliance.

Japan's security environment significantly changed after the Cold War. Several North-East Asian countries possess advanced military capabilities, nuclear weapons, and are committed to nuclear developments. In the past years one of Japan's neighbours aims to gain influence in an inreasingly active manner on water, in the air, entering Japanese territories, too. As a decisive element of the Japanese national defense policy, the bilateral alliance was powerful enough to deter China until the 2000s. However, 2010 meant a turning point in the Japan-China relationship. As a result of the incident in Senkaku-island the National Defense

Program Guidelines enabled the Self-Defense Forces to strengthen the protection of Japan's south-western territory, and they introduced the concept of Dynamic Defense Force. The protection of the "grey zones" has become crucial. The U.S. also has to face the growing challenge concerning the rise of China from her allied responsibility on the one hand, and due to the importance of the the region on the other hand. These changes clearly showed, that the second hypothesis of the dissertation, saying that "*in the U.S.-Japan security alliance the common interest of the two parties involved, is the containment of China in the Asia-Pacific region*" proved right. In connection with this, the second part of this hypothesis also stands on solid basis, which states, that "*this is the reason why Japan with the permission of the U.S. is constantly raising her defense budget and modernizing her Defense Forces, as well as the maintaining of functional American military bases in Japan.*" Upon planning the defense budget despite the country follows the rule that the expenditure must not exceed the limit of the 1 percent of the GNP, it has proved through comparative analyses, that since the middle of the 1950s the military expenses are constantly rising. These developments were supported with the change of the public opinion about the role of Self-Defence Forces.

I stated in the dissertation, that the above mentioned challenges mean such a complex problem, that because of the historical, political and economic conflicts of interest, it is not likely that in the near future alternative solutions will evolve, which will be welcomed by both parties. As the national interests of the states are constantly changing, so are those norms and values associated with them. Through these challenges, a clear picture has emerged of the transforming values of the Japanese norms.

3. Setting new foundations of the bilateral alliance: exercising Japan's right of collective self-defense

"The future role of the U.S.-Japan security alliance will change, the parties will shift their positions to a balanced system. The focuspoints of the 21st century's Japanese security policy diverges from her traditional security concept. The central

element of Japanese national defense strategy will be exercising the right of collective self-defense.”

In the last part of the dissertation I revealed, that the change of security policy norms at the beginning of the 1990s, confidently set off on the road, by switching to a multiple speed which once Yoshida dreamed of, however he was not able to implement this policy because of the special circumstances of the period. The Gulf War meant the turning point in Japan's security policy, when the position of being an economic super power and the financial contributor has not proved sufficient for the American ally, who expected a greater responsibility from Tokyo. The cheque-book (i.e. the financial support) diplomacy did not count as an adequate contribution, which encouraged the formation of the International Peace Cooperation Law. With meeting strict conditions this law enabled the foreign dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces, which meant a kind of guarantee as it not violating the constitution.

The examination of this policy showed that in the 1990s the Japanese security policy enriched with three new elements: on one hand based on the cooperation with the UN Japan participated in the Gulf War peace-keeping mission, and on the other hand due to the North-Korean nuclear tests in 1993, and the outbreak of the Taiwan missile crisis, the allies strengthened their cooperation. Thirdly, they indicated new security guidelines. In 1997 President Bill Clinton and Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryutaro were committed in a joint declaration stabilizing the Asia-Pacific region.

Besides these developments it was also a significant change that following the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001, the Japanese offered their immediate help to their ally. The performance beyond expectations also made the U.S. satisfied, claiming that Japan had finally woke up from her deep dream. With the passing of the anti-terrorism bill the Self-Defense Forces could legally been dispatched overseas. Japan's participation was exceptional in the operations in Afghanistan because it was neither under the scope of the UN's collective security arrangement, nor the peacekeeping missions, nor the U.S.-Japan security treaty, but it was exclusively based on the political decision of the Japanese government. For the

peacekeeping operations of the Self-Defense Forces there was a need of the legal approval of the Parliament, therefore, it was the duty of the Prime Minister that time to prepare the bills preceding the overseas dispatch. Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro argued that the anti-terrorism law provided proper resources by creating opportunity for the country to contribute in a proactive and independent way to the aim of the international community by eliminating and preventing terrorism. It should be noted that the Prime Minister used the words “proactive” and “independent” even that time.

The events of 9/11 had accelerated the reinterpretation of the concepts about the security of the 21st century. This event which had shaken the world tested the existing allied relations, of which the Japanese-American was not an exception either. The Japanese defense policy had become more confident following the turn of the millennium which is exemplified greatly by the above mentioned quickly enacted bills of the Koizumi-administration. As an impact of these circumstances it was clear that the country wanted to change the conventional interpretation of its constitution.

The continuity of which point in January 2004 the Self-Defense Forces had completed their next overseas mission, had also meant a crucial change. Within the frame of humanitarian cooperation, the Forces participated in reconstruction operations. The legal base of the mission was provided by the Iraq-law passed in 2003.

The electorate's confidence in Koizumi was trustfully, which is supported by the fact that he was the third longest serving Prime Minister in office. Due to his politics not only the relationship with the Americans was strengthened, but also the USA's War on Terror was yet supported. Despite these developments, as one of the most popular Japanese leaders, he reformed the defense policy of his country in a way which triggered radical changes in the system of interpretation of deeply embedded social and legal norms.

The Fukushima nuclear disaster had also marked profoundly the progress of the country's defense policy. The earthquake followed by the devastating tsunami of

which the nuclear explosion had taken place, highlighted the question of energy security. Taking the defense strategies of the preceding governments into consideration, it was Abe Shinzo, who could offer adequate answers and solutions to the Japanese, realizing the new challenges of the 21st century. This is all proved by the offensive activity of the Prime Minister's energy diplomacy, whose first right after his election visit was directed to the Southeast Asian countries. He paid a visit to all the nations with rich energy resources and still part of this offensive policy on one hand he signed a contract with the Arab States of the Persian Gulf concerning the import of energy resources and on the other hand Abe also fostered the growth of Japanese capital investments via bilateral investments' contracts.

As the third hypothesis of the dissertation had formulated that “*the focuspoints of the 21st century's Japanese security policy diverges from her traditional security concept*”, which based on the above was proved by the fact that energy security was an important part of Abe Shinzo's new security doctrine. In the first two years of being in office he visited more than 45 countries, all of which was of strategic importance and on which the nature and diversity of the 21st century's security policy of the state was reflected.

The state's most significant and most distinctive change in its new defense policy is can be linked to Abe Shinzo. As a first element of his consciously developed strategy, based on the economic doctrine called “Abenomics,” he provided a strong boost having the proud effect of the positive macroeconomic indicators. After the establishment of the economic pillar he started the transformation of the long-awaited national defense system. The first element was already formulated in 2012, when Abe cleared that the new foundation of the foreign and security institutional system would be laid down. He created the National Security Council, which coordinates as a top institution the direction of the government's defense policy. To put the policy down in writing, the end of 2013 marked the birth of Japan's first National Security Strategy, which fact itself together with the its contents raised the sharp attention of the neighbouring countries. This strategy first time summarized in a comprehensive way short and medium term goals of the security policy. The proactive ideology based on international cooperation had resulted in harsh reactions both in the country and beyond its borders, concerning its real aims and concepts. Together with this new doctrine, two other crucial documents about the

policy of national defense was published (National Defense Program Guidelines for the Fiscal Year 2014 and beyond, and the Medium Term Defense Program for the Fiscal Year 2014-2018), which specified in details formulated in the strategy.

Regarded as the second most important element, the policy of “proactive contribution to peace” was first mentioned in the new National Security Strategy. According to its basic thesis, Japan must contribute to peace in a proactive way based on the principles of international cooperation. But what does this proactive behavior mean in practice? The country seeks for a new identity in the 21st century, knowing that the global interdependence inevitably connects it with the rest of the world, with all its advantages and disadvantages. There is no doubt that its conventional security strategy following the Second World War, such as anti-militarism, antinuclearism, and the prohibition of weapon exportation had contributed to the maintaining of world peace, however in the future this passive attitude will not be sufficient and a long-sighted and responsible behavior will be necessary. The country with the world's third largest economy cannot be idle and indifferent in today's security questions. The current interpretation of the constitution does not permit the overseas missions of the Self-Defense Forces. A necessary preemptive strike in case of a possible threat of war is also forbidden. Abe realized that the change of the constitution is not possible without the public will, therefore, he once again brought forward the argument of reinterpretation. As the third dominant element of the national defense policy the dissertation showed that in the discourse of Japan's security policy the question of collective self-defense was a key issue in 2014. In July 1, 2014 the Abe-cabinet introduced a new interpretation published in a government's decision in connection with the voluntary restriction of the right of collective self-defense. Referring to the nuclear capacity of the unpredictable North Korea and the menacingly growing Chinese air and naval capabilities, in case of risks threatening the country's security, the measures taken against them will be justified. The right of collective self-defence, as a concept had become an inevitable part of the discourse of the security policy. The government decision made the intentions of the decision-makers clear, had raised the interest of the people. The diet passed the bills proposed by the cabinet in September 2015 (they would make it easier for Self-Defense Forces to provide logistical support for other militaries and to participate in international peacekeeping operations and the other bill proposed the reconsidering of ten laws

of legal force). According to the data of the polls, in one hand the lack of support for the proposed bills was due to the fact that they were not explained properly to the population and in the other hand many people visualized that the country would be driven more easily to war.

These arguments proved the third hypothesis of the dissertation, which stated that “*the future role of the U.S.-Japan security alliance will change, the parties will shift their positions to a balanced system. The focuspoints of the 21st century’s Japanese security policy diverges from her traditional security concept. The central element of Japanese national defense strategy will be exercising the right of collective self-defense.*” In this regard it was proved that two months after his election the main goal of Abe Shinzo’s visit to Washington in February 2013 was the strenghtening the two country’s security alliance. He founded his new political strategy on the simple, short and definite meaning “*Japan is back,*” which was also chosen as the motto of the dissertation. Following this, he consciously took steps of reinterpreting the constitution and practicing the right of collective self-defense.

5. Summary of the Results

The dissertation researched has Japan’s security policy changed following her defeat in the Second World War, which domestic and foreign factors led to a change from a rigid antimilitarist norm to a proactive pacifist strategy of the beginning of the 21st century. As part of the process norms were identified that made reforms within the embedded concepts of the society. The research contributed to the current academic debate with the concept of interpreting norms in Japan’s security policy.

I came to the conclusion that the success of the Yoshida-doctrine which boosted the economic development provided a solid foundation for the next generation, who were confident in raising the question of the country’s military normalization. However, the Japanese prudence did not let these processes accelerate too much, therefore, dominant external factors were needed like the Gulf War, the terrorist

attack of September 11, 2001, the War in Afghanistan, the rise of China and her aggressive actions were also necessary. The real change in Japan's security policy due to Abe Shinzo, who is determined to led his country along the path aiming to restore its international role. With the stabilization of the economy he created a way of restoring the prestige and honour of policy of national defense, which has been blamed for the passed 70 years. Today the country's national pride is built on its role being an economic superpower. The Japanese cannot be called anti-militarist anymore, at least not in the extent as they were in the years following the war, though pacifism is still strongly embedded in the society. The long-term goal of the Prime Minister is the amend of the constitution, which is regarded as a real challenge for the future.

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Prof. Urata Shujiro (Professor at Waseda University, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies)

Venue: Hungarian Academy of Science

Date: 6 June 2012

Venue: Waseda University

Date: 6 September 2012

Dr. Thomas U. Berger (Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Boston University)

Venue: The Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Tokyo

Date: 2012. december 12.

Dr. David Shambaugh (Professor and Director of China Policy Program, The Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University)

Venue: The Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Tokyo

Date: 23 January 2013

Professor Yoshihide Soeya (Professor, Faculty of Law, Keio University / Director, Keio Institute of East Asian Studies)

Venue: Keio University

Date: 5 March 2013

Dr. Atsushi Sunami (Deputy Director of Science, Technology and Innovation Policy Program; Associate Professor at National Graduate School of Policy Studies (GRIPS))

Dates: Several times between August 2012 and September 2015

Tsuneo Watanabe (Director of Policy Research & Senior Fellow, Tokyo Foundation)

Venue: Tokyo Foundation, Tokyo

Dates: Several times between June 2013 and July 2015

Matsuda Yasuhiro (Professor, Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, University of Tokyo)

Venue: Budapest

Date: 24 February 2014

Mori Satoru (Visiting Scholar, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University)

Venue: Budapest

Dates: 24 February 2014, 12 February 2015

Tanaka Koichiro (Managing Director, President JIME Center, The Institute of Energy Economics, Japan)

Venue: Budapest

Dates: 24 February 2014; 25 January 2015

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