

Influence of Germany and Japan in 21st Century: Liberalism or Realism

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Abstract

Military power is the most effective instrument in pursuing policy of hegemony and influence in the region, continent and world. In contrary Germany and Japan have been able to create strong influence in continental and world affairs an example is the presence of Germany in JCPOA 2015 despite exercising restraint on military arm. The industrial and economic growth of these countries has made them power center in Asia and Europe respectively. This situation creates a unique situation where Liberalism has been crucial in catapulting the two nations from ignominy of defeat to continental and world power broker. A question is raised for proprietors of Realism who advocate use of military instrument to gain power or influence. Germany and Japan's pursuing of non-belligerent, trade oriented and public diplomacy practicing foreign policy is implementation of Liberalism in 21st Century or another form of Realism. Focus on relevant aspects of Realism and Liberalism will assist in linking these theories with foreign policy of the two countries. This paper will highlight the cardinal of Germany and Japan's foreign policy after WW2. The role of Germany and Japan in UNO and other regional and international organizations will also be studied.

Introduction

End of WWII bought ignominy to the Axis including Japan. The Paris Treaty restricted the size of German's Army and Navy besides accepting the responsibility of starting WW2. The Potsdam Agreement besides implementing restrictions on Germany also included its reconstruction. Thus

laying the foundation of Germany's current domination of Europe through other means.

Japan's unconditional surrender after bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki paved the way for its rapid industrialization. The country redirected its hegemonic policy towards peaceful creation of opportunities and economic resurgence. Japan is one of the leading members of different economic forums. Along with Germany it asserts significant influence in outcome of events at the regional and international levels.

Near to negligible military out reach of these countries makes them dependable on defence to USA/ NATO. These countries have been able to entwine their tormentors of 1945 into guarantors by effective use of economy, industrialization and trade. They have behaved very astutely to remain in the forefront of world politics despite contributing the least to security issues. The repeated reminders of President Trump emphasizing on paying for security was tacitly handled by these countries. The countries have used Liberalism for industrial and economical progress. The element of Realism was used to manage security of the countries by using military resources of USA and NATO.

Highlights of Theory

Theory of Realism

The proponents of Realism describe and relate it to as early as 15th / 16th Century with Machiavelli or even before. However, its advent can be related to post WW1. E. H. Carr's and Hans Morgenthau's are believed to be the pioneers of Realism in modern era. Theory of Realism strongly advocates that states will conduct themselves according to their interests. The concept of "raison detat" (Reason of state) was projected which meant that states act as

per their national interests in which its survival is paramount. As per Friedrich Meinecke, “preserve the health and strength of state, must pursue power to survive, calculate most appropriate steps during hostile and threatening environment”. It is further elaborated by Hobbes, once he says, “We sacrifice our liberty in return for a guarantee of security. Once security is established civil society can begin. But in absence of security no culture, no society”. Usually, the security of a state is defined through its military arm or power to influence a situation by use of force. Hans Morgenthau also relates interest of state with power (Proctor, 2015). Morgenthau’s in his fourth principle of Realism states that ‘political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action’, thus he opens a door for pursuing states interest through instruments other than power which may be morally acceptable. Alternatively, a strong morally correct reason may be created to achieve state interest by use of power. USA and Coalition (ISAF) invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11 was legitimized by UN Security Council. Whereas, Invasion of Iraq in 2003 was not supported by UNSC despite creation of political moral grounds of protecting the world from Saddam’s weapon of mass destruction. In short UNSC has been an instrument for world powers in general and USA in particular to legitimize and create moral ground for their belligerence and bellicosity towards opponents. Nichola Spykman’s claim that ‘the search for power is not made for the achievement of moral values; moral values are used to facilitate the attainment of power’ (1942: 18) (Burchill, 2005). However, a situation may arise once security of a country is defined by other means than military power. As Hegel states that, “World history is not the verdict of mere might, i.e., the abstract and non-rational inevitability of a blind destiny” (Proctor, 2015). USSR was disintegrated and restricted to Russia due to its weak economics situation and management despite having military

wherewithal to ensure security of its geographical boundary. Thus, the state crumbled due to reasons other than use of military power. In light of Hegel's statement we have to analyse the foreign policy of Germany and Japan after 1945, where history has been written by means other than might.

Theory of Liberalism

Liberalism took birth from Idealism and Fourteen Points of President Woodrow Wilson. Liberalism supports individual competition in a society and deems it as the best possible welfare of an individual. It propagates concepts like political freedom, democracy, rights guaranteed by constitution, equality of humans in society/ law and liberty of every individual. It advocates market capitalism. Establishment of GATT and later WTO are the instruments of market capitalism. Liberalism advocates democracy and free trade. Legitimacy to control world market by flooding own goods at cheaper rate to knock out local manufacturers. WTO and free market is a strong instrument where exporter and importer both can be exploited depending upon ability of either. USA and EU are the largest importer of Chinese groups. They often use the leverage to exploit this trade imbalance by banning certain item from China. The ban of Huawei by USA and Chinese response to target iPhone is an example. In words of Carr, "the aim of mercantilism ... was not to promote the welfare of the community and its members, but to augment the power of the state, of which the sovereign was the embodiment ... wealth was the source of power, or more specifically of fitness for war".

Liberalism proponents advocate that democracy avoid conflict and war with each other as per Doyle, "Liberal democracy's are uniquely willing to eschew the use of force in their relations with one another". Fukuyama also advocated the strength of democracy and free market once he said, "National and cultural

distinction are no barrier to the triumph of liberal democracy and capitalism”. Kant gave an ultimate verdict on the efficacy of free trade and democracy, “Trade ... would increase the wealth and power of the peace loving, productive sections of the population at the expense of the war-orientated aristocracy, and ... would bring men of different nations into constant contact with one another; contact which would make clear to all of them their fundamental community of interests (Burchill, 2005).”

Liberalism therefore presents a paradox where the theoretical aspect advocates a fair and transparent world in which the endgame is free trade and democracy and on the other hand it acts as a leverage to exploit the strength free trade. Thus, identifying free trade as a power to gain influence as per concepts of Realism. “It can be said that free trade is an instrument of gaining power by other means”.

Network Power

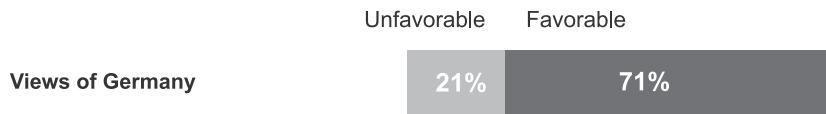
Network power is a subcategory of institutional power. It is exercised through an interest driven foreign policy. It is conducted through cooperatives and continued and repeated interaction between states. The sustained practice make the states mutually dependent. Connectivity is therefore crucial for the success of network power and it is enhanced by 1) Mediation 2) Advocacy and 3) Substitution networks.

States adopt bilateral relations and multilateralism to develop network power. In addition use of public diplomacy is also a sources of network power. Opening own institutions for education to foreign students and supporting them through scholarships contribute in enhancing network power.

Germany Foreign Policy and Influence

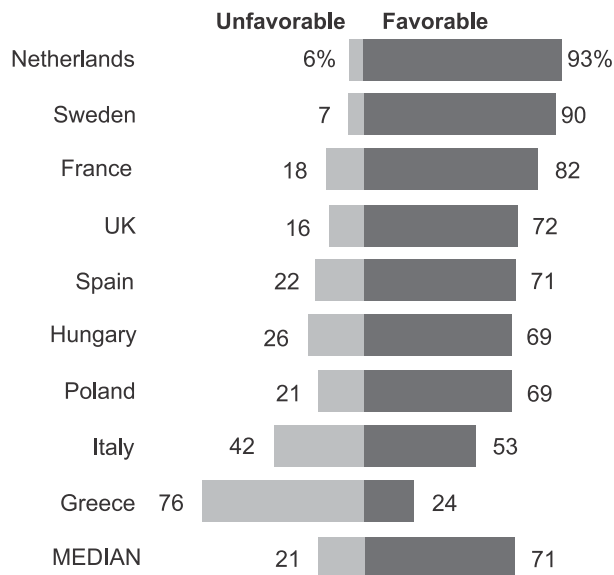
Germany's foreign policy is focused towards specific goals and objectives. In which Multilateralism is most important. Its diplomatic activities are conducted according to the rules and principles of the organization for example the United Nations Organization or European Union. "Germany has used the tool of multilateralism to create a special position for itself in UNO and EU" (Maull, 2020). In addition through G-8 Germany is involved with world powers to formulate policies of multilateral organizations, while it uses the G-4 platform to interact with regional heavy weights like Japan, India and Brazil. Members of the same group were also a candidate for permanent seat of UNSC. Germany is also the founding member of Group of 20 (G20). It is a major donor to UNO, EU and NATO. Germany through multilateralism has formed a strong network and pursues a policy focused on security by avoiding, preventing or resolving/ settling intra- and inter-state conflict. The efforts are also focused on anti-terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Through this way Germany seeks legitimacy to mediate and negotiate between nations to reduce production of nuclear and other WMD. In JCPOA it was a member of P5 plus One which concluded the dialogue and negotiations with Iran on its nuclear programme. The European Union Today considers Germany as the main decision maker. A survey conducted from 16,000 EU citizens (Hannes Ebert, 2017) supported Germany's presence and dominance in EU and grade it as one of the best countries for doing business and friendly policies. Germany strongly argues the case for deeper European integration in all spheres including climate change policy to police and judicial cooperation. The tables given below explain Germany's influence in EU and opinion of different countries (Bruce Stokes, 2017).

Europeans positive on Germany, but wary of German power within the EU



Germany viewed positively throughout Europe, except in Greece

Views of Germany

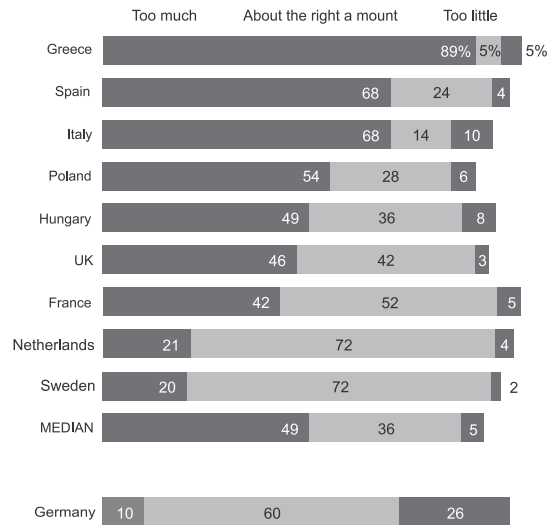


Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey, Q12g.

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Southern Europeans overwhelmingly say Germany has too much power over EU decisions

Germany has ___ influence when it comes to decision-making in the EU



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey, Q49.

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Hence it proves the statement of Carr, “the aim of mercantilism ... was not to promote the welfare of the community and its members, but to augment the power of the state”. Through multilateralism and public diplomacy Germany has developed network power, the web of multilateralism and network power provides Germany with influence in major world, regional and other organizations. However, Germany besides increasing the power of state has also contributed towards human rights and improvement in HDIs. In strategy paper “*Shaping Globalization: Expanding Partnerships, Sharing Responsibility*” the coordinates of Germany’s foreign policy are highlighted in these words, “Freedom and human rights, democracy and the rule of law, peace and security, prosperity and sustainable development, strong bilateral relations and effective multilateralism are the principles we seek to uphold when defining our goals” (Federal Foreign Office 2012, 6) (Daniel Flemes, 2017).

Here it is clear that German Government has included the aspects of moral values in its foreign policy. Except for security all other aspects contribute to improving the states and human moral values and ethics. Germany's establishment of network not only includes involvement in multilateral engagements but its also actively involved in other development works across the globe. It is a regular supporter of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). It has used NGOs to project its soft image and culture some of the renown are German Political Foundation, The Goethe Institute and The German Academic Exchange Service.

In May 1955 West Germany joined NATO (McHugh, 2017) since than Transatlantic relations (USA) is the most important corner stone of Germany's foreign policy. Germany gives special importance to its relationship with USA and believes in open dialogue once a situation arises or occur. At the peak of Cold War, some 900,000 NATO troops were stationed in West Germany this included troops from United States, United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Canada, and the Netherlands. Germany contribution was recorded the highest in NATO defense spending for 2021 by submitting in the budget an amount of €53 billion (\$63.8 billion) for the current year. It is a 3.2% increase over the year, in 2020, the spending was at €51.4 billion (Germany commits €100 billion to defense spending - DW, 2022). Former US President Donald Trump had accused many countries and specially Germany of not contributing enough to NATO. This move is thought to be a reconciliation in trans-Atlantic relations. The importance security can never be over ruled. Thus, despite a proponent of liberal values Germany follows Realism which is also security of the state.

In 2016, “Germany chaired the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The member states of the European Union are working together to ensure Europe’s security. The EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) was first conceived at the Cologne European Council in June 1999. The EU launched first mission was Concordia in erstwhile Yugoslavia in 2003. More than 30 missions have been conducted by civilian experts, police officers and soldiers to help in maintaining peace and stability. The European Union works together with other organizations, states and partners. One example of this is the ATALANTA (EU NAVFOR) operation, which aims to protect merchant ships and supply ships transporting humanitarian aid from pirates off the Horn of Africa. German Civilian experts, police officers, customs officers and Bundeswehr soldiers also form part of all CSDP missions and operations. For all armed military operations, debates and vote on the Bundestag mandate, is a and mandatory”.

Germany strongly opposes any unilateral employment of its forces, approval of parliament is necessary. It also opposes maintenance and use of large size forces. As result Germany is on the forefront of facilitating disarmament and disengaging of opposing forces. Germany is therefore a supporter and contributor to European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP).

2. Japan

Japan is located in Asia Pacific Region and constitutes of islands. It depends on maritime trade because it requires secure sea line of communications for its trade. After its defeat in WW2 it signed a Friendship Treaty with the USA in 1951 which was revised in 1960. Japan accepted U.S defence shield and developed its army for the purposes of self defence (Shaikh, February, 2023).

Currently Japan is among first four economies of the world occupied important position in the post cold war period.

“Japan’s priority is on economic promotion and it has developed its diplomacy to achieve this objective. Its diplomacy hinges on three important aspects (1) rule-making to bolster free and open global economic systems by promoting the various economic agreements; (2) supporting the overseas business expansion of Japanese companies through promotion of public-private partnerships; and (3) promoting resource diplomacy along with inbound tourism to Japan” (Economic Diplomacy, 2021).

4.1 **Determinants of Foreign Policy**

Japan is strongly against weapons of mass destruction. Japan being a victim nuclear terrorism signed Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty in 1976 and in 1996 it ratified Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). It uses nuclear energy for peaceful and civilian purposes. It feels threatened by Republic of Korea’s nuclear test earlier it condemned nuclear tests by India and Pakistan in 1998. Public of denouncing war, observance of cultural norms and establish peaceful relations with all the countries etc., have compelled Japanese foreign policy makers to frame external policy according to wishes of the Japanese people.

Japan seeks security through its treaty with USA and has managed to keep away from disputes which could cross the threshold from dispute to war. As part of its foreign policy to support peace and oppose aggression Japan joined the coalition in Operation Desert Storm. It contributed troops and US\$ 13 billion. The activity was not well taken by the Japanese public who display staunch anti- war temperament.

Although Japan is located in South East Asia or the Asia Pacific Region yet it strongly relates itself to the western countries. It propagates following

democratic values and belief in human rights , rule of law with the west and other democratic industrialized nations. It also share the same aspiration of free trade and market economy. Another important aspect of Japan's foreign policy is to maintain strong relations and solidarity with western industrialized nation on international issues and economic fields.

Japan pursues separate relations with USA based on trust. Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, is the cornerstone of Japan's foreign policy. The United States is Japan's most important partner in a broad spectrum of areas including politics, economy and defense. Asia Pacific region is Japan's playing field. To ensure economic progress Jap must maintain peace in its back yard. It therefore has to contribute to the development and prosperity of these states in the region. Trans Pacific Partnership was signed in Nov 2011. Its members are other than USA and Japan include Australia, Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam. Its purpose id to enhance trade, promote innovation in trade and economics, ensure economic growth of member countries. Through this process create retention of jobs.

The Foreign Minister of Japan Mr MOTEGI Toshimitsu gave out the cardinal of Japan's foreign policy in 2020 as follows, 1) further strengthening of the Japan-U.S. Alliance, the cornerstone of Japan's foreign policy; (2) tackling outstanding issues of concern regarding North Korea; (3) advancing diplomacy with neighboring countries, such as China, the Republic of Korea, and Russia; (4) addressing the increasingly tense situation in the Middle East; (5) engaging in economic diplomacy in which Japan will lead efforts to establish new common rules; and (6) addressing global issues".

4.2 Japan's Networking

Japan follows a comprehensive program of networking through various program. Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) is 65 years old development assistance program. It has two program first Contributions and Subscriptions to International Organizations (Multilateral Aid) and secondly Bilateral aid (Including Assistance through International Organizations) (MOFAJ, 2019). In bilateral program grants are given for technical program and grand aid, while in the second program of government loan and government aid loans are given to governments and private sector for private sector finance investment. This program has three main objectives first for contributing to peace and prosperity through cooperation for non-military purposes, secondly to promote human security and thirdly for the purpose of cooperation aimed at self-reliant development through assistance for self-help efforts as well as dialogue and collaboration based on Japan's experience and expertise. Through this assistance Japan intends to carry out poverty alleviation, realizing a peaceful society and build a sustainable and resilient international community and address the global challenges. Through regular monitoring it is ensured that this assistance is not used for military purpose and the receiving state is improving its standards of human rights, democracy and rule of law.

Japan has made bilateral agreement with 23 countries in Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and agreement with 5-6 states (Turkey, Canada, Colombia, Gulf Cooperation Council GCC) is in the pipeline. It is also a strong partner in Strategic Partnership Agreement (SPA). It has relationship with EU countries and is agreement with Organization of security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In addition to these agreements it is also in strong relationship with regional organizations of Asia, Europe and South America. This includes

GUAM + Japan (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova), Visegrad Four (V4) (Poland, Czech, Slovakia, Hungary), Nordic Countries (Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg)

3. Conclusions

Germany and Japan after WW2 identified their weaknesses and realized their survival concerns. They identified reconstruction and rebuilding institutions and industry to acquire economical stability and influence as reason of state (*raison d'état*). They shaped up an environment by entering into agreement and treaty with world powers. Germany adopted concept of multilateralism to enhance its trade and ensure its security. Japan used both approaches of bilateral and multilateralism to increase its trade and networking power. Both countries adopted strong bilateral relationship with USA to boost their security. Through efficient diplomacy they attached USA's interest in their survival and security. One was important to contain Russia while the other was a guard against communists and Chinese ambitions. A strong resistance to all types of belligerence and military solutions to international disputes and conflicts was advocated and pursued. The two countries condemned use of weapons of mass destruction in all forms. Through a well-crafted trade, commerce and assistance policy networking power has been created to generate strong influence on international community. Thus, a goodwill and positive vibes exist regarding Germany and Japan as compared to international powers of USA, Russia, UK and France. As a result, the two countries are appreciated as reliable arbitrators and negotiators in peace making and dispute resolving agreements and negotiations. Therefore, Cantt's verdict on free trade and democracy (Scott Burchill, 2005), "Trade ... would increase the wealth and power of the peace loving, productive sections of the population at the expense of the war-orientated aristocracy" is realized by the Germany and Japan. On

the hand, the verdict of Carr, “the aim of mercantilism ... was not to promote the welfare of the community and its members, but to augment the power of the state”. Except that Japan has also used its trade and aid to improve the human living standards in different poor countries. In Pakistan JAICA as carried out many studies to improve infrastructure and government program. In 2007-2010, JAICA funded a comprehensive study to improve technical education in Pakistan and make it compatible with local and international industrial demands, similarly the Lahore Mass Transit and Transport plan was also prepared by JAICA in 2007/10. Here it may be correct to conclude that these countries have followed the Theory of Realism and realized the concept of *raison d'état* by employing the tools of Liberalism.

4. Recommendations

Pakistan has to identify the areas where it can develop networking power. Initially it should concentrate on SAARC (less India), its neighbors and Muslim countries. The likely area where Pakistan has potential should be identified some are 1) Human resource (doctors, paramedics, engineers, teachers and skilled workers) should be employed abroad and utilized to create soft image of the country. 2) Provision of scholarship for study to foreign students should be initiated in public and private sector institutes. 3) Creation of opportunities for foreign direct investment with local private partnership 4) Development work in poor countries through Pakistan based NGOs.

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