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Non-traditional Security Instruments of the Foreign Policy of Japan (Focus on Human Security Concept)

The role of Japan as a leading power in the field of international security policy and its participation is often underestimated and not thoroughly researched. Speaking about Japan's approaches and methods for peace-building one cannot avoid mentioning the Japanese efforts in human security and the contribution of policy makers such as Prime Minister Obuchi and Mrs. Ogata Sadako in turning the concept into a leading development and security policy guideline especially in vulnerable states such as Afghanistan, Sub-Saharan Africa and others. The aim of the paper is on one hand to provide an overview of the Japanese security policy and on the other, to research the topic upon the involvement of Japan in practical application of human security and constitutional constraints of the Japanese constitution putting certain limits to its activities as a global and regional security player. Implications of the future outcome of the Japanese membership in the UN Security Council and its future role through the concept of human security will be asserted.

Introduction

The Second World War (WWII) was an exhausting period of economic and social hardships. Japan did not have any other choice but to sign the San Francisco treaty in 1951 and the Japan-American Security Treaty. At the same time the devastating war and the fear of military revival is one of the motives Japanese politicians aim at culture of antimilitarism.

The common perceptions are that as a country defeated in the WWII and being considered as an ex-militarist state Japan does not deserve to

gain a permanent seat in the United Nations. Along with a short over-view of the scholars' view of the topic, the main factors for Japanese active role in the UN have been presented in the paper. As demonstrated below, despite the constitutional restraints and the belated activities as a partic-ipant in peacekeeping activities, Japan has found its role through human security and peace-building efforts not involving direct use of force and through non-traditional methods of security such as human security.

• Basic methods used in the current report are:

• Historical approach – viewing the question through its develop-ment in time and space;

• Systematic approach – viewing the issue as a synthesis of interre-lated factors;

• Logical approach – it researches upon the logic of the interconnec-tion between the events.

Characteristics of Japanese Security Policy after the Cold War

The main principles of the postwar Japanese security policy could be summarized as the following:

• extremely defensive security policy, using force only for self-defense (use of a weapon only when absolutely necessary to save human life);

• Japan Three Non-Nuclear Principles (*Hikaku San Gensoku*) accord-ing to which the country shall neither possess nor manufacture nuclear weapons, nor shall it permit their introduction into Japanese territory;

• existence of agreements between the participants in the conflict cease-fire;

• need of a consent between the disputing parties to conduct peace-keeping operations with Japanese participation;

• principle of strict neutrality;

• the possibility of withdrawal from conflict of Japanese forces in case of failure of any of the above clauses (PKO Law, 1995).

UN Centrism Principle

In 1954 Minister of Foreign Affairs Kishi Nobusuke made a statement demonstrating commitments that Japanese diplomacy must contribute to the achievement of world peace and prosperity "with center around the

UN." He further emphasized on the needs for cooperation with other democracies by keeping its posture as a representative of Asia. After Japan became a UN member in 1956, the government considered the cooperation with the organization an important pillar of the Japanese external policy and cooperated in activities involving peacekeeping operations (Ueki 1993).

The active engagement of Japan in the political, military and economic field in the Asia-Pacific could be explained as contributing to the global strategy of the United States (US) for intervention in the region (Information on Japanese Politics in Asia-Pacific 1988). 1987 was the start of active peace politics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the confrontation of the socialist countries had been weakened. During one of his visits to the US, Nakasone Yasuhiro stated that the country would intervene in the security of navigation in the Gulf region. This promise as well as those upcoming were considered a support for the US doctrine "differing from the post conflict politics of Japan." This trend had also been followed by Prime Minister Takeshita Noboru. In his program speech during the opening of the 112th regular session of the Japanese parliament, the prime minister confirmed his support for the external policy line of the US, following their policy in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

As in the previously stated support by the government of Nakasone, the new prime minister confirmed that as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council (UNSC) Japan would cooperate with the UN regarding the problems of security in the Persian Gulf, peace in the Middle East and the conflict between Iran and Iraq (Politics of Japan in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan 1988). 1987 was an important moment defining a more active involvement of the Japanese politics regarding the UN. Furthermore, Takeshita launched an initiative for international cooperation in which Japan could play a more active role through diplomatic efforts with the purpose of reaffirming political dialogue and international cooperation for activities sponsored by the UN, aiming at conflict prevention, and help for refugees through bilateral and multilateral efforts (Heinrich and Soeya 1999).

In this sense the quest for a strengthened Japanese role in the above-mentioned conflicts must be viewed in the framework of the American–Japanese alliance, rather than in cooperation with the UN, despite the above-mentioned statements. The first considerable participation of Japan in the UN was implemented in 1989 when 27 observers were sent in the (UNTAG) UN mission for support of the transition in Namibia (Heinrich and Soeya 1999).

Summary of the Japanese Contribution
to the United Nations

As a leading economic, industrial and technical state, Japan aims at enhancing its role as a global power in international and regional affairs. Evidence for its global role is the country's participation in international organizations such as the UN, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, GATT and others.

Japan is often criticized of being driven by pragmatic interests in disbursing financial aid and tackling issues of poverty but it is an undeniable fact that Japan ensures 19% of the UN budget (the 2nd largest donor after the US). The country joined international efforts to fight against terrorism after the attacks of September 11, 2001, and took part in peace building. Other facts giving the country a motivation to apply for permanent UNSC membership are its overall achievements focused in the following directions:

• promoting the disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons for massive destruction including nuclear weapons;

• anti-terrorism assistance and democracy-building efforts in Rwanda and Afghanistan;

• humanitarian assistance not only through official development (ODA) financing but also through dispatching volunteers, transferring leadership skills to local communities by providing expertise in fields such as education, health, water, agriculture, disaster-preventions and others;

• commitment towards the development of Africa such as the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) (UN Diplomatic Bluebook 2004);

• efforts for UN reform.

The majority of the UN member states express anxiety that the increased number of permanent members of the Security Council violate the democratic principles of equal representation. Japan shares the opinion that the Asian group in the UNSC is under-represented. In addition, Japan considers that the UN General Assembly should serve as a platform for more focused debate upon top priority issues and rationalizing the agenda lacking flexibility.

Human Security Concept – Development and Application

Amongst the characteristics of the Japanese approach to overcome humanitarian crisis one should not miss the efforts in the field of human security. The concept was first introduced according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report in 1994 when seven elements were presented: economic security, food security, health security, personal security, environmental security, community security and social security. The introduction of the concept for human security coincides with the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. The role of Minister Obuchi Keizō for promoting the idea behind is undisputable. He delivered two lectures that were crucial for the integration of the concept in Japanese diplomacy. It has been mentioned as a "basic line in the development of the Japanese foreign policy" (Diplomatic Bluebook 2000). Obuchi clarified the concept as "including threats, menacing human survival, livelihood and dignity of humans" and emphasized the efforts for opposing those threats (Commission on Human Security 2003, p. 4). Obuchi Keizō declared the 21st century as a "century of peace and prosperity on the base of the human dignity." UN Trust Fund for Human Security was created in 1999 through which lots of projects in important areas such as food security, treatment of diseases like tuberculosis, malaria and others have been implemented. The concept encompasses good governance and protection of human rights as well as education, health and ensuring life without violence for the individuals (Commission on Human Security). The development of the human security concept asserts the increased role of the non-government organizations as it comes to capacity building for overcoming crises in vulnerable countries. Every military conflict requires a comprehensive approach in which the cease-fire is one of the most important components and this is realized from Japanese side. Hence, it is logical to conclude that Japanese activities are also a consequence of the Japan's quest for a permanent seat in the UNSC. The concept of human security includes "survival, livelihood and ensures dignity" according to the definition of Ogata Sadako.[1]

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[1] The Summit was co-chaired by a Japanese – Mrs. Ogata Sadako (former UN High Commissioner for Refugees and president of JICA.

In addition, it is based on the principle of mutual contribution including institutional development, law enforcement, economic and social development (ODA Charter, Commission on Human Security). The concept of human security emerged as a response to the new security challenges and threats during the period of the Cold War, including interstate conflicts, refugee issues, increasing global poverty and resource shortages. Human security is a challenge for the traditional security concept as it is human-centered, not state-centered.

In 2002 the Commission on Human Security was initiated by the government of Japan as an effort towards Kofi Anan's call after the UN Millennium Summit the same year, pleading for "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" (official website of the CHS).[2] The work of the Commission on Human Security is supported by the government of Japan and UN agencies: UNDP and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The institutions in charge is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MOFA).

International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan Bank for International Development (JBIC) and other ministries, agencies and NGOs share the "results of ODA evaluation" (ODA Review Final Report 2010, p. 14). JBIC is mostly responsible for projects including funding for construction whereas JICA is the agency in charge of the implementation of the development cooperation abroad, "security management in unstable regions" and managing technical assistance (ODA Review Final Report 2010, p. 25). The Japanese JICA approach of helping the most vulnerable groups is "field-based" meaning it communicates with the beneficent through consultations and sending volunteers (Leheny 2010, p. 35). Recognizing the needs for change in development policy, JICA was reconstructed in 2008 as an aid implementing organization operating with three types of schemes. The functions of JICA have increased. The newly established JICA in 2008 is responsible not only for implementing technical cooperation, but also for the implementation of ODA loans which the Japan Bank for International Cooperation was in charge of, and grants who used to be under the implementation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan's ODA White Paper 2010, p. 33).

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2 Official website of the Commission on Human Security (CHS): http://www.humanse-curity-chs.org/about/Establishment.html.

The Interpretation of the Human Security Concept according to the Literature on the Topic

The notion is arguable because it poses the questions whether the basic human needs are the most important element of human security and whether the main focus should be put on human development. Edström (2008) researches how the concept of human security has been perceived as part of the agenda of the Japanese politics and clarifies the theoretical context and the historical background of the new politics, which reaffirms human security as one of the main characteristics of Japanese foreign policy. The author analyzes how the introduction of the concept fits Japanese politics and studies its influence on Japanese politics. The introduction of human security in the external policy of Japan has been viewed as a belated post-Cold War response. Despite the fact that structure of the international order has not been changed it is evident that the international institutions in the postwar period do not fit the contemporary political and economic realities (Edström 2008, pp. 1–2). The initial idea behind the concept was that it should remain in the framework of the government agencies. With its introduction, the intention of Obuchi Keizō was to increase the influence of the civil society and to increase Japanese participation in the NGOs. UN support for the concept of human security was also evident from the statements of Secretary-General Kofi Annan. During a visit in Tokyo in 2004, he underlined the role field of human security had played in transforming Japan into an important actor at the international scene. The recognition of the Japanese role is clear from the statement: "The world would not achieve the Millennium development goals without the Japanese technological progress and focus on human security" (cited by Edström 2008, p. 268). According to Atanassova-Kornelis (2005) the Japanese definition of human security and its practical application are result of the historical development and the Japanese role after WWII. According to the author, human security should focus on diverse geographical realities and political preferences. On one hand, traditionalists consider that human security should focus on the perspectives of military threats and preservation of territorial integrity emphasizing the significant role of the army in the national security of the sovereign states. What is more, the so-called non-traditionalists put under doubt this concept, including economic, social threats and threats for the environment

and leave the military challenges on the backside plan. Their concept focuses upon the survival of the individual in a larger degree than the state survival. Those academic perceptions define the existence of different perspectives such as inclusions of non-military threats and focus upon the security of individuals, groups and societies. The Japanese model focuses on the aspect "freedom from want," meaning that Japan concentrates on activities aiming at the reduction of poverty. There are many criticisms that the human security concept does not offer practical means for policies and does not give practical means for its research. According to Umegaki (2009) people have not been viewed as part of the state in the framework of "human security." The author further asserts: "There are people with higher income or lower income with a better access or without an access to public services as hospitals and sanitary services." Even in one group people are different – their education, their health, their capacities and others. The individuals are not viewed as passive recipients of policies but as "the best agents in keeping their own life." The author emphasizes that through human security people are not fully dependent on policies but rely on their individual or common efforts to be organized so that the policies could be in their favor (Umegaki 2009, p. 6).

The Changing Face of Global Conflicts

The tendency of the global face of conflicts is being observed as a central highlight of the Japanese diplomatic books and strategic documents in 21st century. In accordance with those tendencies the peacekeeping operations are not only authorized with traditional mandates such as cease-fire and withdrawal of military forces, but also as part of activities in other fields such as election observation, sending civil police, implementation, coordination and support of humanitarian activities such as the return of refugees and administrative duties. During a summit that took place in 2001, Japan emphasized the importance of such issues as the need to overcome conflicts and poverty and again reclaimed the Japanese position that the UN reform and the reinforcement of its functions are an irreplaceable part to ensure its effective reaction of the organization in similar situations. It is expected that the peacekeeping operations will keep on implementing an important role in peacekeeping and security while developing capacities in post-conflict reconstruction.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Kōmura Masahiko emphasized the fact that the UN Security Council as the main body responsible for international peace and security should be reinforced. Those highlights have also been reflected in the report of Secretary-General Kofi Annan who organized a panel for review of all activities related to peace, including peacekeeping operations, conflict prevention and peacekeeping activities in March 2000. The panel officially known as the Panel for PKOs was organized by Lakdar Brahimi.[3] The same year a report consisting of suggestions for comprehensive large-scale reforms was delivered. The report emphasizes the fact that mandates have diversified and the operations are peace building related including the establishment of democratic systems and renewed infrastructure. There were recommendations made regarding activities that should be made by specialized agencies and NGOs for effective conflict prevention and peace building.

Japan is a member of a leading group of countries working on those issues and is committed to work in the field of improving working methods of the organization and the effective use of the limited UN resources. A conclusion has been reached that the missions of the peacekeeping operations should be clear and achievable. There is a need for the improvement of the capacity for dispatching personnel, making reserve lists of military personnel, civilian experts and executive personnel. As mentioned above, Japan demonstrates expertise and activity in the organizational issues (Diplomatic Bluebook 2001).

In the beginning of the 21st century there were commitments for the application of the comprehensive management of conflicts (Diplomatic Bluebook 2002). This approach is implemented by the active role of Japan in international organizations, including the UN, G8, NGOs, companies and individuals and includes establishing and addressing the main causes for potential conflicts, the prevention of their escalation and their fast mitigation in the case of re-emergence of the conflict through social stability after cease-fire agreements.

According to all reviewed documents during the period there is an emphasis on the role of global cooperation. The commitments of the international community are based on the idea that conflict prevention methods should include coordination between the participating bodies, on the basis of their strong aspects and advantages. In this sense, especially after the terrorist attacks in the US, the focus of public attention is on the refuges

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[3] Ex-minister of foreign affairs of Algeria.

and their influence on global stability and prosperity. The importance for Japan to pursue positive contribution to the international community is well considered due to several factors. Japan is dependent on the stability and the prosperity of the international community in the name of its national security and resources. An example of a practical application of conflict prevention is the dispatch of a mission for post-conflict resolution in Sierra Leone with the purpose to develop a mutual project with the UK.

Measures against Terrorism

After September 11, 2001, the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law has been adopted allowing logistical support for US and ISAF in Afghanistan. It includes provisions for the support of American military and other forces, Japanese participation in peacekeeping operations contingents sent to East Timor and unfreezing the ban for the participation in peacekeeping operations (Diplomatic Bluebook 2002). A new initiative, launched by Japan is the so-called "Consolidation of Peace" initiative based on three pillars: keeping of peaceful process, local stability and security and humanitarian help and reconstruction help. UN Peacebuilding Commission as a mechanism for advice and suggestions for integrated strategies and building of post-reconstruction efforts was established in 2005. The creation of the commission is in accord with the concept of "consolidation of peace" and "human security" supported by Japan. The UN is directly connected to peace and security through the peacekeeping operation.

Mechanism for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-combatants (DDR)

The Mechanism for DDR is an important part of the conflict prevention methods and could be considered as a possible application of the human security concept. The DDR program was initiated on the provincial elections in 2003 as a method for preventing individuals from keeping in touch with illegal military groups, which were candidates for the elections. According to the study of Ishizuka (2007) 34 candidates have been disqualified from participation at the election and 4857 weapons have been confiscated (Ishizuka 2007, pp. 6–7). A conference on the topic was held for the first time in Stockholm in 2004. As an example of the concrete bilateral efforts Japan is cooperating with the US for help in DDR in

Sierra Leone through the expansion of the grants for conflict prevention and peace building. Reintegration of 50,000 soldiers has been implemented there with the help of UN mission (UNASMIL). Despite the financial contribution for the UN, the number of the Japanese personnel in the organization is less than the desired number. The number of the Japanese personnel could be increased through a special professional system for dispatching volunteers (Diplomatic Bluebook 2004). Notwithstanding the mentioned efforts, the Japanese contribution in Afghanistan, for example, includes aid to the National Afghan Police, training on basic literacy and ensuring decent salaries.

Conclusion

As evaluated above, Japan's role in the UN and Japanese peacekeeping activities could not be implemented with traditional security methods such as the use of force and dispatch of military troops. Japan is driven by pragmatic interests in disbursing financial aid and tackling issues of poverty, but its financial contribution and human potential involved in UN activities and its broad scope of activities is undeniable.

The above discussion upon the meaning of the non-traditional security methods revealed not only the concrete activities of the Japanese government and agencies to implement the mechanism of conflict prevention and human security, but also discussed some of the motives behind those activities. Japan chose its specialization in activities not involving use of force. Some of the criticisms are directed to the concept of human security. Scholars interpret it as a vague concept, which is only implemented through development policy. Another criticism is that the practical application of the concept has the aim to empower NGOs to act but lack actual coverage. Last but not least, it should be noted that most of the abovementioned peace building efforts have been implemented through UN mechanisms and UN centrism in Japanese external policy remains as one of its main external policy directions. Despite the obstacles, Japan is committed to continue its efforts as a global leader and to contribute to the UN activities despite the results of the UN Security Council Reform.

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