Japan's Foreign Policy in Major Diplomatic Fields

# A Efforts Aimed at Peace and Stability in the International Community

### Overview

Peace and stability in the international community are essential to the peace and prosperity of Japan and the Japanese people. For the international community, 2004 was again a year of efforts in response to such threats as regional conflicts emanating from complex factors, international terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). As the international community, which is still fraught with uncertain and unstable factors, searches for a new order for the 21st century, Japan has been endeavoring to build a desirable order through two foreign policy principles: the alliance with the United States (US) and cooperation with the international community. These efforts will be advanced by a security policy based on three main pillars: (1) firmly maintaining the Japan-US Security Arrangements; (2) building up Japan's defense capability on an appropriate scale; and (3) pursuing diplomatic efforts to ensure peace and security in the international environment surrounding Japan.

With regard to the Japan-US Security Arrangements, it is necessary for Japan to uphold its security under the forward deployment of the US forces by firmly maintaining the Japan-US Security Treaty. Japan intends to solidify further its alliance with the US.

Under the Constitution, Japan has moderately built up its defense capability in accordance with the fundamental principles that this capability be exclusively defense-oriented and that Japan must not become a military power with the potential to threaten other countries. In December 2004 the government formulated the new National Defense Program Guidelines<sup>1</sup> and the Mid-Term Defense Program (fiscal 2005–2009).<sup>2</sup> As for the development of a legal system for a national emergency, which is the government's most important responsibility, seven bills of emergency legislation and three agreements were approved by the Diet in June 2004, in addition to the three laws concerning responses to armed attacks enacted in 2003.

Japan has also been engaged in ceaseless diplomatic efforts at various levels to ensure the stability of the surrounding international environment, as well as the security and prosperity of Japan. Specifically, Japan has endeavored to maintain and reinforce the Japan-US alliance, the linchpin of Japan's diplomacy; to cooperate with the international community, including the United Nations (UN); and to promote sound relationships with Asian countries and other neighboring countries. Japan intends to continue to play an active role in various fields, including bilateral and multilateral cooperation to ensure regional stability; fostering of trust with various countries and regions through political and security dialogue and cooperation; strengthening of arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation regimes; efforts to address regional conflicts by means of conflict prevention and participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO); enhancement of regional stability through assistance and cooperation in the economic development of countries in the region; and efforts to prevent and eradicate international terrorism.

1

# Japan-US Security Arrangements

# (a) Overview

Even after the end of the Cold War, uncertain and unstable factors such as regional conflicts due to complex and diverse causes and the proliferation of WMD and missiles, still persist in the Asia-Pacific region. In this environment, the Japan-US Security Arrangements based on the Japan-US Security Treaty have been functioning effectively as a basic framework to ensure peace, stability, and prosperity not only in the Far East, including Japan, but also in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. Japan must maintain its security under the deterrence provided by the Japan-US Security Treaty and the forward deployment of US forces, since not all the situations that might threaten Japan's national security can be managed solely by Japan's own defense capabilities.

<sup>1.</sup> The new National Defense Program Guidelines were approved by the Cabinet as new guidelines for shaping Japan's future security and defense in light of the new threats and diverse situations presented by today's security environment, including the proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles, international terrorism, and various other situations that affect peace and security.

<sup>2.</sup> This program defines the level of defense capability that Japan needs to achieve under the new National Defense Program Guidelines. The Mid-Term Defense Program adopted in December 2000 (covering fiscal 2001–2005) was abolished in fiscal 2004.

Name	Cubicat	Members and participants			
Name	Subject	Japan	US		
Japan-US Security Consultative Committee (SCC) (2+2 Meeting)	Consultations on issues that promote understanding between the governments of Japan and the US and contribute to the strengthening of cooperative relations on security issues, thereby serving as a foundation for security.	Minister for Foreign Affairs Minister of State for Defense Others	Secretary of State Secretary of Defense (Before December 26, 1990, US Ambassador to Japan, Commander in Chief of the Pacific Command)		
Japan-US Security Subcommittee (SSC)	Exchange of views on security issues in which both Japan and the US have interest.	(Not strictly established, br Director-General, North American Affairs Bureau, MOFA Director-General, Bureau of Defense Policy, Defense Agency Others	It in recent years) Assistant Secretary of State Assistant Secretary of Defense Others		
Japan-US Joint Committee	Consultation between the governments of Japan and the US on every issue requiring consultation between the two countries concerning the implementation of the Japan- US Status of Forces Agreement.	Director-General, North American Affairs Bureau, MOFA Director General, Defense Facilities Administration Agency Others	Minister-Counselor, US Embassy in Japan Deputy Commander, US Forces Japan		

From this perspective, Japan must continue its unremitting efforts to further enhance the credibility of the Japan-US Security Arrangements. As part of these efforts, in order to ensure the effectiveness of the new Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation,<sup>3</sup> Japan has been continuing with bilateral defense planning in case of an armed attack against Japan and mutual cooperation planning in situations in areas surrounding Japan, with reference to the National Emergency Legislation that was enacted in June 2004.

# (b) Review of Global Military Posture of the US

The end of the Cold War removed the threat the former Soviet Union posed to West-bloc countries, including the US and Japan. However, new threats are emerging, such as international terrorism and the proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles. These new threats are asymmetrical, defy deterrence, and are more unpredictable. To be able to respond to these issues surrounding the new security environment, the US undertook a major review of its defense capabilities and posture worldwide, using technological advances with the aim of achieving greater mobility and flexibility of US forces. In doing so, the US has been consulting closely with Japan and other allies and friends. At the Japan-US Security Consultative Committee (SCC, 2+2) held in Washington in December 2002 (see table, "Japan-US Consultations on Security Issues"), Japan and the US decided to strengthen their consultations concerning bilateral security matters, including a review of their bilateral defense posture in the new security environment. Since then, close working-level consultations have been underway between the two countries. In July 2004, then Minister for Foreign Affairs Kawaguchi Yoriko visited the US for talks with Secretary of State Colin Powell. Furthermore, in October of the same year, Minister for Foreign Affairs Machimura Nobutaka visited the US for talks with Secretary of State Powell and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. Both sides confirmed that they would continue the close consultations on the realignment of US forces in Japan. Japan and the US also held in-depth, summit-level consultations at the UN General Assembly in September 2004 and the APEC meeting in November. Through these consultations, Japan and the US have confirmed their intention to maintain the deterrence of the US forces in Japan, while working to reduce the burden on local communities, such as Okinawa.

3. The guidelines define basic frameworks and directions for Japan-US cooperation toward the smooth and effective operation of the Japan-US Security Arrangements. Unlike treaties and agreements, however, they are, by nature, not legally binding.

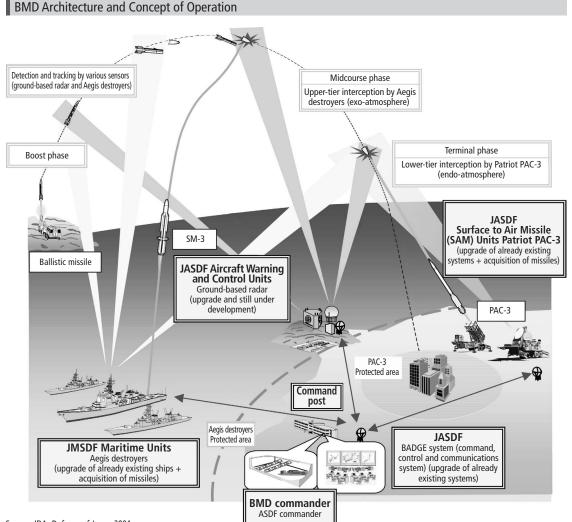
# (c) Missile Defense

Ballistic missile defense (BMD) is a purely defensive system intended to protect the lives and property of the people of Japan from ballistic missile attacks and for which there is no alternative. The government decided to develop a BMD system in December 2003, having concluded that such a system is appropriate under Japan's exclusively defense-oriented policy.

In December 2004 the governments of both Japan and the US exchanged notes concerning BMD cooperation. Based on this agreement, Japan and the US are now fostering cooperation, including information sharing and joint research. Also in December 2004, Chief Cabinet Secretary Hosoda Hiroyuki made the following statement in relation to arms exports: "If Japan decides that it will engage in joint development and production of ballistic missile defense systems with the United States, however, the Three Principles will not be applied, under the condition that strict control is maintained, because such systems and related activities will contribute to the effective operation of the Japan-US Security Arrangements and are conducive to the security of Japan." This means that the way is now clear for Japan and the US to cooperate on BMD development and production, and Japan-US cooperation in this area is expected to deepen.

# (d) Issues Concerning US Forces Stationed in Japan

To ensure the smooth and effective operation of the Japan-US Security Arrangements, it is important to reduce the burden on the residents living in the vicinity of US facilities and in areas affected by the US forces' activities in Japan, and to gain the understanding and sup-



Source: JDA, Defense of Japan 2004

port of those residents concerning the presence of the US forces. In particular, the importance of reducing the burden on the people of Okinawa, where around 75% of US facilities and areas in Japan are located, has been confirmed at successive fora, including Japan-US summit meetings and meetings between foreign ministers. The Japanese government has been working on the steady implementation of the Final Report of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO),<sup>4</sup> drawn up in December 1996, and it intends to continue efforts to reduce the burden on the people of Okinawa.

With regard to the relocation and return of Futenma Air Station, the Japanese government has been working on the basis of a cabinet decision<sup>5</sup> adopted at the end of 1999. In 2004 an environmental impact assessment report was published and studied,<sup>6</sup> and local technical studies, such as boring surveys,<sup>7</sup> have begun.

On August 13, 2004, a US Marines CH-53D helicopter crashed in the city of Ginowan, Okinawa. Following this accident, agencies of the government of Japan cooperated closely to examine the causes and prevent future recurrences and to take action on various issues identified in relation to the response of the Japanese and US authorities to the accident. Japan participated in the work of the Unusual Occurrence Subcommittee of the Japan-US Joint Committee concerning the examination of the cause of the accident and the prevention of recurrences. On October 5, 2004, the US authorities submitted an accident investigation report indicating that the crash was caused by a maintenance error. Concerning actions taken by the Japanese and US authorities at accident sites, the Ad-Hoc Subcommittee on Accident Site Cooperation was established under the Japan-US Joint Committee. This group continues to consult on appropriate measures to conduct joint control and investigation of accident sites.

Another aspect of efforts to reduce the burden on residents in areas around US facilities and areas is the improvement of the implementation of the Japan-US Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA). The government has been taking specific initiatives in this area, based on its awareness of the importance of achieving results visible to the people of Japan. Japan and the US began negotiations in June 2003 concerning criminal jurisdiction procedures under SOFA. In April 2004 these negotiations culminated in an agreement by the Japan-US Joint Committee concerning such matters as the strengthening of Japan-US criminal investigative cooperation. Agreement was reached on the presence of US command representatives during the interrogation of suspects by the Japanese authorities under certain circumstances.8 Regarding environmental issues related to US facilities and areas, in line with the policy of the US Department of Defense announced in August 2002,<sup>9</sup> all the used polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB)-contained materials that were removed from service were shipped to the US in April 2004, following an earlier shipment in August 2003.

There has also been steady progress on the realignment and return of US facilities and areas other than those included in the SACO report. Since February 2003, Japan and the US have been consulting on realignment of facilities and areas in Kanagawa Prefecture. In September 2004 Japan and the US reached agreement on the construction of housing at the Ikego Housing Area and Navy Annex (in the city of Yokohama) and a plan to return six facilities and areas within Yokohama to Japan.

During 2004 the US forces in Japan were active in a range of disaster relief and humanitarian situations. After the earthquake that struck Niigata Prefecture in October 2004, US military transport aircraft stationed in Japan carried 10,000 plastic sheets supplied by the US

4. This report contains policies formulated by the governments of Japan and the US to reduce the burden on the people of Okinawa resulting from the concentration of US facilities and areas through the realignment, consolidation, and reduction of US facilities and areas in the region and through the adjustment of US military operations. It was approved by the Japan-US Joint Committee on December 2, 1996.

5. This cabinet decision, which was adopted on December 28, 1999, defines government policy on matters relating to the relocation and return of Futenma Air Station, such as security and environmental impact assessments, and basic planning for the construction of replacement facilities, including the selection of the coastal area of Henoko, Nago City, within the Camp Schwab Water area, as the construction site for the replacement facilities.

9. This policy provides for the shipment to the US of all materials that contain PCB in US facilities and areas in Japan.

<sup>6.</sup> This is one of the procedures stipulated in the Environmental Impact Assessment Law for the conduct of environmental impact assessments. The view of the public was sought concerning the environmental impact assessment methodology prepared by the project principal (the Defense Facilities Administration Agency).

<sup>7.</sup> The purpose of these surveys is to gather data concerning the topography, meteorological and oceanographic conditions, and geology for a study of coastal protection structures for the replacement facilities. Boring surveys are used to collect data concerning the strength and other characteristics of the ground through the use of boring equipment to collect soil samples and other materials.

<sup>8.</sup> In cases where the right to exercise jurisdiction is concurrent according to the Japan-US Status of Forces Agreement, the presence of a US command representative will be permitted, upon request, at interrogations of an accused to enable the military authorities of the US to carry out swiftly their investigation, in the following cases: (1) when the authorities of Japan recognize the possibility of Japan requesting the transfer of custody of the accused prior to indictment in accordance with the 1995 Joint Committee Agreement or (2) when custody of the accused has been transferred to Japan prior to indictment in accordance with the 1995 Joint Committee Agreement.

# Improving the Operation of Criminal Trial Procedures under SOFA

If a US service member or a US civilian working for the US military is taken into custody by Japanese police authorities after committing a crime while off-duty, the Japanese authorities are able to keep this person in custody. This is the same when the accused is an ordinary Japanese citizen. However, the Japan-US Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) stipulates that when the accused is taken into custody by the US authorities, he or she will remain in US custody until indictment by the Japanese authorities.

Under this mechanism, the accused taken into custody by the home country (the US) remains in the custody of the home country until indictment by the host country (Japan). Since the same mechanism operates under the NATO Status of Forces Agreement adopted by members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the provisions of the Japan-US SOFA do not place Japan at a disadvantage as a host country. Furthermore, the US authorities cooperate fully in investigations conducted by the Japanese police authorities while the accused is in US custody. Under the SOFA concluded between the US and the Republic of Korea (ROK), the accused is handed over to the ROK authorities at the time of indictment only in cases in-

military in Japan. The aircraft also transported relief supplies from Yokota Air Base to Niigata Airport. These materials were provided by the Tokyo metropolitan government and five cities and one town around Yokota Air Base. In December 2004 the US military in Japan were involved in the transportation of humanitarian revolving 12 serious criminal offenses. In other cases, the accused is not handed over until after charges have been laid and a verdict has been confirmed.

Following a 1995 incident in which a schoolgirl was raped in Okinawa, Japan and the US worked out a mechanism whereby the Japanese authorities could request the US authorities to transfer custody of the accused prior to indictment for specified heinous crimes, such as murder and rape. Transfers of custody have been made prior to indictment on three occasions under this agreement (the Japan-US Joint Committee Agreement on Criminal Procedures). The Japan-US agreement is the only SOFA under which the transfer of custody is made prior to indictment on repeated occasions based on a mechanism that allows the host country to request the transfer of custody prior to indictment. In this sense, the Japan-US SOFA is more favorable to the host country than other agreements. There have been other initiatives designed to improve the operation of the agreement between Japan and the US. For example, on April 2, 2004, the Japan-US Joint Committee formulated an agreement concerning the strengthening of Japan-US criminal investigative cooperation. (See the main text for details.)

lief supplies at the request of the Philippine government. The supplies were delivered to areas that had suffered major damage as a result of typhoons and other events.<sup>10</sup> Service members of the US forces in Japan were dispatched to carry out relief activities in areas affected by the Sumatra earthquake and the Indian Ocean tsunami.

# 2

### **Emergency Legislation**

Ensuring the safety of the country and its people is fundamental to a country's existence, and the development of a legal system for this purpose had been a longstanding challenge for the government of Japan in the field of national security. In June 2003 the Three Laws regarding the Response to Armed Attacks were enacted with a broad consensus of both the ruling and opposition parties. The passage of this legislation established a foundation for systems which allow the government to fulfill

10. Over 1,500 people died or were missing after this typhoon.

its most important responsibility of responding to emergency situations. In addition to the Law Concerning the Measures for the Protection of the People in the Event of Armed Attacks, this accelerated the efforts to develop legislation in specific areas, such as the measures to be implemented by Japan in response to actions taken by the US military under the Japan-US Security Treaty in the event of armed attacks, the treatment of prisoners and others in the event of armed attacks, and the pun-

#### Legislation on the Response to Armed Attacks

#### Law regarding the Response to Armed Attacks

- I. General provisions
- II. Procedures, etc., for the response to armed attacks, etc.
- III. Establishment of legislation on the response to armed attacks, etc.1. Basic policy concerning the establishment of emergency legislation
  - Ensuring the appropriate implementation of international humanitarian law 2. Establishment of emergency legislation
  - A. Measures to protect the lives, etc., of the people and minimize the impact on their daily activities, etc.
  - B. Measures to ensure smooth and effective actions by the SDF —
  - C. Measures to ensure smooth and effective actions by US forces
  - Systematic development of emergency legislation
     Headquarters for Establishment of Legislation Regarding the Protection of the People
- IV. Other emergency measures

# Amendment of the Law on the Establishment of the Security Council of Japan

• Clarification and strengthening of the role of the Security Council of Japan in relation to emergency responses

#### Amendment of Self-Defense Forces Law

 The amended law facilitates the activities of the SDF by establishing rules concerning the actions and authority of the SDF, such as the construction of defense facilities in expected deployment areas, and by defining special measures, such as exemptions from related laws.

Laws enacted in the 156th session of the Diet

Laws enacted and agreements approved in the 159th session of the Diet

ishments for serious violations of international humanitarian law, leading to the enactment of seven laws concerning emergencies on June 14, 2004. Moreover, on the same day, the National Diet gave its approval for the conclusion of three agreements, based on preparatory work carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in close cooperation with other ministries and agencies. These agreements are (1) an agreement to amend the Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA), which defines the framework for the mutual provision of goods and services between the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the US Armed Forces, so that it can also be applied in the case of armed attacks, and (2) Additional Protocol I and (3) Additional Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions. The agreement to amend the ACSA was concluded on June 29 and came into force on July 29. Japan ratified the above-mentioned two protocols on



Law Concerning the Use of Specified Public

Facilities, etc., in the Event of Armed Attacks, etc.

August 31, and they came into force in relation to Japan on February 28, 2005.

The following three points concerning the legislation on the response to armed attacks are particularly important from the perspective of foreign policy:

- (1) Enhancing the credibility of the Japan-US Security Arrangements and further bolstering Japan's security;
- (2) Boosting international credibility by observing international humanitarian law, and thereby contributing to the reinforcement of the international order;
- (3) Having the effect of improving external transparency in the response taken by the Japanese government in the event of armed attacks.

In order to ensure domestic peace and stability, it is extremely important for the government to work on ensuring the peace and stability of the world based on the principles of pacifism and international coordination as well as to make every possible preparation for responding to national emergency situations. From this point of view, the government will continue its efforts toward building a nation where people can lead peaceful lives.

3

#### **Counter-terrorism Measures**

# (a) Overview

Since the terrorist attacks in the United States (US) on September 11, 2001, the international community has given top priority to measures against terrorism perpetrated by transnationally active Islamic extremist groups, such as Al-Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah. Immediately after the September 11 attacks, prime ministers and foreign ministers issued declarations and statements concerning terrorism at the multilateral level, through the United Nations (UN) and the G8 (Group of Eight), in regional fora such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and also at the bilateral level. This has led to the formation of political will concerning the urgency and importance of counter-terrorism. One tangible effect has been the accelerated ratification of 12 international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols.11 In October 2001, immediately after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the US and other countries took military action; this included the destruction of terrorist training camps in Afghanistan that had served as a base for Al-Qaeda, the organization responsible for the September 11 attacks in the US. Measures were also taken to disrupt information and financing routes. Since then there have also been continuing efforts to detect and detain Al-Qaeda members throughout the world. To date, over three-quarters of the organization's leaders are believed to have been killed or detained. There have also been measures to prevent the financing of terrorism, as well as initiatives to prevent the proliferation of weapons

In addition, as other countries have been interested in the legislation on the response to armed attacks, the government has explained to them its basic concept and overview. Japan will continue to do so whenever necessary.

of mass destruction (WMD) to terrorists; these include Security Council resolutions and the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI).<sup>12</sup> In addition, developing countries that lack the capacity to combat terrorism are receiving capacity-building assistance. Through these efforts, the international community has been advancing international coordination across a wide range of areas, and has steadily produced results in the fight against terrorism.

However, terrorist incidents have continued to occur frequently in many countries. Incidents in 2004 included the Moscow subway bombing in Russia (February 6), the Madrid train bombing in Spain (March 11), terrorist attacks on foreign residential compounds in Al Khobar, Saudi Arabia (May 29), a series of hotel bomb attacks in Istanbul, Turkey (August 10), Russian plane crashes caused by explosives (August 24), the North Ossetia school siege in Russia (early September), a terrorist bombing in front of the Australian embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia (September 9), and a terrorist attack on the US consulate-general in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia (December 6). Terrorist incidents have continued in 2005, including a series of bombings in Manila and other locations in the Philippines (February 14). Above all, the threat of international terrorism remains serious in such regions as Southeast Asia, where there are many Japanese businesses, travelers, and residents and that have close and wide-ranging political, economic, and social links with Japan. Moreover, there have been references to Japan in calls by Usama bin Laden and other senior Al-Qaeda figures to take part in "Jihad" (holy war).

<sup>11.</sup> The 12 conventions on counter-terrorism are the Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft (the Tokyo Convention); the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (the Montreal Convention); the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents; the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages; the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material; the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, done at Montreal on 23 September 1971; the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation; the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Acts against the Safety of Diversion of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, done at Montreal on 23 September 1971; the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation; the Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Terrorist Bombings; and the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings; and the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism on October 30, 2001, and deposited the instrument of acceptance on June 11, 2002, following its approval in an ordinary session of the Diet. As a result, Japan is now a signatory to all 12 counter-terrorism conventions. 12. The Proliferation Security Initiative is a security concept relating to proliferation. See the section headed "Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation" in Chapter 3, Section A, Part 7.

#### Major Terrorist Incidents in 2004 (except Iraq)

2004	
<ul> <li>February 6</li> </ul>	Subway bombing in Moscow, Russia
<summary></summary>	A bomb explodes on a subway train in Moscow, killing at least 40 people and injuring about 130.
<ul> <li>March 11</li> </ul>	Terrorist bombings of trains in Madrid, Spain
<summary></summary>	Terrorists simultaneously explode bombs on four trains in the Spanish capital, Madrid, killing 173 people and injuring over 600.
• May 29	Terrorist attacks on foreign residential compounds in the city of Al Khobar in eastern Saudi Arabia
<summary></summary>	Armed groups carry out terrorist attacks on three foreign residential compounds in the city of Al Khobar in eastern Saudi Arabia. The attacks kill 22 people, including US and UK nationals, and injure 25. Japanese residents in the compounds are also caught up in the incidents.
<ul> <li>July 30</li> </ul>	Simultaneous suicide bomb attacks on the US and Israeli embassies and the state prosecutor's office in Tashkent, Uzbekistan
<summary></summary>	Simultaneous suicide bomb attacks on the US and Israeli embassies and the state prosecutor general's office in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, kill two people and injure seven.
<ul> <li>August 10</li> </ul>	Terrorist bombings of two hotels in Istanbul, Turkey
<summary></summary>	Two people, an Iranian and a Turk, are killed, and 11 people, including four Spanish nationals, are injured in terrorist bomb attacks on two small hotels in Istanbul, Turkey.
<ul> <li>August 24</li> </ul>	Terrorist bombings of two planes in Russia
<summary></summary>	Terrorist bombs cause two passenger planes to crash in the Tula region south of Moscow and the southern region of Rostov, killing all 90 passengers and crew.
<ul> <li>September 1</li> </ul>	Terrorist bombing of subway train in Russia
<summary></summary>	A suicide bomb attack near the Rizhskaya subway station in Moscow kills 10 people and injures 51.
<ul> <li>Early September</li> </ul>	
<summary></summary>	Terrorists seize a school in Beslan in the Republic of North Ossetia. Subsequent events, including the storming of the school by security forces, result in 335 deaths and 435 people injured.
September 9	Terrorist bombing in front of the Australian embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia
<summary></summary>	A car bomb explodes in front of the Australian embassy in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, killing at least 7 people and injuring 99.
<ul> <li>October 7</li> </ul>	Multiple terrorist bomb attacks on the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt
<summary></summary>	Bombs explode at the Hilton Hotel in Taba and at two other locations, in Taba and near Nuweiba, on the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt. A total of 34 people, including 11 Israelis, are killed, and 106 people are injured.
December 6	Terrorist attack on the US consulate-general in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia
<summary></summary>	An armed group attacks the US consulate-general in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Eight people, including three members of the armed group, are killed, and six people are injured.
2005	
February 14	Series of terrorist bombings in Manila and on Mindanao Island in the Philippines
<summary></summary>	A series of terrorist bombings at three locations in the Philippine capital, Manila, and in cities on Mindanao Island kills 10 people and injures 136.
February 17	Terrorist bombing in southern Thailand
<summary></summary>	A car bomb explosion in southern Thailand kills 6 people and injures 44.
March 19	Terrorist bombing in Doha, Qatar
<summary></summary>	A car bomb explosion in Doha, Qatar, kills 1 UK national and injures 12 people.

These have been carried by various media, including satellite broadcast stations in the Middle East.<sup>13</sup>

International terrorists take full advantage of the characteristics of modern society, including advanced Information and Communications Technology (ICT) and international transportation networks. They establish networks across national borders and use them to procure funds, arms, and other resources. They also work to expand their influence through the Internet and other means.

13. For example, on May 6, 2004, an audio-tape message apparently recorded by Usama bin Laden was placed on an Islamic website. The message called for the assassination of various foreign nationals. "We will offer rewards of (1) 10 kilograms of gold to anyone who kills the occupier Paul Bremer (head of the Coalition Provisional Authority), military commanders stationed in Iraq, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the heads of UN organizations, or representatives, such as special envoy Ladkhar Brahimi, (2) 1 kilogram of gold to anyone who kills a citizen of countries with (UN Security Council) veto rights, such as the US or the United Kingdom (UK), and (3) 500 grams of gold to anyone who kills a citizen of a foreign country that is in Iraq as a slave of the UN Security Council, such as Japan or Italy."

#### Major Terrorist Incidents in Iraq

2004	
January 18	Terrorist bombing in front of Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) headquarters, Baghdad
<summary></summary>	A car bomb explosion near the CPA headquarters in Baghdad kills 24 people and injures about 120.
<ul> <li>February 1</li> </ul>	Terrorist bombings in Irbil
<summary></summary>	Bombs explode almost simultaneously at the offices of the two main Kurdish parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), in Irbil, in the Kurdish Autonomous Region of northern Iraq. Approximately 70 people are killed and about 270 injured.
February 10	Terrorist bombing in Iskandariya
<pre><summary></summary></pre>	A bomb explosion near a police station in Iskandariya kills at least 60 people and injures 70.
February 11	Terrorist bombing in front of army recruitment center in Baghdad
<summary></summary>	A bomb explodes in front of a recruitment center for the new Iraqi army, killing about 50 people and injuring more than 50.
March 2	Series of terrorist bombings in Baghdad and Karbala
<summary></summary>	A series of explosions occurs in Karbala and Baghdad during the Shiite festival of Ashura (a commemoration of the martyrdom of Hussein, the third Imam), killing over 170 people and injuring more than 390.
March 17	Terrorist bombing of hotel in central Baghdad
<summary></summary>	A car bomb explodes at a hotel in central Baghdad, killing 29 people and injuring 45, including two UK nationals.
April 21	Series of terrorist bombings in and near Basra
<summary></summary>	Attacks on three police stations in Basra and a police school near Basra kill 68 people and injure over 100.
• June 17	Terrorist bombing of new Iraqi army recruitment center in Baghdad
<summary></summary>	A car bomb explosion at the entrance of the new Iraqi army's recruitment center in Baghdad kills 35 people and injures 138.
• June 26	Terrorist bombings near a mosque in Hilla
<summary></summary>	Two car bombs explode near the former Saddam Mosque in Hilla, killing 40 people and injuring 22.
<ul> <li>July 29</li> </ul>	Suicide bombing in front of a police station in Baqouba
<summary></summary>	A suicide bomber detonates a car bomb in front of a building used by the emergency response unit of the Baqouba police. The explosion kills 68 people and injures 56.
September 14	Terrorist bombing near a police station in Baghdad
<summary></summary>	A car bomb explodes near a police station on Haifa Street, Baghdad, killing 47 people and injuring 114.
<ul> <li>September 30</li> </ul>	Series of terrorist bombings in Al-Amel district, western Baghdad
<summary></summary>	Two car bombs and a roadside bomb explode in the Al-Amel district of western Baghdad, killing 37 people and injuring 137.
November 6	Series of terrorist bombings in Samarra
<summary></summary>	Four car bomb explosions in Samarra kill 33 people and injure more than 50.
<ul> <li>December 19</li> </ul>	Terrorist bombings in Najaf and Karbala
<summary></summary>	A series of suicide car bombings in the Shiite holy cities of Najaf and Karbala kills 66 people and injures 202.
2005	
February 19	
<summary></summary>	Four terrorist bomb attacks in Baghdad, including a suicide bombing, kill 29 people and injure about 40.
February 28	
<summary></summary>	A suicide car bomb attack on a clinic in the central Iraqi town of Hilla kills about 130 people and injures 124.
• March 11	
<summary></summary>	A suicide bombing at a Shiite mosque in Mosul, northern Iraq, kills about 30 people and injures 25.

For these reasons, it is important that the international community maintains a united and resolute stance against terrorism. Priorities include measures to deny terrorists bases for their operations, to prevent them from obtaining funds, arms, and other resources to carry out terrorist activities, and to eliminate weaknesses that could allow terrorists to target facilities and institutions. It is also important to support developing countries, which lack counter-terrorism capacity.

Specifically, it will be necessary to continue and strengthen initiatives that are already in progress in a wide range of fields. These include the reinforcement of the international legal framework to ensure that terrorists are severely punished, the reinforcement of transportation security systems and countermeasures against the financing of terrorism, the development of stronger immigration controls, and the prevention of WMD proliferation.

Terrorism is not merely a problem affecting the security of states and their citizens. It also makes an impact on the economic activities of ordinary people through its effect on investment, tourism, trade, and other areas. Terrorism should be recognized as a challenge to the lives and activities of individual citizens, and cooperation is required in its prevention. Japan takes the position that terrorism cannot be justified for any reason and absolutely cannot be tolerated. It regards terrorism as an issue affecting its own security and will continue to strengthen its counter-terrorism measures in cooperation with the international community.

#### (b) Progress of Efforts by the International Community

Throughout 2004, the international community has developed closer multilateral, regional, and bilateral cooperation and strengthened international counter-terrorism measures.

At the multilateral level, the G8 Summit in Sea Island, US (June 8–10), adopted "the G8 Secure and Facilitated International Travel Initiative (SAFTI)"<sup>14</sup> and agreed to strengthen counter-terrorism measures relating to transportation safety and other areas. The initiative calls for document interoperability through international standards, international information exchange, Man-Portable Air Defense Systems (MANPADS) threat reduction, and capacity-building and collaboration. The goal is to complete 28 projects by the end of 2005.

Counter-terrorism efforts under the UN framework include activities by the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), which was established under UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (adopted September 28, 2001). Countermeasures have been further strengthened under new initiatives, including UN Security Council Resolutions 1535 (adopted March 26, 2004) and 1566 (adopted October 8, 2004).<sup>15</sup> In the area of measures against the financing of terrorism, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF)<sup>16</sup> has been playing a steady role based on its knowledge and experience of measures against money laundering. It has produced the Forty Recommendations on Money Laundering and the Eight Special Recommendations on Terrorist Financing. It is also monitoring and promoting the implementation of these recommendations by member states. In October 2004, it adopted a new Special Recommendation concerning cash couriers who appear to be involved in the distribution of terrorist funds. The FATF has been also working with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the Counter-Terrorism Action Group (CTAG)<sup>17</sup> to support international countermeasures, including technical assistance for measures against the financing of terrorism.

At the regional level, there was intensive discussion on the reinforcement of counter-terrorism in the APEC region within the Counter-Terrorism Task Force (CTTF),<sup>18</sup> which was established by APEC in 2003. In November 2004, this discussion resulted in the inclusion of initiatives to strengthen counter-terrorism measures in the APEC economic leaders' declaration (the Santiago Declaration); these initiatives included the promotion of measures against the financing of terrorism and the prevention of WMD proliferation. In October 2004 the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) held a seminar on anti-terrorism in Germany; this was the second seminar in accordance with the ASEM Copenhagen Declaration on Cooperation against International Terrorism, which was adopted by ASEM leaders in September 2002. The ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) Re-

18. The CTTF was established in February 2003. Its primary objectives are (1) to share information on counter-terrorism activities within APEC, (2) to monitor implementation of leaders' statements concerning counter-terrorism, and (3) to direct the implementation of counter-terrorism capacity-building activities through the relevant APEC meetings and working groups.

<sup>14.</sup> This document was adopted at the G8 Sea Island Summit. It recognizes that there is still a grave threat of terrorist attacks against transportation systems and calls for further strengthening of security measures, accompanied by efforts to facilitate the movement of travelers across national borders. It includes 28 specific action programs relating to transportation security.

<sup>15.</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1535 provides the CTC with additional means to carry out its mandate to monitor the performance of UN Security Council Resolution 1373. It establishes the new Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) under the leadership of an executive director reporting directly to the UN secretary-general. UN Security Council Resolution 1566 was adopted in response to multiple terrorist attacks that had occurred recently in Russia. It calls on concerned parties, including member countries and international counter-terrorism organizations, to expedite the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1373, to strengthen international cooperation in the battle against terrorism, and in particular to strengthen dialogue with the CTC.

<sup>16.</sup> The FATF is an international body that was established at the 1989 Arch Summit to promote international countermeasures against money laundering. In addition to Japan, the FATF has the participation of 31 countries and regions, centering on members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and two international organizations.

<sup>17.</sup> The CTAG was established under the Action Plan (Building International Political Will and Capacity to Combat Terrorism) adopted by the G8 at the Evian Summit in June 2003. Its main roles are the analysis of requests for capacity-building assistance and the prioritization of demand, and the arrangement of coordination meetings for CTAG members in countries receiving this type of assistance. It has held six meetings as of March 2005.

gional Forum (ARF) adopted the ARF Statement on Strengthening Transport Security against International Terrorism at the 11th ARF Ministerial Meeting in July 2004. Apart from these regional frameworks, in February 2004 a ministerial meeting on counter-terrorism measures was held in Bali, Indonesia. Participants agreed to strengthen cooperation among law enforcement agencies and to reinforce legal frameworks, including cooperation on promotion of the signing of the 12 international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols in the Asia-Pacific region.

# (c) Japan's Efforts

# Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law

The Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law was established in part as a response to the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11, 2001, which constituted a threat to international peace and security under the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 1368. The purpose of this law aims to contribute actively and independently to the efforts of the international community to prevent and eradicate international terrorism.

The US, the UK, France, and other countries have been implementing Operation Enduring Freedom-Maritime Interdiction Operation (OEF-MIO) with the purpose of preventing or suppressing the maritime transportation of terrorists and related supplies, such as arms and explosives, across the Indian Ocean. Since December 2001, Japan has been providing assistance that includes the activities of Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) vessels to refuel vessels of the US, the UK, and other countries participating in the maritime interdiction operation.

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks in the US, the international community has taken a wide range of initiatives to eradicate terrorism, including not only military operations but also measures to prevent the financing of terrorism. However, senior Al-Qaeda and Taliban members, such as Usama bin Laden and Mullah Mohammed Omar, remain at large, and there are still terrorist incidents in which an Al-Qaeda involvement is suspected. Many countries continue to take action to eliminate the threat highlighted by the September 11 terrorist attacks in the US. Because of this situation, in November 2003, Japan extended the period over which the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law would remain in force by two years. In April 2004 and again in October 2004, it extended the basic plan under the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law by six months. At the time of the October extension, it was decided to change the content of cooperation and assistance activities to include the refueling of helicopters carried on naval vessels as well as the vessels themselves and the supply of water in order to improve the efficiency of the maritime interdiction operation. As of October 2004, a total of 16 vessels from eight countries, including the US, are involved in the operation and are receiving fuel and other supplies from Japan.

# Efforts in Other Areas

Japan recognizes that the prevention of terrorism will require sustained, wide-ranging efforts based on solidarity in the international community. It participates actively in all aspects of the counter-terrorism efforts of the international community, including the formation of political will, the reinforcement of measures in various areas, and support for developing countries.

Specifically, Japan has been supplying information about lost and stolen passports to the International Criminal Police Organization (ICPO) since November 2004. It has been involved in the formulation and implementation of SAFTI, including the early introduction of IC passports, and has played an active role in G8 initiatives, such as CTAG. Japan has implemented UN Security Council resolutions concerning anti-terrorist sanctions. In accordance with the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Law, it has frozen the assets of a total of 472 terrorists and terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaeda and Taliban members, such as Usama bin Laden and Mullah Mohammed Omar, as well as those of Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, and Sendero Luminoso (as of the end of February 2005). In December 2004 Japan applied for the first time for the inclusion of terrorist information (terrorist organization: Jama'at al-Tawhid wa'al-Jihad) on the UN sanction list,<sup>19</sup> in conjunction with the UK and Germany. The application, which related to the abduction and murder of a Japanese national in Iraq in October 2004, was successfully approved.

Regional initiatives by Japan include a proposal concerning machine-readable travel documents, which was included in the APEC leaders' declaration of November 2004 as a measure that all APEC members

<sup>19.</sup> Japan, together with the UK and Germany, jointly applied to the committee monitoring UN sanctions against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda to add the Organization Base of Jihad/Mesopotamia (also known as Jama'at al-Tawhid wa'al-Jihad), which is led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, to the list of entities covered by sanctions. The application was approved on December 2. On October 26, the Organization Base of Jihad/Mesopotamia abducted and murdered Mr. Koda Shosei. Following the inclusion of this organization on the UN Taliban Al-Qaeda sanctions committee list, member countries are required to freeze its assets.

#### Japan's Counter-terrorism Cooperation

#### 1. Global Cooperation

- Under the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law (approved October 29, 2001), Japan implemented refueling assistance activities for vessels engaged in the interception of ships as part of Operation Enduring Freedom by US and other forces in the Indian Ocean. In November 2003 it was decided to extend the period over which the law would remain in force by two years. The basic plan for the law was extended by six months in April and October 2004.
- Japan has concluded all 12 counter-terrorism conventions and protocols.
- Japan has contributed to the establishment of a broad cooperative system based on international frameworks, such as the G8, the UN (especially the CTC), and the FATF.
- Based on Security Council Resolutions 1267, 1333, and 1390 as well as 1373, Japan has taken measures under the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Law to freeze the assets of Taliban-related and non-Taliban terrorists. Action has been taken against a total of 472 individuals and organizations (as of the end of February 2005).
- At the Sea Island Summit (June 8–10), the G8 adopted the SAFTI with active participation by Japan.

#### 2. Regional Cooperation

- <u>ASEAN</u>: The ASEAN-Japan Joint Declaration for Cooperation in the Fight against International Terrorism was adopted at the ASEAN-Japan Summit held in Vientiane, Laos, on November 30, 2004.
- <u>APEC</u>: The 12th Economic Leaders' Meeting held in Chile in November 2004 issued the Santiago Declaration, which referred to agreement on specific initiatives concerning counter-terrorism. The Counter-Terrorism Task Force (CTTF) held three meetings in 2004.
- <u>ARF</u>: The ARF Statement on Strengthening Transport Security against International Terrorism was adopted at the 11th ARF Ministerial Meeting, which was held in Cambodia in July 2004.
- ASEM: The second ASEM Seminar on Anti-terrorism was held in Germany in October 2004 with Japanese participation.
- Ministerial meeting on counter-terrorism, Bali: In February 2004, Australia and Indonesia co-hosted a ministerial meeting on counter-terrorism in Bali, Indonesia. Participants included Asia-Pacific countries. Japan was represented by Senior Vice-Foreign Minister Aisawa. As a follow-up initiative, Japan held the Seminar on the Promotion of Accession to the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in Tokyo in December 2004.

#### 3. Bilateral Cooperation

- Japan-European Union (EU) consultations on counter-terrorism (Brussels, October 21)
- Japan-Russia consultations on counter-terrorism (Tokyo, December 9–10)
- ODA-based support for counter-terrorism capacity-building assistance to developing countries, including acceptance of trainees, dispatch of experts, and provision of equipment in nine areas: (1) immigration control, (2) aviation security, (3) port and maritime security, (4) customs cooperation, (5) export control, (6) cooperation with police and law enforcement agencies, (7) countermeasures against financing of terrorism, (8) countermeasures against chemical, biological, radioactive, and nuclear (CBRN) terrorism, (9) counter-terrorism conventions and protocols.

should promote. Japan has been actively involved in the CTTF and has served as vice-chair. At the ministerial meeting on counter-terrorism in Bali, Indonesia, Japan's representative, Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Aisawa Ichiro, emphasized the need for the early conclusion of the international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols, and this was included in the chairperson's statement. In the follow-up process for this conference, Japan has served as coordinator for the conclusion and domestic implementation of international counter-terrorism conventional and protocols in a working group on legal frameworks. It hosted the Seminar on the Promotion of Accession to the International

Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in Tokyo in December 2004. Through these activities Japan has helped to strengthen legal frameworks for counter-terrorism in the Asia-Pacific region. In November, Japan and ASEAN agreed to increase their cooperation in the field of counter-terrorism with the adoption of the ASEAN-Japan Joint Declaration for Cooperation in the Fight against International Terrorism<sup>20</sup> at the ASEAN-Japan Summit in Vientiane, Laos.

In addition to the early conclusion of the international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols, Japan also places considerable importance on capacitybuilding assistance to developing countries. It uses ODA

20. This declaration is an external expression of the strong determination of Japan and ASEAN members in the fight against terrorism. It was adopted in response to the continuing seriousness of the terrorism situation in Southeast Asia, as indicated by the attack on the Australian embassy in Jakarta in August 2004, as well as the need to assist ASEAN members to build their counter-terrorism capacity. The declaration advocates the early signing of the international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols by ASEAN members and cooperation in 11 areas, including cooperation among law enforcement agencies, measures against the financing of terrorism, immigration controls, and transportation security. The declaration also provides for progress in these areas to be reviewed at appropriate existing fora.

to provide support in this area, with particular emphasis on the Asia-Pacific region, which is important to Japan's prosperity and security. Specifically, Japan has hosted seminars and accepted trainees in nine areas: (1) immigration control, (2) aviation security, (3) port and maritime security, (4) customs cooperation, (5) export control, (6) law enforcement cooperation, (7) measures against the financing of terrorism, (8) countermeasures against chemical, biological, radioactive, and nuclear (CBRN) terrorism, and (9) international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols. In fiscal year 2004, Japan accepted a total of approximately 310 trainees in those areas. For example in July 2004, Japan held a seminar on chemical terrorism precautions and risk management for Southeast Asia countries at the Southeast Asia Regional Center for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. This followed a seminar held in Tokyo in 2003; these seminars were based on an announcement made by Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro at the October 2002 APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting that Japan would implement a program of crisis management capacity-building in counter-terrorism over a five-year period, starting in fiscal year 2003. Japan has also provided equipment. In May 2004, it decided to provide grant aid amounting to ¥747 million to Indonesia for use in the reinforcement of airport and sea port security. In July 2004, Japan contributed US\$1 million to

# Regional Security

4

In the Asia-Pacific region, no multilateral collective defense security mechanism similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Europe has developed due to such factors as the rich diversity of political and economic systems, culture, and ethnicity. Instead, regional stability has been maintained primarily through the building up of bilateral security arrangements centered on the United States (US).

Japan regards the improvement and strengthening of multilayer frameworks for bilateral and multilateral dialogue while securing the presence and engagement of the US in the Asia-Pacific region as realistic and appropriate ways to develop a stable security environment surrounding Japan and to ensure peace and stability in the region.

The government of Japan has engaged in security dialogues and defense exchanges through bilateral

the Regional Trade and Financial Security Initiative (Fund), which was established within the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to strengthen APEC's capacity in such areas as transportation security, port security, and measures against the financing of terrorism.

Counter-terrorism measures at the bilateral level have included exchanges of views, primarily through the ambassador in charge of international counter-terrorism cooperation. Japan held its first consultation on terrorism with the EU in Brussels, Belgium, in October 2004. In December it hosted the third consultation on terrorism with Russia in Tokyo.

In 2004, Japan improved its own counter-terrorism capacity by strengthening its domestic counter-terrorism systems. Specifically, a cabinet decision on August 24 resulted in the reorganization of the Headquarters for Promotion of Measures against Transnational Organized Crime and Other Relative Issues into the Headquarters for Promotion of Measures against Transnational Organized Crime and Other Relative Issues and International Terrorism. This organization, which is headed by the chief cabinet secretary, conducts studies on the prevention of international terrorism. On December 10 it adopted the Action Plan for Prevention of Terrorism,<sup>21</sup> which lists 16 terrorism prevention measures requiring urgent implementation, as well as three measures requiring further study.

frameworks with countries such as Russia, the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea (ROK), and India. In this way, Japan has been making efforts to enhance mutual trust and foster cooperation in the security area.

As a multilateral approach, Japan has been making use of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), a political and security framework for the entire region in which major Asia-Pacific countries participate. Its aim is to achieve gradual progress in the ARF process through an approach based on three stages: (1) the promotion of confidence building, (2) the development of preventive diplomacy, and (3) the elaboration of approaches to conflicts. Through the meetings held so far, frank and open exchanges of views have been fostered, including issues in which member countries are directly involved,

21. The 16 measures requiring urgent implementation include (1) firmer measures to stop terrorists at the border, (2) firmer measures to prevent activities of terrorists, (3) strengthening of strict controls of materials that may potentially be used for terrorist attacks, (4) firmer measures to suppress terrorist financing, (5) firmer measures to enhance security of important facilities, and (6) reinforcement of terrorism-related intelligence capacity. Measures requiring further study include legislation on basic policy for counter-terrorism measures.

#### The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)

#### 1. Purpose and Characteristics

- The ARF was established in 1994 as a forum for region-wide dialogue concerning political and security-related matters in the Asia-Pacific region. ASEAN is the primary driving force of the ARF.
- The ARF aims to improve the regional security environment through dialogue and cooperation on political and security-related issues. Both defense and military officials as well as foreign policy officials attend the meetings.
- The ARF is a continuum of meetings centering on ministerial meetings (foreign-minister level), which are held every summer.
- The ARF places emphasis on free exchanges of views and consensus as its basic principle.
- The ARE aims to achieve gradual progress through an approach based on three stages; (1) the promotion of confidence building, (2) the development of preventive diplomacy, and (3) the improvement of approaches to conflict reduction.

#### 2. History

#### July 1991 ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conferences (ASEAN-PMC)

Then Minister for Foreign Affairs Nakayama Taro proposes the use of the PMC to initiate political dialogue and suggests the establishment of a senior official-level meeting as an effective approach (the "Nakayama Proposal").

#### January 1992 ASEAN Summit

ASEAN members agree to use the ASEAN-PMC to strengthen political and security dialogue with non-ASEAN countries. July 1992 ASEAN-PMC

Based on the agreement reached at the ASEAN Summit in January 1992, for the first time political and security matters are formally included in the ASEAN-PMC agenda and discussed.

#### January 1993 ASEAN Senior Officials Meetings (ASEAN-SOM)

Agreement is reached on the establishment of a senior officials meeting (ASEAN-PMC-SOM) under ASEAN-PMC to discuss security issues with dialogue partners.

#### May 1993 ASEAN-PMC-SOM

Participants (vice minister for foreign affairs level) exchange views on matters that include the future of regional security and approaches to dialogue with non-members (China, Russia, Viet Nam, Laos, Papua New Guinea).

#### July 1993 ASEAN-PMC

Based on views put forward at ASEAN-PMC-SOM in May 1993, five countries, including China and Russia, are invited to participate in the ARF from 1994 onwards. Members also agree to invite these five countries to become formal members from the 1994 ASEAN-PMC-SOM.

#### May 1994 ASEAN Regional Forum Senior Officials Meeting (ARF-SOM)

ARF member representatives at vice minister for foreign affairs level exchange views on matters that include preparations for the ARF, the regional situation, and political and security cooperation (in Thailand).

#### July 1994 **1st ARF Ministerial Meeting**

The meeting in Thailand is attended by foreign ministers (then Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott represents the US) from 18 ARF member countries and one organization who exchange views on the regional security situation.

#### Members

The 24 members include 10 ASEAN countries (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Laos, Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Myanmar), Japan, Australia, Canada, China, India, North Korea, the ROK, Mongolia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Russia, and the US, as well as the European Union (the EU countries do not participate individually but are instead represented by the country holding the EU presidency and the European Commission.)





such as the situation on the Korean Peninsula, the situation in Indonesia, and the issue of Myanmar. Concrete activities for confidence building are also carried out, including the publication of the ARF Annual Security Outlook (ASO), which is compiled by the ARF chair and consists of participating members' descriptions of their understanding of the security conditions in the region as well as summaries of meetings on various subjects, such as counter-terrorism. These activities have been making an important contribution to the formation of relationships of trust among the members.

There have also been discussions concerning concrete efforts related to the development of preventive diplomacy, which is the second stage of the three-stage approach of the ARF. In this way the ARF has gradually but surely been developing as a forum for political and security dialogue and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. At the 11th Ministerial Meeting in July 2004, Pakistan became a member of the ARF, and ministers exchanged views on a number of aspects of the regional situation, such as the situation on the Korean Peninsula and the issue of Myanmar. Members also affirmed the importance of cooperative efforts against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and related statements were adopted. Furthermore, it was decided to hold the ARF Security Policy Conference (ASPC) for high-level military and government representatives. The first conference was held in Beijing in November 2004. Future meetings will be hosted by the ARF chair country, back-to-back with the senior officials meetings.

The ARF has steadily been producing results in terms of the promotion of confidence building. The time has now come for it to aim for a higher level of cooperation. Specifically, it needs to expand and facilitate discussions on preventive diplomacy. This will require efforts, including the active involvement of private experts/eminent persons, the reform of the ARF chair system, and a review of the role of the ARF as an organization in the medium- and long-term perspectives.

# 5 United Nations

#### (a) Overview

With the rapid advance of globalization in recent years, there have been increasing numbers of difficult issues that cannot readily be dealt with by each country or region alone, including terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and poverty. To address these issues faced by the international community in the 21st century, the role that the United Nations (UN) should play has been gaining further importance, since the UN is the world's only universal and extensive international organization dealing with a broad range of issues with a membership comprising almost all countries of the world. The UN, comprising the Security Council, which is responsible for maintaining international peace and security, and other affiliated institutions serve as fora for governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to assemble, debate, and establish global rules on such issues as development, human rights, gender, children, infectious diseases, the environment, transnational organized crime, refugees, and culture.

Since the end of the Cold War, the Security Council has been expanding its role in maintaining international peace and security, such as through economic sanctions, the establishment of multinational forces in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter, Peacekeeping Operations (PKO), activities of the CounterTerrorism Committee, and the establishment of a committee on non-proliferation. PKO has also been expanding its fields of operation from the traditional focus on monitoring ceasefires, in such areas as Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the Golan Heights, for instance, to peace-building activities, including democratic governance and reconstruction, such as in Timor-Leste. As the range of its activities and challenges expands, the Security Council needs to be strengthened to enable it to act more effectively. Many countries are now coming to share the perception that the Security Council needs to be reformed so that member states with the will to assume primary responsibility for international peace and security can always participate in the decision-making process of the Security Council. As a whole, in 2004 there was a growing momentum for a reinforcement of UN functions.

Japan positions international cooperation as one of the main pillars of its foreign policy, and it has made significant contributions to the UN in terms of both personnel and finances. Japan believes that its permanent membership in a reformed Security Council would greatly benefit not only itself but also the entire international community.

From January 2005 to December 2006, Japan is serving a two-year term as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. Japan previously stood for and was elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council in 1996 (for the two-year tenure that began in January 1997), and the current term is the ninth—the highest number among member states along with Brazil. Within the Security Council, Japan is determined to make the most of its broad experience and abilities to make a particularly active contribution to addressing problems relating to international peace and security, which will mark another step toward Security Council reform and permanent membership for Japan.

# (b) UN Reforms

### Reform of the Security Council

Over the 60 years since the inception of the UN in 1945, the international community has gone through dramatic changes, and the number of member states has increased from 51 to 191. Nonetheless, the structure of the Security Council, which claims tremendous authority under the UN Charter and plays an important role in international peace, has remained basically unchanged since 1945. Reforming the institutions of the UN, particularly the Security Council, is an urgent priority to enable the international community to deal effectively with the various issues it confronts today, such as poverty, terrorism, infectious diseases, and proliferation of WMD. To reinforce the functions of the Security Council, it is essential for the council to properly represent the structure of the international community, thereby gaining "legitimacy" among UN member states, and enhance the "effectiveness" with which Security Council decisions are implemented by the member states.

Japan is undertaking various diplomatic efforts so that the Security Council reflects the reality of the international community in the 21st century and so that countries with the will and ability to play a major role in maintaining international peace and security and fulfill their global responsibilities are permanently engaged in the decision-making process of the Security Council. In concrete terms, Japan believes that the Security Council should be expanded in terms of both permanent and non-permanent categories and include both developing and developed countries, and it has announced its own candidacy for permanent membership.

Domestically, in September 2003 then Minister for Foreign Affairs Kawaguchi Yoriko appointed Yokota Yozo, special advisor to the rector of UN University, to chair the Eminent Persons' Group on UN Reform.<sup>22</sup> The group met eight times before submitting its final report



Prime Minister Koizumi greets Secretary-General Annan prior to their meeting in September. (Photo: Office of the Cabinet Public Relations, Cabinet Secretariat)

in June 2004, which presented recommendations on such issues as Security Council reform, the enemy-state clauses, administrative and budgetary reform (including appropriate scale of assessments), and an increase in the number of Japanese staff. The report provided a ground for further debate on UN reform in Japan.

Internationally, in the light of the Security Council's response to issues relating to Iraq, in November 2003 UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan established the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. The panel was in charge of addressing the question of how the functions and structure of the UN should be reformed so that the international community can address new threats through collective action. Among the panel's 16 experts was Ogata Sadako, president of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Japan endorsed Secretary-General Annan's initiative and offered financial support for the panel's activities. Japan actively cooperated in other ways as well, such as inviting Chairman Anand Panyarachun and members of the panel to Kyoto in July 2004 for a related regional meeting, in which other foreign and domestic experts also took part.

Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro and then Foreign Minister Kawaguchi attended the 59th session of the UN General Assembly in September 2004. In his address to the General Assembly, Prime Minister Koizumi emphasized the need for international cooperation centering on the UN in coping with the various issues facing the international community today, such as proliferation of WMD, terrorism, and poverty. He also stressed that the UN must itself adapt to and deal with the new reality and that it should be reformed in a way that reflects the world of the 21st century. Moreover, he

<sup>22.</sup> The Eminent Persons' Group on UN Reform was established by then Foreign Minister Kawaguchi and included experts from such diverse fields as international organizations, academia, former Foreign Ministry officials, industry, labor, the media, and NGOs. The group held eight meetings to discuss UN reforms and the measures Japan should take from a broad perspective, with discussions centering on four issues: Security Council reform, the enemy-state clauses, administrative reform, and increasing the number of Japanese staff.

# Why Is Japan Seeking Permanent Membership in the Security Council?

Within the UN—the only universal organization in the international community today—the Security Council has major responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under the UN Charter, the Security Council acts on behalf of member states, and these states are obliged to accept and execute the decisions by the Security Council. As such, the authority of the Security Council is unrivaled by any other international organization.

Japan's permanent membership on the Security Council has benefits both from (1) Japan's perspective and (2) the international perspective.

#### Japan's Perspective

The Security Council undertakes ongoing discussions on the situation in the Middle East, Iraq, Afghanistan, Africa, and other regions, where Japan has hitherto been actively engaged. The only way for member states other than the 15 members on the Security Council to learn about the discussions, though, is to be briefed by the attending countries following each meeting, but the content of such briefings is not always adequate. Since non-members obviously do not have voting rights, moreover, it is extremely difficult to guide the discussions in desirable directions. Becoming a permanent member would enable Japan to become deeply and continuously involved in Security Council debate about those international peace and security issues that directly affect its national interests before a final decision is made. This would further enhance the effectiveness of Japan's cooperation through the UN and raise the level of Japan's international contributions.

#### International Perspective

A permanent membership for Japan would mean (1) a further heightening of contributions to the international community by the world's second-largest economy; (2) a rectification of the lack of Asian representation in the Security Council, where only China is currently a permanent member; and (3) fuller utilization for Security Council activities of the will, ability, and knowledge of Japan, which has actively made diplomatic efforts in the fields of disarmament and non-proliferation as a country that does not possess nuclear weapons, unlike other permanent members. Thus there would be a marked rise in the legitimacy and effectiveness of the Security Council.

By becoming a permanent member, Japan will be able to better meet the international community's expectations that it play a heightened role in the maintenance of international peace and security, and it would also be better able to serve its national interests in the international community.

reiterated Japan's position that the role it has thus far played in international peace and security serves as fitting grounds for permanent membership. Prime Minister Koizumi and then Foreign Minister Kawaguchi met with and broadly conveyed Japan's thinking to Secretary-General Annan, Jean Ping, the president of the 59th session, and other UN officials, as well as the leaders and foreign ministers of leading countries, including US President George W. Bush, through bilateral and multilateral meetings.

Prime Minister Koizumi also hosted a Group of Four (G4) summit meeting with Germany, India, and Brazil and issued a statement on the need for Security Council reform, pledging to support each other's bid for permanent membership. It also called for permanent membership for African countries. Due to Japan's efforts and other initiatives, as many as 166 countries observed the need for Security Council reform during the 59th session, of which 113 have called for an expansion of both permanent and non-permanent members, and 53 have expressed their support for Japan's bid. The growing momentum for reform brought new movement in Africa, where there had not been much debate on Security Council reform. For example, Nigeria, Egypt, South Africa, and Libya declared their candidacy for permanent membership of the Security Council.

In November, Minister for Foreign Affairs Machimura Nobutaka met with Secretary-General Annan at the International Conference on Iraq among the Group of Eight (G8) countries and Iraq's neighbors in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt. UN reform was one of the topics discussed.

And in December, the High-Level Panel submitted a report summarizing the discussions in its six meetings to Secretary-General Annan. The report made a detailed analysis of new threats confronting the international community, such as terrorism and proliferation of

#### High-Level Panel

The High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change is an advisory group to Secretary-General Annan offering recommendations on approaches to UN reform in the light of the international situation (especially in addressing threats to peace and security). It was proposed by the secretary-general in his address to the 58th session of the UN General Assembly on September 23, 2003, and officially established on November 4 in reflection of the secretary-general's concerns about how new threats like WMD and terrorism should be addressed by the Security Council (rather than through unilateral action). Sixteen eminent experts and former diplomats from around the world were appointed, including Chairman Anand Panyarachun (former prime minister of Thailand), former Russian Prime Minister Evgenii Primakov, former Chinese Vice Premier Qian Qichen, League of Arab States Secretary General Amre Moussa, former Norwegian Prime Minister and World Health Organization (WHO) Director General Gro Harlem Brundtland, and former Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS) Joao Clemente Baena Soares. From Japan, President Ogata Sadako of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) served on the panel.

For one year beginning December 2003, the High-Level Panel held six meetings in various parts of the world, and several related regional meetings were also held. Japan hosted a regional meeting in Kyoto in July 2004 with the attendance of seven panel members and other international and domestic experts.

The report on the discussions by the panel members was submitted to Secretary-General Annan on December 2, 2004, in New York.

WMD. It also referred to approaches to address these threats and the UN institutional reforms to pursue them. On the latter point, it proposed reforms of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Secretariat to reinforce their functions. In particular, it presented two concrete models for Security Council reform. The first (Model A) calls for adding six permanent and three non-permanent members, thereby expanding the size of the Security Council to 24. The second (Model B) sees adding eight semi-permanent members that may serve consecutive four-year terms and a conventional non-permanent member, thus also expanding the membership to 24. Japan regarded it as desirable to pursue discussions based on Model A, under which both permanent and non-permanent membership is increased.

Any reform of the Security Council requires revisions of the UN Charter. For this, two-thirds of all member states (128 states) of the General Assembly must approve the changes, and these must further be ratified by two-thirds of all member states, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. Japan is making various diplomatic efforts to gain broad support among member states to carry forward desirable reforms. One facet of such efforts was the visit to New York by Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Aisawa Ichiro in December 2004, who hosted a meeting on UN reform.<sup>23</sup> Since January 2005, moreover, a number of parliamentary secretaries for foreign affairs have visited African countries on various occasions to convey Japan's position; the continent has great influence on Security Council reform, as 53 of the 191 UN member states are

in Africa. Hence, Japan will continue to make efforts to win support for Japan's position through meetings held on the occasion of overseas visits by Japanese government officials and visits to Japan by foreign dignitaries. Cooperating with the other G4 countries, Japan will actively approach the representatives of the member states in New York and the governments of various countries in each country's capital.

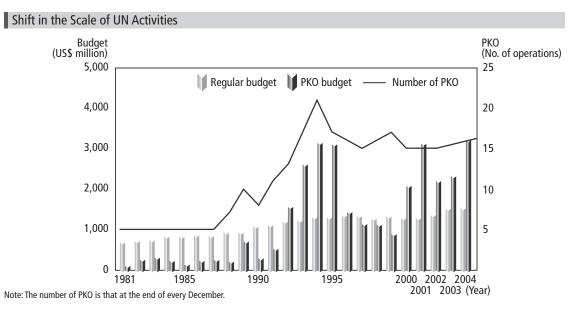
Based on the High-Level Panel's report, in March 2005 Secretary-General Annan submitted to member states a progress report on the implementation of the Millennium Declaration—which included references to UN reform and development issues—adopted at the 2000 Millennium Summit. This report should exert great influence on future discussions of UN and Security Council reform. UN and Security Council reform is expected to make significant progress in 2005, as a summit meeting is scheduled to be held to review the progress of the Millennium Declaration, which covers development, peace and security, and UN reform, based on the secretary-general's report. Japan will continue to make active diplomatic efforts toward the UN summit in September.

#### Administrative and Budgetary Reform

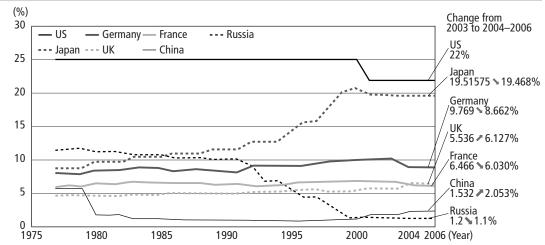
For the UN to deal effectively with threats faced by the international community, much more needs to be reformed besides the Security Council; it is indispensable that the functions of an increasingly bloated and rigid UN be reinforced overall, and administrative and budgetary reforms must also be undertaken. Based on the High-Level Panel's report in December 2004, extensive discussions are expected to take place in 2005 regarding

23. The countries that have announced their support for Japan's bid for permanent membership during the general debates at the General Assembly and elsewhere were invited. Representatives of 68 countries attended the meeting. Senior Vice-Minister Aisawa reiterated Japan's stance on Security Council reform and sought the understanding and support of the countries in attendance.

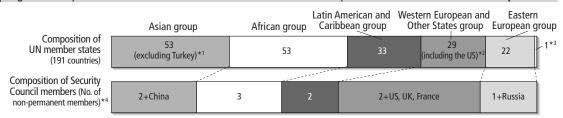
# **DIPLOMATIC BLUEBOOK 2005**



#### UN Scale of Assessments of Major Countries



#### Regional Composition of UN Member States and Permanent and Non-permanent Members of the Security Council



\*1 Turkey belongs to both the "Asian group" and the "Western European and Other States group." (It belongs only to the "Western European and Other States group" for the purpose of elections, where the number of seats according to the regional group distribution is taken into consideration).

\*2 The US does not belong to any regional group (it attends meetings of the "Western European and Other States group" as an observer and is considered to be a member of this group for election purposes).

\*3 Kiribati does not belong to any regional group (as of the end of 2004).

\*4 The Security Council in 2004 was composed of the permanent members (US, UK, France, Russia, and China) as well as Pakistan, Philippines, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Spain, and Romania. From January 1, 2005, Argentina, Benin, Brazil, Denmark, Greece, Japan, Philippines, Romania, Tanzania, and Algeria have been the non-permanent members.

reforms of UN institutions, including the General Assembly, Economic and Social Council, and Secretariat.

In promoting UN reform, more efficient and effective use of limited resources from the international community must be fully taken into consideration. In 2004 the UN established three new PKO activities, two of them in Africa, and expanded its PKO activities in Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It also scaled up its peace-building efforts in such countries as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Sudan. In addition, there is a need for measures to ensure the safety and security of UN facilities and personnel in the light of the August 2003 terrorist attack against the UN headquarters in Iraq. Such an expansion of UN activities necessitates larger budgets, which increases the burden of member states. Accordingly, it is necessary, in this context, to consider selective and flexible resource allocation that reflects policy priorities and to realize an organization capable of meeting the peace and security demands of a new era.

To support these UN activities, Japan bears the second largest scale of assessments (19.468% of the UN budget from 2004 to 2006) among member states despite the constraints of its own severe financial situation. The next review of the scale of assessments will take place in 2006, and this will be a key component of administrative and budgetary reform. The Eminent Persons' Group on UN Reform, established by then Foreign Minister Kawaguchi, issued a final report in June 2004 recommending that efforts be made to realize a more equitable scale of assessments for all member states. At every opportunity, including Prime Minister Koizumi's address to the General Assembly in September 2004, Japan has been insisting that the scale of assessments be balanced to reflect not only each country's real economic capacity but also its status and responsibility within the UN. Japan is developing a strategy and is actively discussing with other countries in preparation for the next review.

6

#### Comprehensive Approach to Conflicts

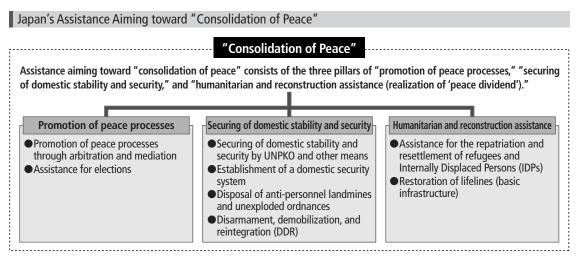
### (a) Overview

Since the end of the Cold War, the number of conflicts arising from religious and ethnic factors, particularly domestic conflicts, has been increasing. In order to resolve such conflicts permanently, it is important to prevent formerly troubled regions from falling back to a state of conflict, to secure stability, and to lead these regions to further development. To this end, it is necessary for the international community to unite to promote efforts aimed at the "consolidation of peace," composed of three factors: (1) promotion of peace processes; (2) securing of domestic stability and security; and (3) restoration of the peaceful lives of people (humanitarian and reconstruction assistance). Based on this recognition, Japan advocates support for the "consolidation of peace and nation building" as one of its pillars of diplomacy and international cooperation, and is utilizing diplomatic means, such as Official Development Assistance (ODA), to make specific efforts for peace together with the United Nations (UN), individual countries, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In addition, to broaden the base of personnel contributions in this field, Japan held study meetings on human resources development in international peace cooperation from October 2003 till April 2004, based on the December 2002 report of the Advisory Group on International Cooperation for Peace,<sup>24</sup> which recommended the "establishment of a system to teach, train, and dispatch specialized human resources." A specific action plan<sup>25</sup> was devised in consideration of a wide variety of mechanisms for human resources development in order to enable Japan to provide personnel contributions to challenges in such fields as the prevention of the occurrence and recurrence of conflicts, emergency humanitarian aid, and support for reconstruction and development.

<sup>24.</sup> A private advisory panel (chaired by former UN Under Secretary-General Akashi Yasushi) reporting to former Chief Cabinet Secretary Fukuda Yasuo organized to conduct discussions on strengthening international cooperation for peace aimed at the "consolidation of peace and nation building," which Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro declared in his speech in Sydney on May 1, 2002.

<sup>25.</sup> The action plan announced in April 2004 consists mainly of the following four points: (1) securing of human resources (database coordination, enhancement of human resources development at universities and other academic institutions), (2) fostering of human resources (accreditation of on-site activities as university credits, enhancement of training in the area of international cooperation for peace, cooperation with other countries, promotion of dispatches of young personnel abroad for human resources development, promotion of internship acceptance), (3) utilization of human resources (strategic dispatches of Japanese government personnel, improvement in domestic environments for the social reintegration of individuals engaged in international peace cooperation), and (4) follow-up (establishment of a liaison conference, exchanges of opinions with intellectuals and disclosure of implementation status).



# (b) Conflict Prevention

In recent years, the international community, including the UN and Group of Eight (G8), has been fully aware of the importance of comprehensive "conflict prevention," which consists of not only "conflict resolution" in the meaning of ending conflicts but also eliminating causes of conflicts in advance, preventing their escalation once they occur, promoting early termination of conflicts, and preventing the recurrence of conflicts through the stabilization and restoration of society in the case that a peace agreement is reached.

An important effort in conflict prevention is the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR)<sup>26</sup> of ex-combatants. The first conference on the Stockholm Initiative on DDR, which was proposed by Sweden for the purpose of intensifying international discussions on DDR over a period of approximately one year, was held in November 2004. Japan has been contributing actively to these discussions, taking advantage of its own DDR experience in Afghanistan and other countries.

In the DDR process in Afghanistan, the Transitional Administration led by President Hamid Karzai itself has been showing initiative in leading assistance from the international community. Specifically, personnel and financial cooperation are offered, including support for DDR-related policymaking,<sup>27</sup> working on military factions, establishment and management support for the organization to implement DDR,<sup>28</sup> and organization of international observers to ensure impartiality in the DDR process. As a result, opportunities to relinquish weapons and participate in the political process leading up to the October 2004 presidential election were increased, and approximately 32,000 combatants had been disarmed and demobilized by the end of 2004.

# (c) International Peace Cooperation

The UN is directly involved in peace and security mainly through UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO).<sup>29</sup>



Prime Minister Koizumi greets returning members from a peacekeeping mission to Timor-Leste in June. (Photo: Office of the Cabinet Public Relations, Cabinet Secretariat)

29. PKO stands for UN Peacekeeping Operations. Also called UNPKO. For a "List of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations" and "Japan's Current Participation in PKO," refer to P.151 and P.149 respectively.

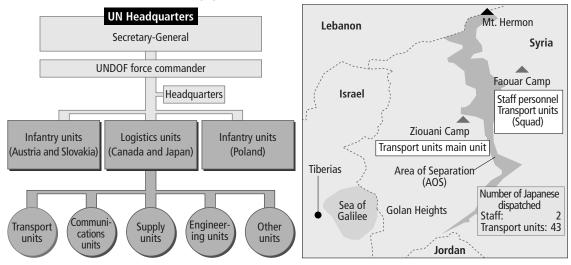
<sup>26.</sup> DDR stands for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of combatants who were involved in conflicts.

<sup>27.</sup> The preparation of the DDR enforcement provisions agreed upon between the Afghan Defense Ministry and the DDR implementation organization and the UN, and policy proposals based on conferences with related countries concerning forces to be reduced and demobilized, such as the Tokyo Conference on Consolidation of Peace (DDR) in Afghanistan in February 2003.

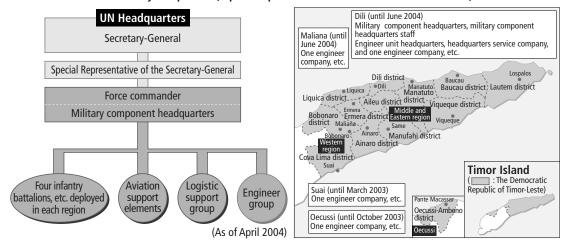
<sup>28.</sup> Called Afghanistan's New Beginnings Programme (ANBP). ANBP has been implementing a range of processes from registration of collected weapons and discharged combatants to various forms of support for reintegration to society (vocational training, support for employment in agriculture, mine clearance training, etc.).

#### Japan's Current Participation in PKO

#### Outline of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)



Outline of UNMISET military component (Japanese personnel were withdrawn in June 2004)



Originally, PKO were actions taken based on Security Council resolutions to position observers between parties to conflicts after ceasefire agreements. Their purpose was to help restore stability and prevent the recurrence of conflicts through observation of ceasefires and withdrawal of combatants and to support conflict resolution through negotiations between parties in conflict. Today, however, these duties and functions have multiplied. This has led to an increasing number of complex PKO mandates covering a wide range of roles, from support for elections, civilian police, human rights, and refugee return to administrative activities and reconstruction and development, in addition to fulfilling traditional roles. During 2004 new missions were undertaken in Côte d'Ivoire and Burundi in Africa and in Haiti in Latin America. This brought the number of PKO currently under operation to 16, involving more than 60,000 personnel around the world.

Japan has been carrying out international peace cooperation, including cooperation for PKO activities. Among the recent cooperation Japan has dispatched Self-Defense Forces (SDF) engineering units and headquarters personnel involving a total of approximately 2,300 individuals, including female SDF members, to Timor-Leste to participate in the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and subsequently the UN Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET) since the country's independence in May 2002 till June 2004 to cooperate in Timor-Leste's nation building.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, since 1996 Japan has continued to dispatch personnel to the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), which supports the Middle East peace process through such means as ceasefire monitoring in the Golan Heights, with more than 800 individuals dispatched to date.<sup>31</sup>

In October 2004 Japan carried out an international humanitarian relief operation, based on the International Peace Cooperation Law,<sup>32</sup> aside from its cooperation to UNPKO. Responding to the request by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Japan airlifted more than 700 tents to Chad and supplied them to the UNHCR to provide shelter for the refugees fleeing from the heightened conflict in the Darfur region in western Sudan.

(As of December 2004)

#### Record of Japan's International Peace Cooperation Activities Based on the International Peace Cooperation Law

#### **UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)**

on reacekeeping operations (rko)			(As of December 2004)
United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)	Electoral observers	Sep-Oct 1992	3 persons
United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	Military observers	Sep 1992–Sep 1993	8 persons x 2*1
	Civilian police	Oct 1992–Jul 1993	75 persons
	Engineering units	Sep 1992–Sep 1993	600 persons x 2
	Electoral observers	May–Jun 1993	41 persons
United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	Staff officers	May 1993–Jan 1995	5 persons x 2
	Movement control units	May 1993–Jan 1995	48 persons x 3
	Electoral observers	Oct-Nov 1994	15 persons
United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)	Electoral observers	Mar–Apr 1994	15 persons x 2
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	Staff officers	Feb 1996–present	2 persons x 9
	Transport units	Feb 1996–present	43 persons x 18
United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET)	Civilian police	Jul–Sep 1999	3 persons
United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor	Engineering units	Mar–May 2002	680 persons
(UNTAET)	Headquarters personnel	Feb–May 2002	10 persons
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor	Engineering units	May 2002–Jun 2004	680 persons x 2 + 522 persons + 405 persons
	Headquarters personnel	May 2002–Jun 2004	10 persons + 7 persons*2

\*1 Means two groups of eight people were dispatched.

\*2 Means a first group of 10 people and a second group of seven people were dispatched.

#### **International Humanitarian Relief Operations**

Relief of Rwandan refugees	Refugee relief units	Sep–Dec 1994	283 persons
	Airlifting units	Sep–Dec 1994	118 persons
Relief of East Timorese displaced persons	Airlifting units	Nov 1999–Feb 2000	113 persons
Relief activities of Afghan refugees	Airlifting units	Oct 2001	138 persons
Relief of Iraqi refugees	Airlifting units	Mar–Apr 2003	56 persons
Relief of Iraqi victims	Airlifting units	Jul–Aug 2003	104 persons

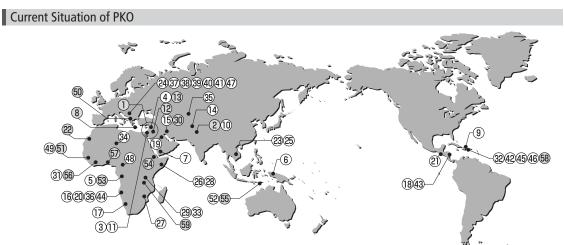
#### International election monitoring activities

Bosnia and Herzegovina general and regional elections	Elections supervisors and observers	Sep 1998	30 persons
Bosnia and Herzegovina municipal assembly elections	Polling supervisors	Mar–Apr 2000	11 persons
Timor-Leste constituent assembly elections	Electoral observers	Aug–Sep 2001	19 persons
Kosovo assembly elections	Electoral observers	Nov 2001	6 persons
Timor-Leste presidential election	Electoral observers	Apr 2002	8 persons

30. Timor-Leste's President Xanana Gusmao, former UNMISET special representative Kamalesh Sharma, and others have repeatedly expressed their gratitude for the contribution of Japan's SDF. These expressions, moreover, have not stopped with thanks for SDF activities, such as bridge and road repair, but have also covered the SDF's good manners and friendly collaboration with local residents.

31. Japanese SDF personnel have been highly praised in remarks to visiting Japanese dignitaries by Syria's Defense Minister Mustafa Talas, Israel's Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, and successive UNDOF commanders.

32. With a view to playing a more active role in realizing international peace, Japan enacted the Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations (International Peace Cooperation Law, also known as the PKO Law) in June 1992 and established a system that enabled Japan to fully participate in the UN-centered efforts toward international peace. The International Peace Cooperation Law stipulates cooperation in "UN PKO," "international humanitarian relief operations," and "international election monitoring operations" as its three pillars.



# List of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

			(is of sundary 2003			
	Name	Duration		Name	Duration	
1	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO)	Jun 1948–present	31	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)	Sep 1993–Sep 1997	
2	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and	Jan 1949–present	32	United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH)	Sep 1993–Jun 1996	
	istan (UNMOGIP)		33	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)	Oct 1993–Mar 1996	
3	First United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I)	Nov 1956–Jun 1967	34	United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG)	May 1994–Jun 1994	
4	United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL)	Jun–Dec 1958	35	United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)	Dec 1994–May 2000	
5	United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC)	Jul 1960–Jun 1964	36	United Nations Angola Verification Mission III (UNAVEM III)	Feb 1995–Jun 1997	
6	United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF)	Oct 1962–Apr 1963	37	United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO)	Mar 1995–Jan 1996	
7	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM)	Jul 1963–Sep 1964	38	United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)	Mar 1995–Feb 1999	
8	United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)	Mar 1964–present	39	United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)	Dec 1995–Dec 2002	
9	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic (DOMREP)	May 1965–Oct 1966	40	United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)	Jan 1996–Jan 1998	
10	United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM)	Sep 1965–Mar 1966	41	United Nations Mission of Observers in Prevlaka (UNMOP)	Jan 1996–Dec 2002	
11	Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II)	Oct 1973–Jul 1979	42	United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH)	Jul 1996–Jul 1997	
12	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	May 1974–present	43	United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA)	Jan 1997–May 1997	
13	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	Mar 1978–present	44	United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)	Jun 1997–Feb 1999	
14	United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and	May 1988–Mar 1990	45	United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH)	Aug 1997–Nov 1997	
	Pakistan (UNGOMAP)		46	United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH)	Dec 1997–Mar 2000	
15	United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group	Aug 1988–Feb 1991	47	United Nations Civilian Police Support Group (UNPSG)	Jan 1998–Oct 1998	
	(UNIIMOG)	-	48	United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic	Apr 1998–Feb 2000	
16	United Nations Angola Verification Mission I (UNAVEM I)	Jan 1989–May 1991		(MINURCA)	-	
17	United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG)	Apr 1989–Mar 1990	49	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)	Jul 1998–Oct 1999	
18	United Nations Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA)	Nov 1989–Jan 1992	50	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo	Jun 1999-present	
19	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)	Apr 1991–Oct 2003		(UNMIK)		
20	United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)	May 1991–Feb 1995	51	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	Oct 1999–present	
21	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)	Jul 1991–Apr 1995	52	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor	Oct 1999–May 2002	
22	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)	Apr 1991–present	53	(UNTAET) United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic	Nov 1999–present	
23	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC)	Oct 1991–Mar 1992	55	Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	NOV 1555 present	
24	United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)	Mar 1992–Dec 1995	54	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)	Jul 2000–present	
25	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	Mar 1992–Sep 1993	55	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET)	May 2002–present	
26	United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)	Apr 1992–Mar 1993	56	United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Oct 2003–present	
27	United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	Dec 1992–Dec 1994	57	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	Apr 2004–present	
28	United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II)	Mar 1993–Mar 1995	58	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)	Jun 2004–present	
29	United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR)	Jun 1993–Sep 1994	59	United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)	Jun 2004-present	
30	United Nations Observer Mission oganad (UNOMIG)	Aug 1993–present		(This chart was created based on		
55	office reading observer mission in deorgia (onotalia)	rug 1555 present				

Currently under operation Bold: Operations, missions and other activities in which Japan is taking (or took) part

Notes: 1. Apart from the above operations, missions and other activities which the UN classifies as PKO, some missions with similar duties have been dispatched. For example, the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET, composed of civilian police officers, military liaison officers and others) was dispatched to Timor-Leste from June to October 1999. Japan also dispatched civilian police officers to this mission.

Japan has dispatched personnel to eight PKO, five international humanitarian relief operations (for refugees from Rwanda, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan and Iraq and affected people from Iraq), and five international election monitoring activities (two cases in Bosnia and Herzegovina, two cases in Timor-Leste and one case in Kosovo).

(As of January 2005)

# 7

### Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-proliferation

# (a) Overview

In 2004, the international disarmament and non-proliferation regime continuously faced great challenges, and the international community, including Japan, made strenuous efforts to resolve them. Throughout the year, the focus remained on issues such as the North Korean nuclear issue, the Iranian nuclear issue, and the leakage of nuclear-related technologies by Pakistani scientists.

To address these proliferation threats, various efforts were conducted during 2004 to strengthen the multilateral non-proliferation regimes. In February, US President George W. Bush released a seven-point proposal concerning non-proliferation, and based on these points, at the G8 Sea Island Summit held in June, the "G8 Action Plan on Nonproliferation" was announced, proclaiming the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards system and the limiting of transfers of enrichment and reprocessing equipment and technologies. Talks were held in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and the IAEA to make the details of these proposals more specific. In April, United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1540 was adopted; this called on member states to adopt domestic laws, regulations and other measures, including the outlawing of activities related to weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery by nonstate actors, and to take concrete measures. In another development, in February 2005 an international group of experts submitted its report concerning the multilateral approaches to the nuclear fuel cycle proposed by IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei.33

Japan's nuclear disarmament resolution was adopted at the UN General Assembly with 165 votes, the highest number of supporting votes ever received for the resolution. Also, the final session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2005 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, a meeting convened once every five years, was held in April and May of 2004. However, the attending countries were unable to reach sufficient mutual agreement, mainly because of differences in their stances concerning nuclear disarmament. This left some concerns on conducting the Review Conference.

With respect to the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Biological Weapons Convention, specific efforts were continued by states parties from the standpoint of promotion of national implementation and functional enhancement of the conventions.

In the field of conventional weapons, the first Review Conference of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction was held five years after the convention went into force. The conference confirmed the results achieved to date and proclaimed the decision of the states parties to pursue the objectives of the convention.

In the new security environment, Japan will continue to lead the international community in strengthening the international disarmament and non-proliferation regime in order to ensure its own peace and security. In particular, the elimination of nuclear weapons is the earnest wish of the people of Japan, the only country ever to have experienced atomic devastation. To this end, Japan has been continuing its efforts to realistically and incrementally advance nuclear disarmament through such means as submitting draft resolutions on nuclear disarmament to the UN General Assembly every year since 1994 and calling for the international community to promote the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). At the same time, Japan has strengthened its appeals to enhance the nonproliferation regime in Asia. These have included hosting the Asian Senior-Level Talks on Non-Proliferation (ASTOP), which have now been held twice (November 2003 and February 2005).

# (b) Focus on Regional Issues

The second and third rounds of the Six-Party Talks concerning the North Korean nuclear issue were held in February and June 2004, and there were substantive discussions toward reaching a peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue. During the third round, North Korea agreed to the fourth round of the Six-Party Talks being held by the end of September, but afterward did not re-

33. Formal title of the report: Multilateral Approaches to the Nuclear Fuel Cycle. In the text in this report the acronym "Multilateral Nuclear Approaches (MNA)" is used. Furthermore, for its report the group chose to use the term "multilateral" (meaning merely participation by several actors) to show the broadest, most flexible concept that encompasses multinational (participation by two or more countries), regional (participation by neighboring countries), and international (participation by several countries and/or international organizations, such as the IAEA) approaches.

spond regarding the holding of this meeting. The North Korean nuclear issue is a problem directly connected to Japan's security and is a crucial challenge to the international nuclear non-proliferation regime; for this reason, Japan has been continuing its diplomatic efforts toward a peaceful solution by not only working directly to encourage North Korea to dismantle its nuclear program through the Six-Party Talks and the Japan–North Korea Summit in May 2004 but also cooperating closely with the related countries in the IAEA.

In June 2004, Iran resumed its uranium enrichment-related activities against the repeated requirements of the relevant IAEA Board of Governors resolutions, which sharply increased the concern of the international community. Prior to the November IAEA Board of Governors meeting, however, the United Kingdom (UK), France, and Germany reached an agreement with Iran that included suspension of Iran's uranium enrichment-related activities; as of January 2005, Iran has suspended its uranium enrichment-related activities. Japan has consistently taken every opportunity to encourage Iran to sincerely implement all requirements of the relevant IAEA Board of Governors resolutions.

In October, the Iraq Survey Group (ISG) released its report concerning the reality of WMD in Iraq. While

	Weapons of mass destruction			Delivery means for	Conventional weapons
	Nuclear weapons	Chemical weapons	<b>Biological weapons</b>	WMD (missiles)	(small arms and light weapons, anti-personnel landmines, etc.)
Treaties, etc. for disarmament and non-proliferation	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)* Entered into force in Mar 1970 II International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) comprehensive safeguards* agreements (obligation based on Article 3 of the NPT) IAEA Additional Protocols* Comprehensive Nuclear-Test- Ban Treaty* (CTBT) (not yet entered into force) Adopted in Sep 1996	Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)* Entered into force in Apr 1997	Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) Entered into force in Mar 1975	Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC) Launched in Nov 2002 HCOC is not a legally binding international agreement but a political norm.	CCW Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti- Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction Entered into force in Mar 1999 Convention on Conventional Weapons Entered into force in Dec 1983
Export control regime for non-proliferation	Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) Material, equipment and technologies especially designed or prepared for nuclear use as well as nuclear related dual-use equipment and technologies (Part 1) Established in Jan 1978 (Part 2) Established in Apr 1992 Zangger Committee Material and equipment especially designed or prepared for nuclear use Established in Sep 1974	Australia Group (AG) Biological and chemical use equipment and tech Established in Jun 1985		Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) Missiles and related dual-use goods and technologies Established in Apr 1987	Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) Conventional arms and dual-use goods and technologies Established in Jul 1996
New non-proliferation initiative		Proliferation Securit	y Initiative (PSI)		

#### Outline of Framework for Disarmament and Non-proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Missiles and Related Materials

Note:  $\star$  in the chart entails inspections.

the report noted that no stockpiles of WMD of any sort, including nuclear, chemical or biological weapons, were discovered in Iraq, it also assessed that former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein had intended to maintain the capability to rebuild his WMD programs once sanctions were lifted.

In Pakistan, it was revealed in February that a number of scientists including Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, known as the "father of Pakistan's nuclear development," were involved in the leakage of nuclear weaponsrelated technologies outside the country.34 The outflow of nuclear weapons-related technologies by Pakistani scientists has damaged the peace and stability of the international community as well as the nuclear non-proliferation regime. In particular the outflow to North Korea, one of the deemed destinations, is a grave concern for Japan's security. The Japanese government has therefore conveyed its expression of regret to the Pakistani government at every opportunity, and has strongly requested that the Pakistani government provides relevant information concerning this incident to Japan and takes measures to prevent a recurrence. To strengthen Pakistan's export controls, the Japanese government also sponsored a conference of non-proliferation experts with Pakistan in April. On this occasion, the Pakistani government made it clear that it would enact a new domestic law on export controls to prevent a recurrence; in September it enacted export control legislation. Japan considers it important to continue cooperation with Pakistan aimed at the implementation of this law.

# (c) Nuclear Disarmament

With a view to realizing a peaceful and safe world free of nuclear weapons, Japan regards the maintenance and strengthening of the international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime based on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) to be of vital importance. The third session of the Preparatory Committee of the 2005 NPT Review Conference<sup>35</sup> was held in New York from April 26 to May 7, 2004, and 123 states parties attended this conference. Japan actively participated in this meeting by co-sponsoring a workshop on NPT with Indonesia in March prior to the meeting, and, through speeches and presentations of working papers, made vigorous appeals for the need to maintain and strengthen the international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime based on the NPT. Unfortunately, however, the countries attending the Preparatory Committee were only able to reach a mutual agreement concerning part of the procedural matters relating to the 2005 NPT Review Conference. Japan will continue to encourage the international community to issue a message at the 2005 NPT Review Conference urging the NPT states parties to be united and to strengthen their confidence in the NPT.

Japan considers the CTBT, along with the IAEA safeguards system,<sup>36</sup> an indispensable pillar of the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime based on the NPT. Japan places great value on the early entry into force of the CTBT as one of the highest priorities in the field of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. In the light of this, in September 2004 then Minister for Foreign Affairs Kawaguchi Yoriko co-hosted the CTBT Friends Ministerial Meeting in New York, in which Ministers adopted a Joint Ministerial Statement urging countries that had not signed or ratified the CTBT to sign and ratify the treaty.

Furthermore, Japan places great importance on commencement of the negotiations on the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) as a concrete measure to advance nuclear disarmament. Though the Conference on Disarmament (CD) was unable to agree on a program of work, including the commencement of negotiations on the FMCT, during the 2004 session, Japan will continue its diplomatic efforts to bring about the early commencement of the FMCT negotiations in cooperation with other concerned countries.

To advance nuclear disarmament realistically and incrementally, every year since 1994 Japan has submit-

<sup>34.</sup> In a speech delivered at the National Defense University on February 11, 2004, US President Bush stated with regard to this activity, "Mr. Khan... and his associates sold the blueprints for centrifuges to enrich uranium, as well as a nuclear design stolen from the Pakistani government. Khan and his associates provided Iran and Libya and North Korea with designs for Pakistan's older centrifuges, as well as designs for more advanced and efficient models. The network also provided these countries with components..." (Excerpt)

<sup>35.</sup> A conference of the states parties to review the status of the NPT once every five years, based on the provisions of Article 8 paragraph 3 of the NPT. At the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, a resolution on the indefinite extension of the treaty was adopted. And at the 2000 NPT Review Conference, a Final Document was adopted, which included a set of practical steps toward nuclear disarmament, among which is the nuclear-weapon states' agreement to undertake unequivocally the total elimination of their nuclear arsenals. The 2005 NPT Review Conference is scheduled to be held from May 2 to May 27.

<sup>36.</sup> IAEA safeguards system: The system by which the IAEA conducts verification activities through such measures as "inspections" with the goal of ensuring nuclear materials are not being used for military purposes, based on safeguards agreements and protocols concluded separately with each country. Non-nuclear-weapon states that are states parties to the NPT are required to conclude a comprehensive safeguards agreement with the IAEA based on Article 3 of the treaty.

ted a draft resolution on nuclear disarmament to the UN General Assembly, and demonstrated the efforts the international community should undertake for disarmament. In December 2004, Japan submitted a draft resolution, entitled "A path to the total elimination of nuclear weapons," to the UN General Assembly, which was adopted with the support of an overwhelming majority.<sup>37</sup> The number of supporting votes received was the largest in favor of the resolution in the past 11 years, indicating that the development of a consensus in the international community to abolish nuclear weapons is steadily making progress.

From the viewpoint of disarmament, non-proliferation and preventing environmental pollution in the Sea of Japan, Japan has been providing Russia with support to dismantle decommissioned nuclear submarines remaining in the Russian Far East.<sup>38</sup> This cooperation program, called "Star of Hope," successfully concluded its first project by dismantling a decommissioned Victor IIIclass nuclear submarine in December 2004. As the next step, Japan is currently conferring with Russia on the implementing arrangement to support the dismantling of five more decommissioned nuclear submarines.

# (d) Diplomatic Efforts to Strengthen and Improve the Efficiency of IAEA Safeguards

The IAEA safeguards is an inspection and verification system to ensure nuclear material and activities are not diverted for military purposes, and it constitutes the core structure for ensuring the effectiveness of the international nuclear non-proliferation regime. Japan, which considers the maintenance and strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation regime to be one of its major diplomatic tasks, has proactively contributed in the field of strengthening the safeguards. In particular, in recognition that it is essential for as many countries as possible to conclude the Additional Protocol<sup>39</sup> to strengthen the safeguards, Japan has used bilateral and multina-

tional conferences as platforms to vigorously promote the "universalization of the Additional Protocol," urging every country to conclude the Additional Protocol. At the same time, Japan places importance on the efficient utilization of the IAEA's limited human and financial resources, and has been urging the IAEA Secretariat to further enhance the efficiency of its safeguards activities. From this perspective, Japan welcomes the implementation of integrated safeguards<sup>40</sup> in more countries, thereby easing the burden and reducing the costs for both countries accepting safeguards and the IAEA. Furthermore, the IAEA drew a conclusion in June 2004 that all of Japan's nuclear material and activities are under the IAEA safeguards and are being used for peaceful purposes, and integrated safeguards have been implemented in Japan since September 2004.

The safeguards problem in the Republic of Korea (ROK), which was identified in September 2004, was a case that again confirmed the effectiveness of the Additional Protocol. Although the ROK submitted its initial declaration to the IAEA based on this protocol in August, after the Additional Protocol went into effect in February 2004, it was discovered that uranium enrichment tests and other research using laser separation techniques had been conducted by several scientists in the past. This case was taken up in September and November by the IAEA Board of Governors, and as a result of its discussions the Secretariat decided not to report the activity of the ROK to the UN Security Council; the IAEA will continue to carry out inspection and verification of matters that remain unclear.

#### (e) Chemical Weapons

The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)<sup>41</sup> is a groundbreaking treaty that places a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, including their development, production and stockpiling; it also provides for the total destruction of existing chemical weapons and ensures compliance with the treaty through an effective verifi-

37. 165 in favor, 3 opposed (US, India, and Palau) and 16 abstained.

40. Integrated Safeguards: The concept of rationally and organically integrating safeguards based on the conventional comprehensive safeguards agreement and safeguards based on the Additional Protocol. Specifically, this aims to enhance the efficiency of the safeguards by rationalizing the regular inspections in accordance with the conventional safeguards and other means in countries where the IAEA drew the conclusion that "there are no undeclared nuclear activities and nuclear material" through the implementation of the Additional Protocol. So far the IAEA has drawn the conclusion, which is the prerequisite for application of integrated safeguards, for 19 countries, and integrated safeguards are being implemented in five countries (Japan, Australia, Hungary, Indonesia, and Norway) as of January 2005. 41. The CWC went into effect in April 1997. There were 167 states parties as of December 31, 2004.

<sup>38.</sup> This program was implemented as part of the G8 Global Partnership, which was agreed upon at the summit level at the Kananaskis Summit in June 2002, with the primary goal of preventing the proliferation of WMD and related materials.

<sup>39.</sup> Additional Protocol: A protocol that is concluded with the IAEA in addition to the IAEA Safeguards Agreement. The authority of the IAEA is enhanced by the conclusion of the Additional Protocol—for example, expansion of scope of information on nuclear energy activities that should be declared to the IAEA and sites where inspections can be conducted by "complementary access." As of the end of December 2004, 90 countries have signed the Additional Protocol and it has entered into force in 62 countries.

cation system of declaration and inspections. The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW)<sup>42</sup> has been established as an international organization to implement the CWC.

Following its decision in December 2003 to abandon all of its WMD programs, Libya joined the CWC in January 2004 and the process began of destroying all of the chemical weapons in that country. Libya's Initial Declaration<sup>43</sup> concerning chemical weapons (approximately 23 tons of mustard gas) and chemical weapons production facilities was accepted by the OPCW, and an OPCW inspection team began inspections to verify the details of Libya's Initial Declaration. Many countries in the Middle East are not states parties to the CWC, and in the light of this situation Libya's participation in the CWC has enormous significance for encouraging other countries in this region to join the CWC.

Furthermore, the Action Plan for the Universality of the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Plan of Action Regarding the Implementation of Article VII Obligations (National Implementation), which were approved in 2003, continue to be implemented, thereby reinforcing the efforts toward the universalization of the CWC and the enhancement of national implementation measures. Japan has been advocating the universalization of the CWC and reinforcement of national implementation measures through such means as holding seminars mainly for Asian countries.

# (f) Biological Weapons

The Biological Weapons Convention (BWC)<sup>44</sup> is important as the only existing international framework that places a comprehensive ban on biological weapons, but strengthening the convention is a challenge as it lacks regulations on the means to verify the compliance with the convention of states parties. The states parties to the BWC suspended negotiations to create a protocol to introduce verification measures in November 2001; how-

ever, at the 5th Review Conference of the States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention<sup>45</sup> in November 2002 the states parties adopted by consensus a three-year work program<sup>46</sup> to strengthen the convention, and consultations are continuing.

At the Meeting of the States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention in December 2004, the second year of the work program mentioned above, the states parties confirmed their mutual understanding and effective measures concerning that year's agenda (infectious disease surveillance and crisis response) based on discussions at the Meeting of Experts. The states parties also unanimously adopted the report urging them to review the progress at the 6th Review Conference of the States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention.

Japan supports the process to strengthen the existing convention, and in addition to introducing its findings and experience and contributing to vigorous discussions by dispatching specialists to the experts' meeting in July 2004, Japan coordinated with various countries toward the adoption of the final report. As a result of this coordination, the final report that confirmed mutual understanding among the states parties and effective measures and urged a review of the progress at the next Review Conference in 2006 was adopted unanimously.

#### (g) Non-proliferation Efforts by the International Community

# Non-proliferation efforts including the export control regimes

The transfer of WMD and their means of delivery, missiles, to states or terrorists and the transfer of materials, equipment, and technologies that can be diverted to the development of WMD to actors who might use them for military purposes pose a threat to the peace and security of the international community; it is thus imperative to prevent and regulate such proliferation. The interna-

<sup>42.</sup> An international organization that was established in The Hague in the Netherlands when the CWC went into effect. It undertakes activities such as dispatching inspection teams to verify the compliance of states parties to the CWC.

<sup>43.</sup> A declaration made by a state party within 30 days after entry into force of the CWC for the state, detailing for the OPCW information such as chemical weapons possessed and chemical weapons production facilities operated by the state party.

<sup>44.</sup> The BWC went into effect in March 1975. There were 154 states parties as of February 2005. The BWC comprehensively prohibits development, production, stockpiling, as well as acquisition and possession of biological weapons and obliges states parties to destroy any biological weapons that they possess.

<sup>45.</sup> A conference of states parties is held once every five years to review the operation of the BWC.

<sup>46.</sup> States parties to the BWC decided that they would successively discuss the following five areas to strengthen the convention by holding the Meeting of Experts and Meeting of the States Parties every year from 2003 to 2006, the year when the next review conference is scheduled to be held, and promote mutual understanding and effective measures among states parties: (1) the strengthening of national measures to implement the prohibitions set forth in the convention; (2) national mechanisms to establish and maintain the security and oversight of pathogenic microorganisms and toxins (bio-security); (3) enhancing international capabilities for responding to, investigating and mitigating the effects of cases of alleged use of biological or toxin weapons or suspicious outbreaks of disease (crisis response); (4) strengthening national and international institutional cooperation for the surveillance, detection, diagnosis and combating of infectious diseases (infectious disease surveillance); and (5) the promulgation and adoption of codes of conduct for scientists.

tional community has established the non-proliferation regime, based on international conventions such as the NPT, CWC, and BWC, for this purpose.

At the same time, international frameworks for coordination regarding export controls among the major supplier countries of materials, equipment, and technologies that might be diverted to WMD also fulfill a key role for the maintenance and reinforcement of the non-proliferation regime. These frameworks include the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG, nuclear-related),47 the Australia Group (AG, chemical and biological weapons-related),<sup>48</sup> the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR, missile-related)<sup>49</sup> and the Wassenaar Arrangement (WA, conventional arms).<sup>50</sup> With regard to missiles, Japan complies with the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC)<sup>51</sup> adopted in November 2002, and actively contributes to ensuring the effectiveness and universalization of the HCOC by various means, including encouraging members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to participate. At the UN, Security Council Resolution 154052 concerning non-proliferation, which US President Bush called on the Security Council to approve, was adopted unanimously in April 2004. Among its provisions, Security Council

Resolution 1540 calls on UN member states to adopt and enforce the domestic laws necessary to prohibit non-state actors from acquiring, developing, transporting or using WMD. In recognizing the critical significance of this resolution for preventing WMD from falling under the control of terrorists or other actors, Japan is determined to contribute actively to the activities of the 1540 Committee53 established by this resolution, in order to ensure the resolution's effective implementation. In October 2004 Japan reported to the Security Council on the status of Japan's implementation of this resolution. With regard to missiles, the UN Panel of Government Experts on missiles was re-established in 2004 to conduct a diversified study of the missile problem; Japan participated in this panel as a government expert, making an active contribution that included remarks on the importance of efforts to resolve the missile problem.

#### **Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)**

These international efforts are crucial, but the current situation is that the proliferation of WMD has not been prevented completely because some countries do not comply with the relevant treaties and norms. To fill the loopholes in the conventional non-proliferation regime,

47. The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is an export control regime whose objective is to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons by controlling exports of materials, equipment, and technologies that may be used in nuclear weapons development. Forty-four countries participate in the regime as of December 2004. The NSG guidelines consist of the London Guidelines Part 1, which serves as a regulatory guideline for items and technologies that are especially designed or prepared for nuclear use, and the London Guidelines Part 2, which is a regulatory guideline for nuclear-related dual-use items and technologies.

48. The Australia Group (AG) is an export control regime whose objective is to prevent the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons by controlling exports of related dual-use materials and technologies that may be used to develop and manufacture chemical and biological weapons. Thirty-eight countries participate in this regime as of December 2004.

49. The Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is an international export control framework whose objective is to control the exports of missiles, which serve as the delivery means of WMD, as well as related multipurpose material and technology that may contribute to missile development. Thirty-four countries participate in this regime as of December 2004.

50. The Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) was established as the successor to the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CO-COM, an export control regime covering the former Communist bloc). The WA is an international export control regime whose objective is to: (1) contribute to the security and stability of the regional and international community by preventing destabilizing accumulations of conventional arms and related sensitive dual-use goods and technologies; and (2) prevent terrorist groups and others from acquiring conventional arms and sensitive dual-use goods and technologies as part of the global fight against terrorism. Thirty-three countries participate in this regime as of December 2004.

51. The Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC) is the first international rule for the non-proliferation of ballistic missiles and is a political document indicating the principles that should be complied with in the prevention and containment of the proliferation of ballistic missiles and the necessary measures to that end (it is not a legally-binding international agreement). The main content of the HCOC includes: (1) prevention and containment of the proliferation of ballistic missiles that can deliver WMD; (2) restricting development, experimentation and deployment; (3) not contributing, supporting or assisting the ballistic missile programs of countries suspected of developing WMD; and (4) implementation of confidence-building measures. As of December 2004, 118 countries participate in the HCOC. 52. Security Council Resolution 1540 on non-proliferation:

- (1) In his address to the UN General Assembly in September 2003, US President Bush called on the UN Security Council to adopt a new antiproliferation resolution, and in a speech concerning non-proliferation delivered in February 2004, President Bush again called for early adoption of the resolution.
- (2) The resolution was adopted unanimously at the UN Security Council meeting on April 29, 2004.

(3) Seven countries were joint-sponsors: the US, the UK, France, Russia, the Philippines, Romania and Spain.

53. 1540 Committee: A sub-committee of the Security Council, established by Security Council Resolution 1540 for a period of no longer than two years. Based on the resolution, member states are called upon to report to the 1540 Committee on the status of the steps they intend to take or have taken to implement Security Council Resolution 1540, and the 1540 Committee is obliged to receive and examine the national reports of the member states.

# What is the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)?

The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) is a new effort to reinforce the non-proliferation regime that was launched in May 2003 by 11 countries\* including Japan. This effort is expected to complement the conventional non-proliferation regime and lead to even more effective prevention of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), missiles, and related materials that can be used for their development.

Under the conventional non-proliferation regime, each country worked to prevent the proliferation of WMD, missiles, and related materials by enacting measures such as domestic controls and export controls within its own territory based on its own domestic laws. Such measures are an effort to stop proliferation at the water's edge, and their importance will not change in the future. On the other hand, the PSI can be seen as a new approach, as it aims at preventing proliferation at the transportation stage in particular, and emphasizes that there are measures that can be taken within the scope of existing international law and each country's domestic laws through cooperative action, even beyond the country's own territory. Specifically, through various meetings and joint exercises, participants endeavor to strengthen cooperation among the related authorities in PSI countries, and study the legal aspects of action to interdict proliferation under the PSI. In October 2004, Japan hosted Team Samurai '04, a maritime interdiction exercise in which vessels and other assets from the United States, Australia, France, and Japan conducted an exercise to

prevent the proliferation of WMD-related materials at the transport stage. The exercise scenario assumed the following situation.

"Transshipment of suspected sarin-related materials from a US vessel to a Japanese vessel has begun on the high seas. To prevent the transshipment, Japan Coast Guard patrol vessels with a search and seizure warrant for the suspected Japanese vessel approach the vessels, but both vessels flee from the scene. The Japan Coast Guard patrol vessels stop the suspected Japanese vessel on the high seas, and after searching the vessel and seizing the suspected material divert the Japanese vessel to the nearest port. Based on the information provided by Japan, the US vessels start pursuit of the suspected US vessel on the high seas, with the assistance of Australian and French vessels at the request of the US. After the US stops the suspect vessel on the high seas, the US calls for support of the Australian and French ships in conducting a joint search, and the suspect material is seized."

Japan has been actively cooperating with the development of the PSI with a belief that, under the PSI, countries will be able to prevent the proliferation of WMD and related materials more functionally and effectively within the scope of international law and each country's domestic laws by joint action of related countries.

\* Japan, the US, the UK, Italy, the Netherlands, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, Poland, and Portugal.

11 countries including Japan launched the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)<sup>54</sup> in 2003. During 2004 the number of countries participating or cooperating expanded steadily, including Russia, which announced its decision to join the Initiative at the First Anniversary Proliferation Security Initiative Meeting in June. Various training and joint exercises were held. Japan has been participating actively in the PSI as a measure that complements its conventional efforts for non-proliferation of WMD, and in October 2004 Japan hosted a maritime interdiction exercise (Team Samurai '04) off the coast of Sagami Bay and within the port of Yokosuka. Twenty-two countries participated in this exercise, including states from the Asia-Pacific region, such as Cambodia, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Thailand, which took part in a PSI exercise for the first time. This exercise helped strengthen cooperation among the various countries and promote understanding of the PSI.

<sup>54.</sup> An initiative to consider possible measures that can be taken collectively by participating countries so as to interdict the proliferation of WMD, their delivery means, and related materials, within a framework of international law and the domestic laws of each country. As of December 2004, 15 countries (Japan, the US, the UK, Italy, the Netherlands, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Canada, Norway, and Russia) play a central role in the PSI as the "core group."

(Photo)

# Strengthening of the Non-proliferation Regime in Asia

To effectively ensure non-proliferation of WMD, each country must strengthen its non-proliferation efforts at every stage, including the transportation stage, import and export controls, and domestic controls. Based on the recognition that enhancing the non-proliferation regime in this manner through an all-inclusive approach, particularly in every Asian country, is important for the security of Japan and the entire Asian region, Japan has used various opportunities to work toward greater understanding among Asian countries and to encourage participation in the international non-proliferation framework. In November 2003, Japan hosted the Asian Senior-Level Talks on Non-Proliferation (ASTOP) in Tokyo, the first director-general-level meeting to discuss comprehensively non-proliferation issues in Asia. The participating countries shared the view that preventing the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means is crucial for the peace and stability of the international community, and the importance of the PSI is shared to a certain extent among the Asian countries. Based on this result, Japan took steps to further enhance the non-proliferation regime in Asia. Specifically, Japan dispatched the Japan-ASEAN Non-Proliferation Cooperation Mission to all 10 ASEAN countries in February 2004, and in May 2004 hosted the Asia Non-proliferation Seminar in Tokyo, to which it invited maritime law enforcement officers from five Southeast Asian countries. Japan has continued to pursue efforts to reinforce non-proliferation efforts in Asia, including hosting of the 2nd ASTOP meeting in Tokyo in February 2005.

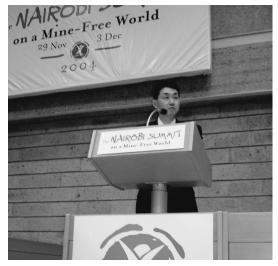
#### (h) Small Arms and Light Weapons

In recent years, efforts to resolve conflicts have placed much importance on the prevention of conflict or its recurrence. There is an excessive availability of small arms and light weapons in the international community; this has become one of the factors leading to the intensification and lengthening of conflicts, the deterioration of post-conflict public security and the recurrence of conflict. It also serves as a tremendous obstacle to the reconstruction of the countries and societies affected. As a countermeasure against such issues, in 2001 the international community drew up a Programme of Action that includes prevention of the illegal trade in small arms and light weapons, as well as international cooperation and assistance. In June 2004 the first session to negotiate an international instrument concerning the tracing of small arms and light weapons, one of the follow-up matters for the Programme of Action, was held at the UN. The third and final session is scheduled to be held in June 2005.

Japan has been carrying out projects for collecting small arms and light weapons, which combine the collection of small arms and light weapons with development assistance in cooperation with relevant organizations. In Cambodia, for example, the Japanese government has cooperated with the Cambodian government and implemented the Peace Building and Comprehensive Small Arms Management Program in Cambodia as Japanese Economic Cooperation for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building (¥450 million in FY2002, ¥470 million in FY2004). This program is based on development assistance in exchange for the submission of small arms and light weapons, destruction of small arms and light weapons, assistance in controlling and registering small arms and light weapons, and educational activities. Through this program, over 9,000 small arms and light weapons have been collected and disposed of as of the end of September, 2004.

# (i) Anti-personnel Landmines

In regard to the issue of anti-personnel landmines, Japan has been making comprehensive efforts in the international community based on the two inseparable strategies of realizing a broad and effective prohibition of anti-personnel landmines and strengthening support for mine action. Since 1998, for example, Japan has provided over \$16 billion in support to more than 30 countries for demining activities and victim assistance. In particular,



Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Kawai addresses the first Review Conference of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction in November. (Ottawa Convention)

support for mine action in Afghanistan has been positioned as one of the major pillars of its support for the country's reconstruction. Specifically, Japan has been supporting humanitarian demining, demining in areas of reconstruction work, development of demining technology and assistance for Afghanistan's own efforts through demining training for demobilized soldiers and other Afghanis. Japan's assistance through international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the Transitional Administration of Afghanistan amounts to approximately ¥5 billion.

In order to realize the effective prohibition of antipersonnel landmines in the international community, it is important for more countries to conclude the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction (Ottawa Convention).<sup>55</sup> Japan has been urging mainly Asia-Pacific countries that have not concluded the convention to become party to it. In addition, Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Kawai Katsuyuki attended the first Review Conference of the Ottawa Convention, held in Nairobi at the end of November 2004. He announced Japan's new policy against landmines for the five-year period until 2009, under which Japan will continue to provide mine action assistance on a similar scale as before, with emphasis on Asia, the Middle East and Africa, according to the three principles of (1) "consolidation of peace," (2) "human security" and (3) close cooperation among governments, NGOs, the private sector, and academia, including development of demining technologies as part of this cooperation.

<sup>55.</sup> A convention that went into force in March 1999 that prohibits the use, production and other conducts related to anti-personnel landmines, and obligates the destruction of stockpiled landmines and landmines in mined areas. As of January 2005, 144 countries including Japan have concluded the convention. In addition to annual meetings of the states parties to the convention, review conferences can be convened at intervals of no less than five years.