

Chapter I

OVERVIEW: THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND JAPANESE DIPLOMACY IN 2001

A. OVERVIEW

(a) The International Situation in 2001

Learning from the experience of two world wars, the international community has built an open political and economic system founded on the basic values of respect for human rights, democracy, the market economy, and free trade; and that framework has allowed the world to secure stability and achieve prosperity. To ensure its own peace and safety and to realize greater prosperity, Japan has actively contributed to the further development of this open politico-economic system as a key player among the developed democracies.

The year 2001 drove home the need for global efforts to maintain the stability of the international community and to achieve even greater prosperity, and success hinges increasingly on our response to global issues, which must be dealt with appropriately to promote the further development of a world order built upon such an open politico-economic system. Accordingly, the international community has been actively addressing global issues such as terrorism, the world economy, the global environment, infectious diseases, and arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation.

The event that impacted most heavily on the international situation in 2001 was the simultaneous terrorist attacks that took place in the United States on September 11.

Those indiscriminate acts of terrorism were carried out by Al-Qaeda—an international terrorist network headed by Usama bin Laden—and they represent an outright challenge to the open politico-economic system founded on fundamental values such as respect for basic human rights, democracy, the market economy, and free trade, painstakingly created by the international community. September 11 was nothing less than an attack on all civilizations, races, and religions. The international community has responded to that challenge by forming an international coalition led by the United States to prevent and eradicate terrorism, coordinating efforts on a number of fronts. In particular, the world community—the Islamic countries included—supported and assisted military action spearheaded by the United States and the United Kingdom against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban administration in Afghanistan, which had aided Al-Qaeda. The international community also moved actively to strengthen international legal frameworks, including the conclusion of counter-terrorism conventions, and to institute measures to prevent the financing of terrorist organizations.

While further developments will need to be closely scrutinized, changes have already emerged in the foreign policy of the United States and other countries in the wake of the formation of the international coalition against terrorism. More specifically, the attacks have prompted closer ties between the United States and the Central Asian and South Asian countries surrounding Afghanistan, which played a critical role in the execution of military operations in Afghanistan. In addition, Russia moved swiftly to support the United States, thereby demonstrating a cooperative stance toward U.S. military operations. In May, the United States put forward a new strategic framework that included missile defense and notified Russia in December of its withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. However neither of those decisions has affected the increasing closeness of the two countries. There have also been signs of improvement in U.S.-China relations, which had cooled over the U.S. National Missile Defense (NMD) and the incident involving the collision of a U.S. Navy patrol plane and a Chinese jet fighter over the South China Sea in April.

From the point of view of international relations, September 11 proved that a non-state actor in the form of a terrorist organization could, in the blink of an eye, exert a previously unimaginable influence on international relations, which was previously considered to be the sole province of nation-states. The globalization of the contemporary world has seen greater interaction among states, deepening interdependence, and the free movement of people, goods, and services in response to the opening of borders and deregulation. In this world, the movers and shakers of international relations have diversified away from states to include international institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and multinational corporations. The new heterogeneity of the main players in the field of international relations has also introduced greater diversity and complexity into international relations themselves. For example, the military operations in

Afghanistan departed from the traditional paradigm of state-to-state war, manifesting instead an asymmetrical confrontation between an international coalition of states led by the United States and the United Kingdom on the one hand and, on the other, an international terrorist organization and the local military power that supported it. In this sense too, the international community will need to adapt its response to the new face of war.

Moreover, while the advance of globalization has provided the international community with the opportunity for greater prosperity, September 11 strongly reaffirmed the need for the international community to deal appropriately with those problems that could be described as the dark side of globalization's advance—namely, the uneven distribution of the benefits of globalization, the widening gap between rich and poor, the “digital divide,” and issues involving cultural and social identity. Nothing makes terrorism legitimate, but while these problems and others like them persist, they will be used by terrorist organizations to justify their actions. As a means also of maintaining and strengthening international solidarity against terrorism, the international community must go beyond direct efforts to combat terrorism—it must strive also to resolve the problems created by the advance of globalization.

(b) Japan's Efforts

While Japan's unprecedented prosperity in the postwar years is the direct result of the diligent efforts of the Japanese people, it undoubtedly owes much to the existence of an international order grounded in an open politico-economic system comprising respect for basic human rights, democracy, the market economy, and free trade. To secure the peace and security of Japan and to ensure even greater prosperity, this international order must be advanced still further. Accordingly, as a key player among the developed democracies, Japan must work toward the stability and prosperity of the international community through active efforts to resolve global issues, including counter-terrorism measures, and to stabilize those regional situations that have the potential to impact heavily on the international community. In pursuing these efforts, Japan will need to further strengthen relations with the United States as the axis of Japan's diplomacy, as well as promote cooperative relations with other countries, including the major powers.

Founded on that basic approach, key Japanese efforts in 2001 were as follows.

- *Efforts to Resolve Global Issues*

Counter-terrorist measures took on great urgency in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Recognizing that the fight against terrorism is Japan's fight too, the government passed the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law and, pursuant to this, engaged actively and on its own initiative in cooperation and support activities for U.S. and other troops fighting terrorism, as

well as in relief activities for the victims. In addition, viewing the prevention and eradication of terrorism as requiring a long campaign extending beyond immediate military operations, Japan set out to strengthen international legal frameworks by concluding the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and signing the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Another key element in the fight against terrorism has been United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1373, and steady progress was made with the development of legislation to faithfully fulfill that resolution along with the above conventions. Arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation efforts are also critical in a counter-terrorism context—in other words, preventing nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons from falling into the hands of terrorist organizations—and Japan continued to make efforts in this area, which includes strengthening the domestic export control system.

Japan regards cooperation with Afghanistan's neighbors as an essential element in effecting permanent peace and stability in Afghanistan and has accordingly provided economic assistance to Pakistan and other neighboring countries that are experiencing difficulties as they battle terrorism. Humanitarian aid has also been supplied to Afghan refugees and displaced persons through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other channels. In addition, Japan—together with the United States, the European Union, and Saudi Arabia—hosted the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan in Tokyo in January 2002, which was an effort to support stability and reconstruction in Afghanistan and promote a peaceful transition to a new administration. The conference drew pledges from a number of countries and institutions for the capital needed for immediate reconstruction in Afghanistan, and it helped demonstrate the political support of the international community for peace in Afghanistan.

But the year 2001 was not only about the fight against terrorism. Major progress was also made on other issues of global import. In terms of the international economy, for example, a new round of World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations was announced; while on the global environment front, basic agreement was reached on rules related to the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol at the Seventh Session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP 7).

The launching of a new round of WTO negotiations is a key issue in terms of realizing sustained economic growth for the international community; and following the failure of the Third Ministerial Conference held in Seattle in 1999, Japan has engaged in a variety of efforts in cooperation with other countries to ensure the launch of a new round with a sufficiently broad-based agenda that can respond to the diversified concerns of the WTO members. Subsequently, at the Fourth WTO Ministerial Conference held in Qatar in November, members agreed to launch the new round.

Turning to the global environment, particular progress was made with regard to climate change. In July, at the resumed Sixth Session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate

Change (COP 6 bis), and again in November, at the COP 7 meeting, Japan made the utmost effort to achieve agreement, aiming at the entry into force of the Kyoto Protocol in 2002. Substantive agreement was ultimately reached on detailed rules for implementation of the Kyoto Protocol, improving prospects for its ratification by the developed countries and other countries. Japan launched full preparations toward the conclusion of the Kyoto Protocol in 2002. At the same time, Japan continues consultations with the United States, which has expressed its opposition to the Kyoto Protocol.

To ensure its own stability and prosperity, the international community needs to work actively to assist development and reduce poverty in Africa and other developing countries. Japan has therefore taken a proactive stance on problems in Africa, which is a continent blighted by poverty and armed conflict. One such effort was the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) Ministerial-level Meeting, hosted together with the United Nations and other organizations in December.

Infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria are a particularly severe problem in developing countries. But the problem needs to be addressed by the entire international community, and not just by the afflicted countries. Japan has exerted itself fully in spurring active efforts by the entire international community, private and public sector included. In 2001, fora such as the June UN General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS conducted follow-ups to the G8 Kyushu–Okinawa Summit, which Japan chaired; and at the G8 Genoa Summit in July, the UN Secretary-General and G8 leaders announced that the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM) would be launched in 2001. The fund was subsequently officially established in January 2002.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons—as well as the ballistic missiles that deliver them—presents a direct threat to the peace and stability of the international community, and this issue must continue to be addressed by the international community, not just in the context of counter-terrorism but in light of the seriousness of the issue in and of itself. At the November Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) Conference on Facilitating the Entry into Force of the CTBT, Japan worked actively to have the conference communicate a strong message, one that would help facilitate the entry into force of the CTBT at the earliest possible date. At the November UN General Assembly, Japan presented a resolution—“A Path to the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons”—which was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The negotiations that had been going on for many years on a verification protocol to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) were suspended in August due to U.S. opposition on the grounds of effectiveness. Japan and the other states that are party to the BWC have addressed the strengthening of the BWC, and discussion is expected to continue at the BWC Review Conference when it reconvenes in 2002. Japan has been engaged in dialogue with the Asian countries concerning missile non-proliferation. Further, recognizing the importance of advancing practical disarmament efforts (“action oriented

disarmament”) in regard to conventional weapons such as anti-personnel landmines and small arms and light weapons, Japan played an active role in consensus-building toward the adoption of the final document at the July United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects.

- *Regional Situations*

The Middle East peace process has a powerful influence on the international situation, and this important topic was addressed in May with the submission of the Mitchell Report (final report by the Sharm el-Sheikh Fact-finding Committee); and in mid-June, a plan of action that included steps for security cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians was agreed upon through the mediation of U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director George Tenet. At the end of June, mediation by U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell on a visit to the region produced agreement on implementation of the Mitchell Report, but clashes continued afterwards. The October assassination of Israeli Minister of Tourism Rechavam Ze’evy and a succession of suicide bombings intensified these clashes, and tension remained high. Japan repeatedly appealed to the parties involved and the surrounding countries to bring an end to the clashes and resume peace talks, while also providing assistance to alleviate the economic hardships of the Palestinians.

In terms of relations between India and Pakistan, both countries appeared to be working to ease tension, including the July visit of Pakistani President General Pervez Musharraf to India, where leaders held their first summit in some two and a half years. In December, however, an attack on the Indian Parliament caused tension to skyrocket once again. Japan was quick to condemn that shooting incident, and, recognizing that tension could impact negatively not just on regional stability but also on the international community as a whole, appealed to both sides to resolve the issue through dialogue, working toward relieving the bilateral tension that escalated in the wake of the incident.

Looking at the Balkan situation, the use of force in Macedonia by the ethnic Albanian insurgents from the National Liberation Army (NLA) that began around February spread as far as the outskirts of the capital, and tension continued. In July, however, a ceasefire was agreed to between the Macedonian government and the NLA, which wanted improved status for ethnic Albanians; and November saw implementation of the sought-after constitutional amendments. Efforts in Kosovo under the UN provisional administration made progress toward the creation of substantial autonomy in Kosovo based on a democratic multiethnic society, and assembly elections were held in November. Japan dispatched election observers for the Kosovo assembly elections based on its Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations (the International Peace Cooperation Law), and also made various contributions to the peace and stability of Macedonia and the rest of the Balkan region, including humanitarian relief for refugees and displaced persons.

In East Timor, progress was made toward independence under the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and Constituent Assembly elections were held in August. Japan dispatched election observers pursuant to the International Peace Cooperation Law, and has actively extended reconstruction and development assistance. In addition, the Ground Self-Defense Force Engineer Group and PKF headquarters personnel have been taking part in UN Peacekeeping Operations in East Timor since March 2002.

- *Efforts to Strengthen Relations with Key Countries and Regions*

Strengthening relations with key countries and regions is an essential aspect of Japan's efforts to resolve issues facing the international community. Japan–U.S. relations stand as the axis of Japan's diplomacy, and in 2001—a year that marked the 50th anniversary of the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty—Japan worked to reinforce bilateral relations still further in a wide range of areas, including politics, security, and the economy. In February, the *Ehime Maru*, a fisheries training vessel operated by Ehime Prefecture's Uwajima Fisheries High School, was struck by a U.S. nuclear-powered submarine and sank, and nine of those on board went missing or were found dead. Despite this tragic accident, a Japan–U.S. summit in March was followed in June by the first Japan–U.S. summit since the inauguration of the Koizumi administration, at which leaders released a joint declaration that noted their agreement to strengthen strategic dialogue, establish new economic consultations, and further their cooperation on global issues. Recognizing that the Asia–Pacific region continues to manifest a number of factors of instability and uncertainty, leaders reaffirmed that the Japan–U.S. alliance based on Japan–U.S. Security Arrangements remains the cornerstone of peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific. Based on this common understanding, leaders decided to intensify security consultations at various levels. They also agreed to work on issues related to U.S. forces in Japan, such as the steady implementation of the Final Report of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO), and thereby strengthen the Japan–U.S. alliance. On the economic front, the June summit also saw leaders agree to launch the Japan–U.S. Economic Partnership for Growth as a new foundation for bilateral economic relations. Under this initiative, constructive communication has been carried out at fora such as the U.S.–Japan Subcabinet Economic Dialogue, in an effort to promote the sustainable economic growth of both countries and of the world.

One of Japan's most important bilateral relationships is with China, a relationship that is vital in terms of ensuring the stability and prosperity of the Asia–Pacific region. China responded sharply to issues such as the history textbook issue, the visit to Japan of former Taiwanese "President" Lee Teng-hui, and Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, but relations began to improve with the prime minister's visit to China in October. Economic relations sustained the favorable vein of last year in terms of both trade and investment, despite some trade friction concerning safeguard measures instituted on certain agricultural products that

December ministerial consultations sought to resolve. Some in Japan view harshly the continuation of Official Development Assistance (ODA) for China due to the difficult domestic economic and fiscal situation and China's burgeoning economic development. Concerned at this situation, the Japanese government created the Economic Cooperation Program for China in October as a guideline to ensure that ODA is extended with public understanding and support, and all further aid will be implemented based on this plan.

The Republic of Korea (ROK) is a neighboring country that shares Japan's basic values and is of great importance to Japan both politically and economically. While bilateral relations were disturbed in 2001 by the history textbook issue, Prime Minister Koizumi's visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, and Korean fishing boats operating in waters around the four northern islands, two summits in October saw leaders conduct a frank exchange of views and agree to engage in concrete and active cooperation toward developing a future-oriented relationship. Subsequent close bilateral coordination resulted in great progress toward the resolution of a number of issues, including basic agreement on an investment treaty and substantial relaxation of visa regulations. While the Korean Peninsula situation evinced a number of positive signs in 2000, the inter-Korean Summit Meeting among them, no particular progress was made in 2001 in relations between North Korea and Japan, the ROK, and the United States, although North Korea engaged in vigorous diplomatic efforts elsewhere, including summit diplomacy with China and Russia and the establishment of diplomatic relations with European countries. Japan will continue to persist with Japan–North Korea normalization talks, maintaining close coordination in this context with the United States and the ROK. In the process of this dialogue, it will be vital to work toward resolving security and humanitarian issues with North Korea.

Japan recognizes that building truly stable Japan–Russia relations will contribute to the peace and stability of not only Japan and Russia but of the entire Northeast Asian region, and Japan is working to progress bilateral relations in a wide range of areas in order to advance three particular issues simultaneously—namely, conclusion of a peace treaty with Russia, cooperation in economic areas, and cooperation in the international arena. In regard to the first of these, Japan's consistent policy has been to resolve the issue of the attribution of the Northern Territories and conclude a peace treaty. At the Japan–Russia summits in July and October, Japan consequently affirmed that it would continue to make every possible effort toward the conclusion of a peace treaty, building on the results achieved to date through, for example, the Irkutsk Summit. Active efforts were also made to further promote economic relations, including the June visit to Russia of an economic mission headed by Keidanren Chairman Takashi Imai, which discussed the expansion of economic exchanges.

In the Asia–Pacific, Japan strengthened bilateral ties with members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as well as contributing to the multi-layered development of regional cooperative frameworks supplementing bilateral relations. At the Japan–ASEAN Summit, ASEAN+3

(Japan, China, and the ROK) Summit, and Japan–China–ROK Summit, which all took place in November, members agreed to strengthen cooperation on cross-border issues such as terrorism, piracy, and drugs. In addition, the Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Economic Leaders’ and Ministerial Meetings saw lively discussion on the further promotion of trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, as well as the promotion of economic and technical cooperation. The July ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Ministerial Meeting discussed the Korean Peninsula, Indonesia, and other regional situations, as well as global issues such as disarmament and non-proliferation. In January, Japan also launched intergovernmental consultations aimed at concluding the Japan–Singapore Economic Agreement for a New-Age Partnership (JESPA); and at the Japan–Singapore Summit held during the Shanghai APEC Economic Leaders’ Meeting in October, it was announced that negotiations had ended successfully. During Prime Minister Koizumi’s subsequent visit to Southeast Asia in January 2002, the prime minister signed the agreement together with Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong.

Regarding relations with India, a key Asian democracy, a bilateral summit conducted during Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee’s visit to Japan in December resulted in the issuing of the Japan–India Joint Declaration, which is to serve as a guideline for both countries in regard to bilateral relations and their efforts as global partners dealing with global issues. Leaders agreed to expand bilateral exchange not only in the economic but also in the political and security spheres, working to develop closer cooperative ties.

The ongoing deepening and broadening of the EU is increasing Europe’s presence in the international community, and strengthening relations with Europe is another important issue for Japan. The milestone year of 2001 marked a decade since the issue of the Joint Declaration on Relations between the European Community and its Member States and Japan in The Hague (the Japan–EC Joint Declaration), the basic document in Japan–EU relations, as well as the first year of the Decade of Japan–Europe Cooperation. In December, Prime Minister Koizumi visited Belgium, the EU presidency at that time, and a Japan–EU Summit held on that occasion led to progress in building up Japan–Europe relations, including the announcement of the Action Plan for Japan–EU Cooperation, which contains measures for bringing greater substance to bilateral cooperation.

In this section, we have reviewed the international situation in 2001 and provided a brief overview of Japan’s diplomatic efforts in the various areas.

When steering the diplomatic course, the understanding and support of the Japanese people is critical. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been striving to recover the public confidence lost through scandals such as that involving the former director of the Overseas Visit Support Division, General Affairs Division of the Minister’s Secretariat, Katsutoshi Matsuo. In June 2001, the recommendations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Reform Council, a group of eminent private-sector figures, were used as a reference in the creation of “Outline of Reform Programs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.” Based on that document, the ministry has designed

measures to prevent a recurrence of such incidents, including review and improvement of accounting and budget settlement procedures, establishment of a ministry monitoring system, and reinforcement of the auditing system. Reforms have also gone forward to improve the personnel system, reform consular services, and expand information services. The results of a series of considerations were announced on December 21. Further, under the leadership of Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi, who took up her post in February 2002, “Ten Reform Principles to Ensure an Open Ministry of Foreign Affairs” was released as a guideline for further reforms, with the aim of accelerating the pace of the current reform program. A third-party group, the Reform Advisory Board, was consequently launched in March to consider concrete reform measures and submit recommendations in the form of an interim report to Foreign Minister Kawaguchi by mid-May, followed by a final report in July. The ministry will seek a broad range of views from all quarters, including those of the Reform Advisory Board, and engage actively in reform aimed at restoring the confidence of the public in the ministry as soon as possible.

The following sections undertake a more detailed examination of Japanese diplomacy in 2001, the international situation embracing this, and ministry reform.