

Chapter II

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY IN MAJOR DIPLOMATIC FIELDS AND THE RESPONSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

SECTION 1

POLITICS AND SECURITY

A. Ensuring Japan's Security

(a) Overview

The Asia-Pacific region still faces a number of unpredictable and uncertain situations, such as outbreaks of regional conflict due to complex and diverse causes, including ethnic and religious differences, and the further proliferation of missiles and weapons of mass destruction. Moreover, current international conditions encompass a great many volatile factors, as demonstrated by the emergence of formerly inconceivable types of threats such as the September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States.

Given this security environment, Japan embraces a security policy with three main pillars: (1) firmly maintaining the Japan–U.S. Security Arrangements, (2) moderately building up Japan’s defense capability on an appropriate scale, and (3) pursuing diplomatic efforts to ensure international peace and security.

The Japan–U.S. Security Arrangements are explained in detail in the next section.

Under the Constitution, Japan has moderately built up its defense capability in accordance with the fundamental principles of maintaining an exclusively defense-oriented policy and not becoming a military power that might pose a threat to other countries. Based on those principles, Japan’s defense capability continues to be systematically upgraded under the National Defense Program Outline adopted in November 1995 and the Mid-Term Defense Program (FY 2001–05) adopted in December 2000.

The peace and prosperity of Japan are inevitably linked to the peace and prosperity of the Asia–Pacific region and of the world. It is therefore vital for Japan to engage actively in diplomatic efforts at various levels. Under that concept, it is incumbent upon Japan to continue to exercise an active role through the following efforts: bilateral and multilateral cooperation to ensure regional stability; political and security dialogue and cooperation toward building confidence with other countries; strengthening of arms control, disarmament, and the non-proliferation regime; efforts to address regional conflict by means of conflict prevention and participation in United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Operations (PKO); enhancing regional stability through support and cooperation in the economic development of countries in the region; and efforts to prevent and eradicate international terrorism. The activities implemented in 2001 under the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law—including the provision of support to U.S. military and other forces, Japan’s participation in the PKO being deployed in East Timor, and the removal of the freeze on full-scale participation in Peacekeeping Forces (PKF) enabled by the revision of the International Peace Cooperation Law—were all based on this same understanding.

The December 2001 incident involving the unidentified ship off the southwest coast of Kyushu posed a grave situation in terms of maintaining Japan’s legal order and security, and the government will continue striving to respond to such incidents in an appropriate manner.

1. The Japan–U.S. Security Arrangements

(a) The Japan–U.S. Security Arrangements

At the June 2001 Japan–U.S. Summit, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and President George W. Bush welcomed the 50th anniversary of Japan–U.S. security relations and reconfirmed that the Japan–U.S. alliance is the cornerstone for peace and stability in the Asia–Pacific region. In September, a ceremony was held in San Francisco, where the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty was signed,

to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the signing of that treaty. The ceremony was attended by Minister for Foreign Affairs Makiko Tanaka, Director-General of the Defense Agency Gen Nakatani, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, and U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, Japan has been actively fighting terrorism as its own problem. In particular, Japan's cooperation and support activities under the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law for the U.S. military, which is engaged in activities to eliminate the threat of terrorism, is highly significant from the perspective of reinforcing the Japan-U.S. alliance.

While there are signs that conditions in the Asia-Pacific region are moving in a favorable direction, instability and uncertainty still exist. Given this security environment, the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements continue to play a vital role in preserving the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. Since Japan is unable to respond to all of the situations that might threaten the country's security solely with its own defense capabilities, Japan must uphold its security under the deterrence provided by firmly maintaining the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and thereby securing the forward deployment of the U.S. forces. From this perspective, Japan must continue unrelentingly with its efforts to further enhance the credibility of the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements.

(b) Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation

Ensuring the effectiveness of the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation is an important part of the effort to increase the credibility of the Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements. The guidelines were designed to create a solid basis for more effective and credible Japan-U.S. cooperation under normal circumstances and during contingencies. Japan will continue striving to ensure the effectiveness of the guidelines, and Japan and the U.S. are continuing with bilateral work on planning for joint Japan-U.S. actions for responding to an armed attack against Japan, and for Japan-U.S. cooperation in the event of situations in areas surrounding Japan.

At the June 2001 Japan-U.S. Summit, the leaders of both countries positioned the continuing implementation of the guidelines as the basis for future bilateral defense cooperation, and they decided to strengthen bilateral security consultations at various levels. The Bush administration is reviewing the U.S. national defense posture¹ including the missile defense

1. The Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR; released by the Department of Defense on October 1, 2001) (1) notes, in its evaluation of the present security environment, (i) the increase of asymmetric threats such as terrorism, missiles, cyber warfare, biological and chemical attacks, etc.; (ii) the area of instability stretching from the Middle East to Northeast Asia, particularly challenging the East Asian littoral area; and (iii) the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) create the potential that military competitions will develop in space and cyber space. (2) The QDR states that the U.S. basic defense strategy is (i) to give top military priority to defending the United States; (ii)

program, and it will be essential to reinforce the bilateral security dialogue in accordance with these new approaches and developments.

(c) Missile Defense

In May 2001, as part of a new strategic framework that includes large-scale reductions in nuclear weapons, the Bush administration announced a policy of advancing missile defense to respond to the threat posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, which may serve as the delivery vehicles for weapons of mass destruction.

Since the end of the Cold War, Japan and the U.S. have shared the same recognition that the proliferation of ballistic missiles is posing a threat to security. At the June 2001 Japan–U.S. Summit, the leaders of both countries agreed that the two countries should continue to consult closely on missile defense, together with non-proliferation related measures. The leaders also reconfirmed the importance of cooperative research on Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) technologies that was initiated in 1999. Judgment on transitioning to the development and implementation stages of the BMD system will be made after sufficient examination of the feasibility of BMD and the ideal way for Japan’s defense to develop in the future.

(d) Issues Concerning U.S. Forces Stationed in Japan

Reducing the burden of U.S. forces’ activities in Japan on the residents living in the vicinity of U.S. facilities and areas, and gaining the understanding and support of those residents, are important issues for ensuring the smooth operation of the Japan–U.S. Security Arrangements. The U.S. is well aware of this and has clarified on many occasions the importance of having locally stationed U.S. forces building “good neighbor” relations with local residents. Based on that understanding, Japan and the United States have cooperated closely in various ways to reduce the burden placed on local communities.

In particular, recognizing the vital importance of reducing the burden on the people of Okinawa, where U.S. facilities and areas are highly con-

to place emphasis on forward deterrence and to cooperate with U.S. allies and friends to maintain forward deployment; (iii) to respond to asymmetric threats; and (iv) to implement military transformation. (3) Based on this assessment and these policies, the U.S. will review its former defense posture emphasis on Western Europe and Northeast Asia to place emphasis on additional bases and stations beyond these areas, to provide access to overseas facilities for conducting training and exercises, and to secure mobility to areas without access by improved means of transportation, pre-positioning of equipment, etc. Along with this defense review, the U.S. Department of Defense will increase its naval presence in the Western Pacific, plan to increase contingency basing, ensure en route infrastructure in the Arabian Gulf or Western Pacific areas, and develop new concepts of pre-positioning and high-speed sealift, etc., for the Marine Corps.

centrated, the Japanese and U.S. governments have worked on the steady implementation of the Final Report of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) drawn up in December 1996. Among the items incorporated in the SACO Final Report, the measures concerning the adjustment of training and operational procedures and improving the Status of Forces Agreement procedures have already been implemented. As for the return of land, the U.S. military is expected to return approximately 5,000 hectares, which is equivalent to about 21 percent of all U.S. facilities and areas in Okinawa. Among these, the Aha Training Area has already been returned, and the Sobe Communications Site and the Yomitan Auxiliary Airfield are expected to be returned in 2005. Overall, agreements have now been reached on the return plan of approximately 80 percent of the land to be returned under the SACO Final Report, including a portion of the Northern Training Area.

With regard to the relocation and return of the Futenma Air Station, the Consultative Body on Futenma Replacement Facilities has held consultations with local government bodies in accordance with the December 1999 Cabinet Decision on the relocation of the Futenma Air Station, and has exerted all possible efforts in close consultation with the U.S. side. At the Consultative Body's eighth meeting held on December 27, 2001, Okinawa Governor Keiichi Inamine and other local leaders presented reports summarizing local opinions and requests, and based on these the Consultative Body decided on a policy regarding major issues of the basic plan for replacement facilities.

The measures stipulated in the SACO Final Report concerning improving the Status of Forces Agreement procedures have already been implemented, including the establishment of a notification system for incidents and accidents involving U.S. forces in Japan, and efforts are now being made toward achieving further improvement of procedures.

In particular, regarding the environmental issues related to U.S. facilities and areas, at the meeting of the Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee (the 2+2 Meeting) held in September 2000, the Japanese and U.S. governments issued the Joint Statement of Environmental Principles, thus expressing their commitment, as political will at the ministerial level, to strengthen cooperation and consultations between the two countries regarding environmental issues. Based on that joint statement, Japanese-U.S. environmental cooperation and consultations will be strengthened; for example, by reviewing the environmental governing standards for U.S. forces in Japan and by enhancing information sharing.

Additionally, to address the problems concerning Amerasians in Okinawa,² Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi reached an agreement with Okinawa Governor Inamine on establishing a consultation window system during her March 2002 visit to Okinawa, and the system has already begun operating.

2. These include problems concerning the support and education of Amerasians, who are the children of U.S. military personnel and Japanese nationals.

2. Efforts to Improve the Regional Security Environment

Since the Asia–Pacific region manifests a rich diversity in terms of political and economic systems, stages of economic development, and cultural and ethnic aspects, and since it lacks any clear unitary threat, the region has had no multilateral collective defense security mechanism analogous to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Europe. Rather, regional stability has primarily been maintained through the building up of bilateral security agreements, centered on the United States. While there are currently no fundamental changes being made to this security structure, intra-regional cooperative frameworks, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF), have steadily been improved and fortified.

Based on the premise of continued U.S. presence and involvement in the region, Japan believes that its multi-layered policy of improving bilateral and multilateral frameworks for dialogue such as the ARF, while simultaneously working unilaterally to eliminate regional instability factors is both practical and appropriate. Under this approach, Japan has worked to create a stable security environment around Japan through initiatives such as advancing security dialogues and defense exchanges to boost mutual trust within the region.

During 2001, Japan maintained close contact with countries in the Asia-Pacific region, for example, through Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori's visits to the U.S. and Russia; Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's visits to the U.S., China, and the Republic of Korea (ROK); participation in the ASEAN+3 (Japan, China, and the ROK) Summit Meeting and the Japan–ASEAN Summit Meeting; and visits to Japan by the leaders of Australia, India, and other countries. In addition, from a middle- to long-term perspective, it will be important to continue exploring appropriate frameworks for discussing peace and stability in Northeast Asia.

Japan has been striving to upgrade the regional security environment through the ARF, a multilateral framework for political and security dialogue and cooperation throughout the entire Asia–Pacific region, and other intra-regional fora. The ARF has achieved steady progress in such fields as specific confidence-building measures and preventive diplomacy. The ARF is intended to gradually advance dialogue and cooperation in accordance with its three-stage approach of (1) the promotion of confidence-building, (2) the development of preventive diplomacy, and (3) the elaboration of approaches to resolving conflicts. Various first-stage confidence-building measures have already been implemented, including issuing national defense white papers, submitting national defense policy papers, holding meetings on such issues as Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) and disaster relief, and publishing the ARF Annual Security Outlook, which is compiled by the ARF Chair based upon contributions from individual members explaining their understanding of their own national and regional security conditions. As a second-stage measure, the ARF has also been continuing its deliberations regarding the concept and principles of preventive diplomacy.

At the Eighth ARF Ministerial Meeting held in Hanoi in July 2001, participants exchanged frank opinions regarding the political and security issues facing the Asia–Pacific region, including the conditions on the Korean Peninsula and in Indonesia and East Timor. The participants discussed measures in response to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, which present a grave challenge to the region's security, as well as the effects of missile defense systems. The meeting also advanced ARF's approach to preventive diplomacy by adopting three papers—on the concept and principles of preventive diplomacy, on the enhanced role of the ARF chair, and on the ARF registration of experts and eminent persons. Those three papers are highly significant as they constitute a written expression of the ARF members' shared understanding of preventive diplomacy under the current conditions. In particular, the agreement reached on the concept and principles of preventive diplomacy, which now provides the basis for advancing discussions in this field, may be interpreted as a major step forward in ARF's progress toward implementing the second stage of its three-stage approach. Japan believes that ARF's importance as a security forum for the Asia–Pacific region should be further increased by carrying out more in-depth discussions on preventive diplomacy and thereby achieving concrete results based on these papers.

Since ARF is a continuum of meetings with no secretariat or other systemized standing organ, Japan believes it is essential to strengthen the role of the ARF chair to promote and coordinate ARF activities between meetings, to build confidence among ARF members, and to advance discussion regarding preventive diplomacy. Japan played a central role in the drafting of the paper on the enhanced role of the ARF chair.

As the ARF chair, Brunei seized the initiative in responding to the terrorist attacks in the United States, gained the support of all ARF members, and issued a statement by the chairman of the ARF on October 16, 2001. This statement was also highly significant from the perspective of enhancing the role of the ARF chair.

The ARF has achieved steady success in advancing security confidence-building measures over the eight ministerial meetings held since the forum was founded in 1994. The time is now ripe for the ARF to work toward higher cooperation among its members by reinforcing its approach to preventive diplomacy and conducting even closer dialogue at the political level. Japan will continue to contribute in a positive fashion to the future development of the ARF.

Given the distinctive characteristics of the Asia–Pacific region noted above, establishing and reinforcing multiple levels of bilateral and multilateral dialogue and cooperation frameworks is a realistic and appropriate policy for improving the regional security environment. Through such frameworks, Japan will gradually develop its cooperative relations with other Asia–Pacific countries in the security field and will continue to make concrete efforts toward realizing a stable Asia-Pacific region over the long term.

B. Promoting World Peace and Stability

1. Comprehensive Approach to Conflicts

(a) Overview

As the world was so harshly reminded by the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, there are still diverse factors of instability that could become the cause of conflict in the international community, and a comprehensive approach to addressing those factors will be essential to realizing global stability and prosperity.

Especially in recent years, increased importance has been placed on comprehensive conflict prevention—which includes preventing the emergence of conflicts before they begin, keeping conflicts from escalating, working toward their prompt resolution when they do occur, and preventing their reoccurrence—and the role of peacekeeping activities in conflict resolution. There are also growing concerns over the refugees that result from conflicts, both as a humanitarian issue and because of the influence they have on global stability and prosperity.

During 2001, Japan implemented diverse specific measures in the conflict prevention field as one of the leading members of the international community. Over the course of the year, Japan also achieved many results in the field of international peace cooperation, including the revision of the International Peace Cooperation Law. Meanwhile, Japan provided various types of refugee assistance, especially after the terrorist attacks in the United States. As a country that is highly dependent on the stability and prosperity of the international community for its own safety and prosperity, it is extremely important that Japan continues to make positive contributions toward the international community's comprehensive approach to conflicts, and Japan intends to continue making such active contributions in the future.

(b) Conflict Prevention

In recent years, there has been wide recognition in the international community of the importance not only of conflict resolution but also of comprehensive conflict prevention. The latter concept includes identifying and addressing the causes of potential conflicts beforehand, keeping conflicts from escalating, trying to bring them to a rapid conclusion when they do occur, and preventing their reoccurrence by enhancing social stability and through other means after ceasefire agreements have been reached.

Implementing conflict prevention activities requires the handling of a great many complex issues in wide-ranging fields. In addition to assistance for strengthening administrative structures and combating poverty, conflict

prevention must include reductions of excessive accumulation of weapons, returning refugees and displaced persons to their former areas of residence, reconstructing their local communities until they can conduct normal lives, promoting reconciliation among conflicting ethnic groups and tribes, building up communities comprised of multi-ethnic groups, and reinforcing local government structures. Today, this type of approach to conflict prevention is supported by the participation of more and more bodies, including the United Nations (UN), international and regional organizations, states, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), companies, and individuals. Effective conflict prevention activities will require a unified response by the international community with good coordination among these participating bodies, based on their respective strengths and advantages.

The year 2001 was a year in which the United Nations, the G8, and the international community as a whole actively promoted conflict prevention; it was also a year in which Japan made positive contributions in diverse areas of conflict prevention.

In June, the United Nations released its first comprehensive Secretary-General's Report on the prevention of armed conflict, which included recommendations on how various actors, in particular, UN organs and agencies, should tackle conflict resolution. Based on the Report, in September the UN Security Council adopted its first comprehensive resolution on the prevention of armed conflicts (Security Council Resolution 1366), which demonstrated the Security Council's recognition that the prevention of armed conflicts is one of its main responsibilities, and reconfirmed the Security Council's determination to pursue conflict prevention.

As regards the G8, the July 2001 G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Rome confirmed that the G8 would further advance its ongoing approach to the five areas addressed by the G8 Miyazaki Initiatives for Conflict Prevention³: small arms and light weapons, conflict and development, illicit trade in diamonds, children in armed conflict, and international civil police (CIVPOL). The meeting also endorsed the G8 Roma Initiatives on Conflict Prevention, which emphasize the strengthening of the role of women as well as the importance of corporate citizenship in conflict prevention.

The other key international developments in the area of conflict prevention during 2001 are summarized as follows:

Concerning small arms and light weapons, a Programme of Action was adopted at the UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects held in July 2001. Japan served as vice-president of this conference and made major contributions to its success. The important point will now become how to implement the Programme of Action.

3. The G8 Miyazaki Initiatives for Conflict Prevention were endorsed during the 2000 G8 Kyushu-Okinawa Summit as the G8's policy toward realizing effective conflict prevention, and stipulated approaches for the five fields of small arms and light weapons, conflict and development, illicit trade in diamonds, children in armed conflict, and international civil police.

The year 2001 also witnessed a heightened awareness regarding the importance of efforts aimed at the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants (DDR) at the post-conflict stage. DDR encompasses such diverse issues as disarmament, peacekeeping, and development in post-conflict situations, and assistance to DDR activities is being provided in several regions as a mandate of UN Peacekeeping Operations (in Sierra Leone, for example).

Meanwhile, major progress was also achieved in combating the illicit trade in diamonds. Based on the resolution adopted at the 55th General Assembly of the United Nations entitled “The role of diamonds in fuelling conflict: breaking the link between the illicit transaction of rough diamonds and armed conflict as a contribution to prevention and settlement of conflicts,” six meetings were held during 2001 under the Kimberly Process.⁴ At the November Kimberly Process Ministerial Conference held in Botswana, a consensus was reached on the essential elements of an international certification scheme to prevent the illicit trade of rough diamonds, and a report was subsequently submitted to the 56th General Assembly. Along with other countries, Japan is contributing in a positive manner to the Kimberly Process efforts.

At an international symposium on conflict prevention held in Tokyo in March 2001 entitled “Culture of Prevention: Multi-Actor Coordination from UN to Civil Society,” participants analyzed the current conditions and made proposals based on the perspective that under the ideal approach to conflict prevention the United Nations, regional organizations, governments, civil societies, and other actors engaged in conflict prevention activities should cooperate and coordinate their activities in accordance with their respective mandates. Many participants shared the common view that the United Nations should take greater initiative in coordinating the whole range of actors involved in conflict prevention, that governments should provide assistance and enhance development of human resources to strengthen the roles of NGOs and other actors of local communities, and that NGOs need to strengthen their expertise.

In October 2001, as part of its bilateral efforts in the field of conflict prevention, Japan dispatched a fact-finding mission to investigate the situations on the ground in Sierra Leone, for the purpose of developing a joint conflict prevention project together with the U.K. The two countries will subsequently elaborate on how to best advance a conflict prevention project in Sierra Leone based on the mission’s findings.

It can be said that there is now a firmly established awareness—both in the international community and in Japan—that conflict prevention must be strengthened through more concrete efforts.

4. The Kimberly Process is a consultative body comprising the world’s leading diamond-producing, -processing, and -importing states and delegates from industry and civil society who have joined together for the purpose of preventing the illicit trade in rough diamonds. The group is named after the location of its first meeting, which took place in Kimberly, South Africa, in May 2000.

(c) International Peace Cooperation

Given the country's international status, Japan recognizes that it should support UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) and other efforts of the international community to achieve international peace and security, not only through financial support but also by dispatching personnel.

Based on that understanding, since the Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations (the International Peace Cooperation Law) came into effect in 1992, Japan has participated in PKOs in Cambodia, Mozambique, East Timor, and other countries, contributed to international humanitarian relief activities for refugees from Rwanda and from East Timor, and taken part in international electoral observation activities including that in Bosnia–Herzegovina. Since 1996, Japan has also dispatched transportation units and headquarters personnel to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) operating on the Golan Heights. These activities have been highly appreciated by the international community.

Column

Electoral Cooperation in Post-Conflict Societies: East Timor and Kosovo

In August 2001, elections took place in East Timor to select a Constituent Assembly, and the Japanese government observation team was dispatched to cooperate with the election observation activities based on the International Peace Cooperation Law. While the main duties of electoral observers are to be present at each polling station and submit reports, observing and surveying pre-election activities are also an important part of their work. According to individuals who were involved in the East Timor election activities, political party members and voters at large, the elections were free and fair on the whole, and the people of East Timor were extremely pleased to participate in their first free elections. For the first time, the voters were permitted to make their selections freely from among many alternative choices. This stood in stark contrast to the 1999 referendum on independence, when riots occurred and the voters were subjected to diverse pressures.

Support of the democratization process is extremely important in creating peace in post-conflict societies, and the holding of fair elections is critical for peacefully building up democratic government structures. Fair elections also provide a means whereby citizens can participate in the political decision-making process. Electoral cooperation is part of the effort to provide support for the democratization process. Election observation, which is a form of electoral cooperation, confirms whether or not electoral procedures are fair overall, and the presence of third parties serves as a deterrent to electoral improprieties. Voter participation was an outstanding 91.3 percent for the August 30 Constituent Assembly elections in East Timor, and the vote was conducted in a free and fair manner. The dispatch of the Japanese electoral observer mission was highly significant in that it supported East Timor's nation-building by helping to observe the election.

Electoral cooperation in support of the implementation of democratic elections also provides an opportunity for ethnic groups that have been in conflict with one another to come into contact in a non-confrontational manner. Just as the cold winter was arriving, I participated in the electoral mission conducted by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) as a long-term elec-

Moreover, Japan's international peace cooperation efforts witnessed some major progress during 2001–2002.

First, Japan implemented important activities based on the International Peace Cooperation Law.

In terms of PKO activities, Japan has dispatched a 680-member Ground Self-Defense Force Engineer Group and 10 PKF headquarters personnel to engage in the PKOs in East Timor, at the request of the United Nations; that effort constitutes Japan's largest ever personnel contribution to a UN PKO. The Engineer Group was deployed in March and April 2002, and it engaged in such logistical support operations as the maintenance and repair of roads and bridges in the central and western regions of the country and in the Oecussi enclave, which is located within West Timor, Indonesia. The PKF headquarters personnel are assigned to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) PKF headquarters located in the capital city of Dili, where they plan and coordinate the logistical support-related operations conducted by the Engineer Group.

toral expert observing the November 2001 Assembly elections in Kosovo, where the wounds from the confrontation between the majority Albanians and the minority Serbs are still evident. My task was to help oversee the tallying of the votes cast in the elections, which was being implemented by the OSCE. Both Albanians and Serbs were involved with the work done at the vote-counting center. This provided an opportunity for the former enemies to work together, and I think this was important since it demonstrated the potential for peaceful co-existence between Albanians and Serbs to the people of Kosovo and to the entire world. Regardless, given my responsibility to oversee the actual vote-counting work, I had to pay careful attention to the relations between the Albanian and Serbian staff members, and I found this to be extremely difficult. Considering the intense feelings of the Albanian staff, I could not allow them to input the data from the "overseas" ballots submitted from Serbia and Montenegro. On the other hand, it would be extremely inefficient to have the Serbian staff conduct all the work for those votes cast in electoral districts where most of the voters are Serbs, and it would significantly delay the vote-tallying effort.

Fortunately, I gained the understanding of the Albanian staff when I explained this problem to them, and the Serbian and Albanian staff worked together cooperatively. When I saw the former enemies working together to count the votes from this critical election that was determining the future fate of Kosovo, I could not help but entertain expectations that they would achieve conciliation and peaceful co-existence. As demonstrated by my experience in Kosovo, the implementation and administration of democratic elections, in and of itself, provides opportunities for conciliation that can lead to the realization of peaceful multi-ethnic societies. I believe this type of electoral cooperation contributes toward building up peaceful societies in a variety of different ways.

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Regarding international humanitarian relief activities, at the request of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Japan in early October 2001 provided tents, blankets, and daily necessities for Afghan refugees in Pakistan, who had been affected by long-term conflict and by the terrorist attacks in the United States. These materials were transported to Pakistan by Self-Defense Force cargo aircraft and turned over to the UNHCR. In late October, Japan provided additional tents that were procured locally in Pakistan.

On August 30, 2001, the elections for representatives to the Constituent Assembly took place in East Timor; and on November 17, 2001, assembly elections were held in Kosovo to establish a provisional self-government. Japan supported those democratization efforts by dispatching electoral observers to both elections, based on the provisions of the International Peace Cooperation Law.

This steady accumulation of international peace cooperation efforts demonstrates how international peace cooperation has become a principal pillar of Japan's international contributions over the decade since the International Peace Cooperation Law was enacted.

Second, the law revising a part of the International Peace Cooperation Law was legislated on December 7, 2001 (the revision came into effect on December 14, aside from the use-of-force provisions, which came into effect on January 14, 2002). Prior to the revision, active deliberations took place in the Diet and elsewhere in response to domestic and international expectations that Japan should make a more active contribution to global peace efforts, centered around the United Nations. There was also heightened interest regarding Japan's role in the international community following the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States. The revision to the International Peace Cooperation Law was enacted against this backdrop.

The revision lifted the freeze on Japan's full-scale participation in the Peacekeeping Forces (PKF) main activities.⁵ The revision also permits the use of weapons: (1) by Self-Defense Forces personnel engaged in international peace cooperation works to protect the life or person of anyone who is with them at the scene and has come under their control (those who are expected to follow their safety instructions) while conducting their duties; and (2) by Self-Defense Forces personnel engaged in international peace cooperation works in countries where they are dispatched to protect Self-Defense Forces weapons and other equipment of the Self Defense Forces (application of Article 95 of the Self-Defense Forces Law). The revision will expand the extent of Japan's international peace cooperation and also provide a foundation to secure the smooth implementation of international peace cooperation works.

Third, there has been an expansion in the range of Japan's participation in PKOs, which constitute the core of international peace coopera-

5. PKF main activities refer to ceasefire monitoring and other activities by Self-Defense Force units (under the revised International Peace Cooperation Law, Article 3, Sections 3A-3F).

tion. Besides the recent dispatch of the Self-Defense Force Engineer Group to the East Timor PKOs described above, it is important to note that Japanese civilians are also participating in PKO activities. The number of Japanese working in international organizations is still less than the desirable level, but the government of Japan has actively made efforts to rectify this; for example, by finding appropriate personnel and by working on the United Nations on this issue. As of the end of 2001, Japanese held executive posts at UNTAET, at the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL), and at other organizations related to UN PKO missions. Moreover, the Law Regulating Treatment of Dispatched Defense Agency Personnel to International Organizations was revised in November 2001, permitting the dispatch of Self-Defense Force personnel to the UN Headquarters' Department of Peacekeeping Operations. In addition to Japan's personnel support for field PKO works, this type of participation in PKO planning at UN headquarters is expected to expand the range of Japan's cooperation with UN operations for maintenance of international peace.

(d) Refugee Assistance

As a result of the frequent outbreaks of hostilities and conflicts throughout the world caused by ethnic, religious, and other factors, approximately 25 million people are still forced to live as refugees, as internally displaced persons, or in other situations under the protection and support of the UNHCR and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Refugees and displaced persons around the globe pose a serious humanitarian concern, and they may also undermine the peace and stability of the regions concerned and of the entire international community.

Japan considers humanitarian assistance for refugees and displaced persons as an important pillar of its international contribution from the perspective of human security, and Japan actively supports the activities of international organizations such as the UNHCR, the World Food Programme (WFP), and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

As for contribution by Japanese to humanitarian assistance, in January 2001 Kenzo Oshima was appointed UN under-secretary-general for humanitarian affairs in the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Upon assuming office, Under-Secretary-General Oshima promptly visited sites of humanitarian crises worldwide to get a better grasp of situations on the ground, and he subsequently played an advocacy role in calling donor countries' attention. He also vigorously addressed the institutional problem over internally displaced persons (IDP), whereby the responsibility for such persons was not clearly defined in the UN system. Consequently, he directed the establishment of the Internal Displacement Unit within OCHA under the auspices of other agencies. Japan has been cooperating positively with such efforts.

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, there was fear that the existing problem of refugees in countries surrounding Afghanistan and of displaced persons within the country might be exacerbated by the emergence of a vast number of newly fled refugees and displaced persons. In response, Japan provided a total of US\$102.21 million in support for assistance activities for refugees and displaced persons carried out by the UN and other organizations. Japan also provided relief supplies under the framework of the International Peace Cooperation Law and the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law, and those items were transported to Pakistan by the Self-Defense Force. Moreover, to support nearby countries that had been affected by the conflict in Afghanistan, Japan provided ¥4.7 billion in emergency economic assistance to Pakistan on a bilateral basis, of which ¥1.7 billion was allocated for refugee assistance measures, as well as ¥240 million in refugee assistance measures to Tajikistan. Additionally, under the Japan Platform (JPF) framework, the government of Japan has been supporting the Japanese NGOs that participated in the framework and engaged in assistance activities for Afghan refugees and displaced persons. (See Chapter I, B-3 for additional information regarding support for Afghan refugees and displaced persons).

2. Arms Control, Disarmament, and Non-Proliferation

(a) Overview

The Bush administration, which took office in January 2001, has proposed constructing a new strategic framework, beginning with the advancement of the Missile Defense (MD) plan and an emphasis on non-proliferation; and at the end of 2001, the U.S. officially notified Russia of its withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which had previously served as the foundation for U.S.–Russia nuclear strategy. While both the U.S. and Russia subsequently announced major reductions in strategic nuclear arms, the U.S. emphasized unilateral reduction measures outside the existing treaties such as the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START).

In addition to the problems posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems, with the frequent outbreak of regional conflicts and localized wars since the end of the Cold War, there has been an excessive accumulation of small arms and light weapons, anti-personnel land mines, and other conventional weapons, which are being used in such hostilities and are claiming over 500,000 deaths per year. Given this vast number of fatalities, conventional weapons are now effectively weapons of mass destruction, and their victims and casualties are in many cases civilian women and children. They are also a major factor obstructing post-conflict reconstruction and humanitarian support. Thus, there is a growing need to grasp the conventional weapons problem and its con-

nection with human security, reconstruction and development assistance, and other related issues.

For Japan, arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation policies are an important means of supplementing the country's overall security policy. Moreover, it is incumbent upon Japan to address these issues in accordance with the cherished desire of its people to achieve a peaceful and safe world free of nuclear weapons, at the earliest possible date, as Japan is the only country to have suffered from the damage done by atomic bombs during wartime. Based on this understanding, Japan will continue to emphasize measures, beginning with nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, aimed at strengthening the international regimes for the disposal, reduction, and protection of all weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and biological weapons, while simultaneously working to strengthen its efforts toward conventional weapons disarmament. Japan will also continue working to further reinforce the non-proliferation regime. (See Chapter I, F-2 for information concerning the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty [CTBT], the Biological Weapons Convention [BWC], non-proliferation efforts, and terrorism.)

(b) Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation

Japan has worked continuously to advance nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation steps based on a policy of promoting practical and progressive measures toward achieving a world free of nuclear weapons at the earliest possible date. Specifically, every year since 1994, Japan has proposed resolutions on nuclear disarmament at the United Nations General Assembly's First Committee (the Disarmament and International Security Committee), and those resolutions have gained overwhelming support from the international community. In 2001, Japan presented a resolution entitled "A Path to the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons." This 2001 resolution follows the 2000 resolution in clearly stipulating a path to the total elimination of nuclear weapons, adjusted in light of the new international situation. Although the U.S. voted against it, stating that the resolution includes portions requiring an early entry into force of the CTBT, the resolution was adopted with the support of the vast majority of the UN member states. The vote was 139 in favor, 3 against, and 19 abstentions.

(c) The Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty and the Geneva Conference on Disarmament

Along with efforts to bring the CTBT, which bans nuclear weapon test explosions, into force at the earliest possible date, other concrete measures for advancing nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation include the commencement of negotiations on the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT), which would ban the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. During 2001, however, the Conference on Disarmament (CD)

in Geneva, where the FMCT negotiations would take place, remained suspended for the second consecutive year because of ongoing conflicts among its members regarding Prevention of Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS) and nuclear disarmament. In May 2001, in order to advance concrete discussions on the FMCT, Japan held an international workshop in Geneva where comprehensive discussions took place among government representatives and experts. Japan will continue calling for the CD member-states to start the FMCT negotiations at the earliest possible date.

(d) U.S.–Russia Nuclear Disarmament and Missile Defense

In a speech given in May 2001, President George W. Bush stated that a new framework is needed to respond to the present security environment. He said that while the United States and its allies would continue to support nuclear deterrence, the U.S. was examining a broader policy that would move beyond the ABM Treaty and would reinforce the missile defense, non-proliferation, and counter-proliferation efforts. President Bush also called for cooperation with Russia toward developing a new foundation for global peace and security in the 21st century.

At a U.S.–Russia meeting held during the July 2001 Genoa Summit, an agreement was reached to promptly conduct intensive negotiations on the issues concerning both countries' offensive and defensive systems, and representatives of both governments subsequently held intensive discussions on these strategic stability issues. Since the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, an international consensus has been established on combating terrorism, and this has also had a certain influence on U.S.–Russia strategic stability issues.

A U.S.–Russia summit then took place in the United States in November 2001, at which the two countries released a joint declaration on strategic stability issues, including nuclear disarmament and the approach to the ABM Treaty. At that bilateral meeting, President Bush made it clear to President Vladimir Putin that the U.S. planned to decrease its arsenal of operationally deployed strategic ballistic weapons to between 1,700 and 2,200 nuclear warheads over the next 10 years. President Putin praised President Bush's decision and stated that Russia would respond with equivalent measures. Since the U.S. and Russia had different opinions regarding the ABM Treaty and the U.S. Missile Defense plan, it was agreed to continue deliberations on these issues.

On December 13, President Bush announced that the U.S. had formally notified Russia that it would withdraw from the ABM Treaty, in order to more effectively counter the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, and to fully break from the hostile U.S.–Russia bilateral relationship of the Cold War era. In a restrained response on the same day, President Putin stated that the U.S. action was not unexpected, and while he characterized the decision as a "mistake,"

he also said that it did not threaten Russia's security interests. At the same time, President Putin clarified his stance on reaching a U.S.–Russia agreement whereby the number of offensive strategic weapons held by each side would be decreased to about 1,500 to 2,200 ballistic missiles.

The outlook is that the U.S. and Russia will conduct deliberations, between now and President Bush's scheduled visit to Russia in May 2002, on the content and format of a written agreement stipulating the extent of strategic nuclear weapons reductions, verification procedures, and other items, and that the two sides will begin discussions toward creating a new framework that will obtain after the ABM Treaty is no longer in force. The developments in these bilateral consultations will be carefully monitored by the entire international community.

(e) Chemical Weapons

The international community's efforts to eliminate chemical weapons are being advanced primarily through the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)⁶ and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW),⁷ which is the CWC's implementation organization. Since 1997, this treaty framework has seen a series of achievements related to chemical weapons disarmament, including the promotion of universality via an increase in the number of contracting states, the initiation of chemical weapons destruction works by countries that possess them, and advances in the inspection works by the OPCW to verify the strict observance of the CWC's provisions by the contracting states. In 2001, however, the delay in chemical weapons destruction works by Russia, which currently possesses more chemical weapons than any other country, became increasingly severe, highlighting the possible need to extend the CWC's 2007 deadline for the destruction of chemical weapons. Russia's policy in favor of prolonging the deadline grew firm, and in September the chairman of the State Commission on Chemical Disarmament, former Prime Minister Sergei Kirienko, visited Japan and other major countries for diplomatic activities aimed at gaining the understanding of those countries for Russia's position. The OPCW also fell short of funds, which resulted in a decreased level of activity. While the CWC member states continued meeting to discuss the resolution of these problems over the course of the year, no final settlements were reached during 2001.

6. The CWC came into effect in April 1997 and had 145 contracting states as of the end of 2001. The Convention places a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, including their production, development, and storage, and stipulates the disposal of existing chemical weaponry.

7. The OPCW is an international organ established in May 1997 in The Hague, Netherlands, as the CWC came into effect. The OPCW is engaged in inspection and other activities, including the dispatch of inspection missions to verify that contracting states strictly observe the CWC's provisions.

(f) Small Arms and Light Weapons

In recent years, preventing the outbreak of regional conflicts, as well as preventing their re-occurrence once they have been resolved, has been viewed as an increasingly important aspect of the effort to address regional conflicts. In this regard, the issue of small arms and light weapons, such as assault rifles and portable anti-tank missiles, is attracting growing attention. Excessive accumulation of small arms and light weapons intensifies and prolongs conflicts, amplifies the damage, impairs public order after conflicts are resolved, becomes a factor supporting the re-occurrence of conflicts, and generally interferes with the post-conflict reconstruction of states and societies. The international community addressed this problem by holding the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects in July 2001 in New York, at which Japan served as vice-president. This conference adopted a Programme of Action, which includes measures to prevent the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons and calls for international assistance and cooperation in this field. The important issue will now be how the Programme of Action is actually implemented. As part of the efforts to follow up on this initiative, Japan hosted the Tokyo Follow-up Meeting of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects in January 2002. As one specific instance of Japan's support for small arms and light weapons collection efforts, a Weapons for Development project was initiated in Cambodia with Japanese assistance in April 2001.

(g) Anti-Personnel Landmines

Japan has been advocating a Zero Victims Program for anti-personnel landmines, recognizing that it is essential that a comprehensive approach be established based on the two main strategies of realizing a universal and effective ban on anti-personnel landmines and strengthening de-mining and victim assistance. Consequently, Japan has worked actively toward achieving the goal of zero victims.

Japan believes it is important that more countries become party to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction (the Ottawa Convention), with a view to realizing a universal and effective ban on anti-personnel landmines. Japan stressed this point at the Third Meeting of States Parties to the Ottawa Convention in Managua, Nicaragua, in September 2001. Japan has continued to actively call on the concerned countries, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, encouraging them to ratify the convention. Moreover, the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May be Deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects (CCW) prohibits the use of certain landmines, and at the December 2001 CCW Review

Conference, Japan advocated an expansion in the range of anti-personnel landmines that are prohibited by the CCW. Turning to efforts to strengthen landmine removal and victim assistance activities, Japan had extended over US\$69 million in anti-personnel landmine-related assistance through the end of 2001. Japan supports landmine removal activities through international organs, providing landmine removal equipment through bilateral aid, dispatching experts to foreign countries, and supporting the landmine works of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) by providing grassroots grants. Meanwhile, Japan primarily supports victim assistance efforts via international organizations and NGOs, including funds to support facilities and equipment for the manufacture of artificial limbs and for victim rehabilitation. At the January 2002 International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi expressed Japan's intention to focus its support on the removal of landmines and unexploded bombs to secure safety, an essential prerequisite to meaningful reconstruction efforts. Specifically, Japan announced that it would donate US\$19.22 million to United Nations organisations and other bodies, primarily to support landmine removal activities.

(h) United Nations Register of Conventional Arms

The United Nations Register of Conventional Arms was established in January 1992 at the initiative of Japan and the European Union (EU). Under this system, UN members submit reports every year to the United Nations describing the volume of their exports and imports in seven categories of conventional weapons, such as combat vehicles and tactical aircraft. In 2001, the number of states submitting such reports exceeded 100 for the first time ever. Japan is playing a major role in the administration of the register, for example, by urging those countries not yet participating to do so. The year 2002 will mark the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the register, and Japan will continue its efforts to make the register more universal.

(i) Missile Non-Proliferation

Nuclear, biological, chemical, and other weapons of mass destruction comprise a major threat when they are coupled with means of delivery that provide high military utility. The trend toward the wider global proliferation of ballistic missiles as vehicles to deliver weapons of mass destruction now poses a grave threat to international peace. For example, North Korea's ballistic missile activities whose range covers Japanese territory imply an immense threat to Japan's security. While the production, possession, and transfer of weapons of mass destruction themselves are restricted or banned by multilateral international agreements, there are no such multilateral international agreements placing restrictions on missiles.

The Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) was voluntarily founded by countries concerned about these circumstances, and it has worked to promote international cooperation to prevent the proliferation of missiles through export controls. In recent years, the MTCR has prepared the Draft International Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (ICOC)⁸, with the hope of involving a greater number of countries in non-proliferation efforts. The MTCR Plenary Meeting held in Ottawa, Canada, in September 2001 gave enhanced impetus to efforts to promote the adoption of the ICOC among countries that are not yet MTCR member states. Meanwhile, a Panel of Governmental Experts on Missiles in All Their Aspects was held at the United Nations in August, and this group will submit a report to the UN General Assembly in 2002.

8. The main points of the International Code of Conduct include the principle to prevent and curb the proliferation of ballistic missiles, restraining the testing and deployment of ballistic missiles, implementing confidence-building measures, and the potential for cooperation with states that abandon their ballistic missile programs.