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 THE MIDDLE EAST

(a) Overview

The Middle East is a region with a long history, where different ethnic groups and religions coexist. Since the terrorist attacks in the United States (US), there has been a renewed focus on the threat of terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and their delivery vehicles as particularly grave issues in the Middle East. At the same time, conflicts based on ethnic and religious differences still continue. Ensuring peace and stability in this region has become a major challenge in realizing peace, stability and prosperity for the entire international community, including Japan. In addition, because Japan relies on this region for over 80% of its energy resources, the Middle East is vitally important in ensuring a stable, long-term supply of energy to Japan. With this awareness, Japan has been actively involved in working to bring about peace and stability in the entire Middle East region, as well as strengthening relations with the Middle Eastern countries.

The deteriorating situation regarding the peace in the Middle East is a serious issue which could threaten the stability of the region as a whole, affecting the tensions between Israel and the Arab and Islamic countries, and influencing the stability of the political systems in the region. As a responsible member of the international community, Japan is actively working toward achieving peace in the Middle East as a country free of religious or historical complication with the region.

Moreover, in the Middle East, the suspicion that Iraq may be in possession of and may be developing WMDs and their delivery vehicles is one of the most prominent issues of interest, as it poses a serious threat to the entire international community including Japan. For this issue to be resolved, it is important for Iraq to accept completely that inspections are to be carried out and to actually dispose of the WMDs and their delivery vehicles. Japan has been active in its diplomatic efforts by such measures as dispatching a special envoy of the prime minister to encourage Iraq directly to implement the United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions, and by urging other related countries to approach Iraq as well.

Ensuring stability and prosperity in Afghanistan is essential in realizing peace, stability and prosperity in the region. It is also very important from the viewpoint of eradicating and preventing terrorism and stopping the flow of drugs. Reconstruction assistance provided to Afghanistan could become a prime example of efforts toward the “consolidation of peace,” whereby assistance is provided so that a country which has ended a long-term conflict does not fall again into the vicious cycle of starting another conflict and becoming a collapsed country. As a responsible member of the international community, Japan plans to continue making active contributions toward the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

(b) Iraq

In 2002, the suspicion over Iraq’s possession and development of WMDs and their delivery vehicles once again attracted major attention in the international community. Japan believes it is extremely important for the international community to work as one on diplomatic efforts through the UN and other frameworks to deal with the Iraq issue, and has been cooperating closely with the international community, including the US. It is important for Iraq to cooperate with the international community by accepting immediate, unconditional and unrestricted inspections, and to implement the related UN Security Council resolutions, which include the disposition of WMDs and their delivery vehicles, in order to eliminate the sense of anxiety among the international community. To this end, Japan intends to continue carrying out necessary diplomatic efforts.

Background

Since it invaded Kuwait in August 1990, Iraq has been placed under UN economic sanctions. In addition, UN Security Council resolution 687 was adopted on April 3, 1991, which obligated Iraq to unconditionally accept disposal, under international supervision, of WMDs and their delivery vehicles including chemical, biological, nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles with ranges over 150 kilometers. Iraq accepted the resolution.

In June 1997, Iraq frequently began to resist and

Timeline of the Situation in Iraq (as of March 18, 2003)

| Date | Main developments |
|--|---|
| 1990 Aug 2 Aug 6 Nov 29 | Iraqi forces invade Kuwait ; resolution condemning the invasion of Kuwait (Security Council resolution 660) Resolution to impose economic sanctions on Iraq (Security Council resolution 661) Resolution on the authority to use force against Iraq (Security Council resolution 678) |
| 1991 Jan 17 Feb 24–28 End of March Apr 3 Apr 9 July Oct 11 | Use of force by coalition forces (Operation Desert Storm) begins. Ground battles Simultaneous uprising of Kurds and Shiites, which is suppressed by Iraqi forces. Resolution for ceasefire against Iraq (Security Council resolution 687) Resolution to establish United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) (Security Council resolution 689) No-fly zone in northern Iraq (north of the latitude 36 degrees north) is established. Resolution to dispose of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) (Security Council resolution 715) |
| 1992 Aug | No-fly zone in southern Iraq (south of the latitude 32 degrees north) is established. |
| 1993 May 27 Jun 26 | Resolution on (final) demarcation of the Iraq-Kuwait border (Security Council resolution 883) In retaliation for the attempted assassination of former US President Bush, US forces attack the Iraqi Intelligence Service (IIS) headquarters with cruise missiles. |
| 1995 Apr 14 Oct 15 | Resolution to allow partial export of oil by Iraq (Security Council resolution 986) President Hussein is re-elected through national ballot. |
| 1996 Aug 31 Sep 3–4 Dec 10 | Iraqi forces invade the Kurdish region in northern Iraq. US attacks the air defense facilities in southern Iraq with cruise missiles in response to the invasion of the Kurdish region by Iraqi forces. Oil for Food Program* is implemented. |
| 1997 Oct 23 Dec 15 | Upon receiving the report by the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) on Iraq's interference and refusal of inspection, the Security Council adopts resolution 1134 (Russia, China, France, Egypt and Kenya abstain), which warns that the council will impose additional sanctions (prohibiting Iraqi government officials to leave the country, etc.). During the executive chairman of UNSCOM's visit, Iraq communicates to him that the inspection of presidential facilities will not be allowed. |
| 1998 Jan 12 Feb 23 Mar 26–Apr 4 Oct 31 Nov 5 Dec 17–20 | Iraq refuses inspections by the UNSCOM inspection team led by Mr. Scott Ritter. UN Secretary-General Annan and Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Aziz agree that the Iraqi government accept immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access by UNSCOM, and that UNSCOM will respect the national security, sovereignty and dignity of Iraq, as well as carry out inspection procedures at eight presidential sites. UNSCOM inspects eight presidential sites in Iraq. Iraqi Revolutionary Council decides to completely halt all cooperation with UNSCOM. Security Council condemns Iraq's decision of Oct 31 as a serious violation of Security Council resolution 687 and other relevant resolutions, and adopts resolution 1205, which demands that Iraq immediately and unconditionally resume cooperation with UNSCOM and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). US and UK forces attack Iraq (Operation Desert Fox). |
| 1999 Dec 17 | Security Council adopts resolution 1284, which establishes the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Committee (UNMOVIC) as well as the relationship between the implementation of inspections and moratorium on economic sanctions. |
| 2001 Feb 16 Sep 11 | US and UK forces planes bomb the outskirts of Baghdad from the southern no-fly zone for the first time since Dec 1998. Terrorist attacks in the US |
| 2002 Jan 29 Sep 12 Sep 16 Sep 24 Oct 1 Oct 10–11 Oct 15 Nov 8 Nov 13 Nov 18 Nov 27 Dec 7 Dec 19 | In his State of the Union address, US President Bush calls North Korea, Iran and Iraq part of an "axis of evil." US President Bush gives a speech during the general debate of the UN General Assembly and a background paper, "A Decade of Deception and Defiance" is released. In a letter addressed to UN Secretary-General Annan, Iraqi Foreign Minister Sabri announces that a decision was made to accept the unconditional return of UN weapons inspectors. UK releases a "dossier" on Iraq's development of WMDs. At working-level talks between the UN and Iraq aimed toward the resumption of WMD inspections, Iraq agrees to accept immediate, unconditional and unrestricted inspections of all facilities besides eight presidential sites. US Congress (435 seats) passes a resolution authorizing US President Bush to use armed forces against Iraq. National ballot testing the confidence in President Hussein takes place, and Hussein is confirmed with a 100% vote. Security Council holds formal consultations and votes on resolution 1441, which urges Iraq to accept fully the WMD inspections. The resolution is adopted unanimously. Iraq communicates to the UN that it will accept Security Council resolution 1441. UNMOVIC Executive Chairman Blix, IAEA Director General ElBaradei and other representatives of the UN advance team of inspectors enter Baghdad and hold their first meeting with Iraq. Inspections are resumed Iraq submits a declaration on WMD development. A report is presented regarding the WMD declaration at the Security Council informal consultations, at which UNMOVIC Executive Chairman Blix and IAEA Director General ElBaradei state that the declaration leaves many questions on Iraq's WMDs since 1998 unanswered. |
| 2003 Jan 9 Jan 27 Jan 28 Feb 5 Feb 8–9 Feb 14 Feb 24 Mar 7 Mar 16 Mar 17 | A report on Iraq's WMD declaration. States that the inspectors have been able to gain prompt access and cover more area and facilities than before, but the WMD declaration has not been very useful in resolving past suspicions. A report to the Security Council based on resolution 1441. It is reported that Iraq failed to cooperate fully to resolve suspicions. US President Bush delivers the State of the Union address, in which he condemns Iraq. US Secretary of State Powell presents the Security Council with information indicating such matters as Iraq's noncooperation in inspection activities and a cover-up of WMDs, signifying that Iraq lacks true intentions to dispose of its WMDs. UNMOVIC Executive Chairman Blix and IAEA Director General ElBaradei visit Iraq. UNMOVIC and IAEA report to the Security Council. State that while a certain amount of progress has been seen in the procedure of the inspections, the immediate, unconditional and active cooperation of Iraq is essential in order to reach the goal of the inspections. US, UK and Spain together submit a new draft resolution UNMOVIC and IAEA report to the Security Council. Submission of revised draft resolution. US, UK, Spain and Portugal Summit Meeting US Secretary of State Powell announces that a vote by the Security Council would not be sought on the revised draft resolution. Also, US President Bush gives a speech demanding that Iraqi President Hussein and his sons leave Iraq within 48 hours, or a military conflict would result. |

Note: * Program which allowed, as an exception to the economic sanctions on Iraq, the export of petroleum under the monitoring of the UN to fund the purchase of humanitarian supplies.

obstruct inspections by the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In December 1998, the US and the United Kingdom (UK) used military action against Iraq, after which the inspections for WMDs and their delivery vehicles came to a complete halt. Under such circumstances, the Security Council deliberated and adopted UN Security Council resolution 1284 in December 1999. This resolution stipulated the establishment of the United Nations Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Committee (UNMOVIC) and introduced a new system in which a “temporary suspension” on economic sanctions would be granted if a certain level of progress could be seen in Iraq’s arms reduction. However, Iraq saw this as the addition of an extra condition on the lifting of sanctions and refused to accept the resolution.

While the length of the UN economic sanctions became prolonged, the humanitarian situation in Iraq worsened due to shortage of materials including medicine and food. To cope with this issue, the UN implemented its Oil for Food Program based on relevant Security Council resolutions in December 1996. This program allowed, as an exception to the economic sanctions on Iraq, the export of petroleum under the monitoring of the UN to fund the purchase of humanitarian supplies.

Situation Surrounding Iraq and the Efforts of the International Community

Since the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11,

2001, along with counter-terrorism measures, the issue of the proliferation of WMDs and their delivery vehicles attracted much attention among the international community. Under such circumstances, in January 2002, President George W. Bush labeled Iraq as part of an “axis of evil,” along with North Korea and Iran, in his State of the Union address and added that “the US will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes [Saddam Hussein administration of Iraq] to threaten us by using the world’s most destructive weapons.” This caused a rise of tension again over Iraq.

In an effort to reach a breakthrough in the situation, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and Iraqi Foreign Minister Naji Sabri met for talks in March, May and July of 2002, but were unable to reach an agreement on resuming inspections. While such tensions over Iraq escalated, US President Bush pointed out in his speech at the general debate of the UN General Assembly on September 12 that Iraq had failed to fulfill the Security Council resolutions. In this speech, which gained attention of the international community, President Bush also emphasized the necessity of dealing with the Iraq issue through the Security Council and at the same time stated clearly his beliefs that if Iraq would not respond to such an approach, the use of force would be unavoidable.

On September 16, as a result of urgings by the international community, Iraq announced its unconditional acceptance of inspections, and the UN and IAEA held working-level consultations with Iraq on inspections. Later, deliberations were held for approximately eight weeks at the UN Security Council in order to further

(Photo)

heighten the effectiveness of the inspections. As a result, Security Council resolution 1441 was adopted unanimously, including Syria's vote. This resolution strongly demanded Iraq to carry out a set of obligations, including the acceptance of enhanced inspections. On November 13, Iraq sent a message of acceptance of this resolution to the UN. With this, the advance team of UNMOVIC and IAEA arrived at Baghdad on November 18, and the inspections were resumed after a hiatus of approximately four years. Under this latest effort, immediate unconditional and unrestricted inspections are to occur in all places without exception.

On the other hand, on January 27, 2003, UNMOVIC Executive Chairman Hans Blix and IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei reported to the Security Council that though Iraq was cooperating with the procedure, Iraq had been unable to respond to allegations, and suspicions over Iraq's possession of WMDs and their delivery vehicles had yet to be resolved. With this, it became internationally recognized that substantial and active cooperation from Iraq would be essential. In his State of the Union address on February 28, US President Bush said that Iraq must destroy its WMDs voluntarily. At the Security Council meeting which was held on February 5, US Secretary of State Colin Powell presented member countries of the Security Council with information indicating such matters as Iraq's non-cooperation to inspection activities and a cover-up of WMDs. He stated that Iraq should not be given any more time, and that the Council needed to make a decision. Later, on February 14, UNMOVIC and the IAEA reported again to the Security Council, stating that while

a certain amount of progress was seen in the procedure of the inspections, immediate, unconditional and active cooperation from Iraq would be essential in order to reach the goal of the inspections, which was the disposal of WMDs and their delivery vehicles. At an informal meeting of the Security Council on February 24, the US, the UK and Spain collectively submitted a draft resolution stating that Iraq was still not fulfilling the relevant Security Council resolutions and did not take the last chance which it was given under the Security Council resolution 1441. On March 7, a revised draft resolution was submitted, over which the Security Council continued to hold deliberations. However, there was no compromise that came up between the US, the UK, Spain and the other countries which supported this revised draft resolution and France, Russia, Germany and the other countries which called for a continuation of inspections. Following the March 16 meeting of the leaders of the US, the UK, Spain and Portugal held on the Azores islands of Portugal, US Secretary of State Powell announced on March 17 that the supporters of the draft resolution had decided not to ask the Security Council for a vote on it. In addition, US President Bush gave a speech on the same day that stated the Iraqi president had to leave Iraq within 48 hours or else a military conflict would be the result. (As of March 18.)

Japan's Efforts

Japan had firmly maintained the position of promoting bilateral relations with Iraq, continuing a diplomatic relationship while taking into consideration the situation of compliance of the relevant Security Council resolutions



Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Toshimitsu Motegi meeting with President of Syria Bashar Al-Assad (November)

and other factors. In 2002, in response to the heightened tension over Iraq, Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi met with Iraqi Foreign Minister Sabri on the occasion of the UN General Assembly in New York on September 14. This was the first ministerial-level contact between the two countries since the Persian Gulf War. At the meeting, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi strongly urged Iraq to accept the inspection immediately, unconditionally and without restrictions, and to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions, including the disposition of WMDs and their delivery vehicles. Furthermore, on January 29, 2003, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi summoned Qasim A. Shakir, charge d'affaires at the Iraqi embassy in Tokyo, and in March dispatched Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Toshimitsu Motegi to Iraq as a special envoy of the prime minister. Through such efforts, Japan has continued to approach Iraq directly, stating that Iraq should immediately accept the last chance given to it under Security Council resolution 1441, and urging Iraq again to actively and voluntarily eliminate allegations and to implement all relevant Security Council resolutions, including the disposition of WMDs and their delivery vehicles and persuading it to make a last reconsideration for a peaceful resolution.

To deal with the Iraq issues, Japan has worked closely with permanent members of the Security Council and other major countries, as well as the neighboring countries of Iraq, by taking the opportunity on various occasions to communicate its beliefs. From this viewpoint, Japan held the belief that it was also important for the greatly influential, neighboring countries to also aggressively approach Iraq, and former Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama, former Foreign Minister Masahiko Koumura and Senior Vice-Minister Motegi were dispatched to Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria and Turkey as special envoys of the prime minister, over the period of late-November to December, and also in March 2003. In a series of meetings with the neighboring countries, Japan communicated its belief that it was important to continue urging Iraq, and exchanged opinions on the efforts toward peace and stability of the Middle East region.

Japan expressed its support for the Security Council draft resolution submitted on February 24, 2003, and the revised draft resolution submitted on March 7 by the US, the UK and Spain, as the true and last effort to carry through with international collaboration and for the

international community to work as one to put pressure on Iraq to disarm voluntarily. With the announcement on March 17 that the vote of the Security Council on the draft resolution would not be sought, the international community is completely unified in the idea that Iraq must dispose of its WMDs and their delivery vehicles, and Iraq has no way of escaping the obligation to eliminate these weapons. In response to the speech given by US President Bush, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi highly evaluated the diplomatic efforts of the US in calling for international collaboration, and expressed his support for the US president's decision. (As of March 18.)

(c) Peace in the Middle East

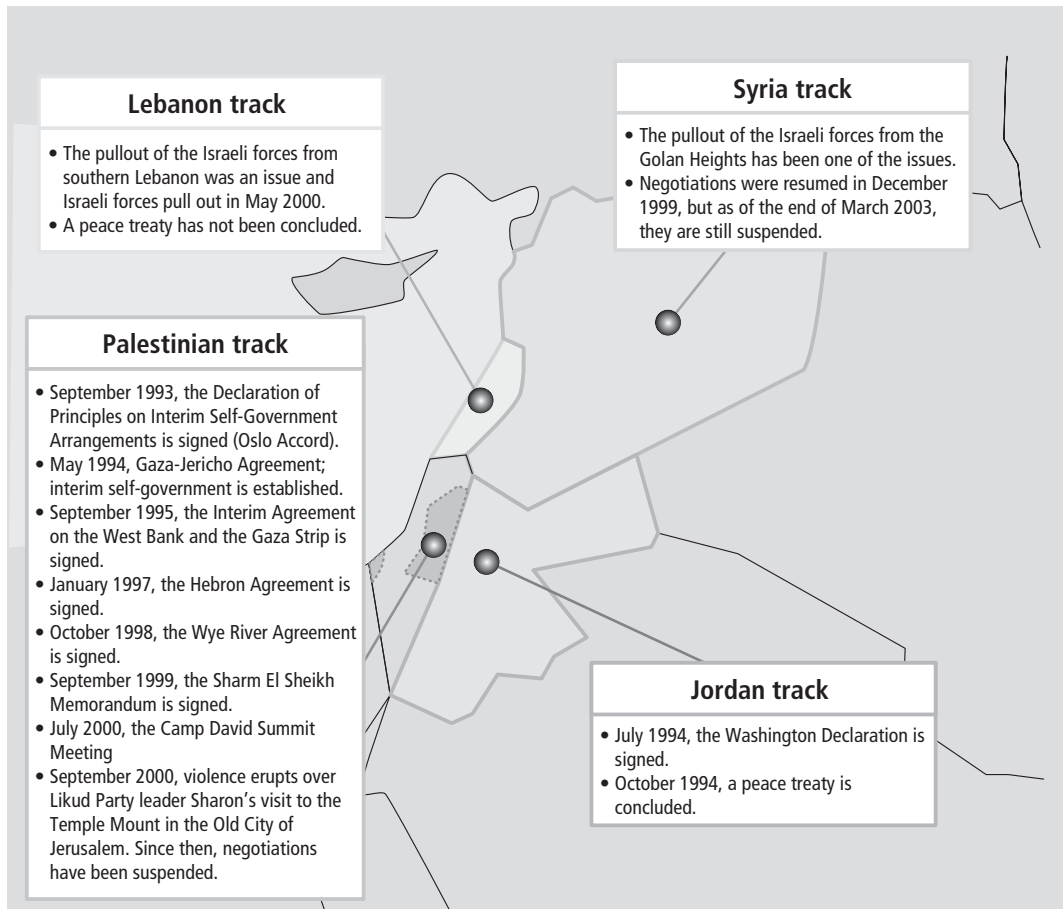
The situation surrounding peace in the Middle East deteriorated throughout 2002. Since the breakout of clashes in September 2000 between Israelis and Palestinians, more than 2,300 people in total of both sides have died, causing a serious threat to both their economies and livelihoods. Moreover, no progress was seen in the peace process either between Syria and Israel, or between Lebanon and Israel.

The Situation Surrounding Peace between Israelis and Palestinians, and the Efforts of the International Community

As the vicious cycle of Israel's military incursion into the Palestinian Autonomous Areas and the terrorism and violence by Palestinian extremists continue, His Royal Highness Crown Prince Abdullah Bin Abdul-Aziz of Saudi Arabia presented a proposal in mid-February 2002 that the Arab countries would offer Israel full diplomatic relations in return for that the Israelis would totally withdraw to the 1967 lines. This proposal drew attention as a peace initiative by the leading Arab country, and after partial modification, it was adopted as the Arab Peace Initiative at the Arab Summit Meeting in March, endorsed by all the Arab countries. Furthermore, in response to the worsening situation, the UN Security Council adopted resolutions 1397, 1402 and 1403, repeatedly calling upon both Israelis and Palestinians to cease the violence. Along with such developments, the US dispatched Secretary of State Powell to the region in April and persistently called for a ceasefire between Israelis and Palestinians, but it was not realized.

In response to the frequent terrorist attacks, strong

Current Situation of the Middle East Peace Process



demands were being made that Palestinians themselves carry out efforts to ensure security. Under such circumstances, calls for reforms and improved transparency of the Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority began even among Palestinians, and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasser Arafat, who is also the president of the Palestinian Authority, criticized the terrorist acts against civilians and announced that elections would be held and a reform of the Authority's security and administrative body would take place. The "100-day Plan" presented basic policies for the reform of the Palestinian Authority, and in a ministerial reshuffle at the beginning of June, reformist leaders were appointed as ministers in sectors such as treasury and finance.

While the Palestinian side itself shows efforts for reform, it became strongly recognized that, not only to realize peace but also to end the violence, presenting a political horizon of peace is essential. Under this situation, US President Bush gave a speech in June on peace

in the Middle East, affirming that he will work toward a solution based on a two-state vision (peaceful coexistence of two states of Israel and Palestine), and presented the following outlook: (1) necessity of the Palestinian reform, including new and different leadership; (2) establishment of a Palestinian state with provisional borders and sovereignty; and (3) reaching a final agreement within the next three years. In order to realize this framing, mainly the US, the European Union (EU), Russia and the UN made efforts to formulate a "road map" that states the obligations of both Israel and Palestine for each period over the next three years.

In response to the speech by President Bush, the Palestinian Reform Task Force (comprised of Japan, US, Russia, EU, Norway, UN, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF)) was established in order for the international community to assist Palestinian reform, and its first meeting was held in July 2002. Subsequent meetings were held in August, November 2002 and February 2003, for a total of four

meetings. (As of March 2003.) The task force has examined the progress of Palestinian reform and the modalities of assistance by the international community in seven working groups in the areas of financial accountability, elections, rule of law, civil society, ministerial and civil service, local government and market economies. Also, the task force has made efforts to urge Israel to lift the economic closures which act as a major obstacle in the reform process, to transfer tax revenues to the Palestinians and to withdraw its troops from the Palestinian Autonomous Areas.

Despite such efforts, the exchange of violence has not ceased between Israelis and Palestinians. Suicide attacks against Israeli civilians by Palestinian extremists have continued, and in response, so did Israeli incursions into the Palestinian Autonomous Areas. In April and again in September 2002, the Israelis went so far as to surround the compound of the president of the Palestinian Authority.

The closures of the Palestinian Autonomous Areas by the Israeli defense forces caused drastic suffering from both the economic as well as the humanitarian point of view. The unemployment rate in the area is 50 to 60%, and the poverty rate is as high as 60 to 70%. At the same time, there is heightened fear for the security of citizens who are exposed to the threat of Palestinian suicide attacks. Among Israeli and Palestinian public opinion, under such circumstances an overwhelming majority is of the view that, while peace is desired, the foremost priority is to ensure security and that the mutual confidence between Israelis and Palestinians fell drastically. During this time, the Labor Party, which is a



Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi shaking hands with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat (June)

pro-peace faction in Israeli domestic politics, pulled out of the ruling coalition government in late-October, due to disagreements over the budget for Jewish settlers. This caused the coalition government led by the Likud Party to lose its majority within the Knesset, Israel's parliament, and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon was forced to hold an early election. However, in the general election in January 2003, Sharon's Likud Party drastically increased its number of seats, and on February 28, Sharon's second coalition government was established.

The Peace Process of Israel with Syria and Lebanon

In December 1999, peace negotiations resumed between the Israeli prime minister at the time Ehud Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Shara'. However, talks soon came to a halt, and no plans for resumption have since been made.

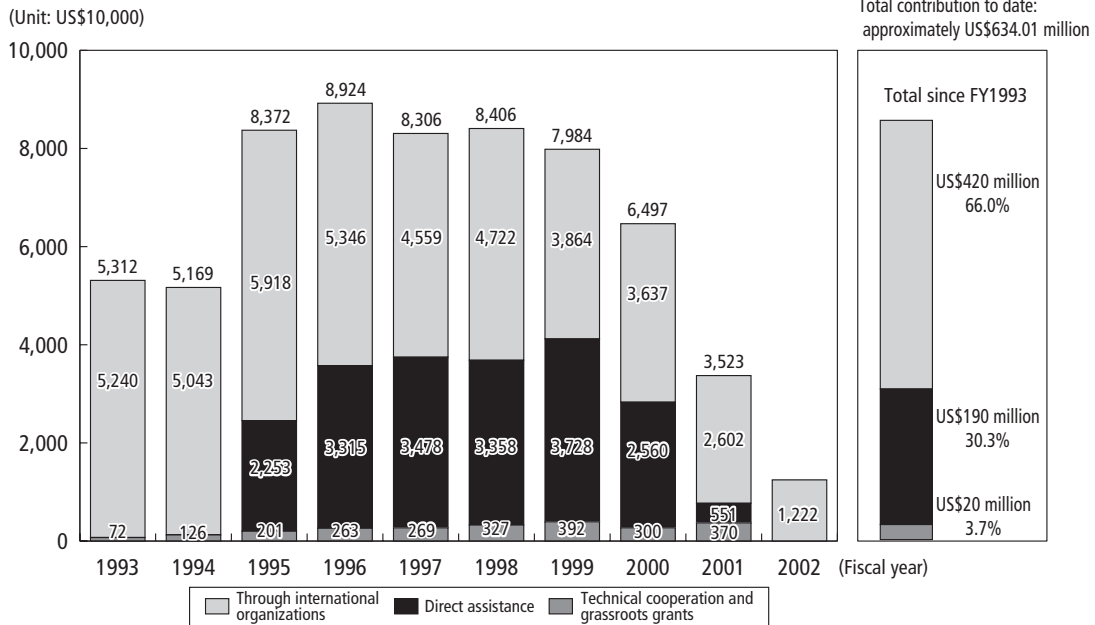
Regarding the peace process between Israel and Lebanon, Israeli forces engaged in a unilateral withdrawal from southern Lebanon in May 2000. The UN then issued a statement by the president of the Security Council confirming the withdrawal, in line with UN Security Council resolution 425. However, Israel and Lebanon remain at a standoff over the return of the Shebaa farms area, and sporadic skirmishes still occur between Hezbollah and Israeli forces. In addition, there are ongoing disputes over the use of Hatzbani River water, which runs along the border between Lebanon and Israel.

Japan's Efforts

In efforts to end the vicious cycle of violence, Japan has continued to hold close discussions with and make appeals to both Israeli and Palestinian sides, as well as neighboring countries and the G8 countries. Viewing the independence of the Palestinians as vital for peace, Japan has also provided the Palestinians with over US\$640 million in aid since 1993 (as of March 2003). And in particular, in preparations for realizing the peaceful coexistence of Israel and Palestine, Japan has been assisting Palestinian reform efforts as part of Palestinian nation-building, formulating "the Road Map for Japan's Assistance to Palestinians." In line with this "Road Map," Japan has been providing in humanitarian assistance to improve the humanitarian situation of Palestinians, which has worsened drastically due to the continued violence, and to restore lifelines. In addition, Japan has been assisting Palestinian reform by training

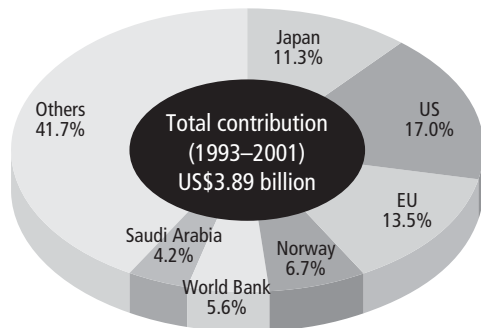
Assistance to Palestinians

1. Development of Japan's assistance to Palestinians (since FY1993)



2. Outline of assistance to Palestinians from major donor countries

Contributions according to each major donor in 1993–2001



(Based on the survey by the Palestinian Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation: Not including assistance through United Nations Relief and Workers Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA))

Assistance plan by each donor in 2002

| Country | Amount of assistance in 2002 |
|---------|------------------------------|
| US | US\$164 million |
| Norway | US\$60 million |
| EU | €232 million |
| Canada | US\$28 million |

(Published at an informal meeting of the Ad Hoc Liaison Committee (AHLIC) on Assistance for Palestinians in April 2002)

3. Road Map for Assistance to Palestinians

Provide assistance aimed at Palestinian nation-building by indicating a policy to promote assistance according to the progress of peace, in line with the Road Map

Possible assistance in the current situation

- Emergency humanitarian assistance
 - Humanitarian assistance, Restoration of lifeline
- Assistance for the reconstruction and reform of the Palestinian Authority (PA)
 - Support for democratization (seminar on democracy)
 - Reconstruction and strengthening of government bodies (acceptance of trainees)
 - Strengthening of local governance (acceptance of trainees)

Resumption and advancement of dialogues (cessation of violence)

- Humanitarian and recovery assistance
 - Recovery of infrastructure in the area of basic human needs, in addition to humanitarian assistance
- Assistance for reconstruction and reform of the PA
 - Strengthening the judiciary system (acceptance of trainees)
 - Improving training courses in various fields
- Support for programs aimed at peace-building and conflict prevention
 - Support for reconciliation among the people, etc.

Resumption and development of the peace negotiations (stabilizing the security situation)

- Reconstruction and development assistance for a self-sustainable economy and society
 - Upgrading the economic and social infrastructure
 - Fostering and developing industries (dispatch of experts, acceptance of trainees)

Conclusion of the peace negotiations

- Assistance for the development of a new Palestinian state

personnel in the administrative organizations who will promote state-building efforts and restore government buildings.

In March 2003, prior to the Arab Summit Meeting in which the reaction of the Arab countries to His Royal Highness Crown Prince Abdullah's proposal was of much interest, Prime Minister Koizumi sent personal letters calling on the Arab countries to send out constructive messages toward peace. After late-March, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi made active appeals to end the vicious cycle of violence by meeting or holding phone conversations with Chairman Arafat, then-Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and other Israeli and Palestinian leaders, as well as US Secretary of State Powell and other leaders of the G8 countries. In June, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi visited Israel and the Palestinian Autonomous Areas to meet with the leaders including Prime Minister Sharon and Chairman Arafat, and to urge an end to the violence and a resumption of negotiations. Foreign Minister Kawaguchi also presented the "Road Map for Japan's Assistance to Palestinians," which is based on the idea that Japan will provide further assistance in line with the progress in the peace process as the basic policy of Japanese assistance for Palestinian people. In addition to such a political approach and assistance, Japan has engaged in steady efforts to build confidence through exchanges between the Israelis and the Palestinians by inviting youths, young diplomats and women from both sides.

Japan appointed Dr. Tatsuo Arima as the special envoy for peace in the Middle East to develop multifaceted diplomacy to urge efforts toward peace through

discussions not only with the leaders of Israel and the Palestinian Autonomous Areas, but also with those of the neighboring countries which play roles in promoting peace, such as Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon. In addition, since 1996, Japan has dispatched personnel to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights, which has been disputed between Israel and Syria.

(d) Afghanistan

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks in the US in 2001, the Taliban regime, which had been in control of Afghanistan, collapsed due to the use of force by the US, the UK and other countries. Regarding post-Taliban dispensation, the UN Talks on Afghanistan were held in Bonn, Germany, in line with a proposal submitted by UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Afghanistan Lakhdar Brahimi. In the talks, agreements were made on such issues as the establishment of an Interim Authority and the convening of an Emergency Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) and the future path of the Afghan peace process was established (the Bonn Agreement). The International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan was held in Tokyo in January 2002 under the joint chairmanship of Japan, the US, the EU and Saudi Arabia, and 61 countries and 21 international organizations attended. At the conference, a path for Afghanistan's reconstruction was indicated, announcing assistance of US\$4.5 billion in total, of which more than US\$1.8 billion would be provided in 2002.

(Photo)



Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Kenshiro Matsunami paying a Courtesy Call on the former King Mohamad Zahir Shah, during his visit to Afghanistan in order to attend the ceremony marking the return of the former king (April)

The Situation in Afghanistan and the Efforts of the International Community

Progress toward peace has been seen in Afghanistan, including the launch of an Interim Authority on December 22, 2001, and the convening of an Emergency Loya Jirga in June 2002. At the Emergency Loya Jirga, which was attended by a total of 1,650 representatives from throughout Afghanistan, Chairman of the Interim Administration Hamid Karzai was elected as the head of the state for the Transitional Administration by secret ballot, obtaining approximately 80% of the votes. Furthermore, it was decided that the former King Mohamad Zahir Shah would hold the symbolic position of the father of the nation.

Under the Interim Authority, which existed until June 2002, it was problematic that Pashtuns, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan, were dissatisfied with the fact that administrative powers were concentrated among Tajiks. Against this backdrop, when the Transitional Administration was established after the Emergency Loya Jirga, of the Tajik leaders—Interior Minister Younis Qanooni, Foreign Minister Abdullah Abdullah and Defense Minister Mohammed Fahim—Interior Minister Qanooni was taken off his post, and a

Pashtun Haji Abdul Qadir was appointed in his place. However, Vice President and Interior Minister Qadir was assassinated the following July, and in September, President Hamid Karzai was the target of an attempted assassination. These events signify the instability of President Karzai's political foundation, and the influence of his Transitional Administration carries actual power only within the region around the capital city of Kabul.

Under such conditions, a ministerial conference marking the first anniversary of the Bonn Meeting was held in Germany on December 2, in which consultations were made toward ensuring political security in Afghanistan. At this conference, President Karzai proclaimed that the Afghan military capacity would be set to be approximately 70,000, and disarmament of the local armed factions and other forces would be carried out within the following year. How to disarm the local armed factions and to establish a national military force are the major issues for Afghanistan, as well as for the international community. On December 22, the Kabul Conference on Good-Neighborly Relations, the first ministerial-level international conference since the establishment of the Transitional Administration, was held, and from Japan, Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Yoshitaka Shindo attended the conference. At this conference, the Kabul Declaration, which included promises of good-neighborly relationships and mutual nonaggression between Afghanistan and its neighboring countries, was signed and announced. Furthermore, on February 22, 2003, the Tokyo Conference on Consolidation of Peace in Afghanistan was held in Japan, at which the determination and specific measures toward the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR)³⁶ of ex-combatants were announced, and further assistance and cooperation were sought from the international community.

With the help of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which started its full-scale deployment in January 2002, public security in Kabul is stable to some extent. However, armed forces that are estimated to be comprised of hundreds of thousands of people still exist in the local areas and sporadic military clashes between armed factions

³⁶ This is an acronym for Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration of ex-combatants who were involved in conflicts and other activities. It acts as an important factor in the "consolidation of peace."

Activities of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)

(March 2003)

1 Background

Established on December 20, 2001 with the aim of maintaining security in Kabul and the surrounding areas after the adoption of Security Council resolution 1386. The term was six months. It was extended for another six months on May 23, 2002 (Security Council resolution 1413).

2 List of countries participating in ISAF (22 countries: participation by approximately 4,500 people)

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|------------|
| Ireland | Spain | France |
| Albania | Czech Republic | Bulgaria |
| UK | Denmark | Lithuania |
| Italy | Germany | Romania |
| Australia | Turkey | Azerbaijan |
| The Netherlands | New Zealand | Macedonia |
| Greece | Norway | |
| Sweden | Finland | |

3 Changes in ISAF leadership

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| UK | December 20, 2001–June 20, 2002 |
| Turkey | June 20, 2002–February 10, 2003 |
| Germany and the Netherlands | February 10, 2003– |

occur. This is a major cause for instability of public security within the country.

Although Operation Enduring Freedom by the US military and others is gaining a certain level of success toward the elimination of terrorism, the rump of Al-Qaeda is still continuing its activities, and it is said that the Taliban is in the process of regrouping. In addition, Usama bin Laden, who masterminded the September 11 attacks, and Mullah Mohammed Omar among others are still missing. Faced with such conditions, the international community is commonly aware that ensuring public security within Afghanistan is a prerequisite for reconstruction assistance, and that the focus of the international community must be placed on this issue. With this awareness, each country is working on issues—specifically, the US on military establishment; Japan and the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) on DDR; Germany on rebuilding the police force; Italy on rebuilding the legislative system; and the UK on drug countermeasures. In this way, the efforts of the international community toward Afghanistan's stability and prosperity have made progress in 2002.

Japan's Efforts

The content of reconstruction assistance to Afghanistan which was announced at the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan in Tokyo in January 2002 is being carried out fairly smoothly thus far by the international community. At the conference, Japan announced that it would provide up to US\$500 million over 2.5 years, and up to US\$250 million in the first year in aid, focusing on areas of reconstruction of communities, elimination of landmines and unexploded bombs, education, health and medical care, media infrastructure, and empowerment of women. Japan has so far provided or agreed upon US\$358 million in restoration and reconstruction assistance. As a result, since the September 11 attacks, Japan's assistance to Afghanistan including humanitarian aid has totaled approximately US\$450 million.

In May, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi visited Afghanistan, upon which she pointed out that it is important to establish peace in Afghanistan through the advancement of the peace process, ensuring domestic stability and security, and carrying out humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. Furthermore, a summit

meeting between Prime Minister Koizumi and President Karzai took place on the occasion of the UN General Assembly in September, and Japan announced that in cooperation with the US and Saudi Arabia, it would provide targeted assistance of US\$50 million in the restoration of the main highway between Kabul and Kandahar. Besides this, Japan is promoting the return and resettlement of the massive number of refugees and displaced persons in Afghanistan, as well as efforts aimed at a comprehensive reconstruction and development of local communities which would receive such persons (the Ogata Initiative). Also, at the Tokyo Conference on Consolidation of Peace in Afghanistan in February 2003, it was announced that aid of US\$35 million would be provided for the “Partnership for Peace,” which was formulated in cooperation with

UNAMA, and Japan plans to continue such assistance.

(e) Iran

Situation Surrounding Iran and the Efforts of the International Community

In 2002, confrontations continued between the reformists of the government and the parliament, and conservatives such as the judiciary and bill regulating body in Iran. In addition to the arrests and prosecution of key reformists and the rejection of reform related bills, conservatives aggressively fought against movements toward reform by such actions as passing the death penalty to Professor Hashem Aghajari, a reformist intellectual in November. In response to such activities by conservatives, the Iranian government attempted to

Column

Visiting the Bamiyan Site

In 1977, when I left for home after my fourth Bamiyan study, I planned to visit this region again in another two years. Then Afghanistan was thrown into historic turmoil and was destroyed again and again by warfare for the next 25 years. Even as I anguished, all I could do was to form an Afghanistan support group, “We Love Afghanistan,” with Afghani students studying in Japan and peers from the university, giving a bit of relief money to refugee camps as a way to console myself.

In 2001, unexpectedly, the war stopped.

In May 2002, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) hosted an international seminar in Kabul and proposed a restoration of the Bamiyan site, which had gathered worldwide attention since the destruction of the Large Buddhas. The Japanese Government, respectably, made the key decision to entrust US\$700,000 to UNESCO as a fund to take the first step toward restoration.

This fall, in October, the Japan-UNESCO Joint Mission was formed by this fund, and as a member of the mission, I was given the opportunity to visit the Bamiyan site once again. Bamiyan is a rare site as it is a cultural heritage as well as a natural heritage. The loss of the Large Buddhas did not damage this impressive site at all. While the Buddhist temple carved into the cliff remained, the Buddhist wall paintings the world should be proud of were 80% lost, presenting a tragic sight. Anger naturally welled up within me. Two distinct forms of destruction can be identified: the meticulous and thorough destruction of the wall paintings by the Taliban; and the stripping of them for the purpose of selling them afterward. The latter destruction is still continuing. The little bit of wall painting that remains must be preserved. While I can imagine various ways of restoration, now, so that the destruction does not continue, more than anything, it is essential that emergency measures are implemented. This spring, a new mission will probably leave for Bamiyan to start the first restoration project. I would like to gather wisdom in supporting this mission.

(Photo)

Kosaku Maeda, Professor, Wako University

(Photo)

fight back, submitting bills for expanded presidential powers and an amendment to the parliamentary election law in order to restrain constitutional violations by conservative organizations and the arbitrary examination of qualifications of parliamentary election candidates. Moreover, frustration over the slow progress of reforms and the death sentence of Professor Aghajari, among other things, sparked large-scale demonstrations by young Iranians in July and November.

In the area of diplomacy, progress was seen in the strengthening of relations between Iran and the EU. In addition to President Mohammad Khatami's visits to Austria (March), Greece (March) and Spain (October), and High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Javier Solana's visit to Iran (August), many active exchanges took place among governmental and parliamentary officials between the EU and Iran. Also, the negotiation of an EU-Iran Trade and Cooperation Agreement was launched in December. With respect to its relations with the US, however, while there was a certain amount of cooperation in dealing with the situation in Afghanistan following the September 11 attacks, after President Bush made the "axis of evil" statement in his State of the Union address in January 2002, the US-Iran relationship deteriorated drastically.

Furthermore, in dealing with the development and possession of WMDs and their delivery vehicles by Iraq, which has become a pressing issue within the international community, Iran has been holding a close

exchange of opinions with Iraq's neighboring countries from the viewpoint of easing tensions in the region, and while opposing a unilateral US attack on Iraq, it is urging Iraq to carry out the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Japan's Efforts

Through dialogues, Japan is urging Iran, which is a significant power within the Middle East region, to further promote reforms within the country and dialogues with the international community, and to take on an even more active role toward ensuring peace and stability in the Middle East region and the international community. In January 2002, Special Representative of the Prime Minister on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan Sadako Ogata visited Iran, and Prime Minister Koizumi held consultations on reconstruction assistance to Afghanistan with Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi, who was visiting Japan to attend the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan. In May, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi visited Iran and came to agreements over the promotion of cultural and humanitarian exchanges, and exchanged opinions concerning regional and international situations.

In addition to exchanges on a governmental level, there were frequent exchanges among members of parliament. In October, Second Deputy Speaker of the Parliament Mohammad Reza Khatami, the head of the

largest reformist party and the brother of President Khatami, visited Japan. Then in December, the head of the planning, budget and auditing committee of Parliament, Majid Ansari, an influential member of a reformist group, visited Japan. From Japan, Vice-Speaker of the House of Representatives Kozo Watanabe visited Iran in September, and former Foreign Minister Nakayama (chairman of Japan-Iran Parliamentary Friendship League) visited Iran as a special envoy of the prime minister in November, in connection with the Iraqi situation.

In economic aspects, Oil Minister Bijan Namdar Zanganeh visited Japan in September to attend the International Energy Forum. During the visit, he met with Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry Takeo Hiranuma, and signed a joint statement, which stated that various contracts regarding Azadegan oil field development contract negotiations would be concluded by spring 2003 and that the participation of Japanese corporations to Iran's oil and gas field development projects would be welcomed.

(f) Gulf Countries

Situation in the Gulf Countries

The Gulf countries continue to rely upon the US for security in the Gulf region, while carefully maintaining a political balance with Iran and Iraq, which have powerful influences on the Middle East region. In 2002, tensions were heightened among the international community over Iraq's development and possession of WMDs and their delivery vehicles. The Gulf countries neighboring Iraq have been presenting their stances to be cautious toward the use of force against Iraq, showing their support for a peaceful solution based on the Security Council resolutions, and, on the other hand, have been pressed to delicately steer between such stances and their responses toward the military actions expected to be carried out by the US and other countries. Moreover, since the September 11 attacks, the Gulf countries have strongly condemned terrorism, and have been cooperating with the international community

in the fight against terrorism. Yet, because many of the terrorists responsible for the September 11 attacks were Saudi Arabian nationals, suspicions ran high that Saudi Arabia may be a hotbed of terrorism, which placed Saudi Arabia in a difficult position in its relations with the US.

Japan's Efforts

Because ensuring peace and stability of the Middle East region can have a significant influence on the realization of the peace, stability and prosperity of the international community as a whole, and because this region is strategically important as it supplies over 80% of Japan's energy resources, Japan plans to develop active diplomacy with the Gulf countries toward the realization of peace, security and prosperity in the area, while giving consideration to the various circumstances of the Gulf countries.

With regard to the Iraq situation, over which tension is mounting, former Foreign Minister Koumura visited Saudi Arabia as a special envoy of the prime minister in December 2002 and March 2003 to request Saudi Arabia to actively urge Iraq to implement the relevant Security Council resolutions and cooperate with inspections.

In order to strengthen its diplomacy toward the Gulf countries from a middle- to long-term perspective, Japan plans to establish wide-ranging cooperative relations with the Gulf countries including personnel and cultural exchanges. Specifically, efforts have continued toward concretizing the so-called Kono Initiative,³⁷ which is made up of three main pillars: promotion of "dialogue among civilizations" with the Islamic world, the development of water resources and environmental cooperation, and the promotion of a wide-ranging policy dialogue. In March 2002, the Seminar on the "Dialogue among Civilizations": The Islamic World and Japan was held in Bahrain, and in June, the Japan-Saudi Arabia Joint Commission was held in Tokyo. Moreover, a foreign ministerial meeting was held at the UN between Japan and Saudi Arabia, and in the same month, Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Seiken

³⁷ In making use of various opportunities such as policy speeches, Foreign Minister Yohei Kono appealed the importance of promoting mutual understanding through deepening dialogues among different religions, ethnic groups, cultures and civilizations. To this end, research was conducted on methods to promote mutual understanding with the Islamic countries, and during his visit to the Gulf countries in January 2001, Foreign Minister Kono announced an initiative that called for dialogue with Islamic civilizations, among other things.

Sugiura visited Yemen, and Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Kenshiro Matsunami visited Kuwait and Bahrain, to hold policy dialogues with the Gulf countries regarding bilateral relations and the international situation.

From the perspective of the energy security of Japan, issues regarding the renewal of Japan's drilling rights in the Gulf region is a matter of concern, and in March 2002, Mr. Keiji Furuya, senior vice minister of

economy, trade and industry, visited Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar to work toward strengthening economic relations with the Gulf countries. Furthermore, the Eighth International Energy Forum which Japan and the United Arab Emirates co-chaired was held in September in Osaka, and petroleum producing and consuming countries gathered to hold meaningful dialogue.