

# CHAPTER 1

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OVERVIEW:  
THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND  
JAPANESE DIPLOMACY IN 2003

## A

## OVERVIEW

<b>1</b>	<b>The International Situation in 2003</b>
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**(a) Overview**

The major challenges to the international community in 2003 were the military operation against Iraq and subsequent efforts toward reconstruction assistance to Iraq, continued terrorism by Islamic extremists and responses to issues concerning North Korea. The alleged proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and missiles are common elements in both the Iraq and North Korea situations so that the primary concern of the international community in 2003 can be summarized as the fight against terrorism and the prevention of proliferation of WMD and their delivery means.

Differences emerged among various countries on the positions for the military operation against Iraq, and the year 2003 marked a turning point in the international coordination that had been maintained in the fight against terrorism since the terrorist attacks in the United States (US) in September 2001. Under these circumstances, the main task for Japanese foreign policy has been how to balance between the objectives of maintaining and reinforcing the close coordination with the US, Japan's one and only ally, and realizing broad coordination within the international community. At the same time, the modalities for governance in the entire international community (global governance) were questioned. In this regard, there came a growing recognition that the United Nations (UN), the world's sole universal, comprehensive international organization, had been unable to fulfill its expected role sufficiently due to the split that arose within the Security Council over the military operation against Iraq. As a result, the modalities of the UN were brought into question, and the international community became keenly aware of the need for UN reform.

2003 was also a year throughout which the importance of international cooperation on various issues increased further, including the response to the frequent occurrence of terrorist attacks around the world as well as to the rapid spread of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS).

The year will also be remembered as one in which the international community as a whole strongly understood that what it must work on in the 21st century is to respond to such issues as growing threats to the human body and the safety of "food" caused by infectious diseases, including Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) and Avian influenza, which has been spreading since the beginning of 2004.

**(b) The Fight against Terrorism and the Prevention of Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Delivery Means**

**The Fight against Terrorism**

Counter-terrorism measures remain a top priority issue for the international community under the recognition that terrorism poses a grave threat to the peace and stability of the international community since the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11, 2001.

Terrorist attacks frequently occurred around the world in 2003, too, including in Iraq, under the governance of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), Afghanistan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Turkey and Russia. Particularly in Iraq, targets of terrorist attacks expanded beyond the coalition forces, from the US forces as initial targets, to those who were not considered as targets previously; even international organizations such as the UN and humanitarian assistance organizations including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have come to be aimed at.

The international community needs to unite and strive tenaciously to eradicate terrorism, on which the traditional concept of deterrence does not have a meaningful effect. The year 2003 saw a spate of terrorist incidents even in Islamic countries where local Muslims became victims, and, as such, many Islamic countries have come to share widely the need for the international community to make

united efforts in the fight against terrorism. Based on this recognition, the international community has steadily advanced its counter-terrorism measures. Japan and other developed countries have vigorously been engaging in providing capacity building assistance so that developing countries in regions such as Southeast Asia can enhance their capacities to combat terrorism.

### **Prevention of Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Delivery Means**

The proliferation of WMD and their delivery means poses a threat to the peace and stability of the international community and the damage would be unimaginable once WMD were employed by terrorists. The international community, therefore, has continued its efforts toward preventing the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means at numerous international conferences and international organizations including the G8 Summit and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). US President George W. Bush visited Poland in May and proposed the launch of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) as a framework for international coordination to prevent the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means and related materials. Under this initiative, conferences and training with the support of many countries including Japan were held and international frameworks for the prevention of proliferation have been rapidly reinforced. Against this background, there were noteworthy developments in several countries, against which suspicions had been raised within the international community with respect to the development of WMD and their delivery means.

The nuclear issue of Iran is a significant issue concerned with the non-proliferation regime, and the international community has continued diplomatic efforts to resolve the issue. The IAEA Board of Governors adopted a resolution in September that was co-sponsored by Japan, Australia and Canada. In October, Iran accepted joint visits by the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom (UK), France and Germany and decided that it would substantially accept the resolution. Subsequently, at the meeting of the IAEA Board of Governors held later in November, a resolution was adopted urging Iran to implement the IAEA resolution that had been adopted in September. Since then, Iran demonstrated some positive moves, such as signing the IAEA Additional Protocol in December. The same month, as a result of diplomatic efforts made by the US and UK behind the scenes, Libya

dismantled all its WMD programs and decided to accept immediate inspections by international organizations. Apart from such positive developments, North Korea appears to be continuing its development and proliferation of nuclear weapons and missiles. In January 2003, North Korea declared its intention to withdraw from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), and it has been employing a provocative diplomacy so as to shake the NPT regime by strongly suggesting the development of nuclear weapons among other actions. It is intensely expected that North Korea and other “states of concern” will follow the example of Libya and achieve positive action toward the dismantlement of WMD programs.

### **(c) Major Points in the Regional Situation**

In countries surrounding Japan, the leadership changed in the Republic of Korea (ROK) and China in 2003. In the ROK, the administration of President Roh Moo Hyun advanced the “Peace and Prosperity Policy” toward North Korea, which followed the Sunshine Policy that had been pursued by the previous Kim Dae Jung Administration. Although North Korea continues its provocative diplomacy regarding the nuclear issue, it has responded to the call by China and other countries concerned and participated in the Three-Party Talks with the US and China in April and the subsequent Six-Party Talks with Japan, the US, ROK, China and Russia in August 2003 as well as February 2004. No significant progress has been seen in the situation concerning North Korea, but the countries concerned must continue their persistent diplomacy to improve the situation.

China, under its new President Hu Jintao, has been exerting proactive diplomacy, especially in Asia, with a view to ensuring stable surrounding environments for the advancement of its economic development. With respect to its relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), China joined the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC) on the occasion of the China-ASEAN Summit held in October in Bali, Indonesia. China also signed the “Joint Declaration of the Heads of State/Government of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and the People’s Republic of China on Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity” and has been striving to strengthen its cooperation with ASEAN. China played an active role regarding North Korea’s nuclear and missile issues and received the attention of the international community; it acted as a mediator

between the international community and North Korea, contributed to the realization of the Three-Party Talks among the US, North Korea and itself, as well as the Six-Party Talks.

In Myanmar, where a military government continues to hold power, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was detained in the midst of a regional campaign tour on May 30, 2003, and her whereabouts remained unknown initially. Afterward, Prime Minister General Khin Nyunt announced a Roadmap for democracy and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest. The situation in Myanmar has seen some changes, for example, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Myanmar explained at the Bangkok Process Meeting in December on efforts toward convening the National Convention at an early date. Concrete developments are expected in the democratization process in which all the parties concerned are involved.

With regard to India-Pakistan relations, tensions ran high after the terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament in December 2001. These tensions, however, were defused as a result of efforts made by the international community including Japan, and notably after April 2003, both countries took concrete measures to improve their relations. In July, ambassadors were exchanged and bus services between the two countries were resumed. Subsequently, a ceasefire was reached along the Line of Control in Kashmir in November, and airline and railway services were resumed in January 2004. Moreover, the same month, Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee of India and President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan met on the occasion of the summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in Islamabad for the first time in two and a half years, agreeing to resume dialogue. This was significant progress in the improvement of bilateral relations as well as in regional stability.

In Sri Lanka, peace talks were held six times between September 2002 and March 2003, following the ceasefire agreement in February 2002, between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). However, the LTTE side announced the suspension of its participation in the peace talks in April 2003. Then, there were prospects of a resumption of the peace negotiations as both the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE had made proposals on the interim administration in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka, but such a resumption of the negotiations has not materialized due to the political turmoil caused by the conflict between the president and the prime minister since November 2003.

With respect to the issue of the peace process in the Middle East, there came heightened expectations that progress would be made, as both Israel and the Palestinian Authority have committed to the Roadmap, which lays out the course toward peace, and as the extremists agreed to a ceasefire. Nonetheless, the Roadmap again reached a stalemate because without any progress achieved in the peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, assassinations of extremists by Israel continued and the Palestinian side failed to achieve tangible results concerning the crackdown against extremists. Afterward, Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority, who assumed office only in April, resigned from his post on September 6. Since then, Palestinian extremists did not cease to conduct their terrorist attacks and Israel continued to build a "separation wall," and, as such, no vast improvements were seen in the situation without any high-level dialogue between Israel and the Palestinian Authority being realized. Under such circumstances, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of Hamas, an Islamic extremist group, was killed on March 22, 2004 in an attack by the Israeli Air Force, and the issue of the peace process in the Middle East has become further embroiled in confusion.

#### **(d) Global Economic Trends and Efforts toward Sustainable Development**

##### **Global Economic Trends**

Although the global economy showed weakness in its recovery in the first half of 2003, it improved broadly in the second half, driven by the strong economic recovery in the US.

In the first half of 2003, growing tensions over the situation in Iraq encouraged global uncertainty, and the spread of the SARS infection had a negative effect on a part of the Asian economy. Nonetheless, the US economy showed robust recovery after the early conclusion of the military operation against Iraq by the US and UK, and growth in the Asian region was led by the high growth rate in China, which succeeded in overcoming the impact of SARS. The overall world economy appears to be on a steady recovery track, as indicated by the promising signs in the Euro zone economy and the recovery in the Japanese economy.

The developed countries and the developing countries were unable to find common ground at the 5th World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference that

was held in Cancun, Mexico in September, nor were the developed countries able to coordinate with one another, and, as such, no agreement was reached. Meanwhile, amidst such difficulties in the round of WTO multilateral trade negotiations, there is a remarkable trend toward concluding Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) as an effort to complement and strengthen the multilateral free trade system. In this regard, negotiations are being conducted among the countries in North America and Latin America to create a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and active efforts are under way also in Asia for establishing EPAs and FTAs among major countries and regions such as Japan, the ROK, China, India and ASEAN.

### **Efforts toward Sustainable Development**

Now that the disparity between the rich and the poor widens as a negative aspect of globalization and its effect spreads throughout the international community, there is a

widely shared understanding that the international community should cooperate in tackling development issues. At present, the international community has been working on sharing development goals through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) created in 2000 as well as documents issued at the International Conference on Financing for Development, the G8 Kananaskis Summit and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in 2002. With these trends, the international community continued its efforts in 2003 to tackle poverty reduction and other development challenges. In the area of the global environment, the ninth session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP9) was held in December in Milan, and preparations concerning operational aspects of the Kyoto Protocol were mostly completed. It is necessary to further call on countries that have not ratified the Kyoto Protocol to do so with a view to achieving its early entry into force.

## **2**

## **Developments in Japan's Diplomacy in 2003**

### **(a) Overview**

In 2003, the international community including Japan faced the significant challenge of responding to threats to its peace and security such as the issues of Iraq and North Korea, and, as such, Japan attached as its first priority to take measures concerning its security. For example, Japan decided to dispatch the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to engage in humanitarian and reconstruction assistance activities in Iraq based on the Law Concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq, which was enacted in July; advanced a series of its counter-terrorism measures including activities of the SDF such as the realization of the continuation of refueling vessels of the US, UK and other foreign forces in the Indian Ocean by extending the term of the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law; and made progress in enhancing domestic emergency legislation and strengthening law enforcement.

It should be noted that Japan, based on its position as a responsible member of the international community, made efforts to maintain and enhance international coordination in tackling major diplomatic issues from the perspective of assuring the common interest of the entire international

community. In response to the issue of Iraq, based on the position that Iraq's repeated negligence of the UN Security Council resolutions over years required the attention of the entire international community, Japan called on countries concerned to adopt a Security Council resolution (1441) which would give a final opportunity for Iraq to cooperate with the inspection of WMD. As suspicions about Iraq's possession and development of WMD were not dispelled due to its insufficient cooperation with the inspections by the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) as well as the IAEA, which were conducted based on Resolution 1441, the US and UK resorted to the military operation, determining that Iraq was in material breach of its obligations under the ceasefire agreement of the Gulf War. While supporting the US and UK, Japan engaged in tenacious efforts to realize broad-based international coordination. In the post-war reconstruction process in Iraq, Japan also worked hard to reach a consensus on adopting UN Security Council resolutions (1483 and 1511) on reconstruction and announced financial assistance amounting to a maximum of US\$5 billion over four years, the second largest contribution next to the US, thus

contributing to the acceleration of efforts by the entire international community. With regard to the response to the North Korea situation, Japan strove for the promotion of international coordination as one of the major countries concerned, leading to the realization of the Six-Party Talks in August among Japan, the US, ROK, China, Russia and North Korea.

Japan also endeavored to strengthen relations with developing countries through attempts to assist those countries and to evolve the international community. Japan hosted a series of large-scale, summit level meetings, such as the 3rd Japan-Pacific Islands Forum Summit Meeting also known as Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting (PALM 2003), The Third Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD III) and the Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit to advance relations with various regions, impressing the international community with its enthusiasm for development issues.

### **The Fight against Terrorism and the Prevention of Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Their Delivery Means**

The fight against terrorism is an effort to ensure security for Japan and the international community, and earnest measures toward the prevention and eradication of terrorism have been implemented both in Japan and overseas. Besides the extension of the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law in November 2003, Japan has provided capacity building assistance mainly in the countries of Southeast Asia, in order for them to enhance and strengthen counter-terrorism capacity. As a part of such efforts, Japan hosted a Seminar on Counter-Terrorism Conventions for the Purpose of Encouraging the Accession to the Conventions for the countries of Southeast Asia, with the aim of strengthening measures to cut off terrorists' funds and to promote the conclusion of the counter-terrorism related international conventions and protocols. Domestically, both ruling and opposition parties broadly reached agreement concerning the Three Laws regarding Response to Armed Attacks (emergency legislation), which were enacted in June. Given the passage of this legislation, the Japanese Government has currently set to work on enhancing individual legislation (legislation on the response to armed attacks), including legislation to protect the people of Japan, as well as on preparing for the conclusion of relevant conventions. Moreover, Japan has been seeking to introduce passports using technology to verify their holders based on

biometric identifiers by the end of FY2005 in order to reinforce the prevention of illegal immigration, which is also expected to contribute to the prevention of terrorism.

Based on the recognition that concerted effort by the international community is essential for the prevention of the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means, Japan has actively participated in efforts seeking effective measures toward the prevention of proliferation to strengthen and universalize treaties relating to disarmament and non-proliferation. In particular, Japan has been actively making efforts toward the universalization of the IAEA Additional Protocol.

Japan has also positively taken measures to strengthen the non-proliferation mechanisms in Asia. For example, it hosted the Asian Senior-level Talks on Non-Proliferation (ASTOP) in November, which is the first comprehensive non-proliferation talks at the senior official-level in Asia, and dispatched the Japan-ASEAN Non-Proliferation Cooperation Mission to ten ASEAN countries in February 2004. Japan has tirelessly taken part in meetings and training exercises of the PSI, a new international initiative proposed by the US in May to enhance the non-proliferation regime, and has been calling for greater support for the initiative, especially from the Asian region. In the area of disarmament, Japan again submitted a draft resolution on nuclear disarmament to the UN, "A path to the total elimination of nuclear weapons," as it did the previous year and realized its adoption. In addition, the government has exerted its diplomacy with vigor, with the aim of achieving the early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT). Domestically, as a part of efforts to strengthen the catch-all controls, Japan has reinforced export controls, including the strengthening of law enforcement with respect to export controls in order to prevent the illegal outflow of materials and technologies necessary for the production and development of WMD.

Japan has also tenaciously made diplomatic efforts to resolve the nuclear issue of Iran as a part of measures to prevent the proliferation of WMD. Specifically, in addition to sharing Japan's experiences in the conclusion and implementation of the IAEA Additional Protocol with Iran, Japan played a vital role in the IAEA Board of Governors' adopting resolutions without a vote on repeated occasions, considering that the formation of consensus on a resolution is essential for the international community to demonstrate a unified attitude with regard to this issue. As a result of these efforts, positive moves were observed, including Iran's signing of the IAEA



Additional Protocol in December. It is still necessary to call on Iran to implement all the requirements of all the relevant resolutions of the IAEA Board of Governors sincerely.

#### **Efforts toward Peace and Stability in the Middle East**

The Middle East is the region in which such threats as terrorism and proliferation of WMD and their delivery means remain existent, and at the same time, it is also faced with challenges including the reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan, and the Middle East peace process. Therefore, the region has a significant influence on the peace and prosperity of the entire international community. Japan relies on the Middle East region for almost 90% of its crude oil supply, which makes the Middle East a region of crucial importance from the perspective of Japan's energy security as well. Based on such recognition, Japan has been actively making efforts toward ensuring the peace and stability of this region. In addition to the above-mentioned dispatch of the SDF to Iraq and the announcement of its reconstruction assistance, Japan has decided and implemented assistance totaling approximately US\$477 million as of March 1, 2004 for Afghanistan, whose nation-building efforts are underway. In particular, Japan has filled a leading role in assistance for Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) in order to implement the Register for Peace project substantively. With regard to the issue of peace in the Middle East, Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi made a visit to the Middle East region, including the Palestinian territories, at the time of the appointment of Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas, immediately after the conclusion of the military operation against Iraq at the end of April, and there she emphasized the importance of peace in the Middle East for all countries concerned. Japan also endeavored to establish an environment for peace, by holding in Tokyo in May the Conference for Confidence-Building, to which public and private representatives from both the Israeli and Palestinian sides were invited. Although the outlook for peace in the Middle East is severe with the Roadmap currently stalled, Japan will continue its policy of advancing its efforts persistently toward a breakthrough, while maintaining cooperation with all countries concerned.

#### **(b) Efforts toward Peace and Prosperity in Asia**

The nuclear programs of North Korea pose not only a

direct threat to peace and stability in the East Asian region including Japan, but also a grave challenge to the international non-proliferation regime. For this reason, Japan has been tirelessly working on the resolution of the nuclear issue in close cooperation with the US and the ROK. In particular, Japan, the US and the ROK jointly called for the complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement of North Korea's nuclear programs in the Six-Party Talks held in Beijing in August 2003 and February 2004. At the same time, Japan emphasized the importance of the resolution of the abduction issue. With regard to the issue of the abduction of Japanese nationals by North Korea, Japan and North Korea held a meeting at the government official level in Pyongyang in February, where Japan strongly requested the resolution of issues including the return to Japan of the families of the five abductees and a full account of the ten persons whose whereabouts remain unconfirmed, and it was agreed that meetings between governmental authorities would continue in the future. The resolution of the abduction issue is one of the most important issues facing Japanese diplomacy, and Japan has been calling forcefully on the North Korean side toward its swiftest possible resolution. Japan attaches importance to both "dialogue" and "pressure" in its attempt to resolve issues related to North Korea, and has further taken every opportunity to call on North Korea for a comprehensive resolution to the various outstanding issues, while enhancing the enforcement of domestic legislation such as ship inspection and export control.

Regarding Japan-ROK relations, under the new administration of President Roh Moo Hyun, who took office on February 25, amicable relations have been maintained and strengthened, and the two countries advanced their cooperation further, particularly on the issues of North Korea. In accordance with the Japan-Republic of Korea Summit Joint Statement that was announced on the occasion of the visit to Japan by President Roh in June, economic relations with the ROK have further progressed, as seen by the initiation of air flights between Haneda and Gimpo airports in November as well as the start of negotiations on a Japan-ROK FTA in December. Meanwhile, in the ROK, the fourth liberalization of Japanese popular culture was carried out from January 2004, and Japanese popular culture, including music, has been spreading through the ROK. In addition, films and drama series of the ROK have permeated Japan. In this way, feelings of affinity are increasing between the peoples of Japan and the ROK, especially among the younger generation.

In the year 2003, which marked the 25th anniversary of the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China, Japan promoted vigorous exchange and cooperation with China in a wide range of areas. The new regime of President Hu Jintao inaugurated in March made clear its posture with an emphasis on relations with Japan, and the two countries confirmed through three summit meetings the importance of Japan-China relations as well as the efforts toward the creation of a future-oriented relationship. In particular, with regard to regional issues including North Korea as well as global ones, such as the outbreak of SARS, cooperation progressed. As to economic aspects, the two countries became closer, based on mutually complementary relations through the invigoration of trade and investment. On the other hand, various friction caused by the increasing closeness of the relations came to be evident, and a poison gas accident in Qiqihar City occurred in August. It is important for Japan and China to enhance mutual understanding and trust among the people of both countries through the expansion of human exchanges in order to establish Japan-China relations that can deal with such issues in a calm manner unaffected by emotions, while promoting dialogue steadily between governmental authorities in a broad range of areas.

In addition to the enhancement of respective bilateral relations with China and the ROK, Japan has also made efforts to strengthen trilateral cooperation among the three countries. At the summit meeting attended by Japan, China and the ROK held during the ASEAN+3 Summit in Bali in October, the leaders announced the Joint Declaration on the Promotion of Tripartite Cooperation among Japan, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea, the first joint declaration by the three countries, pledging to promote cooperation in a wide range of areas such as politics, economics and culture.

As for the relations with Russia, the Japan-Russia Action Plan, aiming at promoting broadly the Japan-Russia relations, was adopted on the occasion of the visit by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to Russia in January 2003. Currently, the two countries have advanced cooperation in a wide range of areas based on the Action Plan, and Prime Minister Mikhail Kasyanov paid a visit to Japan in December to review the results of Japan-Russia cooperation achieved based on the Action Plan during the course of the year. In an environment in which Japan-Russia relations continue to develop on the whole, Japan will persistently carry on promoting negotiations for a

peace treaty with Russia based on the policy of concluding it through resolving the issue of the attribution of the Four Northern Islands as soon as possible.

Securing peace and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region requires the realization of sustainable economic growth. From the perspective of enhancing economic cooperation between Japan and East Asian countries, and consequently, ensuring mutual development and growth through free trade, Japan has been making efforts to strengthen economic partnership with those countries. At the Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting held in October, the leaders agreed on the Framework for Comprehensive Economic Partnership between Japan and ASEAN. As for EPAs on the bilateral level, the one that was concluded with Singapore in 2002 entered into force in January 2003. Japan started negotiations also with the ROK in December toward the conclusion of an FTA. Furthermore, following the agreement at the Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit held in December on launching negotiations with Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines respectively, Japan began negotiations with Malaysia in January 2004, and with Thailand and the Philippines in February 2004. Although the negotiations with Mexico, which began in 2002, did not reach an agreement on the occasion of the visit to Japan by President Vicente Fox Quesada in October, agreements in substance on major elements were reached among the related ministers of both sides.

### **Development Issues, Efforts toward the “Consolidation of Peace,” Human Security**

In 2003, Japan hosted a series of large-scale international conferences in the area of development and achieved notable results. The 3rd World Water Forum and the Ministerial Conference were held in Kyoto, Shiga and Osaka in March. The Forum was the largest-scale international conference in the area of water issues and the Ministerial Declaration Message from the Lake Biwa and Yodo River Basin was adopted at the Ministerial Conference, pledging efforts to achieve goals pertaining to such areas as drinking water and sanitation. The results of the Forum led to the G8 Action Plan on water at the G8 Evian Summit in June, which focused on water issues as part of its discussions. In the area of the global environment, Japan has persistently continued to urge Russia to ratify the Kyoto Protocol, a key country for its entry into force.

The Third Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD III) was held in Tokyo from



September 29 to October 1. Attended by many representatives of 47 international organizations and 89 countries, including heads of state and government from 23 African countries, the conference became one of the largest initial conferences on African development issues. TICAD III asserted the importance of the concerted support of the international community and the expansion of the development partnership for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a development initiative proposed by African countries themselves. It also adopted the TICAD Tenth Anniversary Declaration that illustrated the achievements of the ten-year TICAD process. In addition, Japan announced as a co-organizer, Japan's Initiative for Assistance to Africa, which included grant aid cooperation amounting to US\$1 billion over five years in areas that directly benefit people, such as health, education, water and food assistance.

The 3rd Japan-Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) Summit Meeting (PALM 2003) was held in Okinawa Prefecture on May 16 and 17, and was attended by representatives of 15 PIF member countries and regions, including nine heads of government. Discussions took place concerning development strategies between Japan and the Pacific Island countries as neighbors in the Pacific, and the Okinawa Initiative, comprised of the Leaders' Declaration and the Joint Action Plan, was released after the summit.

The Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit, which was held in Tokyo on December 11 and 12, summing up the ASEAN-Japan Exchange Year 2003, was a historic summit meeting, representing the first occasion on which all the heads of state and government of the ten ASEAN countries assembled outside the ASEAN region. At the summit meeting, the leaders reconfirmed that Japan's policy of putting focus on ASEAN would remain unchanged and agreed on a sincere and open partnership that "acts together and advances together." The Tokyo Declaration and the Plan of Action, which serve as guidelines for Japan-ASEAN relations, were adopted at the meeting. Japan also announced contribution measures focusing on cooperation for the Mekong Region Development and human resources development in the ASEAN countries amounting to US\$1.5 billion respectively.

In light of recent severe fiscal conditions in Japan, the Official Development Assistance (ODA) budget remains on a decreasing trend, but the importance of ODA as a pillar of Japan's diplomacy remains unchanged. The ODA Charter was revised for the first time in 11 years in August, based on changes in the situation surrounding

ODA, both domestically and internationally. While development issues such as poverty, the environment, infectious diseases, conflicts and terrorism have been brought to attention following changes in the international situation, the revised ODA Charter adopts the perspective of human security as a basic policy, positions peace-building as a priority issue and incorporates the attainments of ODA reforms implemented over recent years and their future direction. Under the revised ODA Charter, Japan will utilize ODA in a more strategic and effective manner, gaining wide public participation and understanding.

Japan positions the concept of "human security," which focuses on the safety of each and every individual, as a pillar of its diplomatic policy. The Commission on Human Security, which was established on Japan's call, submitted a report to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in May. This report emphasized the necessity of the protection and empowerment of individuals, and proposed specific measures that should be taken to ensure the safety of people living in situations of conflict and underdevelopment. The importance of human security has been pointed out at international conferences including the G8 Summit, and the concept has already become accepted and shared among the international community.

In efforts toward conflict resolution, Japan has been advancing the initiative of "consolidation of peace," which supports prioritized aspects such as promoting peace, securing stability and public safety in conflict-stricken areas, and providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. For example, in addition to the above-mentioned efforts in Afghanistan, Japan appointed former UN Under-Secretary-General Yasushi Akashi as a Representative of the Government of Japan in October 2002 for the Sri Lankan peace process, with a view to contributing to peace-building, rehabilitation and reconstruction in Sri Lanka, and hosted the sixth round of the Peace Talks in Hakone in March 2003. Moreover, Japan held the Tokyo Conference on Reconstruction and Development of Sri Lanka in June, with the participation of approximately 50 countries and 20 international organizations, demonstrating a path to reconstruction by announcing its readiness to provide assistance amounting to a maximum of US\$1 billion over the next three years. Furthermore, Japan has continued its contribution to UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) as in the past, and the personnel contributions including the deployment of the SDF to East Timor and the Golan Heights have been highly appreciated internationally.

## B

## ISSUES SURROUNDING IRAQ

## 1 Developments up to 2002

Iraq had continued to refuse and obstruct inspections by international organizations that were based on a series of United Nations (UN) Security Council resolutions while suspicions were raised even after the Gulf War about Iraq's possession and development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Particularly, the terrorist attacks in the United States (US) on September 11, 2001 made the international community clearly understand the threat by the possession and use of WMD and missiles by so-called states of concern known to be involved in the assistance of terrorist organizations and proliferation of WMD and missiles. Consequently, it became an urgent task to tackle the Iraq issue, which threatens the peace and stability of the international community.

Tension over Iraq was increased by the statement of President George W. Bush of the US that "The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes [the Saddam Hussein regime] to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons" in his State of the Union Address in January 2002. In the

general debate at the UN General Assembly in September 2002, President Bush pointed out the failure of Iraq to implement Security Council resolutions and stressed the need to resolve the problem through the Security Council. At the same time, however, President Bush made it clear that if Iraq were to persist in its insincere performance, he would take some action essentially. Faced with international pressure, Iraq announced that it would accept unconditional inspections on September 16. Under these circumstances, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Security Council Resolution 1441 on November 8, which gave Iraq a final opportunity to comply and strongly urged Iraq to accept intensified inspections, where immediate, unconditional and unimpeded inspections would be conducted in all locations without exception. Iraq notified the Security Council of the acceptance of the resolution, resulting in the resumption of inspections by the United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the first time in about four years on November 27.

## Chronology on the Situation in Iraq

1990	Aug 2	Iraqi forces invade Kuwait; resolution condemning the invasion of Kuwait (Security Council Resolution 660)
	Aug 6	Resolution to impose economic sanctions on Iraq (Security Council Resolution 661)
	Nov 29	Resolution on the authority to use force against Iraq (Security Council Resolution 678)
1991	Jan 17	Use of force by coalition forces (air strikes) begins
	Feb 24–28	Ground battles
	End of March	Simultaneous uprising of Kurds and Shiites; suppressed by Iraqi forces
	Apr 3	Resolution for ceasefire against Iraq (Security Council Resolution 687)
	Apr 9	Resolution to establish United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) (Security Council Resolution 689)
	July	No-fly zone in northern Iraq (north of the latitude 36 degrees north) is established
	Oct 11	Resolution to dispose of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (Security Council Resolution 715)
1992	August	No-fly zone in southern Iraq (south of the latitude 32 degrees north) is established
1993	May 27	Resolution on (final) demarcation of the Iraq-Kuwait border (Security Council Resolution 883)
	Jun 26	US forces attack the Iraqi Intelligence Service (IIS) headquarters with cruise missiles in retaliation for the attempted assassination of former US President Bush
1995	Apr 14	Resolution to allow partial export of oil by Iraq (Security Council Resolution 986)
	Aug 8	Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamel and his family defect to Jordan
	Oct 15	President Hussein is re-elected through national ballot
1996	Aug 31	Iraqi forces invade the Kurdish region in northern Iraq

### Chronology on the Situation in Iraq

	Sep 3–4	US attacks the air defense facilities in southern Iraq with cruise missiles in response to the invasion of Kurdish region in northern Iraq by Iraqi forces
	Dec 10	Oil for Food Program is implemented
1997	Oct 23	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 from leaving the country, etc.)
	Dec 15	During the visit by the executive chairman of UNSCOM, Iraq communicates to him that the inspection of presidential facilities will not be allowed
1998	Jan 12	Iraq refuses inspections by UNSCOM inspection team led by Mr. Scott Ritter
	Feb 20	Oil for Food Program is expanded (Security Council Resolution 1153)
	Mar 26–Apr 4	UNSCOM inspects eight presidential sites in Iraq
	Nov 5	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)
	Dec 17–20	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 Commission (UNMOVIC) as well as the relationship between the implementation of inspections and moratorium on economic sanctions
2000	Aug 30	UNMOVIC reports that the situation in Iraq enables work to begin
2001	Feb 16	US and UK forces planes bomb the outskirts of Baghdad from the southern no-fly zone for the first time since Dec 1998
	Sep 11	Terrorist attacks in the US
	Sep 12	President Hussein states that the US is getting what it deserves for the actions its leaders have taken
2002	Jan 29	In State of the Union address, US President Bush calls North Korea, Iran and Iraq an "axis of evil"
	Sep 16	In a letter addressed to UN Secretary-General Annan, Iraqi Foreign Minister Sabri announces decision to accept the unconditional return of UN weapons inspectors
	Oct 1	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
	Oct 15	National ballot testing the confidence in President Hussein takes place; President Hussein is confirmed with a 100% support rate
	Nov 8	UN Security Council holds formal consultations and unanimously adopts Resolution 1441, which urges Iraq to accept fully the WMD inspections
	Nov 13	Permanent Mission of Iraq to the UN releases a letter from Iraqi Foreign Minister Sabri to UN Secretary-General Annan, criticizing the US, UK and Security Council, but stating Iraq is ready to accept inspections while not clearly mentioning the acceptance of Security Council Resolution 1441
	Nov 27	Inspections are resumed
	Dec 7	Iraqi government submits a declaration on WMD development
	Dec 19	UNMOVIC and IAEA report at Security Council informal consultations that Iraq's submitted WMD declaration leaves many questions unanswered on its WMD since 1998
2003	Jan 9	A report on Iraq's WMD declaration states that the inspectors have been able to gain prompt access and cover more areas and sites than before, but notes the declaration has not been very useful in resolving past suspicions
	Jan 20	UNMOVIC Executive Chairman Blix and IAEA Director General ElBaradei visit Iraq and agree on ten items to reinforce inspection regime
	Jan 23	Foreign ministers' meeting of countries surrounding Iraq (Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iran) is held in Istanbul
	Jan 27	A report to the Security Council based on Resolution 1441
	Jan 30	An open letter signed by eight European leaders (UK, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Denmark) expressing support for the US is issued
	Feb 5	US Secretary of State Powell presents the Security Council with information on Iraq's WMD and their delivery means
	Feb 5	A letter by ten Eastern European countries (Vilnius 10: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, Albania, Croatia, Macedonia) expressing support for the US is issued
	Feb 8–9	UNMOVIC Executive Chairman Blix and IAEA Director General ElBaradei visit Iraq
	Feb 10	A joint statement by France, Russia and Germany (continuing and reinforcing inspections)
	Feb 14	UNMOVIC and IAEA report to the Security Council
	Feb 16	Emergency Arab foreign ministers' meeting in Cairo
	Feb 17	European Council announces statement in Brussels
	Feb 18–19	An open debate at the Security Council
	Feb 20	A joint document supporting continued inspections is issued at the France-Africa Summit in Paris
	Feb 24–25	A final document supporting continued inspections is issued at the Non-Aligned Summit in Kuala Lumpur
	Mar 1	A final resolution calling for continued inspections and non-participation in the war against Iraq is issued at Sharm El-Sheikh Summit Meeting

### Chronology on the Situation in Iraq

Mar 4–5	Emergency Summit Meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Doha
Mar 5	A joint statement by France, Russia and Germany in Paris affirms support for continued inspections and disapproves of resolution on authority for military operation against Iraq
Mar 7	UNMOVIC and IAEA report to the Security Council
Mar 11–12	An open debate at the Security Council
Mar 15	France, Russia and Germany deny legitimacy of military operation against Iraq and decide upon disarmament as priority issue; announce statement proposing the convening of ministerial-level Security Council meeting to decide on schedule for disarmament
Mar 16	US, UK, Spain and Portugal Summit Meeting held in the Azores Islands, Portugal; a joint statement is announced on "Transatlantic Solidarity" and "A Vision for Iraq and the Iraqi People"
Mar 17	In a speech, President Bush issues a final warning that unless President Hussein and his sons leave Iraq within 48 hours, an armed conflict will be unavoidable
Mar 17	Secretary-General Annan orders UN staff including UNIKOM and UNMOVIC to retreat from Iraq
Mar 20	US forces begin attack on Iraq (Operation Iraqi Freedom) and Australian forces join war
Mar 27	US-UK summit meeting
Mar 28	Security Council Resolution 1472 is adopted, granting partial authority of the Oil for Food Program to UN Secretary-General Annan
Apr 8	US-UK summit meeting
Apr 9	Baghdad effectively collapses
Apr 23	Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) begins its transfer to Iraq
Apr 24	Security Council Resolution 1476 is adopted, extending the deadline of Resolution 1472 to Jun 3
May 1	President Bush declares major combat operations in Iraq are over
May 22	Security Council Resolution 1483 on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Iraq is adopted
Jun 1	Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) is established
Jun 22	Iraq resumes oil exports from Ceyhan, Turkey
Jul 13	Iraqi Governing Council is established
Jul 22	Former President Hussein's sons, Uday, the eldest, and Qusai, the second, die
Jul 26	Law Concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq enacted
Aug 11	Iraqi Governing Council establishes Preparatory Constitutional Commission
Aug 14	Security Council Resolution 1500, which welcomes creation of Iraqi Governing Council and decides on the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), is adopted with the support of a large majority
Aug 19	UN's headquarters in Baghdad (Canal Hotel) is bombed
Aug 29	Imam Ali Mosque in Najaf is bombed; President of Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI) Baqir Al Hakim dies
Aug 31	Iraqi Governing Council appoints 25 provisional ministers (swearing-in ceremony is held Sep 3)
Oct 6	UNIKOM concludes activities based on Security Council Resolution 1490
Oct 9	A diplomat at the Spanish Embassy in Iraq is killed
Oct 15	New Iraqi currency is issued
Oct 16	Security Council Resolution 1511 is adopted; clarifies political process and UN's role in Iraq and refers to establishment of coalition forces
Oct 23–24	International Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq is held in Madrid
Oct 27	Suicide bombing attacks on International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), police stations, etc. in Baghdad
Oct 30	UN announces the departure of its international employees from Iraq in order to reconsider safety measures necessary for continuing activities in Iraq
Nov 8	ICRC temporarily closes office in Baghdad and Basra
Nov 15	An agreement between the Iraqi Governing Council and CPA on the political process is announced
Nov 29	Ambassador Oku, First Secretary Inoue and Mr. Jerjees are attacked and killed
Dec 13	Former President Hussein is captured
2004 Jan 19	Three-party Talks between the UN, Iraqi Governing Council and CPA are held in New York
Feb 6–13	UN dispatches an election observation team to Iraq
Feb 14–15	A meeting of countries surrounding Iraq is held in Kuwait
Feb 19	Group of Friends of Iraq Meeting is held
Feb 23	UN announces a report compiled by the election observation team
Mar 2	Large-scale terrorist attacks occur in Baghdad and Karbala
Mar 8	"Basic Law" is signed by the members of Iraqi Governing Council

<b>2</b>	<b>Developments in 2003</b>
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### **(1) Japan's Basic View on the Iraq Issue**

Japan is vigorously tackling the Iraq issue, understanding that it is a critical issue directly related to Japan's national interest. Japan is dependent on the Middle East for nearly 90% of its crude oil supply. Since Iraq is a major power in the Middle East with 1.2 times the land area of Japan and 24 million people, the stability of the Middle East cannot be secured without stability in Iraq. Reconstruction and stability in Iraq is essential for Japan's energy security and prosperity.

In addition, in light of the continued fight against terrorism and the prevention of proliferation of WMD becoming an urgent issue, if the reconstruction of Iraq proves unsuccessful and Iraq turns into a failed state that could serve as a base for terrorist activities or a source of the proliferation of WMD, then it will pose a grave threat in terms of security for the whole international community including Japan. Should Iraq, which possesses abundant oil resources in particular, become a nest for terrorists and obtain WMD, then its threat will further increase. Therefore, Japan and the international community need to assist in the reconstruction of Iraq without succumbing to terrorism.

Based on the idea that it is essential for the international community to make a concerted effort in working on the Iraq issue, Japan has consistently endeavored toward the realization of international coordination among the international community. It is necessary to give a concrete vision of the future for Iraq and give the Iraqi people hope for the future by providing a concrete vision for the future of Iraq. Considering Japan has achieved its present prosperity from the ruins of World War II, Japan has a responsibility to make contribution appropriate to its level of national power to Iraq, which has been striving to reconstruct itself amidst the confusion. With this understanding, Japan announced that it would provide a maximum of US\$5 billion for financial cooperation to meet the demands of reconstruction by the end of 2007, including US\$1.5 billion as immediate assistance. In line with this, Japan had already decided to implement humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to Iraq of nearly US\$100 million by the end of 2003. Japan has been also

making a personnel contribution, including the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to carry out primarily humanitarian and reconstruction assistance activities based on the Law Concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq, which was enacted in July. At the press conference held on December 9, when the Cabinet made the decision to dispatch the SDF, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi explained that Japan is required to carry out such activities in line with the basic principle of the Constitution by quoting: "We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want. We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone. ..."

### **(2) Issues surrounding Iraq and Efforts of the International Community**

#### **(a) Military Operation against Iraq**

On January 27, UNMOVIC Executive Chairman Hans Blix and IAEA Director General Mohamed ElBaradei delivered a report to the UN Security Council stating that although Iraqi cooperation had been obtained in terms of the procedure regarding inspections, Iraq still had left many questions unanswered concerning WMD and their delivery means. As a result, it was widely recognized that Iraq needed to provide substantial, proactive cooperation. The following day, January 28, President Bush declared in his State of the Union Address that Iraq must dismantle its WMD by itself. Then, on February 5, Secretary of State Colin Powell of the US presented information to the Security Council, indicating Iraq's non-cooperation with the inspection activities of UNMOVIC and the IAEA and the concealment of its WMD. He also urged the Security Council to make a decision on the issue. In response, some countries including France, Germany and Russia tried to keep the US in check by consistently calling for an extension of the period of inspections by UNMOVIC and the IAEA.

Nonetheless, the report presented to the Security Council by UNMOVIC and the IAEA on February 14 stated that some progress had been seen in terms of the procedure regarding inspections, it summarized that immediate, unconditional and proactive cooperation by Iraq was indispensable for attaining the purpose of



inspections for the dismantlement of WMD and their delivery means. Based on it, at the unofficial consultations of the Security Council on February 24, the US, the United Kingdom (UK) and Spain submitted a draft resolution that stated Iraq still had not implemented the relevant Security Council resolutions and had failed to utilize the final opportunity provided by Security Council Resolution 1441. Intensive debate was held at the Security Council over this draft resolution that was revised on March 7, and the US, the UK and other countries launched a fierce diplomatic campaign aimed at garnering support from other member countries of the Security Council. Under these circumstances, in response to the fact that France suggested it would use its veto power to call for continued inspections, four countries—the US, the UK, Spain and Portugal—held a summit meeting in the Azores Islands, Portugal on March 16. The leaders of the four countries agreed that the international community should unite to put pressure on Iraq and make a final diplomatic effort to try to make Iraq disarm itself. After this meeting, the revised draft resolution was withdrawn on March 17 and attempts at the adoption of this Security Council resolution were finally abandoned. On the same day, President

Bush issued an ultimatum that unless Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and his sons left Iraq within 48 hours, an armed conflict would ensue. On March 18, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) of Iraq, chaired by President Hussein, rejected the ultimatum and announced a statement that it would persistently resist the US. In response, President Bush decided to resort to the military operation in the afternoon of March 19 “to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.” The UK also participated in the military operation on the same day.

Concerning the stance of countries immediately following the beginning of military operation, President Bush announced in an address on March 19 that as many as 35 countries supported the operation, while France, Germany, China and other countries expressed their regret.

After the US and the UK forces launched the military operation, they advanced north from the Kuwaiti border to Baghdad, bringing the city under control on April 9, and then to Tikrit in northern Iraq, the hometown of President Hussein, on April 14. In this way, the US and UK forces effectively seized all of Iraq without sustaining great losses. On May 1, President Bush gave an address on the aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* and declared that major combat operations in Iraq were over. Even after that, the coalition forces continued to search for people formerly involved with the Hussein administration as well as for WMD. On July 22, President Hussein’s eldest son Uday and second son Qusai were killed in an attack by coalition forces, and former President Hussein was captured by coalition forces in southern Tikrit on December 13. As for WMD, investigations have been ongoing by the Iraq Surveillance Group composed of the US and other countries.

(Photo)

### (b) Reconstruction in Iraq and the Political Process

Developments concerning reconstruction and the political process in Iraq became a focus as US and UK forces expanded the areas under their control. The US consulted with the foreign ministers of the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and European Union (EU) with a view to restoring relations with France, Germany and other countries with whom differences in positions over military action had surfaced. In these consultations, the participants confirmed the necessity of international organizations including the UN

to be involved in Iraq's post-war reconstruction. Meanwhile, differences in position on the political process in the reconstruction of Iraq remained between the US and UK on the one hand and France, Germany and Russia on the other regarding the degree of the UN's involvement and the timing of transferring sovereignty to the Iraqi people.

The first preparatory meeting, "Meeting on Future of Iraq," was held in the suburbs of Nasiriyah in southern Iraq on April 15, with the aim of establishing the Iraqi Interim Authority. Although this meeting was not attended by the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), the largest Shiite organization, approximately 60 Iraqi representatives such as the Iraqi National Congress (INC) and former rebel groups, including the two main Kurdish forces, participated. UN officials including UN Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq Ramiro Armando de Oliveira Lopes da Silva entered Baghdad on May 1, and the UN resumed its activities. On May 12, the US government appointed Presidential Envoy to Iraq L. Paul Bremer III as Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA).

On May 22, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1483, which was submitted by the US, UK and Spain, with 14 votes in favor and one abstaining (Syria). In accordance with this resolution, the economic sanctions on Iraq that had been imposed since August 1990 according to Security Council Resolution 661 were lifted. Resolution 1483 called on UN member countries to contribute to humanitarian, rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance

in Iraq as well as to the restoration of stability and security. Resolution 1483 also mandated that Secretary-General Kofi Annan should appoint a "Special Representative" for the reconstruction of Iraq to promote the democratic process aimed at building a new administration in Iraq. Based on this resolution, Secretary-General Annan decided on May 23 to appoint UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Sergio Vieira de Mello as special representative of the secretary-general in charge of the reconstruction of Iraq for a four-month term.

In the course of these events, based on the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1483 and the conclusion reached at the G8 Foreign Ministers' Meeting that it was essential for the international community including the G8 to make a concerted effort aimed at Iraq's reconstruction and the role to be played by the UN in all areas was extremely important, a consensus was reached at the Group of 8 (G8) Summit held June 1 to 3 to welcome the UN's announcement that a preparatory meeting would be organized for an International Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq.

As coordination toward reconstruction and the political process advanced, it was widely understood in the international community that it is necessary to create a roadmap for reconstruction by the Iraqi people themselves as well as to clarify the role of the UN. On July 13, the Iraqi Governing Council was established, which consists of 25 (including women) leaders of major factions and other influential tribes in Iraq, including those who returned to Iraq after the war. The Iraqi Governing



Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi speaking at the International Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq in Madrid (October)

Council is a major part of the Iraqi Transitional Administration referred to in Security Council Resolution 1483, and has the authority to appoint and dismiss provisional ministers for each ministry, approve the budget and establish a Preparatory Constitutional Committee. As a result, the Preparatory Constitutional Committee was established (August 11) and 25 provisional ministers were inaugurated (September 3). On August 14, Security Council Resolution 1500, which welcomed the creation of the Iraqi Governing Council and decided to establish the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), was adopted with the support of a large majority.

Moreover, on October 16, Security Council Resolution 1511 was adopted unanimously, which clarified the role of the UN, decided the formation of the coalition forces, determined that the Iraqi Governing Council and provisional ministers would serve as the principal bodies of the Iraqi Transitional Administration, which embodies Iraq's national sovereignty, and requested the Iraqi Governing Council to submit a timetable to the Security Council by December 15 for formulating a constitution and holding democratic elections. In response to the resolution, on November 15, the Iraqi Governing Council and CPA agreed to a political process aimed at transferring sovereignty to the Iraqi people at an early date. This political process included the formulation of a "Basic Law" for the transitional period by the end of February 2004, the election and authorization of a transitional administration by the end of June 2004 (thus marking the dissolution of the CPA and expiration of the term of the Iraqi Governing Council), and the establishment of a constitution and election of a new government by the end of 2005. On November 24, Iraqi Governing Council Chairman Jalal Talabani submitted the content of the agreement in a letter to the UN Security Council president. On March 8, 2004, The Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period (so-called "Basic Law") was signed by the members of the Iraqi Governing Council.

The coalition forces are involved in maintaining security in Iraq and providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to support the political and reconstruction process. The US is responsible for northern and central Iraq and the UK for southern Iraq, and Poland is in charge of the south-central region that lies between the above two. In addition to the US and UK, 35 countries including Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, the Republic of Korea (ROK), Thailand, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand have dispatched military forces (excluding

Japan's SDF) and are contributing to Iraq's reconstruction (As of March 13, 2004.)

The reconstruction process is advancing concurrently with the political process. Encouraged by Japan's vigorous approach, the International Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq was held October 23 to 24 in Madrid with the attendance of 73 countries, 20 international organizations and 13 non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Based on the shared recognition that Iraq should not become a failed state, a total of over US\$33 billion was pledged for the period until the end of 2007, and many donors announced that they would provide export credit, training, technical cooperation and supplies in addition to financial contributions. It was also determined that a trust fund administered by the UN and World Bank, which would receive the funds from donors, would be established at the earliest possible time.

Furthermore, based on the recognition that the debts incurred by the former Iraqi government should not impede the reconstruction, international cooperation regarding the financial aspect in order to meet fully the reconstruction demands has been developed. For example, countries to whom Iraq has debts, including Japan, announced their intention to hold consultations at the Paris Club on Iraq's debt issue.

### (c) Security Situation

In terms of security, a volatile situation continues with significant differences by the region. Many Iraqi people, who had been forced to endure a difficult life under oppression, welcomed the collapse of the Hussein regime in April. Meanwhile, the police system, which is responsible for maintaining security, became dysfunctional due to the collapse of the regime, and looting by citizens frequently occurred in various areas. Domestic disorder became a critical agenda, characterized by sporadic attacks on coalition forces and others by those elements supporting the former regime, mainly in the so-called Sunni Triangle. Therefore, improving the security situation became an urgent task. The US forces and others searched for former President Hussein's past advisors as well as WMD, while bringing under control remnants of the Hussein administration, foreign armed militants and other extremists and subversives in order to maintain Iraq's domestic security.

In addition, because of the delay in infrastructure building, including the provision of electricity, water and gasoline, mainly due to attacks from the remnants of the

Hussein regime, it was difficult to see improvements in the living environment of Iraqi citizens, hence further fueling their frustration. The targets of the attacks gradually extended beyond the US and the UK forces after August. The terrorist bombing of the UN headquarters in Baghdad (August 19), killing 19 people including Special Representative of the Secretary-General de Mello, deeply shocked the international community. As a result of this incident, the UN, which was just embarking on its reconstruction process in Iraq, was forced to evacuate its staff from the country, making it difficult for the UN to conduct its activities for the foreseeable future.

Furthermore, there was a tendency to victimize so-called soft targets (loosely guarded targets), which were previously not considered to be targets, like military forces of non-US and UK forces, unarmed civilians, international humanitarian organizations and so on. These attacks included the following: a suicide bombing against the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) office (October 27); a suicide bombing targeting the Italian military police barracks in Nasiriyah (November 12); the killing of Japanese diplomats, then-Counselor of the Embassy of Japan in the UK Katsuhiko Oku and then-Third Secretary of the Embassy of Japan in Iraq Masamori Inoue, who had endeavored to coordinate with the CPA toward Iraq's reconstruction, and Mr. Jerjees Sulaiman Zura, a local staff member of the Embassy of Japan in Iraq (November 29); the killing of seven agents of the National Intelligence Center of Spain (November 29); and the killing of two engineers from the ROK (November 30). There were also incidents where Iraqi people cooperating in the reconstruction became targets themselves. Such incidents included: the terrorist bombing attack in the Shiite Muslim holy city of Najaf that killed over 100 people including the head of SCIRI Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir Al Hakim (August 29); the killing of Iraqi Governing Council member Akila al-Hashimi (September 20); and the bombing incidents in police stations in various parts of Iraq (November 22, December 14 and so on). Although the levels of damage temporarily surged in November, the level of damages sustained by US and UK forces and other coalition forces has returned to the level prior to November after the capture of President Hussein by the US forces near Tikrit on December 13 and attacks have continued to occur intermittently. The overall situation still does not allow optimism in 2004, as demonstrated by the large-scale terrorist attacks during an Islamic religious service in Baghdad and

Karbala (both on March 2).

With encouragement from Japan, a statement by the president of the UN Security Council was issued on December 8, condemning the attacks on people including the Japanese diplomats and expressing regret to the victims and their families. This statement again emphasized the necessity of the complete implementation of Security Council Resolution 1511, which calls for cooperation in punishment of criminals and for the international community to make comprehensive efforts.

### (3) Japan's Efforts

#### (a) Efforts Aimed at Building International Coordination

Japan has coordinated closely with the international community, supporting the US position, from the viewpoint that it is critical for the international community to unite in tackling the Iraq issue with sufficient involvement of the UN and other international organizations.

Before the military operation against Iraq, Japan had made diplomatic efforts based on the understanding that it was vital for Iraq to cooperate with the international community, accept immediate, unconditional and unimpeded inspections, implement the relevant Security Council resolutions including those calling for the dismantlement of WMD and their delivery means, and thus to dispel the concerns harbored by the international community.

As a part of these efforts, Japan dispatched Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Toshimitsu Motegi as a special envoy of the prime minister to Iraq in March. Senior Vice-Foreign Minister Motegi stated that Iraq should immediately make use of the final opportunity given by Security Council Resolution 1441 and also strongly urged Iraq to change its position and implement the relevant Security Council resolutions. Prior to this visit, Japan had been actively striving to resolve this issue in close coordination with the neighboring countries by Iraq that have great influence. Japan dispatched special envoys of the prime minister to the countries to convey that it was essential for the countries to keep encouraging Iraq to take appropriate action and to exchange opinions regarding endeavors aimed at achieving peace and stability in the Middle East. In 2002, former Minister for Foreign Affairs Taro Nakayama visited Iran (December) and former Minister for Foreign Affairs Masahiko Koumura went to France, Egypt and Saudi Arabia



(November–December) and Senior Vice-Foreign Minister Motegi visited Jordan, Syria and Turkey (November). Furthermore, in March 2003, former Foreign Minister Nakayama again was sent to Syria and Turkey, and former Foreign Minister Koumura to Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Japan continued its various diplomatic efforts after the onset of the military operation. After the US issued the ultimatum to Iraq, Prime Minister Koizumi quickly announced his support for US policy and declared his support for the US's actions immediately upon the onset of the military operation, assuring that he would strive to ensure the compatibility of the importance of the Japan-US alliance and international coordination. Before the US took control over all of Iraq on April 14, Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi visited Germany, France and UK (April 9–13) and urged them to cooperate in international coordination involving as many countries as possible in the reconstruction of Iraq. Following this visit, Prime Minister Koizumi visited four Security Council member countries—the UK, Spain, France and Germany—as well as Greece (EU president) from April 26 to May 2, urging them to express their understanding for the importance of UN involvement in the reconstruction process and to rebuild international coordination. Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi visited Jordan, Israel, the Palestinian territories and Syria from April 26 to May 3 and expressed Japan's intention to cooperate closely with the Middle Eastern countries toward the achievement of Iraq and achievement of peace and stability in the Middle East. In terms of efforts aimed at realizing international coordination through the UN, Japan made various diplomatic endeavors in cooperation with the US, UK and other countries toward the adoption of Security Council Resolutions 1483 (May) and 1511 (October), which are especially significant for the reconstruction and stability of Iraq. In December, the following special envoys of the prime minister were dispatched to promote greater international coordination toward providing reconstruction assistance to Iraq and explain Japan's humanitarian and reconstruction assistance including the dispatch of the SDF: Former Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto to the UK, France and Germany; former Foreign Minister Nakayama to the UN; former Foreign Minister Koumura to Egypt and Saudi Arabia; and Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Ichiro Aisawa to Jordan, Syria and Kuwait. Foreign Minister Kawaguchi also

visited Iran and the United Arab Emirates to explain Japan's position (January 2004). As a result of such efforts, when Minister of Foreign Affairs Dominique Galouzeau de Villepin of France visited Japan in March 2004, Japan and France agreed that they would cooperate for the reconstruction of Iraq in culture, sports, medical care and other fields.

## **(b) Contribution to Iraq**

### **Contribution of Finances and Supplies**

Japan has also played a proactive and crucial role in the process for humanitarian and refugee assistance to Iraq and assistance to neighboring countries, as well as humanitarian and reconstruction assistance following the end of major combat.

Immediately after the military operation, Japan decided to contribute approximately US\$5.03 million to three organizations—the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), World Food Programme (WFP) and UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)—as assistance provided through international organizations (March 20). Japan also made a contribution of approximately 400 million yen in assistance to Japanese NGOs working in northern Iraq and in the border region with Jordan. As humanitarian aid activities based on the Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations (the International Peace Cooperation Law), Japan decided to provide 160 tents (for 1,600 people) for refugees to UNHCR, which would be transported and supplied to Jordan by government aircraft (March 28) and to implement food aid worth 1.4 billion yen through the WFP to the victims in Iraq and Iraqi refugees in neighboring countries (April 16). Japan also announced it would provide grant aid of US\$100 million to Jordan as assistance to neighboring countries as well as food aid worth approximately US\$4.2 million to the Palestinian people (March 23).

Based on the report of the Government of Japan mission (May 10–16) led by Senior Vice-Foreign Minister Motegi which was dispatched immediately after the end of major combat, Japan affirmed the importance of fostering international coordination, and announced the Japan's Assistance Plan for Iraq's Reconstruction (May 21), which consists of: (1) cooperation through international organizations and NGOs; and (2) assistance in cooperation with Arab countries and neighboring countries. As part of cooperation with the WFP in transport, Japan transported humanitarian relief supplies of approximately 140



tons between Jordan and Italy using SDF aircraft (C-130H) for a month from July 12 to August 12.

Japan had called for an international conference to be held at an early date with participation of a wide range of countries and international organizations with a view to establishing international coordination on humanitarian and reconstruction assistance to Iraq. Thanks partly to such efforts, the International Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq was held in Madrid in October. Japan announced that it would give a maximum of US\$5 billion in assistance, including a total of US\$1.5 billion in grant aid as immediate assistance for meeting mainly the reconstruction demands of 2004, and basically up to US\$3.5 billion in yen loans as assistance for meeting medium-term reconstruction demands until the end of 2007 on that occasion. Encouraged mainly by Japan's large amount of assistance second to the US, the conference successfully ended, with an unexpected vast amount of over US\$33 billion in financial cooperation by the international community. From the perspective of seamless assistance, Japan intends to implement assistance as swiftly as possible, with an emphasis on providing assistance through grant aid for the foreseeable future so as to contribute to rebuilding the life infrastructure for the Iraqi people and improving security, including electricity, education, water and sanitation, health care and employment. In the medium to long term, Japan also intends to rehabilitate and reconstruct

the social and economic infrastructure, in addition to the above-mentioned fields through yen loans, to provide technical cooperation to support for that purpose and other means to create employment with a view to triggering private investment.

As of the end of 2003, assistance through NGOs has totaled approximately US\$10.5 million, which is utilized for emergency medical assistance, distribution of emergency supplies, refugee assistance and infrastructure building through Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects. The implementation of medical assistance to Iraq through the Hashemite Charity Organization in Jordan is part of such activities. Japan has given approximately US\$80 million in assistance through international organizations. In addition, a total of approximately US\$322.25 million has already been announced for assistance to the neighboring regions of Egypt and Jordan and to Palestinians.

The Iraqi people have repeatedly expressed their gratitude for these efforts of Japan. The chairman of the Iraqi Governing Council and interim ministers conveyed their appreciation to Foreign Minister Kawaguchi at the International Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq. When the vice chairman of the Baghdad City Advisory Council visited the Embassy of Japan in Iraq, he stated, "Japan is not just making empty promises, but it will truly help the Iraq people" and he delivered a letter of appreciation. There is also an episode where the director of a center for



Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Toshimitsu Motegi surrounded by children at an elementary school in Iraq (May)

disabled children that Japan had supported said, “I am so grateful that I cannot help shedding tears,” taking the hand of a Ministry of Foreign Affairs official who came to visit.

### Personnel Contribution

Japan has been actively addressing the personnel contribution in addition to financial contribution. Immediately after the declaration of the end of major combat, on May 8, Japan reopened its embassy in Iraq. Japan has also dispatched several survey teams and experts to Iraq. Furthermore, Japan advanced cooperation with Arab countries on personnel contribution, such as joint medical cooperation for Iraq with Egypt.

Taking into consideration Security Council Resolution 1483, the Law Concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq was enacted in July. It aims at proactive and affirmative contributions for the reconstruction of Iraq and also enables the government to implement humanitarian and reconstruction assistance activities by the SDF and civilian employees engaged in the reconstruction of Iraq. The SDF was dispatched because only a self-contained organization could be fully active even in the reconstruction under the present security situation in Iraq. SDF units are going to restore and build public facilities for medical care, water supply and schools, and transport supplies related to humanitarian relief in the vicinity of Samawah, in south-eastern Iraq. The Basic Plan regarding measures based on

the Law Concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq was adopted by the Cabinet on December 9, and advance units of the Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF) departed for Iraq on December 26. Afterward, preparations were made in Kuwait for the main unit of the C-130 transport aircraft to get accustomed to flights, and the first airlift to Iraq was made by the C-130 transport aircraft of the ASDF on March 3, transporting humanitarian and reconstruction supplies such as medical equipment to be given to Samawah Maternity and Children’s Hospital. As for the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF), advance units arrived in Samawah on January 19, 2004, the advance team of the main unit departed Japan on February 3, the remainder of the main unit arrived in Samawah one by one thereafter, and full-dress humanitarian and reconstruction assistance activities including the provision of medical care and water supply started. Twelve water tankers were donated to the Water Department of the Governorate of Al-Muthanna on March 10 for the GSDF to conduct its water supply activities. Furthermore, vessels of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) arrived in Kuwait on March 15, carrying equipment for the GSDF operating in Samawah.

In the context of personnel contribution, the government will continue its efforts to collect information on security with a view to ensuring the safety of Japanese personnel. Based on the idea that it is important to obtain



Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi greets GSDF units dispatched to Iraq (February 2004 Photo: Office of the Cabinet Public Relations, Cabinet Secretariat)

the understanding of Iraq and neighboring Arab countries concerning the activities undertaken by Japanese personnel and their purpose, the government is going to endeavor to promote public relations activities in regard to Japan's assistance. In fact, since late December, public relations efforts are being made in Iraq and neighboring countries. For example, Prime Minister Koizumi, Minister of State for Defense Shigeru Ishiba and Foreign Minister Kawaguchi gave interviews on the dispatch of SDF with Arabic language media such as Al-Jazeera satellite television, which is widely viewed in Middle Eastern countries.

### **Cultural Cooperation**

Promoting cooperation in the cultural sphere with Iraq, which glories a long history and traditions, would be efficient for the Iraqi people in restoring their pride and confidence. It is also meaningful in terms of developing a favorable environment for Japan's humanitarian and reconstruction assistance activities and promoting understanding toward Japan. Japan dispatched experts to the first and second United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) missions to assess the damages and loss to cultural property in the aim of restoring and preserving Iraqi cultural heritage. Japan utilized an additional contribution of US\$1 million to the Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation of the World Cultural Heritage established in UNESCO to begin

assistance for rebuilding the restoration laboratory of the Iraq National Museum.

In the area of education, Japan decided to contribute up to US\$1 million in cooperation through the Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Capacity-building of Human Resources in UNESCO, and to begin with, Japan disbursed approximately US\$500,000 for a project to survey the needs in the educational field and to cultivate human resources. Additionally, Japan has just begun providing emergency assistance (approximately US\$500,000) to train educational staff in Iraq in January 2004.

Moreover, Japan provided equipment for soccer and judo through Grant Assistance for Cultural Grassroots Projects to Iraq and transported sports goods that were collected through the efforts of the private sector in Japan. On the occasion of the friendly soccer match between the national teams of Japan and Iraq on February 12, 2004, Japan gave financial support for the traveling expenses for the Iraqi national team and assisted the Iraqi media in staging a simultaneous live broadcasting in Iraq.

Furthermore, Japan provided the TV program *Oshin*, which has been broadcast in 59 countries around the world, to the Iraqi Media Network (IMN) through the Japan Foundation. The broadcast of the program began at the end of October in Iraq and has been widely viewed. (As of March 14, 2004.)

(Photo)

### The Achievements of Ambassador Katsuhiko Oku and First Secretary Masamori Inoue

A deplorable incident occurred on November 29, 2003: Then-Counselor of the Embassy of Japan in the United Kingdom Katsuhiko Oku, then-Third Secretary of the Embassy of Japan in Iraq Masamori Inoue, both of whom were engaged in humanitarian and reconstruction assistance in Iraq, and a local staff member of the Embassy of Japan in Iraq Jerjees Sulaiman Zura, were ambushed by unknown assailants and killed on their way to Tikrit, northwest of Baghdad, in the midst of their duties. Ambassador Oku and First Secretary Inoue were involved in identifying and implementing economic cooperation projects on the front line of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance in Iraq and their efforts materialized in the fall of that year with the implementation of three Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects in Baghdad. In response to this assistance, Vice Chairman of the Baghdad City Advisory Council Ali Radhi Al-Haydari led a delegation to the Embassy of Japan to deliver a letter of appreciation and express gratitude. The Vice Chairman stated, "We are deeply grateful to Japan for its donation of office equipment to Rashid RF Community Council, restoration of eight elementary schools in the Mansour district, and reconstruction of technical schools. We also understand that in the Mansour district, assistance is being extended from Japan for improving Hibatoallah Institute, a school for youngsters with Down Syndrome. The City Advisory Council acknowledges that Japan is not just talking, but is actually helping the people of Iraq and we humbly came here today to bring this letter of gratitude. We earnestly wanted to communicate this feeling of appreciation to Japan." Their visit clearly reflects the fact that these two diplomats seriously assessed the actual situation of Iraq from the viewpoint of the Iraqi people and deeply committed themselves to realize assistance for the benefit of the Iraqi people.

In addition to expressions of condolence for the deaths of the two diplomats, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a number of messages that highly praised their efforts and supported the continuation of the government's efforts of reconstruction assistance for Iraq to make real the desires of the two diplomats. Here we remember the outstanding achievements of these two diplomats in their lifetimes and describe their activities as dedicated diplomats.



Ambassador Katsuhiko Oku and First Secretary Masamori Inoue in Iraq



## Topic

## [Ambassador Katsuhiko Oku]

Ambassador Oku joined the Foreign Ministry in April 1981. He served at the Embassy of Japan in Iran and the Embassy of Japan in the United States, taking up important posts such as principal deputy director of the Financial Affairs Division of the Minister's Secretariat, director of the Asia-Europe Cooperation Division of the Economic Affairs Bureau, director of the First International Economic Affairs Division of the Economic Affairs Bureau, and director of the United Nations Policy Division of the Foreign Policy Bureau. After these posts, he started working as counselor of the Embassy of Japan in the UK from October 2001. Ambassador Oku always took very positive approach to his job from his earlier years, and was known as a field-oriented diplomat who had a natural charm that attracted people while always speaking frankly. Concerning the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), which was launched in 1996, Ambassador Oku, as the director in charge—at that time we had the Asian economic crisis—worked hard to ensure the success of the second ASEM Summit in London in April 1998. During the period beginning in July 1998, when he served as the director of the First International Economic Affairs Division, he paved the way for progress in negotiations on the Japan-EC Mutual Recognition Agreement (MRA) (which came into force on January 1 2002). He demonstrated his initiative also in holding Strategy Meetings for the Strengthening of the Japan-Europe Economic Relationship, which brought together a number of top executives of Japanese enterprises in Europe and deputy heads of related overseas diplomatic and consular establishments, and enthusiastically searched for ways how the government could improve the business environment for Japanese enterprises. During his years as the director of the UN Policy Division (from April 2000), he made vigorous appeals to a number of countries to gain the momentum of Security Council reform toward the UN Millennium Summit held in 2000. Also with a view to helping young junior and senior high school students, who would play key roles in the 21st century, to arousing their interest in the UN, and to deepening their knowledge on Japan's contribution to the UN and Japan's foreign policy, he took initiative in establishing a program to send young Japanese students to the UN Headquarters in New York. Through his efforts, he emphasized the importance of fostering young people who forge the future. After taking the post at the Japan Information and Cultural Centre (JICC) in London in October 2001, he was actively engaged in both cultural and educational exchange and public relations activities designed to increase further Japan-UK exchange, based on the events "Japan 2001," held in 2001 to introduce Japan to the people of the UK. He particularly concentrated his efforts on educational public relations, vitalizing the school visit program titled "Club Taishikan" (Club Embassy), and he himself actively visited elementary and secondary schools (see photograph). Every time he visited different regions, he dropped in at local universities and worked to build a network with researchers. He also took active part in playing rugby, becoming the first Japanese national to play as a regular member of the rugby team at Oxford University while he was one of the overseas trainees of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, and his name is known for his contribution over many years to Japan-UK exchange through rugby.

Ambassador Oku was given a long-term assignment in Iraq on April 23, 2003, while retaining his title as Counselor based in London. As the official liaison between the Embassy of Japan in Iraq and the US Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) (later superseded by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA)), he took active part in reconstruction assistance from the early stage when the ORHA was drawing up

the blueprint for Iraqi reconstruction. He traveled throughout Iraq with First Secretary Inoue and fulfilled a central role in identifying, studying and implementing economic cooperation projects in various areas such as medical care and education, and was deeply involved in studies on the possibility of dispatching the Self-Defense Forces to Iraq as well as possible locations for their base. Because of his cheerful and amicable nature, Ambassador Oku established friendships with people participating in the reconstruction of Iraq and was deeply trusted by them. Ambassador Oku, even while carrying out his difficult duties in Iraq, also wrote columns entitled "Letters from Iraq" for the Foreign Ministry website so that Japanese people might know the thoughts that he had while actively engaged in the reconstruction efforts on the ground of Iraq. The 71st installment of "Letters from Iraq" was written just two days before he was killed.



Ambassador Katsuhiko Oku teaching Origami to children in the school visit program "Club Taishikan" (Club Embassy)



## Topic

**[First Secretary Masamori Inoue]**

First Secretary Masamori Inoue joined the Foreign Ministry in April 1996 and was assigned to the then-First Middle East Division, Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau. While working in this division, he proposed and actually put into practice a program to simultaneously invite to Japan young diplomats from both Arab countries and Israel, which are in conflict over the Palestinian problem, in order to promote confidence-building because First Secretary Inoue would have in the future spent much time working with them in the Middle East. This program was very well received and still continues. After that, through three years of thorough training in Syria, First Secretary Inoue acquired outstanding Arabic language skills and abundant knowledge about the Arab world. In May 2000, he took up a position at the Embassy of Japan in Tunisia. As the only diplomat specializing in Arabic language at the embassy, with his inborn abundant ability to take action and conceptualize, First Secretary Inoue gathered related intelligence on the Middle East peace process through his personal connections with the people involved in the Palestinian Authority in Tunis. He also poured his efforts into gathering information about the domestic politics and security situation of Tunisia and the situation of the wider Maghreb countries. On many occasions, he made full his proficient Arabic to act as an interpreter for the president and other Tunisian government VIPs when Japanese VIPs visited Tunisia. For the Grant Assistance for Grassroots Projects, for instance, for school facilities and medical equipment, he was actively involved in studies seeking the needs of residents who were unable to speak French, exerting every effort to ensure that assistance was implemented in the form that the actual needs of local residents were properly reflected.

First Secretary Inoue was assigned to the Iraqi Section of the Embassy of Japan in Jordan from May 2002 (the Embassy of Japan in Iraq had been temporarily closed since the Gulf War and the Iraqi Section of the Japanese Embassy in Jordan dealt with work related to Iraq) and frequently traveled between Iraq and Jordan to gather and analyze information concerning Iraq at that time when the international community was demanding that Iraq accept inspections of its purported weapons of mass destruction. In a two-hour meeting on March 3, immediately before the commencement of the military operation against Iraq by US and UK forces, in which then-Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Toshimitsu Motegi, in an attempt to avoid the military operation, made a final appeal to then-Deputy Prime Minister of Iraq Tariq Aziz to comply with all UN Security Council resolutions, First Secretary Inoue single-handedly did the interpreting for both parties in a calm and precise manner. Sometimes Deputy Prime Minister Aziz would start to raise an objection before First Secretary Inoue had finished interpreting Vice-Minister Motegi's remarks, but he persistently dedicated himself to communicate the position of the Japanese delegation to the Iraqi delegation until the end, for which his performance was highly praised. First Secretary Inoue also made efforts to persuade the Japanese citizens who planned to remain in Iraq as "human shields" in opposition to the military operation, to evacuate Iraq immediately, and himself remained in Iraq until the embassy staff was forced to evacuate temporarily. His unstinting efforts, day and night, to encourage Japanese citizens to leave Iraq, with his character to get anybody on his side, achieved good results, and the departure from Iraq of a few Japanese citizens in the end who had entered Iraq with the intention of remaining there, can be counted as one of his achievements. Subsequently after the Japanese Government announced assistance for Iraq through the ORHA on April 18, he once again entered Iraq on April 26 before the cessation of fighting as part of the effort to implement this assistance, following then-Counselor of the Embassy of Japan in the UK Katsuhiko Oku. In Iraq he continued information gathering and analysis about the security situation on the ground and took charge with Counselor Oku of the processes from the identification and study of economic cooperation projects in need to their implementation. He also gave dedicated assistance to the activities of the ORHA and acted as a liaison between the ORHA (and its successor the CPA) and Japan. First Secretary Inoue made valuable suggestions as an Arab specialist well versed in the situation on the ground, and he was highly praised as a valuable member of the team by the ORHA (and its successor the CPA) for his contributions.

When he was a fifth grade elementary school student, young First Secretary Inoue wrote an essay in which he asked "Can't fallow farmland be utilized to relieve famine in Africa?" Hearing the fact, Executive Director of the UN World Food Programme (WFP) James T. Morris was impressed, stating that "it is as if First Secretary Inoue was anticipating the current WFP assistance projects" and wrote a letter of condolence to the bereaved family.



First Secretary Masamori Inoue standing in front of a former Iraqi Presidential Palace

## C

## ISSUES SURROUNDING NORTH KOREA

## 1

## Japan's Basic Policy concerning North Korea

Japan's basic policy concerning North Korea stays consistent: to comprehensively resolve the abduction issue and the security issues such as the nuclear and missile issues based on the Pyongyang Declaration and thereby normalize relations with North Korea in a manner that would contribute to the peace and stability of Northeast Asia.

Japan has promoted the realization of "dialogue" through various routes. As a result, a meeting between governmental authorities of Japan and North Korea was realized on the occasion of the visit to North Korea in February 2004 by Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Hitoshi Tanaka and Director-General of the Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau Mitoji Yabunaka, and Japan-North Korea consultations were held during both rounds of the Six-Party Talks (August 2003 and February 2004).

Meanwhile, in cooperation with the international community, Japan has urged North Korea to take a responsible attitude as a member of the international community, using "pressure" such as stringent control over illegal acts by North Korea. For example, the Japanese Government conducted rigid ship safety inspec-

tions and customs inspections in accordance with the relevant laws on the North Korean ship *Mangyongbon*, which made a call at Niigata Port. With respect to export controls, the operation of catch-all controls were revised in April 2003 and efforts were made to tighten regulations. The Controls were introduced in April 2002 to regulate the export of goods suspected of being used for the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their delivery means. Japan is reinforcing its measures to prevent the inflow of counterfeit money and narcotics into Japan, an operation in which North Korea is suspected of having involvement.

Furthermore, progress was made on discussions between the ruling and opposition parties to revise the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Law (Foreign Exchange Law) so as to enable the Japanese Government to implement measures, including stopping remittances, at its own discretion without recourse to international coordination such as United Nations (UN) resolutions. The Foreign Exchange Law was, thus, revised in February 2004 in the form of a bill proposed by Parliament members.

## 2

## Nuclear Issue

## (1) Growing Suspicions about New Nuclear Weapons Development

## (a) Background of the Nuclear Issue in North Korea

North Korea has been suspected of developing nuclear weapons for more than 15 years. Through the strong approach of the former Soviet Union and other factors, North Korea entered into the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1985 and concluded the Safeguards Agreement with the

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1992. However, tensions had rapidly intensified surrounding the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula, as North Korea refused to accept special inspections by the IAEA and declared that it would withdraw from the NPT in 1993 amidst rising suspicions that it had a nuclear program using the 5 MWe graphite-moderated experimental reactor in Yongbyon. These suspicions in 1993 and 1994 were settled by the exchange of the Agreed Framework between the United States (US) and North Korea (October 1994), triggered by the visit of former US President

Jimmy Carter to North Korea (June 1994), under which the US agreed to supply light-water reactors and alternative energy to North Korea and North Korea agreed to freeze and dismantle its nuclear-related facilities, comply with the NPT and implement the Safeguards Agreement. The Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) was established in 1995 based on this agreement and it was decided that two light-water reactors (1,000 MWe class) and heavy fuel oil (500,000 tons per year) would be provided to North Korea through KEDO. In this way, the nuclear crisis was resolved for the time being.

### **(b) Recurrence of the Nuclear Issue and Escalation of the Situation in North Korea**

Nevertheless, suspicions over North Korea's nuclear programs were rekindled when US Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly visited North Korea in October 2002. As the US pointed out that there was strong suspicion that North Korea might be advancing its nuclear development by uranium enrichment, the North Korean side made remarks admitting that this was the case.

Given these remarks from the North Korean side in October 2002, the leaders of Japan, the US and the Republic of Korea (ROK) issued a statement urging North Korea to dismantle its program to enrich uranium. At the KEDO Executive Board in November 2002, its members—Japan, the US, ROK and EU—reached the view that North Korea's pursuit of a nuclear weapons program violated the Agreed Framework and decided to suspend the supply of heavy fuel oil for the December shipment, which had been supplied until then through KEDO based upon the Framework (it also was decided in November 2003 that the light-water reactor project would be suspended for a year beginning in December 2003).

In response, North Korea asserted in December 2002 that it was the US side which had violated the Agreed Framework and announced that it would reactivate its nuclear-related facilities, which had been frozen under the Framework (it was confirmed in February 2003 that the 5 MWe graphite-moderated experimental reactor in Yongbyon had been reactivated. An unofficial US delegation to North Korea including the former director of the Los Alamos National Laboratory, Dr. Siegfried S. Hecker, confirmed that the graphite-moderated experimental reactor was operating on its visit to Yongbyon in January 2004 as well). Afterward, North Korea successively removed the seals on its nuclear-related facilities, and on December 27, it ordered IAEA inspectors who had been

accepted up to then to leave, and the inspectors departed from North Korea on December 31. As a result, the international community was deprived of its measures to monitor directly North Korea's nuclear development activities.

At the special meeting of the IAEA Board of Governors held on January 6, 2003, a resolution was adopted that condemned North Korea's lifting of the freeze on its nuclear-related facilities. North Korea announced on January 10 that it would withdraw from the NPT and completely free itself from the obligations of the IAEA Safeguards Agreement. Amid rising calls that this issue should be entrusted to the UN Security Council under the circumstances, the ROK and Russia individually dispatched special envoys to urge North Korea to return to the NPT regime, but North Korea did not soften its hardened attitude. Consequently, the IAEA again held a Special Meeting of the IAEA Board of Governors on February 12, declaring that North Korea had further violated its obligations under the IAEA Safeguards Agreement and adopting a resolution that it would report this issue to the Security Council and General Assembly of the UN (China voted in favor of this resolution and Russia abstained).

On February 19, the Security Council announced that it had received a report from the IAEA director general. However, there were no concrete discussions on the North Korean nuclear issue in the Security Council and substantive deliberations have not been held since the informal meeting on April 9.

## **(2) From the Three-Party Talks to the Six-Party Talks**

The neighboring countries concerned have made vigorous diplomatic efforts amongst themselves with a view to realizing the peaceful resolution of North Korea's nuclear issue, resulting in the Three-Party Talks among the US, North Korea and China in April and the Six-Party Talks in August.

### **(a) US-China-North Korea Talks**

China's mediating efforts played a certain constructive role in bringing the Three-Party Talks to fruition in April. North Korea had continued to demand that negotiations be held between the US and North Korea. After the recurrence of the nuclear crisis in October 2002, North Korea's stance was that it would consent to negotiations on the

nuclear issue between the two countries in exchange for the conclusion of a non-aggression treaty between them and that it would have dialogue on the nuclear issue only with the US, while the US maintained the position that it would not agree on bilateral negotiations with North Korea mainly because North Korea had unilaterally violated the Agreed Framework. Consequently, with China's intervention, the Three-Party Talks were realized following North Korea's agreement to participate in talks involving the US, North Korea and China.

At the Three-Party Talks, held April 23 to 25 in Beijing, the US once again stated that it was necessary for North Korea to carry out the complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement of its entire nuclear program and underscored the necessity of holding talks with the participation of Japan and the ROK at an early date. In reply, although North Korea put forward comprehensive proposals for resolving the nuclear and missile issues, it made statements that increased tensions, such as noting that its reprocessing of spent fuel rods was almost complete. As a result, given such remarks from the North Korean side, no tangible progress was made in real terms during the consultations at the Three-Party Talks, but the talks were significant to some extent in the sense that they marked the onset of a resolution of the issues through multilateral diplomatic efforts.

### **(b) Developments Leading to the Six-Party Talks**

Following the Three-Party Talks in April, many diplomatic efforts were made to bring about the convening of a meeting with the participation of the countries concerned including Japan and the ROK. In particular, Japan repeatedly stressed that it was impossible for both two countries not to participate in the consultations on the nuclear issue of North Korea, which is the issue of greatest concern to both parties, and as such appealed to the countries concerned.

North Korea, on the other hand, changed its statements a number of times concerning multilateral talks in parallel with inflammatory remarks on the nuclear issue that fueled tensions. For example, North Korea issued a statement concerning the nuclear issue on April 30, saying, "We have been forced to decide on building up the necessary deterrence and to take action." However, in the end, North Korea issued a statement on July 31 in which it agreed to the convening of the Six-Party Talks on the nuclear issue with Russia, Japan, the US, the ROK, China

and North Korea.

Afterward, preparations were made for the Six-Party Talks through a series of meetings, including the visit to North Korea by Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of China Wang Yi (August 7–9), the visit to Japan by Minister of Foreign Affairs Li Zhaoxing (August 10–13) and the Japan-ROK-US Informal Trilateral Consultation on North Korea (August 13).

### **(c) First Round of the Six-Party Talks**

The first round of the Six-Party Talks was held from August 27 to 29 in Beijing. Japan clarified its position that: (1) North Korea must dismantle all nuclear programs in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner; (2) with the premise that North Korea duly dismantle its nuclear programs, discussions on North Korea's security concerns and energy assistance could be deepened in the process of the Six-Party Talks; (3) there is no change in Japan's basic positions of settling outstanding issues of concern based on the Pyongyang Declaration and normalizing relations in a manner that would contribute to the peace and stability of the Northeast Asian region (see Section 3 on exchanges concerning the abduction issue). The US and the ROK announced their basic positions close to that of Japan, and China and Russia also announced their respective positions.

In response, while stating that denuclearization was the ultimate goal of North Korea and its objective was not to possess nuclear capability, the North Korean side asserted its position that it had been forced to possess nuclear deterrence due to the US's hostile policy toward North Korea, and in order for it to judge that this US policy was renounced, it was necessary for the US and North Korea to conclude a non-aggression treaty.

As such, hardly any substantive progress was made toward resolving the issues, but at the closing of the meeting, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Wang Yi read the following six points as the Chairman's Summary, and that was received with applause by all the delegations.

1. The participants in the Six-Party Talks agreed to solve the nuclear problem peacefully through dialogue, to maintain peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, and to pave the way for permanent peace.
2. The participants in the Six-Party Talks called for a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula and shared the view that North Korea's reasonable concern over its security must be considered and resolved.
3. The participants in the Six-Party Talks agreed to seek

### Situation surrounding the Korean Peninsula

Month	Japan-North Korea relations		South-North Korea relations		US-North Korea relations		North Korea's third country relations	
2003 1	7	Japan-US-ROK Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group (TCOG) Meeting (Washington)	21–24	9th Inter-Korean Ministerial Talks (Seoul)			6	IAEA Board of Governors unanimously adopts resolution concerning the "Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement between the IAEA and the DPRK"
			27–29	Special Envoy of the ROK Lim Dong Won visits North Korea			10	North Korea declares its withdrawal from the NPT
							18–21	Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Losyukov visits North Korea
2			25	Inauguration ceremony of President Roh Moo Hyun (Seoul)	25	US announces food assistance (40,000 tons) to North Korea	12	IAEA Board of Governors adopts resolution concerning the "Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement between the IAEA and the DPRK;" decides to report North Korea's violation of the safeguards agreement, etc. to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations
3								
4			27–29	10th Inter-Korean Ministerial Talks	23–25	US-China-North Korea Three-Party Talks (Beijing)	21–23	First Vice Chairman of the National Defense Committee of North Korea Jo Myong Rok visits China
5								
6	12–13	TCOG Meeting (Honolulu)	14	Start of construction to connect South-North railroads				
7	2–3	Japan-US-ROK trilateral consultations on North Korea (Washington)	9–12	11th Inter-Korean Ministerial Talks			12–15	Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Dai Bingguo of China visits North Korea
							31	North Korea accepts participation in Six-Party Talks
8	13	Japan-US-ROK trilateral consultations on North Korea (Washington)	21–31	Daegu Universiade (with North Korea's participation)			7–9	Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Yi of China visits North Korea
	27–29	First round of the Six-Party Talks (Beijing)	26–28	6th Committee for the Promotion of Inter-Korean Economic Cooperation				
9	29–30	Japan-US-ROK trilateral consultations (Tokyo)						
10			14–17	12th Inter-Korean Ministerial Talks	19	US-China summit meeting (Bangkok)	29–31	Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China Wu Bangguo visits North Korea
					20	US-ROK summit meeting (Bangkok)		
11							19–20	Prime Minister Enkhbayar of Mongolia visits North Korea
							22–31	North Korean Vice Foreign Minister Kim Yong Il visits China
12							1	Suspension of the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) light-water reactor project
	4	Japan-US-ROK trilateral consultations (Washington)			9	North Korea makes "proposal" through Foreign Ministry spokesperson's statement that in exchange for freezing North Korea's nuclear activities, it demands: 1) removal from the US list of State-Sponsors of Terrorism; 2) repeal of sanctions and blockade; and 3) energy assistance from US and neighboring countries	9–12	European Union (EU) Troika mission visits North Korea
							17	Establishment of diplomatic relations with Ireland
					24	US announces food assistance (60,000 tons) to North Korea	25–27	Vice Foreign Minister Wang Yi of China visits North Korea
2004 1	13–17	Visit to North Korea by government officials			6–10	US private members' visit to North Korea	17–20	Head of International Liaison Department of the Communist Party of China Wang Jiarui visits North Korea
	21–22	Japan-US-ROK trilateral consultations (Washington)						
2	11–14	Japan-North Korea High-Level Consultations (Pyongyang)	3–6	13th Inter-Korean Ministerial Talks			7–10	Vice Foreign Minister Kim Gye Kwan of North Korea visits China
	23	Japan-US-ROK trilateral consultations (Seoul)						
	25–28	Second round of the Six-Party Talks (Beijing)						



a fair and realistic resolution in a manner that is phased and synchronized or parallel in implementation.

4. The participants in the Six-Party Talks agreed not to take actions that could escalate the situation in the process of resolving the issue peacefully.
5. The participants in the Six-Party Talks agreed to build mutual confidence, narrow the differences in opinions, and expand their common views through dialogue.
6. The participants in the Six-Party Talks agreed to continue the process of the Six-Party Talks and to decide as soon as possible through diplomatic routes the place and time of the next meeting.

#### (d) North Korea's Response After the Six-Party Talks

Following the first round of the Six-Party Talks, the North Korean delegation made negative remarks on the continuation of the Six-Party Talks at Beijing Capital International Airport on the way back to home, such as "We are unable to have any interest or hopes in the Six-Party Talks" and "We are certain that we have no other option but to continue boosting nuclear deterrence." North Korea made further statements on October 2 that increased tensions, saying that the "reprocessing [of approximately 8,000 spent fuel rods] has been successfully completed" and "the use of plutonium obtained through the reprocessing has been converted in the direction of boosting deterrence."

#### (e) Toward the Second Round of the Six-Party Talks

For a while after the first round of Six-Party Talks ended, diplomatic progress aimed at resolving the nuclear issue was stalled, but US President George W. Bush's remarks on "security assurance" in particular spurred the momentum for the resumption of the Six-Party Talks.

On October 19, ahead of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in Bangkok, President Bush met with President Hu Jintao of China and expressed his readiness to provide North Korea with written "security assurances" in the context of the Six-Party Talks based on the premise that North Korea would dismantle its nuclear programs in a verifiable manner. Furthermore, President Bush clarified in a joint press statement after the US-ROK Summit Meeting on October 20 that the "US has no intention of invading North Korea." In response, North Korea issued a statement on October 25 that said that it was "prepared to consider" President Bush's remarks. Furthermore, North Korea expressed its readiness to attend the Six-Party Talks in the future to Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC) of the People's Republic of China Wu Bangguo at the end of October during his visit to North Korea, with certain preconditions. This position was reaffirmed to Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Yi of China when he visited North Korea from December 25 to 27.

Furthermore, North Korea issued a statement in the

(Photo)

name of the spokesperson for the Foreign Ministry on December 9, in which North Korea said it was prepared to “freeze” nuclear activities in exchange for the following measures: (1) the delisting of North Korea from the US list of State Sponsors of Terrorism, (2) lifting the political, economic and military sanctions and blockade against North Korea; and (3) energy aid including the supply of heavy fuel oil and electricity by the US and neighboring countries. On December 15, North Korea indicated in an editorial of the *Rodong Sinmun* (newspaper of the Korean Workers’ Party) that “peaceful nuclear power industry” would also be subject to the “freeze.”

Thus, toward the end of 2003, vigorous diplomatic efforts including concrete proposals were made by some of the six parties, including the US and North Korea, with a view to resuming the Six-Party Talks. Although, in the end, the second round of the Six-Party Talks was not realized during 2003, the parties agreed later on to hold them in February 2004.

#### (f) Second Round of the Six-Party Talks

The second round of the Six-Party Talks was held February 25 to 28, 2004 in Beijing. The Japanese Government attended this meeting with the recognition, as had been consistently insisted, that North Korea’s dismantlement of nuclear programs and obtainment of a peaceful resolution to the issue through the Six-Party Talks process, is the basis for achieving peace and stability in Northeast Asia.

With the start of the Six-Party Talks on February 25, the parties engaged in frank and substantial exchanges of opinion on the nuclear issue for four days, and a Chairman’s Statement was issued at the end of the Talks on February 28. The following results were achieved on the nuclear issue overall, moving the process one step forward:

1. The six parties reaffirmed the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula as their common goal.
2. Understanding deepened among many participants on the importance of the complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement (CVID) of all nuclear programs by North Korea.
3. The parties shared the view to tackle the nuclear issue in the form of so-called “coordinated steps.”

4. The parties agreed to hold the third round of the Talks in Beijing by the end of June and to establish a working group for its preparation.

Regarding the scope of “nuclear programs,” whereas Japan, the US and the ROK share the stance that they will seek the CVID for “all nuclear programs,” North Korea’s position is that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes should be allowed and the scope of dismantlement should be limited to “nuclear weapons development programs.” Moreover, significant differences remain among the six parties, including the fact that the North Korean side continues to deny the existence of a uranium enrichment program, and thus it is difficult to forecast future developments.

### (3) Response from the International Community

The entire international community continued to work on the issue concerning North Korea throughout the year in addition to diplomatic efforts made by the neighboring countries concerned.

At the G8 Evian Summit on June 3, a Chair’s Summary was issued that urged North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons programs as well as to resolve the issue of the abduction of Japanese nationals. In addition, a Chairman’s Statement was adopted at the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Ministerial Meeting on June 18, which supports the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

At the summit meeting between Japan, China and the ROK on October 7, the three countries reaffirmed their commitment to a “peaceful solution of the nuclear issue facing the Korean Peninsula through dialogue” and to the “denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula” in the Joint Declaration on the Promotion of Tripartite Cooperation among Japan, the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of Korea. Furthermore, at the APEC Summit held October 20 to 21, the Chair’s Summary read by Prime Minister of Thailand Thaksin Shinawatra (APEC Chair) announced, “We...support continuation of the Six-Party talks, and look forward to concrete and verifiable progress towards a complete and permanent nuclear weapons-free Korean Peninsula.”

## 3

**Abduction Issue**

Since 1991, the Japanese Government has taken every opportunity to raise the abduction issue with North Korea, but the North Korean side rigidly continued to deny its existence. At the Japan-North Korea Summit Meeting held in Pyongyang on September 17, 2002, North Korea admitted for the first time the existence of abducted Japanese nationals, which it had long denied, apologized for the conduct and promised that any recurrence would be prevented. At present, the Japanese Government has acknowledged 15 Japanese nationals as abductees by North Korea. Among them, five persons returned to Japan on October 15 for the first time in 24 years, but the North Korean authorities still have not provided sufficient information regarding the remaining ten persons and their whereabouts are unconfirmed. In addition, the families of the five abductees that have returned remain in North Korea and the families continue to be separated.

**(1) Major Developments in 2002**

At the preparatory meeting held prior to the Japan-North Korea Summit Meeting on September 17, 2002, the North Korean authority notified the Japanese Government that among the abductees, four persons were still alive, eight were dead and one person was not confirmed as ever having entered North Korea. In addition, the abduction of one person about whom the Japanese side had not requested an inquiry was recognized, and this person was confirmed to be still alive. At the Japan-North Korea Summit Meeting, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi strongly protested and requested to General Secretary Kim Jong-Il that investigations be continued and that the surviving persons be returned to Japan, and that the recurrence of abductions be prevented. In response, General Secretary Kim acknowledged and apologized for the abductions and promised the punishment of those involved and the prevention of any recurrence. At the same time, General Secretary Kim pledged that he would guarantee to provide every facility so that the families could see each other and the abductees could return to Japan.

Subsequently, the Japanese Government dispatched an investigation team to North Korea from September 28 to

October 1. The investigation team met personally with the surviving abductees and made efforts to collect information on persons whose whereabouts were unconfirmed. However, the information that North Korea provided was limited and its content was found to be inconsistent and had many questionable points. At the Japan-North Korea Normalization Talks held October 29 to 30, the Japanese Government pointed out the conflicting points and requested further information; nonetheless, the North Korean authority has not provided any response to date (as of March 14).

Meanwhile, based on the request by the Japanese Government to the North Korean side, five of the abductees returned to Japan and were reunited with their families in Japan on October 15, 2002. Nevertheless, the families of these abductees still remain in North Korea and are in a situation wherein they cannot make decisions freely. Therefore, the Japanese Government has urged North Korea to realize the return of the families left at an early date, but has not received any positive response from North Korea as of March 14.

**(2) Efforts Aimed at Resolving the Issue**

The Japanese Government intends to continue to persistently urge the North Korean side to take a positive response in resolving the issue, which includes realizing the return of the families of the five abductees and providing a full account of the abduction issue. When the Japanese side had contact with the North Korean side at the first round of the Six-Party Talks in August 2003, the North Korean side stated, "Problems between Japan and North Korea, including the abduction issue, should be resolved one by one in line with the Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration."

Thereafter, the Japanese Government strongly encouraged the North Korean authority to hold a meeting between the two governments aimed at resolving the issues between the two countries. As a result, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Hitoshi Tanaka and Director-General of the Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau Mitoji Yabunaka visited North Korea in February 2004 and held

Japan-North Korea high-level consultations. Bilateral consultations were also held during the second round of the Six-Party Talks. At both consultations, the Japanese side underscored the importance of resolving the abduction issue in particular, and strongly called for the unconditional return of all family members of the abductees and the provision of a full account of the ten persons whose whereabouts are unconfirmed. In response, the North Korean side reiterated its existing position that first of all the five abductees who had returned to Japan should go back to North Korea, that it was necessary to confirm the wishes of their children and that the issue of providing a full account had already been resolved.

Although concrete results were not achieved in these consultations, both sides recognized the necessity of resolving the various issues in accordance with the Pyongyang Declaration and agreed to continue the bilateral consultations. Japan intends to continue its persistent diplomatic efforts with a view to resolving the issues at an early date.

Furthermore, the Japanese Government is extensively collecting information on the existence of abductions of Japanese nationals by North Korea, without limiting the scope to the 15 persons who have been recognized as “abductees.” The Japanese side conveyed to the North Korean side during the Japan-North Korea high-level consultations in February 2004 that if new cases are recognized as abductions, the Japanese Government will raise them with the North Korean authority appropriately.

### **(3) Endeavors in the International Arena**

The Japanese Government has widely appealed the importance of resolving the issue of the abduction of Japanese nationals at the UN. For instance, the UN Commission on Human Rights adopted resolutions on the Situation of Human Rights in the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the Question of Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances in April 2003. Former Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Shinako Tsuchiya and Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Isao Matsumiya raised the issue of the abduction of Japanese nationals at the UN Commission on Human Rights in March 2003 and March 2004, respectively. Furthermore, Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi brought up the issue of the abduction of Japanese nationals in her statement at the general debate of the UN General Assembly in September. Moreover, the Japanese Government gave presentations at the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. In addition, the Japanese Government has taken up the abduction issue in the international arena including the G8 Evian Summit, ARF, ASEM, ASEAN+3 and APEC and aroused international public opinion. The Japanese Government has also stressed Japan’s position on the abduction issue as well as the importance of resolving this issue at summit meetings and ministerial meetings with various countries, and these countries have expressed their understanding and support for Japan’s position.

## D

## PROMOTION OF ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS (EPAs) AND FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS (FTAs)

### 1 Overview

In recent years, the acceleration of the movement in various parts of the world for concluding Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs)/Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)<sup>1</sup> has become the current global trend. For example, approximately 190 EPAs/FTAs have been notified to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Among them, over 100 agreements were concluded in the 1990s and over 30 have been concluded since 2000.

Why is there a need to address EPAs/FTAs now?

The first reason is from the economic standpoint, namely in terms of promoting free trade. As Japan is a trading nation with the third largest volume of trade in the world, next to the United States (US) and European Union (EU), maintaining and strengthening the multilateral free trade system and expanding trade through the WTO is one of the top priority issues for Japan in securing its economic prosperity. At the same time, negotiations within the WTO have become more complicated due to its increased number of member countries and to the expansion and deepening of the fields that it covers, and it has been pointed out that there are difficulties in the WTO responding swiftly to new issues as well as to working out new rules. Thus, there is a growing need to consider a wide range of measures to promote free trade in a way that complements the WTO system. EPAs/FTAs are examples of such means. It is significant to conclude EPAs/FTAs for Japan as a means of strengthening economic partnership beyond the levels attainable under the WTO and in areas not covered by the WTO so that Japan can expand its external economic relations.

The second reason is from the security perspective. The advancement of globalization after the end of the Cold War has enhanced economic efficiency on a global

scale and brought significant improvements in the standard of living among some areas or peoples. Meanwhile, the negative aspects of globalization are emerging. In other words, there is a widening gap between rich and poor countries. Such growing global economic disparities could destabilize the international order. Therefore, it is necessary to boost the economic benefits of developing countries not only by Official Development Assistance (ODA) but also by comprehensive efforts through the expansion of trade and investment, in order to solve the issues caused by globalization that developing countries are facing. In particular, regarding the expansion of trade, maintaining and strengthening the multilateral free trade system under the WTO should be the core approach for expanding trade, but it is also important to utilize bilateral and regional EPAs/FTAs to complement this approach.

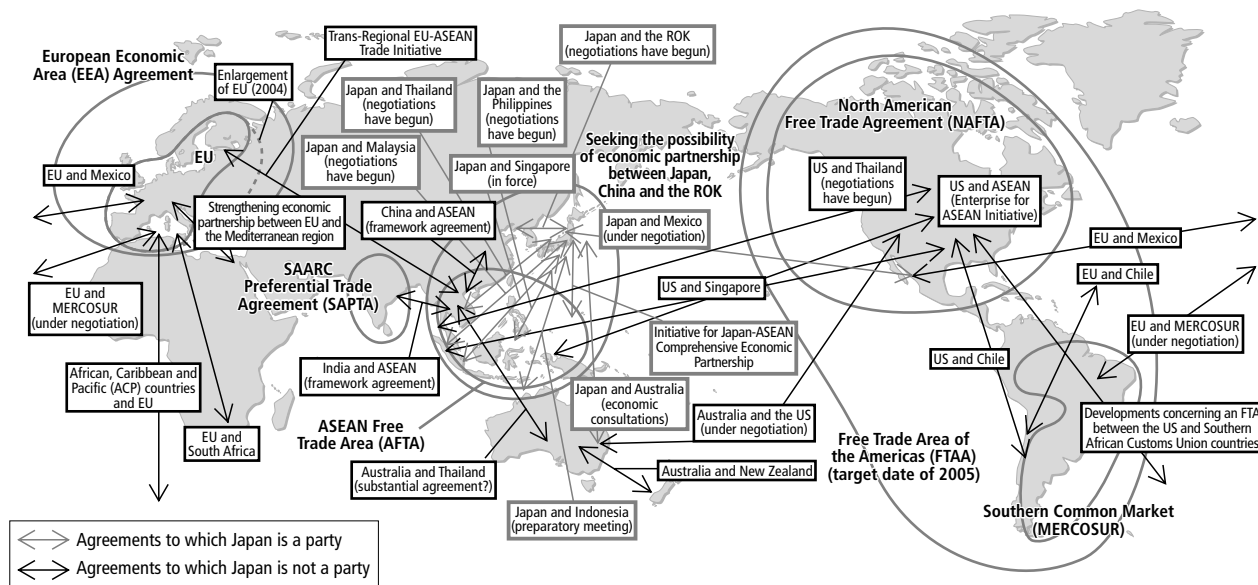
The third reason is the strategic viewpoint in terms of international politics and diplomacy. As mentioned above, while economic globalization advanced after the end of the Cold War, both economic and political partnerships are being strengthened at the regional level. Such trends had not developed rapidly in Asia, but the network of partnerships has recently been growing in Asia in diverse ways. From a perspective of diplomatic strategy, it has become extremely important for Japan to make use of EPAs/FTAs as a means of reinforcing partnerships with countries or regions to which it attaches political and diplomatic importance, but enhancing linkages with Asian countries through EPAs/FTAs has become indispensable for Japan to consolidate its position within the international community.

With the above-mentioned viewpoints in mind, it is necessary to determine comprehensively what kind of

<sup>1</sup> Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) are generally agreements aimed at eliminating tariffs, etc. and liberalizing trade in goods and services among designated countries and regions. FTAs are recognized as exceptions to the WTO Agreement and most favored nation treatment. Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are generally based on the content of FTAs with a view to trade liberalization among designated countries and regions. EPAs aim to harmonize various economic systems and reinforce economic relations in a broader range of fields by promoting investment and movement of persons, rule-making in government procurement, competition policy, intellectual property rights, etc. and cooperation in various fields.



## Developments in Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) (particularly those involving Japan, the US and EU)



AFTA: The 10 countries of ASEAN (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Viet Nam)

EU: 15 countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the UK). The EU is scheduled to expand in 2004. It is expected that the 10 countries of Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia will become new members.

EEA: Includes the EU, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway

NAFTA: 3 countries (US, Canada and Mexico)

MERCOSUR: 4 countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay)

SAPTA: 7 countries (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

EPAs/FTAs should be concluded and when, based on various perspectives that include not only the economic relations between Japan and its partner country or countries, but also security and economic cooperation, so that Japan can achieve its objective of building external economic relations desirable for it.

Meanwhile, domestic structural reforms in the relevant fields are also required to promote the conclusion of EPAs/FTAs. In other words, it is to eliminate tariffs on products, including agricultural goods, for which tariffs still remain out of consideration for the domestic industries concerned, because the conclusion of EPAs/FTAs call for

the elimination of duties and other restrictive regulations of commerce with respect to substantially all the trade. To this end, it is inevitable for such industries to promote vigorously structural reforms further in order to enhance their competitiveness. With respect to other areas, there is a need, for example, to have sufficient discussion on the “movement of natural persons,” which involves the acceptance of foreign nationals in the field of labor such as nurses, caregivers and cooks among other professions. Therefore, the Japanese Government as a whole must advance domestic structural reforms in the relevant fields and work on that issue so as to maximize profits of the entire country.

## 2

## Details by Country

## (a) Singapore

The Japan-Singapore Economic Partnership Agreement (JSEPA), Japan's first EPA/FTA, went into effect in November 2002. Tariffs were eliminated on items equivalent to 98% of the trade volume (based on a percentage of

value for 2000) between the two countries, and further liberalization took place in trade in services and investment. As a result, approximately a year after the JSEPA went into effect, the trade volume increased in the items of. In addition, the two countries have made steady

progress in developing close economic relations in various aspects including trade and investment, science and technology, Information and Communications Technology (ICT), financial services and small and medium-sized enterprises.

#### (b) Mexico

Because of the lack of an EPA/FTA between Japan and Mexico, Japanese companies have been placed in a disadvantageous situation in competition<sup>2</sup> with US and EU companies. It is, therefore, an urgent task for the government to develop a bilateral legal framework in order to overcome such a disadvantage.

Based on the recommendation of the Joint Study Group comprised of individuals from the governments, business and academia, which met from 2001 to 2002 (Japan-Mexico Joint Study Group on the Strengthening of Bilateral Economic Relations), Japan and Mexico decided to launch negotiations for an agreement to strengthen economic partnership at the Japan-Mexico Summit Meeting in October 2002. The negotiations began in November 2002 and subsequently every effort was made to reach an agreement essentially at the earliest possible date, with a target of approximately one year. When President Vicente Fox Quesada of Mexico visited Japan in October 2003, vigorous negotiations including ministerial-level ones, were held, but no substantial agreement was reached, and the Japan-Mexico Joint Statement issued by both leaders acknowledged that some important issues remain unsolved. As a result of continuous negotiations thereafter, a televideo conference was held on March 12, 2004 between the relevant ministers of both countries (Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Yoshiyuki Kamei and Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry Shoichi Nakagawa from the Japanese side, and Secretary of the Economy Fernando Canales Clariond and Secretary of Agriculture, Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food Javier Usabiaga from the Mexican side) and both

sides confirmed that they had reached substantial agreements on the major elements of the agreement. Japan and Mexico intend to work to finalize the agreement as soon as possible.

#### (c) ROK

An EPA/FTA between Japan and the ROK does not only further strengthen bilateral economic relations, but also potentially symbolizes the matured partnership between the neighbor developed countries. This is also important for advancing efforts aimed at reinforcing economic relations in the East Asian region. The Japan-Korea FTA Joint Study Group<sup>3</sup> comprised of representatives from governments, business and academia, whose establishment had been decided at the Japan-ROK Summit Meeting in March 2002, met eight times between July 2002 and October 2003 and compiled a report. This report explained that the Japan-ROK FTA would be mutually beneficial and recommended that both governments should launch negotiations at an early date with a view to concluding a comprehensive FTA. At the Japan-ROK Summit Meeting in Bangkok on October 20, both leaders agreed to start negotiations for concluding the FTA in 2003, aiming at reaching substantial agreement in 2005. Following this, at the first round of negotiations held in Seoul on December 22, the framework of negotiations was agreed, and the negotiations have been under way since then.

#### (d) Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and ASEAN

Japan has been striving to realize economic partnerships speedily with ASEAN countries. To begin with, the Working Group on the Japan-Thailand Economic Partnership met five times without losing speed since September 2002, based on the agreement between the leaders of the two countries. Thereafter, the Task Force for the Japan-Thailand Economic Partnership Agreement, which involved participants from business

<sup>2</sup> Compared to companies from the US and EU countries, where the elimination of tariffs is advancing through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA, which went into effect in 1994) and the EU-Mexico FTA (went into effect in 2000), Japanese companies are suffering disadvantageous conditions in terms of competition since they pay an average of 16% in tariffs. The volume of Mexico's imports from Japan as a share of the total import volume fell sharply from 6.1% in 1994, when NAFTA went into effect, to 3.7% in 2000. According to estimates, assuming that the share at the time NAFTA was concluded had been maintained, exports from Japanese companies are suffering losses equivalent to approximately 400 billion yen annually. With respect to government procurement, there are cases of government procurement in Mexico where only Mexican companies and companies in countries with whom Mexico has concluded EPAs/FTAs can submit bids and the lack of an FTA is generating concrete losses for Japanese companies.

<sup>3</sup> Japan and the ROK share the recognition of working toward a broad economic partnership, but for the sake of convenience, it is called an FTA.

and academic circles, met three times and issued a report as the outcomes of the meetings.

Between Japan and the Philippines, the Working Group on the Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership met five times in all since October 2002, based on the agreement between the leaders of both countries. Subsequently, the Joint Coordinating Team, which was enlarged in September 2003 to include participants from business and academic circles, met twice and issued a report as the outcomes of the meetings in December 2003.

Between Japan and Malaysia, the Working Group on the Japan-Malaysia Economic Partnership met twice in total since in May 2003, based on the agreement between the leaders of both countries. Afterward, the Joint Study Group, which also included participants from business and academic circles as well as the governments met twice since September and issued a report as the outcomes of the meetings.

The entry into negotiations for the respective bilateral agreements was decided at the individual summit meetings that were held between Japan and these three countries on the occasion of the Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit in Tokyo on December 11. Based upon this decision, the Japanese Government determined to begin negotiations with all three countries early in 2004 and to conclude the negotiations within a reasonable period of time. As such, Japan began negotiations with Malaysia in January and with both Thailand and the Philippines in February 2004, respectively.

Furthermore, two preparatory meetings were held between Japan and Indonesia, starting from September 2003 in accordance with the agreement between the leaders of both countries. With the conclusion of EPAs with Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia, approximately 75% of Japan's trade with ASEAN will be covered, and it will rise to approximately 95% with the addition of Indonesia to the three countries.

Between Japan and ASEAN as a whole, the ASEAN-Japan Committee on Comprehensive Economic Partnership, composed of government officials from Japan and ASEAN countries, got to work on drafting a Framework for Comprehensive Economic Partnership between Japan and ASEAN, and this framework was signed at the Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting in Bali, Indonesia, in October 2003.

### (e) Others

The Joint Declaration on the Promotion of Tripartite Cooperation among Japan, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea was issued after the summit meeting among Japan, China and the ROK in October 2003. This declaration, the first-ever joint declaration at the summit-level, stated that the three countries will explore the direction of a near future economic partnership and launch an informal joint study on a possible modality of trilateral investment arrangements. The idea of removing obstacles to investment through such a joint study and thereby developing closer cooperation among Japan, China and the ROK is thought to be of great significance for revitalizing the Japanese economy and promoting the construction of an East Asian community, and therefore, Japan will conduct this joint study proactively.

In regard to relations between Japan and Australia, the Australia-Japan Trade and Economic Framework was signed by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and Prime Minister John Howard in July 2003. In accordance with the framework, Japan and Australia, which share a complementary economic relationship, intend to exchange information concerning facilitation measures of a high level appropriate for developed countries and the impact of FTAs with third countries, and to undertake a joint study on the liberalization of trade and investment so as to strengthen further the close relations.