

CHAPTER 3

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY IN MAJOR DIPLOMATIC FIELDS

A

EFFORTS AIMED AT PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Overview

Ensuring domestic and international security was the top priority issue for the Japanese Government throughout 2003, as responding to threats to the peace and security of the international community, including Japan, has become one of its major tasks. The international community is fraught with many volatile factors such as threats of the outbreak of complex and diverse regional conflicts, international terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their delivery means. The Asia-Pacific region is no exception as there still exist unpredictable, uncertain elements including the North Korean nuclear issue and terrorism in Southeast Asia in particular.

Given this security environment, Japan intends to continue, as it has so far, to embrace a security policy with the following three main pillars: (1) firmly maintaining the Japan-US Security Arrangements; (2) moderately building up Japan's defense capability on an appropriate scale; and (3) pursuing diplomatic efforts to ensure international peace and security.

With regard to the Japan-US Security Arrangements, it is necessary for Japan to uphold its security under the forward deployment of the US Forces by firmly maintaining the Japan-US Security Treaty. Japan intends to solidify further its alliance with the United States (US). In 2003, Japan established the Three Laws regarding Response to Armed Attacks for handling emergency situations.

Under the Constitution, Japan has moderately built up its defense capability in accordance with the fundamental principles of maintaining an exclusively defense-oriented

policy and not becoming a military power that might pose a threat to other countries. Japan's defense capability has systematically been upgraded under the National Defense Program Outline adopted in November 1995 and the Mid-Term Defense Program (FY2001-05) adopted in December 2000. In December 2003, when the Japanese Government decided to introduce a Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) system with a view to making Japan's defense capability suitable for the new security environment that has emerged in recent years, the government indicated that it would formulate a new National Defense Program Outline in advance by the end of 2004 as a premise for the new Mid-Term Defense Program.

The safety and prosperity of Japan and Japanese people are intertwined with the peace and stability of the world. Hence, it is essential for the Japanese Government to engage actively in diplomatic efforts at various levels and pursue the realization of the peace and prosperity of the international community. Japan intends to continue to exercise an active role through the following efforts: bilateral and multilateral cooperation to ensure regional stability; political and security dialogue and cooperation toward building confidence with other countries; the strengthening of arms control, disarmament and the non-proliferation regime, efforts to address regional conflicts by means of conflict prevention and participation in United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping Operations (PKO); the enhancement of regional stability through support and cooperation in the economic development of countries in the region; and efforts to prevent and eradicate international terrorism.

1

Japan-US Security Arrangements

(a) Overview

Even after the end of the Cold War, uncertain and unstable factors such as regional conflicts due to complex and diverse causes, the proliferation of WMD and missiles, still persist in the Asia-Pacific region.

Since Japan is unable to respond to all the situations that might threaten the country's security solely with its own defense capabilities, Japan must uphold its security under the deterrence provided by firmly maintaining the Japan-US Security Treaty and thereby securing the

forward deployment of US Forces. From this perspective, Japan must continue unremittingly with its efforts to further enhance the credibility of the Japan-US Security Arrangements. As a part of such efforts, in order to ensure the effectiveness of the new Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation, Japan has been continuing with bilateral defense planning in case of an armed attack against Japan and mutual cooperation planning in situations in areas surrounding Japan.

In addition, the Japan-US Security Arrangements, based on the Japan-US Security Treaty, function effectively as a basic framework not only to ensure the peace and prosperity of Japan and the Far East region, but also to realize peace, stability and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region.

At the Japan-US Security Consultative Committee (2+2 Meeting) held in Washington in December 2002, one of the major points in the discussion was how to advance cooperation between Japan and the US in security in light of the changing international security environment, and both sides agreed to strengthen consultations concerning bilateral security. Based on this, close working level consultations have been under way. Furthermore, when Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld of the US visited Japan in November 2003 and met with Prime Minister

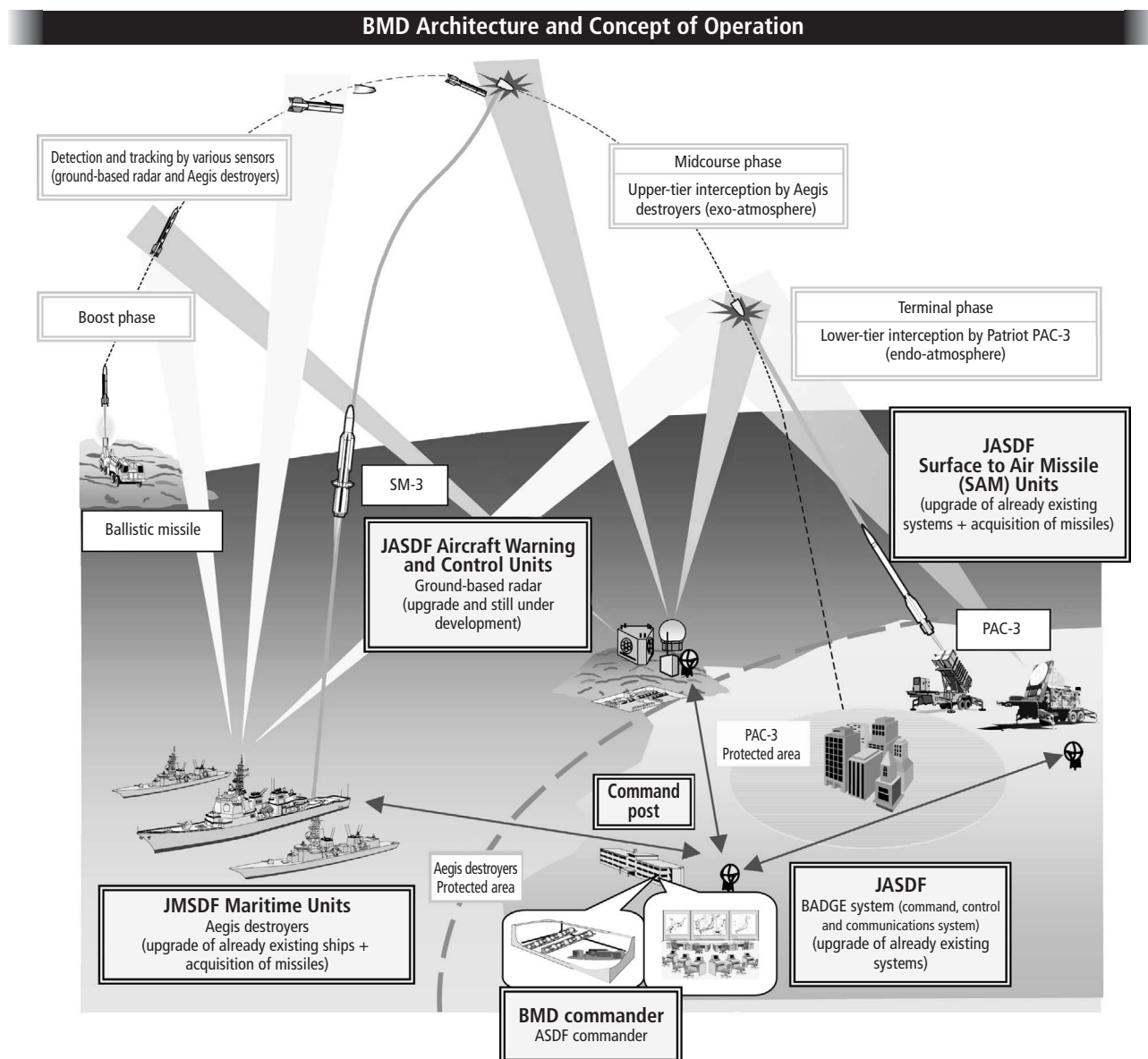
Junichiro Koizumi and Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi, both sides shared the view that the basis for Japan-US relations could be found in the strong Japan-US Security Arrangements, and candid views were exchanged on a broad range of issues regarding the international situation including Iraq and North Korea.

(b) Missile Defense

The proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles can be pointed out as one of the most important changes in the security environment in addition to terrorism. Japan and the US share the same recognition on the growing threat posed by the proliferation of ballistic missiles. Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) is an inherently defensive capacity to respond to attacks by ballistic missiles for which there would be no alternative, with the purpose of protecting lives and property of the people of Japan, and its development is an important challenge for Japan's defense policy, which is exclusively defense-oriented. Based on this concept, Japan and the US have continued to conduct joint research on BMD technologies since 1999. As a result of considerations within the government, the Japanese Government determined that BMD technologies are highly feasible and that a BMD system

Japan-US Consultations on Security Issues (as of March 2004)

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



Source: Defense Agency.

is appropriate for Japan's exclusively defense-oriented defense policy, and decided in December 2003 to develop a BMD system.

(c) Various Issues concerning US Forces Stationed in Japan

To ensure the smooth and effective operation of the Japan-US Security Arrangements, it is important that the burden of US Forces' activities in Japan on the residents living in the vicinity of US facilities and areas be reduced, and the understanding and support of those residents be achieved. The US has been well aware of this: on the occasion of the 2+2 Meeting in December 2002, for example, Japan and the US made apparent

their shared view that it is necessary to continue to make serious efforts to resolve issues related to the stationing of US Forces in Japan, including efforts in order to promote "good neighbor" relations between US Forces and local communities.

In particular, the importance of reducing the burden on the people of Okinawa, where about 75% of US facilities and areas are concentrated, was confirmed at the Japan-US Summit Meetings held in May and October 2003 as well as during US Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld's visit to Japan in November. The Japanese Government has been working on the steady implementation of the Final Report of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) drawn up in December

1996, and with regard to the return of land, the northern part (approximately 38ha) of Camp Kuwae was returned in March 2003. In addition, the adjustment of training and operational procedures of the US Forces, implementation of noise reduction initiatives and improvement of the Japan-US Status of Forces Agreement procedures have already been implemented.

With regard to the relocation and return of Futenma Air Station, the Japanese Government has exerted efforts based on the Cabinet Decision on the relocation of Futenma Air Station at the end of 2002 and the Consultative Body on Construction of the Futenma Replacement Facility was formed in 2003. In this way, steady progress has been made in the work toward the relocation and return of Futenma Air Station in close coordination with the local community.

With regard to improvements in the Japan-US Status of Forces Agreement procedures, it is important to produce results one by one that are visible to the people of Japan. For example, regarding the environmental issues related to US facilities and areas, in line with the policy of the US Department of Defense announced in August 2002 that all items containing polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) would be shipped out of the facilities

and areas of the US Forces in Japan to the mainland US, all items containing PCB that were used by August 2003 were shipped to the US. The Japanese Government will continue to make efforts to strengthen Japan-US cooperation based on the Joint Statement of Environmental Principles issued at the 2+2 Meeting in September 2000.

Between July and August 2003, four consultations between Japan and the US were held on the criminal jurisdiction procedures under the Japan-US Status of Forces Agreement. During the series of consultations, discussions were held on the handling of suspects including US military personnel under Japan's criminal jurisdiction procedures. Although the two sides confirmed that they were able to deepen their understanding of their respective positions, they were unable to overcome the differences in their positions. Taking into account the fact that in November, US Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld and Foreign Minister Kawaguchi agreed that it was vital to conclude the negotiations at an early date, the government will continue to work toward the early conclusion of the negotiations on this issue.

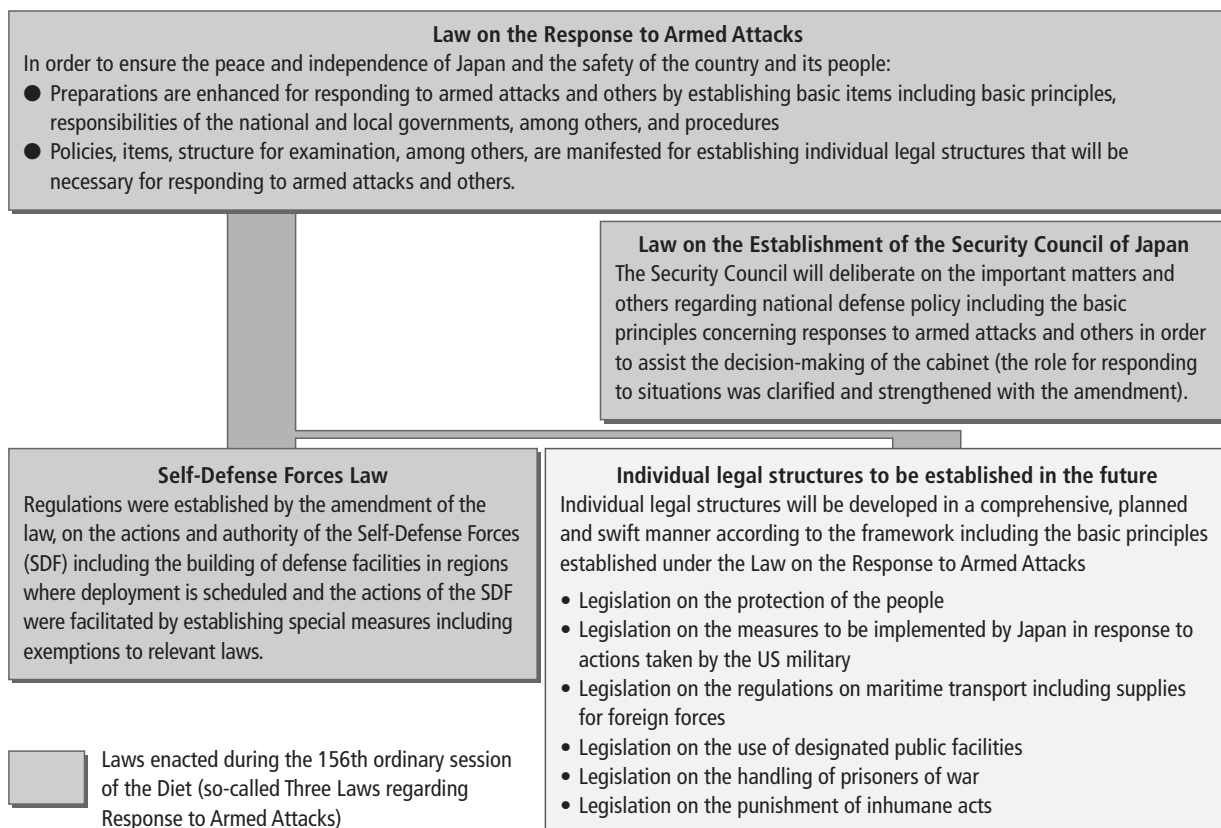
2 Emergency Legislation

Ensuring the safety of the nation and its people comprises the basis of the nation's existence, and developing a legal system to this end had been a long-standing security issue for Japan. It is particularly significant that the Three Laws regarding Response to Armed Attacks were established on June 6, 2003, with the broad consensus of both the ruling and opposition parties, after vigorous discussions following the government's submission of their drafts to the Diet in April 2002.

By the enactment of the Three Laws regarding Response to Armed Attacks, the foundation for the system of responding to emergencies, which is the most important responsibility of the government, has been established. Accordingly, the government has been striving to develop individual legislation including a law for the protection of Japanese people (legislation on the response to armed attacks). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been cooperating closely with the ministries

and agencies concerned and undertaking concrete discussions with a view to concluding Additional Protocol 1 and Additional Protocol 2 to the Geneva Conventions contemporaneously with the formulation of all individual legislative instruments for response to armed attacks. Furthermore, Japan negotiated with the US side to reach an agreement amending the Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA), which sets up a framework for the mutual provision of goods and services between the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and US military, so that it could be applied to situations including armed attacks, and this agreement was signed in February 2004. In addition, together with the ministries and agencies concerned, the Foreign Ministry has been working to establish a framework for responding swiftly and appropriately to a wide range of emergency situations, including suspicious armed vessels and large-scale terrorism.

Legislation on the Response to Armed Attacks



Topic

What are the Geneva Conventions?

International humanitarian law establishes minimum humanitarian rules to be observed even in the extreme situation of armed conflict. It is based on such basic principles as: 1) to protect soldiers wounded in combat, prisoners of war captured by the enemy and civilian non-combatants; 2) not to cause unnecessary suffering to the enemy in the course of combat; and 3) to distinguish between the civilian population and combatants, and between civilian facilities and military facilities, and limit attacks to military objectives.

The central components of international humanitarian law are the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their two Additional Protocols. The four Geneva Conventions are also sometimes called the Red Cross Conventions. This is because they occupy the position of the culmination of many treaties to protect the victims of armed conflict adopted with a central role played by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which was established by the efforts of Henri Dunant in particular, who took care of sick and wounded soldiers during the wars of Italian unification in the middle of the 19th century. After World War II, forms of armed conflicts diversified through such factors as the cases of independence of colonies and the development of military technology, which led to the adoption of the two Additional Protocols (Additional Protocol I, applicable in international armed conflicts, and Additional Protocol II, applicable in so-called civil wars) in 1977 to complement and expand the provisions of the four Geneva Conventions. The Japanese Government has been working toward concluding the two Additional Protocols at the same time as the formulation of individual legislative instruments for a response to armed attacks, as has been tackled in the wake of the enactment of Three Laws regarding Response to Armed Attacks in June 2003.

In today's international community, it is prohibited to resort to force as a method of resolving disputes; on the other hand, unfortunately, armed conflicts do frequently occur. International humanitarian law is designed to minimize as much as possible the damage of armed conflicts once they have occurred and to protect the victims thereof. International humanitarian law continues to play an important role in today's world.

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

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

In order to ensure domestic peace and stability, it is extremely important for Japan, based on the principles

of pacifism and international coordination, to work toward the peace and stability of the world and make every possible preparation for enhancing a framework for responding to national emergency situations. According to this concept, the government intends to continue its efforts with a view to building a nation in which its people can live a life of peace.

In addition, as other countries have been interested in the legislation on the response to armed attacks, the government has been explaining the basic concept of this legislation as well as its overview. Japan intends to continue doing so as the need arises.

3

Counter-terrorism

(a) Overview

Since the terrorist attacks in the US on September 11, 2001, the international community has promoted international cooperation in a broad range of areas regarding counter-terrorism, which is the top priority task to undertake, and steady achievements have been made in the fight against terrorism. In October 2001, immediately after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the US and other countries took military actions such as destroying terrorist training camps in Afghanistan, which served as a base for Al-Qaeda, the organization responsible for the terrorist attacks, and disrupting information and financing routes. In addition, Al-Qaeda members were detected and detained all over the world, and a total of more than 3,000 members have been detained to date. The detainees include Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who held the number-three position within Al-Qaeda and was captured in March 2003, and Hambali, who was responsible for Al-Qaeda in the Southeast Asian region and was captured in August. It has been said that approximately two-thirds of all top officials of Al-Qaeda have already been captured. In addition, the international community has been making a concerted effort toward vigorous implementation of reconstruction assistance activities in Afghanistan in order to prevent it from becoming a failed state and a safe-haven for terrorists once again.

Meanwhile, terrorist attacks across the border carried out by international terrorist organizations remain a grave threat. Terrorists maximize their use of

highly developed science and technology as well as the characteristics of modern internationalized society, procure funds, weapons and other items by freely crossing national borders and building networks, and widely publicize their propaganda through such media as the Internet. Under these circumstances, in order to prevent terrorism, it is essential for the international community as a whole to take a firm stance against terrorism, prevent terrorists from establishing a base for their activities and deprive them of funds, weapons and other methods by which to carry out terrorism, and overcome the vulnerabilities of the facilities and institutions which could be the targets of terrorism. More specifically, it is necessary for the international community to strengthen its efforts in a wide range of fields including the reinforcement of the international legal framework to stringently punish terrorists, countermeasures against terrorist financing, countermeasures against hijacking, reinforcement of immigration controls, non-proliferation of WMD and capacity building assistance to countries with insufficient counter-terrorism capacity. Furthermore, terrorism not only threatens the security of a country and its people but also has a major impact on the economic life of citizens in areas such as investment, sightseeing, trade and others. Thus, it is necessary for each and every person to cooperate to prevent terrorism, recognizing it as a challenge to civil life.

Such recognition has been widely shared on an

Cases of Terrorist Incidents in 2003

2003

- January 5 Suicide bombing in Tel Aviv, Israel
<Summary> Suicide bombing occurs in the old Town of Tel Aviv (residential area for foreign workers), killing 22 and injuring some 100.
- March 4 Series of bombing attacks in Davao, Philippines
<Summary> Bomb explodes in passenger terminal of Davao International Airport in Mindanao Island, southern Philippines, killing 21 and injuring some 150. Additional explosions follow in bus terminal within Davao and government hospital in Taguma, some 40 km northeast of Davao, injuring three.
- May 12 Terrorist bombing attacks in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
<Summary> Cars carrying bombs explode by two housing complexes (area where many foreigners reside) in central Riyadh, killing 34 and injuring some 200.
- May 16 A series of bombing attacks in Casablanca, Morocco
<Summary> Series of bombs explode in five areas (Farah Hotel, Jewish cultural center, Jewish cemetery, Jewish-Italian restaurant in front of the Belgian Consulate, Spanish restaurant) of central Casablanca, killing 44 and injuring over 100.
- July 4 Attack in Quetta, Pakistan
<Summary> Islam Shiite mosque in Quetta, southwestern area of Pakistan, is attacked by unidentified rebel group, killing over 30 and injuring over 50.
- August 1 Terrorist bombing attack in Republic of North Ossetia, Russia
<Summary> Truck carrying bomb enters premise of Russian military hospital in Mozdok of Republic of North Ossetia, southern Russia, and subsequently explodes, killing 50 and injuring over 150.
- August 5 Terrorist bombing attack in Jakarta, Indonesia
<Summary> Bomb carried by car explodes in the front lobby of Marriott Hotel in Kuningan, Jakarta, the capital, killing 12 and injuring over 150.
- August 24 Terrorist bombing attack in central Colombia
<Summary> Bomb on a ship explodes while trying to anchor to a dock of Ariari river in Puerto Rico city, central Colombia, killing seven and injuring some 40.
- August 25 Terrorist bombing attack in Mumbai, India
<Summary> Bomb carried by car explodes at Gateway of India in tourist spot Mumbai, capital of Maharashtra state, western India, killing 52 and injuring over 180.
- November 8 Terrorist bombing attacks in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
<Summary> Car carrying bomb explodes by housing complex in western part of central Riyadh, killing 18 and injuring some 120.
- November 15 Terrorist bombing attack in Istanbul, Turkey
<Summary> Terrorist bombing attacks occur near two Jewish synagogues in Istanbul, killing 32 and injuring some 300.
- November 20 Series of bombing attacks in Istanbul, Turkey
<Summary> Terrorist bombing attacks occur at UK based HSBC Bank in commercial area of Istanbul, Turkey and in front of UK Consulate in central Istanbul, killing some 30 and injuring over 450.
- December 5 Train explosion terrorist attack in southern Russia
<Summary> Explosion occurs while train moving in Stavropol region, southern Russia, that borders Chechen Republic, killing some 40 and injuring over 200.

2004

- February 6 Terrorist bombing on subway of Moscow, Russia
<Summary> Bombing occurs inside subway on the way from Avtozavodskaya station in Moscow to Paveletskaya station, killing over 40 and injuring some 130.
- March 11 Train explosion terrorist attacks in Madrid, Spain
<Summary> Ten explosions occur during morning rush hour at three stations (commuter trains entering station premise, etc.) starting with Atocha station in Madrid, killing some 200 and injuring more than 1,700.

Major Terrorist Incidents in Iraq

2003

- August 7 Terrorist bombing attack in front of Jordanian Embassy in Iraq
<Summary> Car carrying bomb explodes in front of Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad, killing 17 and injuring some 60.
- August 19 Terrorist bombing attack at UN Headquarters in Baghdad, Iraq
<Summary> Bomb presumed to be attached to truck explodes at UN Headquarters in northeastern Baghdad, killing 23 including UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Iraq de Mello and other UN personnel and injuring more than 100.
- August 29 Terrorist bombing attack in Najaf, Iraq
<Summary> Bomb attached to car explodes near Shiite mosque in Najaf, central Iraq, killing 80 including President of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq al-Hakim and injuring more than 130.
- October 27 Series of bombing attacks in Baghdad, Iraq
<Summary> Series of bombing attacks occur at International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) headquarters in Baghdad and four Iraqi police stations, killing 34 Iraqi police, etc. and injuring some 220.
- November 12 Terrorist bombing attack in Nasiriyah, Iraq
<Summary> Car explodes upon entry into Italian military compound in Nasiriyah, southern Iraq, killing 27 including 19 Italians and injuring over 80.
- January 18 Terrorist bombing attack in front of CPA Headquarters in Baghdad, Iraq
<Summary> Terrorist attack occurs with car exploding near front gate of CPA (Coalition Provisional Authority) Headquarters in Baghdad, killing 24 and injuring some 120.
- February 1 Terrorist bombing attacks in Arbil, Iraq
<Summary> Bombs explode at roughly the same time at headquarters of the two largest Kurdish political parties—Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK)—in Arbil, a Kurdish autonomous area in northern Iraq, killing some 70 and injuring some 270.
- February 10 Terrorist bomb attack in Iskandariya, Iraq
<Summary> Bomb carrying device explodes near police station in Iskandariya, southern Baghdad, killing over 60 and injuring over 70.
- February 11 Terrorist bombing attack in front of soldier recruitment office in Baghdad, Iraq
<Summary> Bomb carrying device explodes in front of soldier recruitment office of new Iraqi army in central Baghdad, killing some 50 enlisted Iraqis and injuring over 50.
- March 2 Series of bombing attacks in Baghdad and Karbala
<Summary> Series of bombing attacks occur in Karbala and Baghdad during Shiite religious ceremony "Ashura" (ceremony that pays tribute to martyrdom of Husayn, the third Imam), killing over 170 and injuring over 390.

international basis since the terrorist attacks in the US, and international cooperation on counter-terrorism is being reinforced. Nevertheless, large-scale terrorist incidents frequently occurred in 2003 and 2004. The incidents in 2003 include the terrorist bombing of a housing complex in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (May 12, November 8), terrorist bombing of a hotel in Jakarta, Indonesia (August 5), terrorist bombing of the UN Headquarters in Iraq (August 19), a series of terrorist bombings of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) office in Baghdad, Iraq (October 27) and a series of terrorist bombings in Istanbul, Turkey (November 15 and 20). The incidents in 2004 include the terrorist bombing in the subway in Moscow, Russia (February 6), a series of terrorist bombings in Baghdad and Karbala, Iraq (March 2) and terrorist bombing of trains in Madrid, Spain (March 11). In addition, statements calling Muslims to wage a *jihad* (holy war) were repeatedly announced in the name of top officials of Al-Qaeda including Usama bin Laden via satellite broadcasting stations in the Middle East and other media (January, February, April, May, August, September, October and December 2003). In particular, the statement, believed to have been announced by Al-Qaeda leader Usama bin Laden on October 18, named Japan for the first time as being subject to retaliation among countries that are involved in the reconstruction of Iraq including the US.

In this way, terrorism remains a grave threat to the international community and Japan's interests may become a target of terrorism. Based on its stance that terrorism cannot be justified nor tolerated in all its forms and reasons, Japan regards terrorism as its own security issue and intends to continue to promote vigorously counter-terrorism measures in cooperation with the international community.

(b) Progress in the Efforts of the International Community

Throughout 2003, the international community strengthened international counter-terrorism measures through

(Photo)

multilateral, regional and bilateral cooperation based on its previous achievements on this front.

Following the announcement and adoption of crucial documents on counter-terrorism the previous year, the G8 adopted the Building International Political Will and Capacity to Combat Terrorism: A G8 Action Plan¹ at the G8 Summit in June, which was drafted on the initiative of Japan and the US, aiming to coordinate and cooperate in providing counter-terrorism capacity building assistance to developing countries. The Counter-Terrorism Action Group (CTAG),² which was established under this Action

¹ A document adopted at the G8 Evian Summit based on a proposal from Japan and the US. This document recognizes that terrorism remains a grave threat and establishes that it is essential to expand cooperation within the G8 in counter-terrorism measures and provide capacity building assistance to countries with insufficient counter-terrorism capacity in order to deny terrorists a safe-haven. In addition, this document stresses the need for outreach to other countries and for the G8 to have a common strategy for counter-terrorism capacity building assistance. This document includes a concrete action plan for building international political will and capacity in the fight against terrorism.

² A group whose establishment was decided by the Action Plan referred to in the note above. Its primary objectives are to analyze requests and prioritize demands on capacity building assistance and hold coordination meetings with CTAG members on recipient countries to achieve the first objective. This group intends to expand assistance no later than the summit meeting in 2004. This group held a total of two meetings in 2003, one in July and one in October.

Plan, held meetings in July and October. Furthermore, the Enhance Transport Security and Control of Man-Portable Air Defense Systems (MANPADS): A G8 Action Plan³ was adopted and has the objective of reducing the threat of terrorism to public transportation by ensuring safe, secure, efficient and reliable transportation.

Under the framework of the UN, member countries have steadily implemented UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (resolution calling for all member states to implement comprehensive measures to fight against terrorism, including the criminalization of the provision of funds to carry out terrorist acts, freezing the assets of terrorists, and promoting the conclusion of the conventions on counter-terrorism such as the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism) that was adopted on September 28, 2001. As for the status of conclusion of the conventions on counter-terrorism⁴ required by the resolution, looking at the example of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, only four countries were state parties immediately after the terrorist attacks in the US in September 2001, but 104 countries have become state parties as of December 1. With respect to countermeasures against terrorist financing, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF),⁵ which plays a leading role in international countermeasures against money laundering, revised the Forty Recommendations in June. These recommendations serve as the international standards on countermeasures against money laundering and they have become a new, comprehensive framework

not only for countermeasures against money laundering but also terrorist financing. The FATF, in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, promotes international measures and cooperation including technical assistance in countermeasures against terrorist financing. At the end of 2003, the FATF began its work in assessing the necessity of technical assistance in countermeasures against terrorist financing.

Regarding regional frameworks, significant progress was made in international cooperation in counter-terrorism, with emphasis placed on concretely shifting to the implementation of crucial documents related to counter-terrorism, including several of the previously adopted Summit Statements. In February 2003, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) decided to establish the Counter-Terrorism Task Force (CTTF)⁶ in accordance with the APEC Leaders' Statement on Fighting Terrorism and Promoting Growth, which was adopted at the Economic Leaders' Meeting in Mexico in October 2002. The objectives of the CTTF are to implement steadily counter-terrorism measures and promote capacity building and technical assistance, and meetings were held in May and August. Japan participates in the CTTF as the vice-chair and an exchange of views has been held with a focus on the modality of counter-terrorism capacity building assistance, particularly in the APEC region. With respect to the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), the ASEM Seminar on Anti-Terrorism⁷ was held in accordance with the ASEM Copenhagen Declaration on Cooperation against

³ With this Action Plan, the G8 decided that efforts would be strengthened to reduce the threat of terrorism to public transportation. This Action Plan stated that the items agreed in the Cooperative G8 Action on Transport Security would continue to be implemented. This Action Plan also established five areas covered by the scope of the endeavors in this field—Man-Portable Air Defense Systems (MANPADS), air transport, people, container security and sea transport, and stipulated concrete measures for each of these areas.

⁴ These refer to the 12 conventions on counter-terrorism: Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft (Tokyo Convention); Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft (The Hague Convention); Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation (Montreal Convention); Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents; International Convention against the Taking of Hostages; Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material; Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, Done at Montreal on September 23, 1971; Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation; Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf; Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection; International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings; and International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Japan signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism on October 30, 2001, and deposited the instrument of acceptance on June 11, 2002 after having obtained approval by the Diet at the ordinary session, thereby concluding all 12 counter-terrorism conventions.

⁵ The FATF is an international framework that was convened at the 1989 Arch Summit to promote international countermeasures against money laundering. In addition to Japan, the FATF has the participation of 31 countries, primarily member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and regions and two international organizations.

⁶ The Counter-Terrorism Task Force (CTTF) was established in 2003 with the following primary objectives: (1) share information on counter-terrorism-related tasks carried out within APEC; (2) confirm the status of implementation of content of leaders' statements concerning counter-terrorism; and (3) direct the relevant meetings and working groups of APEC to implement counter-terrorism capacity building enhancement activities.

International Terrorism adopted at the ASEM Summit in September 2002. This seminar was hosted by China in Beijing in September 2003, and Japan participated in this seminar as one of the co-sponsors. The ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) affirmed the need for interna-

tional cooperation in counter-terrorism as well as the need for the ARF to continue its efforts in counter-terrorism, as demonstrated through such means as the ARF Statement on Cooperative Counter-Terrorist Action on Border Security⁸ that was adopted at the 10th

Japan's International Counter-Terrorism Cooperation

1. Global cooperation

Japan

- Based on the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law (approved on October 29, 2001), implemented refueling assistance activities for vessels engaged in the interception of ships as part of the "Operation Enduring Freedom" by US forces, etc. deployed in the Indian Ocean.
- Concluded all 12 counter-terrorism conventions and protocols.
- Contributed to the establishment of a broad cooperate system through utilizing international frameworks such as the G8, UN (especially the CTC) and FATF.
- Based on Security Council Resolutions 1267, 1333 and 1390 or 1373, asset freezing measures against Taliban-related and non-Taliban terrorists have been carried out in accordance with the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Law against a total of 423 individuals and organizations (as of the end of December 2003).

G8

- At the June 1–3 Evian Summit, Building International Political Will and Capacity to Combat Terrorism: A G8 Action Plan as well as Enhance Transport Security and Control of Man-Portable Air Defense Systems (MANPADS): A G8 Action Plan were adopted with Japan's active participation.

2. Regional cooperation

- **ARF:** On the occasion of the 10th ARF Ministerial Meeting held in Cambodia in June, the Statement on Cooperative Counter-Terrorist Action on Border Security was adopted.
- **APEC:** Based on Leaders' Statement on Fighting Terrorism adopted at the Tenth Ministerial Meeting in October 2002, the Counter-Terrorism Task Force (CTTF) was established, and a second meeting was held.
- **ASEM:** Based on counter-terrorism declaration adopted at the Fourth Summit Meeting in September 2002, the ASEM Seminar on Anti-Terrorism was held in September in China, and Japan participated as co-sponsoring country.
- **ASEAN:** The First ASEAN Plus Three Ministerial Meeting on Transnational Crime (AMMTC+3) was held in Bangkok in January 2004, and the institutionalization of activities concerning transnational crimes including counter-terrorism was agreed upon.
- **Southeast Asia Counterterrorism Conference:** In December, the ten ASEAN countries were invited and regional consultations on counter-terrorism hosted by Foreign Ministry and National Police Agency were held in Tokyo.
- **Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit:** Agreed in the Japan-ASEAN Plan of Action adopted at Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit in December to hold a joint meeting on counter-terrorism in the future.
- **Japan:** Program to accept trainees from developing countries was implemented in the following new areas to promote the conclusion of conventions and protocols related to the suppression of terrorism and to counter biological and chemical terrorism, in addition to six areas already pursued: (1) terrorist financing, (2) immigration control, (3) aviation security, (4) customs cooperation, (5) export control, and (6) police and law enforcement cooperation (total of approximately 280 people in 2003).

3. Bilateral and trilateral cooperation

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| ● Japan-US Consultations on Counter-Terrorism | Held in Tokyo (February 20) |
| ● Japan-Russia Consultations on Counter-Terrorism | Held in Moscow (June 22–23) |
| ● Japan-US-Australia Trilateral Consultations on Counter-Terrorism | Held in Canberra (November 20) |

⁷ In September 2003, the ASEM Seminar on Anti-Terrorism was held on China's initiative (co-sponsored by Japan, Germany, Spain and Denmark). At the seminar, the current situation of the fight against terrorism in Asia and Europe was analyzed, an exchange of views was held on the experience and implementation of the fight against terrorism, and considerations were held on concrete measures aimed at reinforcing ASEM's counter-terrorism cooperation.

⁸ Under the basic recognition that a comprehensive approach and international cooperation is necessary given that terrorism is closely linked to transnational crime, and that it is necessary to control national borders and prevent terrorists and their goods and funds from crossing borders to prevent terrorism, this statement sets out general measures on the movement of people and goods, security of documents and other items. In addition, this statement calls for the conclusion of all counter-terrorism conventions and implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, and recommends taking general counter-terrorism steps, including a closer exchange of views, the development of a domestic legal system and international cooperation.

ARF Ministerial Meeting held on June 18. In the Japan-ASEAN Plan of Action adopted at the Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit held in Tokyo December 11 to 12, it was also agreed that cooperation between Japan and ASEAN countries would be strengthened in the field of counter-terrorism, which would include the launching of a joint meeting on counter-terrorism between Japan and ASEAN.

(c) Japan's Efforts

For the purpose of preventing and eradicating terrorism, Japan believes that it is necessary for the international community to be united and maintain its endeavors over the long term on a wide range of fronts, and has been actively participating in the above-mentioned international efforts. To be specific, Japan participated vigorously in the G8's exercises including the CTAG, and in utilizing multilateral and bilateral frameworks such as the UN, ARF, APEC and ASEM, Japan is calling upon various countries to strengthen counter-terrorism measures and promote international cooperation in this field. In accordance with the UN Security Council resolution that imposes sanctions on terrorists and terrorist organizations and in cooperation with the international community, Japan imposed sanctions in accordance with the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Law on a total of 444 terrorists and terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaeda and Taliban members such as Usama bin Laden and Mullah Mohammed Omar, as well as Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigade,

Lashkar e-Tayyiba and Sendero Luminoso.

In regard to activities in and around Afghanistan by the US and other countries, based on the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law (entered into force on November 2, 2001), Japan has been providing assistance that includes the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) refueling ships of the US and United Kingdom (UK) forces participating in maritime intercept operations and Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF) airlifting goods for US forces. Through these efforts, Japan is making substantial contributions aimed at preventing and eradicating international terrorism including effectively executing maritime intercept operations. The Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law expired in November 2003, but its term of validity was extended by two years at the extraordinary session of the Diet.

In addition, Japan is advancing efforts in capacity building assistance to combat terrorism in developing countries. In particular, Japan has been intensively providing support to the Southeast Asian region, as deterring terrorism and ensuring security and stability in this region is critically important for Japan's prosperity. Specifically, Japan has been actively receiving trainees from developing countries in the following six areas: (1) countermeasures against terrorist financing; (2) immigration control; (3) aviation security; (4) customs cooperation; (5) export controls; and (6) police and law enforcement institutions cooperation. In addition to these six areas where training has been previously conducted, Japan embarked on a new initiative and held



Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi visits to encourage the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) fleet that was dispatched in accordance with the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law (January 2004)

Participating in Cooperation and Support Activities based on the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law

In August 2003, I was appointed to the maritime support unit headquarters of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) on deployment in the Indian Ocean. At that time, already approximately 650 members of the dispatched personnel were in the Indian Ocean on board the destroyers *Haruna* and *Asagiri* and the support ship *Towada*, engaged in cooperation and support activities on the high seas far from their home port. Upon my appointment, I felt a sense of comfort almost like coming home, and keenly felt happiness and tension to be able to participate in the dispatch of the MSDF, when I saw the three ships for the first time, anchored and flying the colors of the MSDF.

After my appointment to the post, I was assigned to the responsibility of coordinating with other naval forces the implementation of cooperation and support activities. Although the MSDF deployment in the Indian Ocean had been ongoing for two years and our presence was widely recognized, the posting involves negotiations on a person-to-person, as well as country-to-country, basis. Initially, there was trouble identifying points of compromise and I recall from time to time being angered by the seemingly selfish requests from counterparts. Now I realize that different requests are one facet of the international community, and I feel that words and efforts are required to bring counterparts around to our way of thinking and to understand our position.

After about a month, the sincere cooperation and support activities of the MSDF ships, including the *Towada*, helped to build relations of trust with naval forces of other countries and coordination proceeded smoothly. Under the common aim of eliminating international terrorism, an esprit de corps gradually emerged and through repeated dialogue I knew that the activities of the MSDF were being highly appreciated by other countries. Although each naval force, including the MSDF, had parts of its own operations where no mutual compromise was possible, when it came to the time of completion of refueling operations, the ships of other naval forces would run up the flag of the MSDF to say "Thank you," and it was those moments when I felt a surge of pride to be one member participating in these activities.

After cooperation and support activities to 36 vessels from seven countries, we returned to our home port of Maizuru on November 19, 2003, and our dispatch came to an end. Although it was raining as our ship slipped into port, it did not dim the heartfelt glow of the feeling of achievement at our mission.

Author: Lieutenant Yousuke Inaba, Headquarters Escort Flotilla Three

(Photo)

the Seminar on Consequence and Crisis Management of Chemical and Biological Terrorism in September 2003 for countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The objective of this seminar was to provide and share knowledge and experience on crisis management and responses to damages caused by biological and chemical terrorism and how to manage substances that may be used in such terrorist attacks, among other things. This seminar was held based on the commitment made by Prime Minister Koizumi at the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in October 2002 to undertake steps aimed at crisis management capacity building in counter-terrorism for a five-year period starting in FY2003.

Japan also held the Seminar on Counter-Terrorism Conventions for the Purpose of Encouraging the Accession to the Conventions by countries in Southeast Asia in October 2003, with a view to promoting the conclusion of the currently existing 12 counter-terrorism-related conventions and protocols. Through

such efforts, Japan received a total of approximately 280 trainees in the field of counter-terrorism capacity building assistance for developing countries in FY2003. Japan also dispatched experts and provided equipment to developing countries.

Moreover, Japan held an exchange of views with various countries on the terrorism situation and counter-terrorism cooperation led by the ambassador in charge of International Counter-Terrorism Cooperation. In 2003, Japan held bilateral consultations on terrorism with the US in February and with Russia in March, and trilateral consultations on terrorism with the US and Australia in November. On an interregional basis, Japan invited the ten ASEAN countries to Tokyo in December for the Southeast Asia Counter-Terrorism Conference and held an exchange of views on the regional situation of terrorism and future modality of counter-terrorism cooperation.

4

Regional Security

In the Asia-Pacific region, no multilateral collective defense security mechanism has been developed because of factors such as rich diversity in terms of political and economic systems, and cultural and ethnic aspects, while Europe has the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Rather, regional stability has been primarily maintained through the building up of bilateral security arrangements centered on the US.

Japan believes that one practical and appropriate measure for developing a stable security environment surrounding itself and ensuring peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region is to improve and strengthen layers of bilateral and multilateral frameworks for dialogue, while securing the presence and involvement of the US in this region as its cornerstone.

Throughout 2003, Japan conducted bilateral security dialogues and defense exchanges with regional countries such as Russia, the Republic of Korea (ROK), Australia and Thailand and strove to enhance relations of mutual trust and advance cooperative relations in the area of security. Japan also had exchanges of views with China on regional security issues in the course of various dialogues, including ministerial-level contact.

The ARF, which is the political and security framework for the entire Asia-Pacific region with participants from major Asian and Oceanian countries, aims to advance dialogue and cooperation in the following three stages: (1) the promotion of confidence-building; (2) the development of preventive diplomacy; and (3) the elaboration of approaches to resolving conflicts. Until now, various measures were taken for the first stage, the promotion of confidence-building, including the publication of national defense white papers, submission of national defense policy papers and holding meetings on counter-terrorism cooperation and other issues. Another confidence-building measure taken for the first stage is the publication of the ARF Annual Security Outlook, which is produced by participating members describing their understanding of their own regional security conditions and compiled by the ARF chair. Furthermore, discussions are under way toward concrete efforts for the second stage, the development of preventive diplomacy.

At the 10th ARF Ministerial Meeting that was held in Cambodia in June, a frank exchange of views was held on security issues in the Asia-Pacific region, such as the situation on the Korean Peninsula, the situation in

Significance of the ARF and Its Progress Thus Far

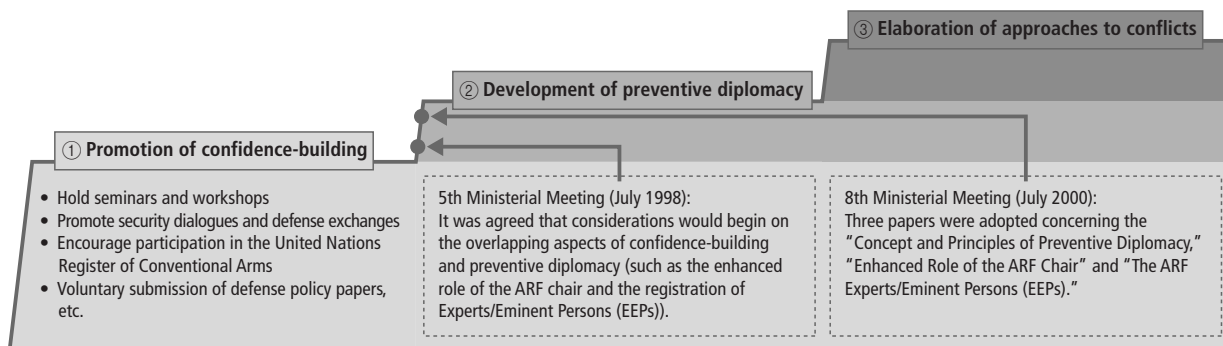
1. Purpose and characteristics of the ARF

- The ARF, established in 1994, is an opportunity for region-wide dialogue that covers the political and security areas of the Asia-Pacific region (the sole inter-governmental forum in the Asia-Pacific region for discussion of security issues).
- The ARF is a continuum of a series of conferences centering upon the ministerial meetings which are held every summer (it is not an organization with a secretarial function).
- The ARF places emphasis on the free exchange of views and consensus as its principle.
- The ARF aims at gradual development in the following three stages: (1) the promotion of confidence-building; (2) the development of preventive diplomacy; and (3) the elaboration of approaches to conflicts.

2. Direction of future activities

- As a security forum of the Asia-Pacific region, the ARF will continue to strengthen and expand confidence-building measures and discuss how to further advance the efforts in preventive diplomacy. The ARF also plans to increase the participation of relevant defense and military officials and strengthen a support system for the ARF chair.
- Concerning issues of terrorism and transnational crimes which are important security topics for Asia, the ARF will promote practical responses to them.

Three-step Approach of the ARF



Myanmar, arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation, and counter-terrorism. As for the ARF's activities, the ministers expressed their satisfaction toward the progress that had been made in confidence-building and focused on the importance of advancing toward preventive diplomacy. In this perspective, vigorous discussions were held on enhancing the role of the ARF chair and utilizing experts. Japan established the year until the next ministerial meeting as a period during which intensive discussions would be held concerning the future of the ARF, and proposed that discussions be held keeping an open mind with a view to the next decade. In addition, many countries welcomed China's proposal to convene an ARF Security Policy Conference with the participation of high-level military and government officials.

The ARF has made steady achievements in promoting confidence-building between each country up until now and the time has come to aim for a higher level of cooperation. First, deepening and promoting discussions aimed toward preventive diplomacy is

important. Japan believes that the active utilization of the private experts and advancing the sharing of experiences with other regional institutions is beneficial toward this end. Second, it is still important to further enhance confidence-building measures. From this perspective, Japan believes that increasing further the participation of defense officials is important. Third, it is important to promote practical cooperation. In order to establish the practice of practical cooperation including the relevant authorities, it is necessary to promote cooperation concerning counter-terrorism measures that are currently being advanced as a model for such practice. Fourth, it is important to consider the ideal form of the organization from a medium and long-term perspective. Considering the issues including the shift to preventive diplomacy and the promotion of practical cooperation, the time has come to begin considerations regarding the necessity of having a secretarial function and the ideal format of meetings.

Japan intends to contribute proactively to ensure that the ARF develops into an effective organization that is more meaningful to regional security. Japan also believes that it is vital to continue exploring appropriate

frameworks for holding discussions on regional peace and stability bearing in mind the medium and long-term perspective.

5

United Nations

(a) Overview

In the era of rapid globalization, the UN, as the one and only universal, comprehensive international organization, has been progressively increasing its role in advancing efforts to tackle the various issues that the international community faces in the 21st century. The UN and its affiliated organizations serve as fora for governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to assemble, debate and establish global rules on issues including development, human rights, gender, children, infectious diseases, the environment, transnational organized crime, refugees and culture. Furthermore, the Security Council has been expanding its role on the military front through such measures as the establishment of multinational forces under its authority (including multinational forces during the Gulf War and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan). UN PKO has also been expanding their fields of operation from traditional PKO (in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Golan Heights) focused on monitoring ceasefires to democratic governance and reconstruction (Timor-Leste and others).

Meanwhile, with respect to the military operation against Iraq in March, although there was a consensus among the Security Council members that Iraq's cooperation on UN inspection was insufficient, they could not agree on whether to continue inspections. The fact that the Security Council failed to reach a consensus led many member states to reaffirm the urgency to reform the UN, especially the Security Council.

Foreign Minister Kawaguchi attended the general debate of the 58th session of the UN General Assembly held in September. In her address, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi expressed Japan's position on issues of North Korea including the nuclear and abduction issue, and emphasized that the international community must unite in tackling the proliferation of WMD and the threat of terrorism. Foreign Minister Kawaguchi also

stressed the importance of making efforts on "consolidation of peace and nation-building" and "human security" and stressed the urgent need for UN reform, including Security Council and administrative and budgetary aspects to facilitate these efforts.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan visited Japan in February 2004 and held meetings with Prime Minister Koizumi and Foreign Minister Kawaguchi, and others. A frank exchange of views was held on the international situation, such as the issue of Iraq; the modality of the UN, including UN reform; the relationship between Japan and the UN; and other issues. On UN reform, Japan candidly conveyed to Secretary-General Annan that Japan was dissatisfied with its high scale of assessments, the growing UN budget and the small number of Japanese staff in the UN Secretariat, and asked him to make an effort in this regard. Secretary-General Annan's positive stance on these issues was confirmed and a consensus was reached on early realization of UN reform, including Security Council reform. In addition, Secretary-General Annan addressed the Diet for the first time as the UN secretary-general and conveyed his message broadly to the Japanese public that he highly evaluated Japan's contribution in a wide range of fields, including the reconstruction of Iraq, and that the cooperative relationship between Japan and the UN is important with a view to the peace and prosperity of the international community.

(b) UN Reforms

Reform of the Security Council

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been a remarkable expansion in the fields that the Security Council handles, and a swift response to various issues is required from the Security Council. Nonetheless, the basic structure of the Security Council has not changed since the UN was established. It is imperative to reform



Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi meets with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (February 2004 Photo: Office of the Cabinet Public Relations, Cabinet Secretariat)

the Security Council so that the countries with the will and capacity to fulfill global responsibility can join the Security Council, the legitimacy of the Security Council is firmly ensured, and its decisions are accompanied with effectiveness. Japan intends to build an ideal, concrete vision of the Security Council for the future, vigorously working to realize its reform, and to achieve permanent membership in the Security Council.

Various discussions including the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000 proved that there is a broad consensus among UN member states on the early realization of Security Council reform, and many member states support the expansion of membership in both permanent and non-permanent categories. However, there has been no sign of concrete progress to date, partly because the open-ended discussion by the Working Group on Security Council Reform since 1994 is based on the principle of consensus. Particularly in recent years, discussion on Security Council reform has been inactive since the interest of various countries has focused on other issues such as terrorism and Iraq.

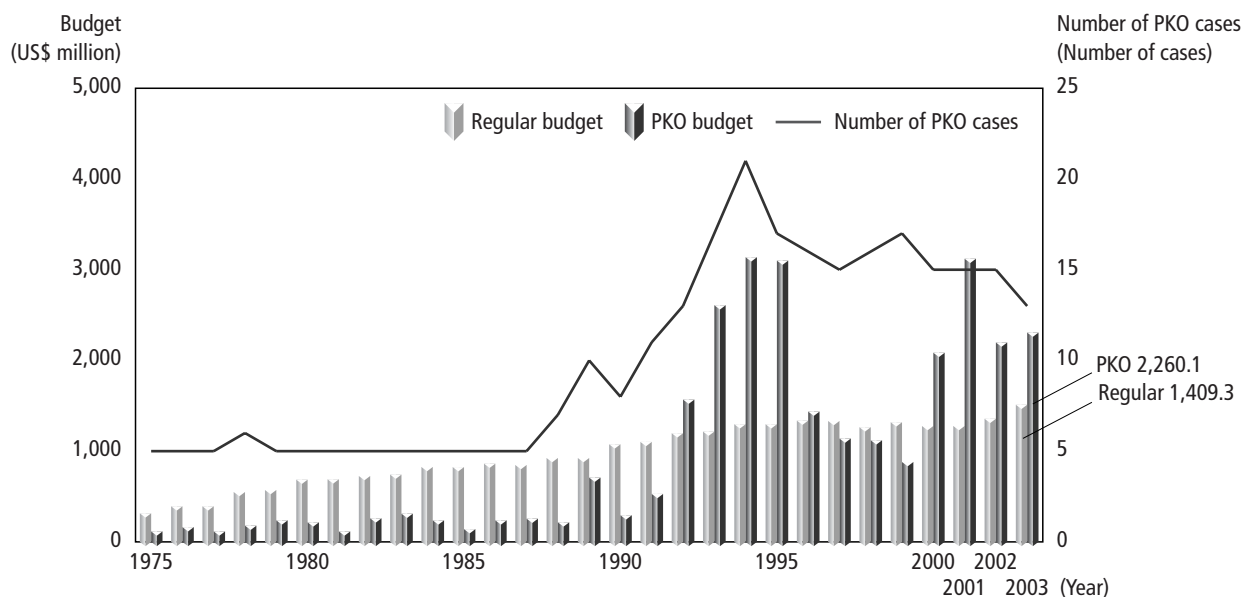
With the response of the Security Council to the military operation against Iraq by the US, UK and others in March 2003, there was a growing interest among UN member states in Security Council reform. At the Japan-US Summit Meeting in Crawford, Texas in May, Prime Minister Koizumi and US President George W. Bush shared the view on the importance of UN reform, including Security Council reform. In

September, ahead of the 58th session of the UN General Assembly, Secretary-General Annan announced the Report on the Implementation of the Millennium Declaration 2003, in which he strongly emphasized the importance of UN reform.

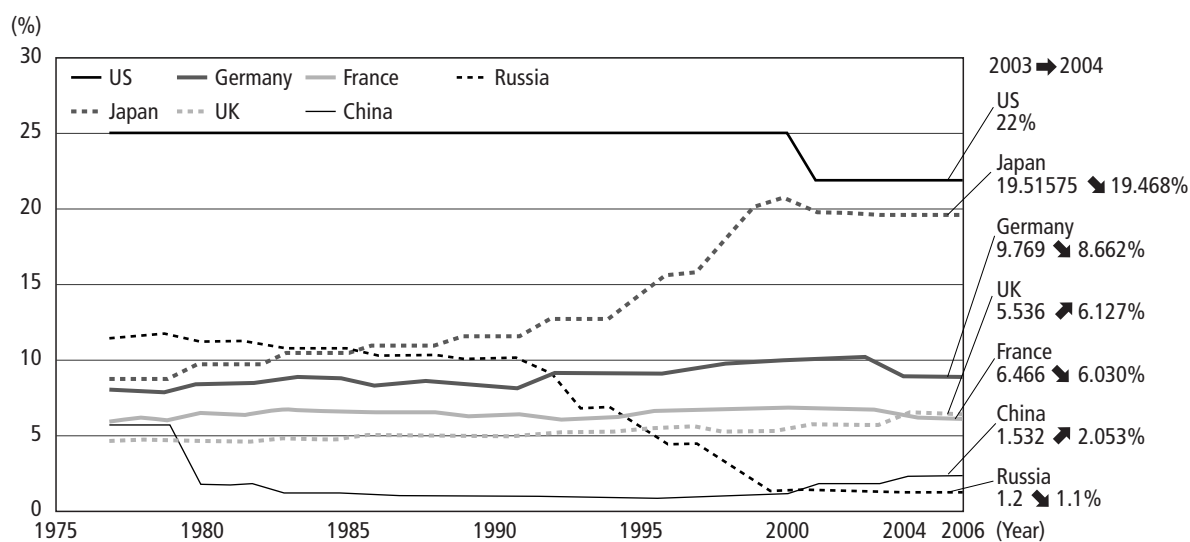
At the general debate of the 58th session of the UN General Assembly that convened on September 23, 141 out of the 189 countries referred to UN reform in their address. It exemplified that many member states recognize the need to reform and reinforce the Security Council. In particular, Secretary-General Annan's proposal to establish the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change drew attention as a vital opportunity to summarize opinions on Security Council reform because his proposal was made to address the question of how the function and structure of the UN should be reformed so that the international community can respond to new threats not unilaterally but through collective action. The High-Level Panel was officially established in November and its first meeting was held in New York in December. The High-Level Panel plans to hold several meetings and compile a report by the end of 2004. Japan intends to support Secretary-General Annan's initiative and cooperate proactively in the Panel's activities. From Japan, President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Sadako Ogata participates as a member of this Panel.

As a part of Japan's efforts aimed at carrying this enhanced momentum to concrete achievements, Foreign

Shift in the Scale of UN Activities



UN Scale of Assessments of Major Countries



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

	Asian group	African group	Latin American and Caribbean group	Western European and Other States group	South Eastern European group
Composition of member states (total: 191 countries)	52 (excluding Turkey) ^a	53	33	29 (including the US) ^b	20 ^c
Composition of Security Council members (figures represent the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council) ^d	2+China	3	2	2+US, UK, France	1+Russia

^a Turkey belongs to both the "Asian group" and the "Western European and Other States group" (it belongs only to the "Western European and Other States group" for the purpose of elections where the number of seats according to the regional group distribution is taken into consideration).

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

^c Estonia, Kiribati, Palau and Serbia and Montenegro (the former Yugoslavia) do not belong to any regional group (as of the end of 2003).

^d The Security Council in 2003 is composed of the permanent members (US, UK, France, Russia and China) as well as Pakistan, Syria, Angola, Cameroon, Guinea, Chile, Mexico, Spain, Germany and Bulgaria. In addition, the non-permanent members after January 1, 2004 will be Pakistan, Philippines, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Brazil, Chile, Germany, Spain and Romania.

Minister Kawaguchi proposed at the general debate of the 58th session of the UN General Assembly to have a summit-level leaders meeting on the occasion of reviewing the progress of the Millennium Declaration in 2005 and make political decisions on UN reform including Security Council reform.

Moreover, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi established an Eminent Person's Group on UN Reform (Chairperson: Professor Yozo Yokota, Special Adviser to the Rector of the United Nations University (UNU)) in September as an advisory council to arouse domestic discussion on UN reform and compile constructive proposals. Experts from diverse fields including business, labor, the mass media, NGOs, persons involved in international organizations, former officials of the Foreign Ministry, cultural individuals and academics participate in this Group. The Eminent Person's Group plans to hold a total of eight meetings by May 2004 on agendas including Security Council reform, the enemy-state clauses, administrative and budgetary reform (scale of assessments) and increasing the number of Japanese staff, and submit a final report to Foreign Minister Kawaguchi.

Enemy-State Clauses

Even though the enemy-state clauses have already been declared "obsolete" in a General Assembly resolution in 1995, they have not been deleted and still exist in the United Nations Charter. That fact itself is extremely problematic and Japan raised this issue in the foreign minister's address at the general debate in September. Japan will continue its efforts for deletion of these clauses, taking the trends in UN reform into account.

Administrative and Budgetary Reform

Another important pillar of UN reform is ensuring an efficient and effective administration and budgets so that the UN can tackle wide-ranging priority issues utilizing limited resources. Accordingly, Japan, emphasizing resource allocation which reflects policy priorities, strives to realize more efficient and effective UN activities. The UN regular budget for the biennium 2004-2005, formulated at the end of December 2003, exceeded the level of US\$3 billion (continued budget increase from the previous term (20.4% growth compared to the initial appropriation of the previous term)), so as to finance counter-terrorism measures and expanded UN special political missions in Afghanistan,

Iraq and other fields. With respect to establishing an efficient and effective administration and budget, new measures aimed at streamlining the budget process were approved, taking into account the deliberation on enhancement of the UN function based on Secretary-General Annan's report entitled *Strengthening of the United Nations: An Agenda for Further Change* (September 2002). In addition, the secretary-general was granted to redeploy a certain number of posts, including post reclassification.

Despite its severe economic and financial situation, Japan bears the second largest scale of assessments among member states, or 19.468% (2004) for UN budgets. Japan intends to request that the scale of assessments should reflect each country's actual economic situation, status and responsibility within the UN.

The Number of Japanese Staff

The number of Japanese staff working at the UN and other international organizations is significantly small compared to Japan's financial contribution to such organizations. For example, the number of Japanese staff who work at the UN Secretariat is 112, comprising approximately 4.5% of the total. This is less than half the minimum level of staff (251-339 persons) deemed desirable by the UN Secretariat.

In order to improve these circumstances, the government has been making efforts to: (1) increase the number of staff, and (2) secure posts which have influence on decision-making in international organizations. To be specific, the government has established a Recruitment Center for International Organizations in the Foreign Ministry, which provides useful information through its website (<http://www.mofa-irc.go.jp>), and identifies appropriate personnel. In addition, the Recruitment Center renders support to those who wish to apply to international organizations and urges the UN and other international organizations to recruit and promote Japanese staff. Moreover, the Recruitment Center endeavors to increase the number of Japanese staff through measures such as the Associate Experts Programme for young persons aspiring to become international civil servants and receiving recruitment missions from international organizations.

As a result, the number of Japanese staff has increased by approximately 27% in the past three years, from 437 persons in 2000 to 557 persons in 2003. In 2003, the following persons were appointed to posts that



Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi addresses the General Assembly at the general debate of the 58th session (September)

can exert influence on decision-making: Mr. Nobuyasu Abe, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs of the United Nations; Mr. Kiyotaka Akasaka, Deputy Secretary-General of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); Prof. Itaru Yasui, Vice-Rector of the United Nations University (UNU); Mr. Shuhaku Aoki, Director, Office of Business Planning Division, World Food Programme (WFP); and Dr. Hiroyoshi Endo, Director of Communicable Disease Prevention, Control and Eradication, World Health Organization (WHO).

In order to increase the number of Japanese staff, it is necessary to identify capable candidates who are prepared to choose a lifestyle of living abroad and

compete with persons of various nationalities in international organizations. It entails various difficulties. However, Japan will continue vigorous efforts while ensuring cooperation on all fronts.

General Assembly Reform

The reform of the General Assembly, which includes all the UN member states and serves as the institution with the highest degree of representation, should not be forgotten. Under the initiative of President of the 58th Session of the General Assembly Julian Robert Hunte, discussion is under way on strengthening its authority and role, as well as on improving the working method of the General Assembly.

6

Comprehensive Approach to Conflicts

(a) Overview

Since the end of the Cold War, the number of conflicts arising from religious and ethnic factors, particularly domestic conflicts, has been increasing. In order to resolve such conflicts permanently, it is important to prevent conflicts from reoccurring in the regions where conflicts have ended, to secure stability and to lead these regions to further development. To this end, it is necessary for the international community to unite to promote

efforts aimed at the “consolidation of peace,” composed of three factors: (1) promotion of peace processes; (2) securing of domestic stability and security; and (3) restoration of the peaceful lives of people (humanitarian and reconstruction assistance).

Based on this recognition, Japan advocates support for the “consolidation of peace and nation-building” as one of its pillars of diplomacy and international cooperation. Considering the proposals raised in the December

2002 report of the Advisory Group on International Cooperation for Peace (AGICP), Japan has been working to build a system to advance international peace cooperation more vigorously by establishing an examination committee for further developing human resources in international peace cooperation along with the ministries and agencies concerned.

Japan has been currently utilizing diplomatic means such as Official Development Assistance (ODA) to make concrete efforts for peace together with the UN, various countries and NGOs.

(b) Conflict Prevention

In recent years, the international community including the UN and G8 has broadly recognized the importance of comprehensive “conflict prevention.” Comprehensive “conflict prevention” constitutes not only “conflict resolution” in the meaning of concluding conflicts, but also eliminating the cause of conflicts in advance, preventing their escalation once they occur, promoting the early conclusion of conflicts, and preventing their recurrence through the stabilization and restoration of society in the case that a peace agreement is reached.

The UN has undertaken various efforts for conflict prevention. In 2001, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan issued a comprehensive Report of the Secretary-General on Conflict Prevention. In 2003, full-fledged examinations were held on this report at the General Assembly, and Japan contributed to the facilitation of examinations among UN member states and the Secretariat as a member of the leading group. As a result, a resolution aimed at enhancing the UN’s conflict prevention capacity was adopted in July. This was the first General Assembly resolution that comprehensively addressed conflict prevention.

The problem of “conflict diamonds,” diamonds which are illegally mined, traded and used as a source of funding for anti-government forces, is one of the fields addressed in the G8 Miyazaki Initiatives for Conflict Prevention in 2000. After approximately two years of negotiations toward its establishment, the Kimberly Process certification system, an international framework for controlling conflicts diamonds, was officially established in January 2003. Efforts have been made to universalize the system by increasing the

number of participating countries and to more effectively control conflict diamonds.

Furthermore, as the first example of concrete efforts in conflict prevention of the G8 at the bilateral level, Japan cooperated with the UK to assist the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants (DDR)⁹ in Sierra Leone by extending support through Grant Aid for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building. In Sierra Leone, disarmament and demobilization were completed in 2003 and the social reintegration of former combatants has been steadily implemented.

(c) “Consolidation of Peace”

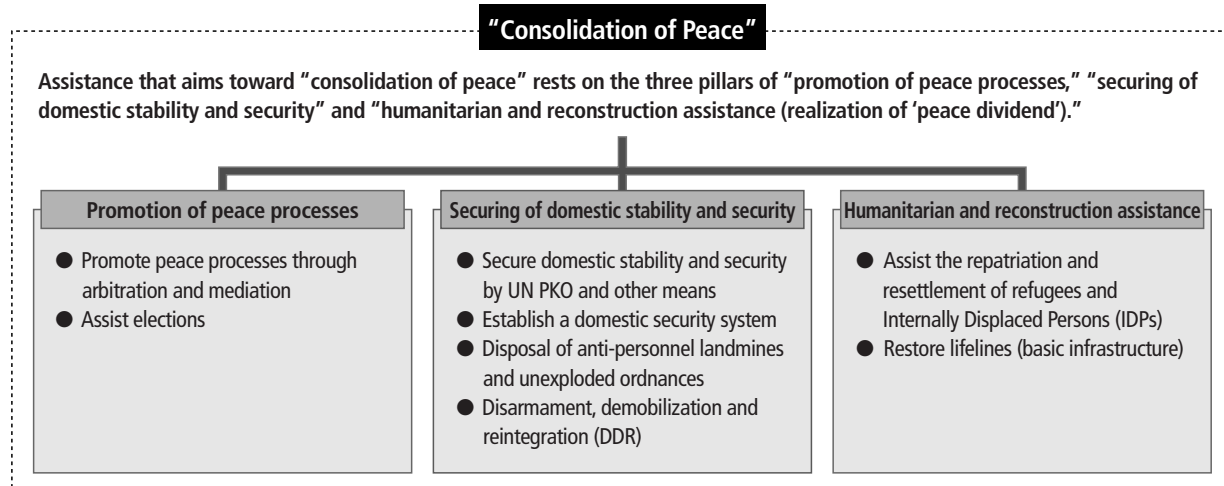
Japan has been strengthening its efforts in the “consolidation of peace” by providing assistance for peace processes and carrying out post-conflict peace building and reconstruction assistance in diverse places of the world.

Foreign Minister Kawaguchi visited Afghanistan in May 2002 as the destination of her overseas trip and announced the policy of supporting Afghanistan’s “consolidation of peace.” As a part of this concept, Japan hosted the Tokyo Conference on “Consolidation of Peace” (DDR) in Afghanistan - Change of Order “from Guns to Plows” in February 2003. With respect to DDR, the most pressing issue in terms of the preconditions to reconstruction, Japan announced a contribution of US\$35 million for the development and implementation of DDR programs in addition to assistance including vocational training and dispatching experts aimed at the social reintegration of former combatants. Actually, the DDR process was launched in September.

While the effort toward a peace agreement continued in Sri Lanka, Japan hosted the sixth round of the peace talks between the Government of Sri Lanka and anti-government forces in Hakone in March 2003 and the Tokyo Conference on Reconstruction and Development of Sri Lanka with the participation of 70 countries and organizations in June. In addition, Japan hosted the first follow-up meeting of the Tokyo Conference in Colombo in September, which was chaired by Representative of the Government of Japan Yasushi Akashi and had the participation of concerned countries and organizations, and urged the parties concerned to resume peace talks, among other actions.

⁹ DDR stands for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants who were involved in conflicts.

Japan's Assistance That Aims toward "Consolidation of Peace"

**(d) International Peace Cooperation**

UN PKO are the central operations through which the UN is directly engaged in peace and stability. Following the success of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which was launched in Cambodia after the Cold War, and others, attempts have been made to endow PKO with a wide range of operations for international peace and safety including peace enforcement, in addition to conventional ceasefire monitoring.

Although expectations were not fully met in the former Yugoslavia and Somalia, diverse forms of PKO have been contributing to international peace and safety. They include the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), which served as a bridge to the peaceful independence of Timor-Leste, and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) that conducts administration primarily in the police department jointly with the Kosovo Force (KFOR), which is dispatched to Kosovo by NATO. The modality of the international community's involvement in the "consolidation of peace" takes a variety of forms from peace efforts and the dispatch of coalition forces to assistance for nation-building. The role of PKO, which consolidates the beginning of peace, continues to be a crucial operation for the international community.

Japan has been carrying out international peace cooperation including cooperation in PKO. In Timor-

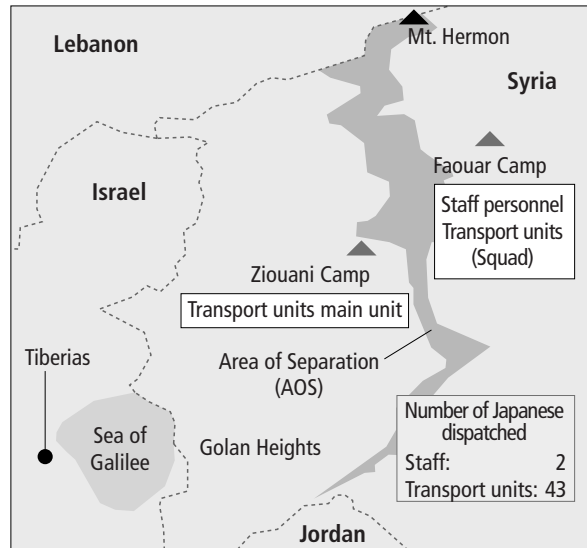
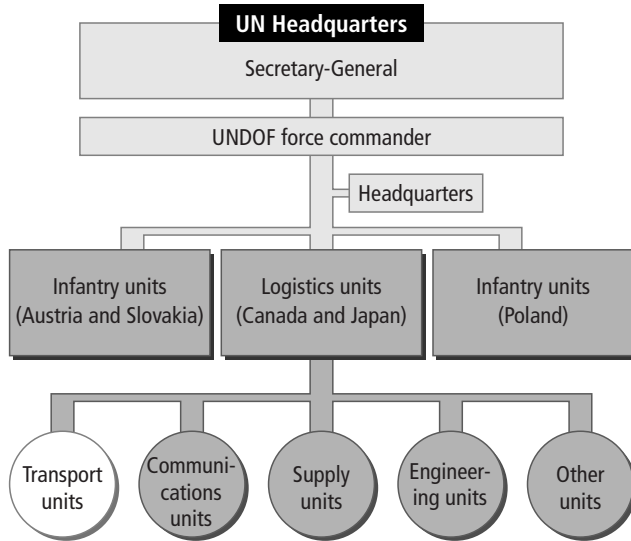
Leste, Japan has since 2002 dispatched SDF engineering units to the UNTAET and the United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET) upon the country's gaining of independence in May 2002. These units have consisted of approximately 700 persons at their peak and a total of 2,300 persons to date, and Japan has been cooperating in Timor-Leste's nation-building. Furthermore, since 1996, Japan has continued to dispatch personnel to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) that fundamentally supports the Middle East peace process through such means as ceasefire monitoring in the Golan Heights.

In 2003, Japan carried out two international humanitarian relief operations based on the International Peace Cooperation Law,¹⁰ aside from its participation in UN PKO. In March 2003, as requested by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Japan airlifted tents for 1,600 persons to Jordan and supplied them to UNHCR in order to respond to and prepare for the influx of refugees from Iraq. Furthermore, from July to August, as requested by the WFP, Japan airlifted approximately 140 tons of supplies between Italy and Jordan, including material and equipment necessary for conducting humanitarian relief operations in Iraq.

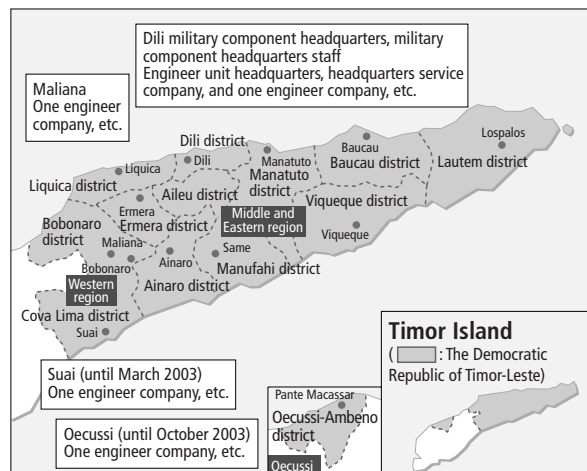
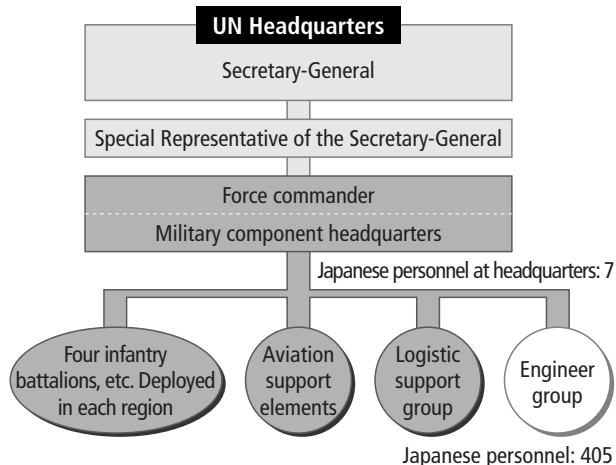
¹⁰ With a view to playing a more active role in realizing international peace, Japan enacted the Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations (International Peace Cooperation Law, also known as the PKO Law) in June 1992 and established a system which enabled Japan to fully participate in the UN-centered efforts toward international peace. The International Peace Cooperation Law stipulates cooperation in "UN PKO," "international humanitarian relief operations" and "international election monitoring operations" as the three pillars.

Japan's Current Participation in PKO

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



■ Outline of UNMISET military component



(e) Refugee Assistance

Due to the frequent occurrence of conflicts and confrontations caused by ethnic, religious and other factors, approximately 24.62 million people (as of January 1, 2003) are forced to live as refugees, as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), who require the protection and support of the UNHCR and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). Refugees and IDPs all over the world pose a humanitarian concern and they may also undermine the peace and stability of not only the relevant regions but also the entire international community.

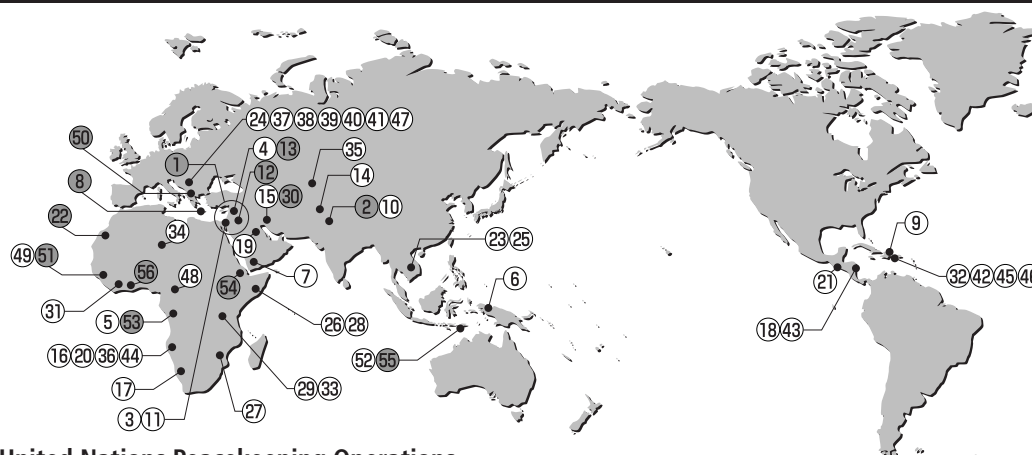
From the perspective of human security, Japan has placed humanitarian assistance for refugees and IDPs as

one of the important pillars for international contribution and has supported proactively the operations of international humanitarian organizations such as the UNHCR, the WFP and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

Furthermore, Japan has made personnel contributions, with Japanese staff members working in international humanitarian organizations such as the UNHCR and WFP under severe working conditions in places including Afghanistan and Angola.

Concerning the issue of refugees in Afghanistan, there has been significant progress since 2002, as evidenced by the return of approximately 3 million Afghan refugees from neighboring countries. Following this, since the recovery of the region itself as a home for

Current Situation of PKO




List of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations

(As of January 2004)

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

(This chart was created based on UN reference materials.)

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

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

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

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

(As of December 2003)

UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO)

United Nations Angola Verification Mission II (UNAVEM II)	Electoral observers	Sep–Oct 1992	3 persons
United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	Military observers	Sep 1992–Sep 1993	8 persons x 2
	Civilian police	Oct 1992–Jul 1993	75 persons
	Engineering units	Sep 1992–Sep 1993	600 persons x 2
	Electoral observers	May–Jun 1993	41 persons
United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ)	Staff officers	May 1993–Jan 1995	5 persons x 2
	Movement control units	May 1993–Jan 1995	48 persons x 3
	Electoral observers	Oct–Nov 1994	15 persons
United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)	Electoral observers	Mar–Apr 1994	15 persons x 2
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)	Staff officers	Feb 1996–present	2 persons x 8
	Transport units	Feb 1996–present	43 persons x 16
United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET)	Civilian police	Jul–Sep 1999	3 persons
United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)	Engineer group	Mar–May 2002	680 persons
	Headquarters personnel	Feb–May 2002	10 persons
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor	Engineer group	May 2002–present	680 persons x 2 + 522 persons + 405 persons
	Headquarters personnel	May 2002–present	10 persons + 7 persons

International Humanitarian Relief Operations

Relief of Rwandan refugees	Refugee relief units	Sep–Dec 1994	283 persons
	Airlifting units	Sep–Dec 1994	118 persons
Relief of East Timorese displaced persons	Airlifting units	Nov 1999–Feb 2000	113 persons
Relief activities of Afghan refugees	Airlifting units	Oct 2001	138 persons
Relief of Iraqi refugees	Airlifting units	Apr 2003	57 persons
Relief of Iraqi victims	Airlifting units	Jul–Aug 2003	98 persons

International election monitoring activities

Bosnia and Herzegovina general and regional elections	Elections supervisors and observers	Sep 1998	30 persons
Bosnia and Herzegovina municipal assembly elections	Polling supervisors	Mar–Apr 2000	11 persons
Timor-Leste constituent assembly elections	Electoral observers	Aug–Sep 2001	14 persons
Kosovo assembly elections	Electoral observers	Nov 2001	6 persons
Timor-Leste presidential election	Electoral observers	Apr 2002	8 persons

refugees and IDPs is an urgent task, Japan launched the Regional Comprehensive Development Assistance Programme (Ogata Initiative) in August 2002, based on the proposal of former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata, aiming for numerous international organizations to support refugees and displaced persons and develop the receiving regions. After the first and second phases were implemented in 2002, the third phase of the Ogata Initiative has been under way since March 2003. To date, assistance has been provided to the activities of the UNHCR, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and others in regions centered on the three cities of Kandahar, Jalalabad and Mazar-i-Sharif. This assistance has

reached a total of approximately US\$200 million.

With respect to the African region, in light of the signs of resolving many conflicts in recent years, Japan has been making vigorous efforts toward resolving the issue of refugees in Africa from the viewpoint of advancing the “consolidation of peace.” Intensive discussions on the approach of development assistance to regions in Africa where refugees have emerged took place at the International Symposium on Refugees in Africa that was held in Tokyo in June 2003. In addition, similar discussions occurred at the Third Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD III) that was held from September to October. Utilizing the Grant Aid for Conflict Prevention and

Peace Building, Japan implemented resettlement assistance through the UNHCR aimed at realizing the

post-repatriation settlement and self-sufficiency of refugees in Angola.

7

Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation

(a) Overview

The year 2003 brought about a great challenge to the international disarmament and non-proliferation regime, and the international community including Japan made strenuous efforts to settle this challenge. The actions taken by North Korea, Iraq and others raised grave concerns in the international community from the perspective of the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means.

In January, North Korea declared its intention to withdraw from the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and subsequently made repeated statements that strongly indicated it possessed nuclear weapons. This was recognized as an issue that is directly linked to Japan's security as well as a serious challenge to the international regime of nuclear non-proliferation. Japan worked to deliver a clear message to North Korea concerning the nuclear issue in close cooperation with the US and ROK in multilateral fora such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Board of Governors and the Preparatory Committee for the NPT Review Conference. In addition, Japan made efforts with a view to a peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue at the Six-Party Talks held in August 2003 and February 2004.

Regarding the suspicions over Iraq's WMD development, despite diplomatic efforts by Japan and the international community toward a peaceful resolution, Iraq had actually used WMD in the past and numerous ensuing suspicions on WMD were never dispelled, and Iraq continued to violate seriously the relevant Security Council resolutions, including its failure to cooperate with inspections. Under these circumstances, the US and UK forces, among others, resorted to the military operation in March to restore international peace and safety in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions.

As for the Iranian nuclear issue, such progress was achieved that Iran signed the IAEA Additional Protocol on December 18, as a consequence of the tenacious efforts by the international community including Japan.

Furthermore, in response to the recommendations of the US and UK, Libya's decision on December 19 to dismantle its entire WMD programs and accept immediate inspections by international organizations had great significance in terms of promoting disarmament and non-proliferation of WMD and their delivery means.

In addition to the issue of proliferation to states of concern, acquisition and use of WMD and their delivery means by terrorist groups have come to be perceived as grave threats after the terrorist attacks in the US in September 2001. These were recognized as new threats in the sense that it is impossible or difficult to deter states of concern and terrorists. In order to counter these new threats, new efforts are necessary in addition to bolstering and universalizing the existing international disarmament and non-proliferation regime for WMD and their delivery means, not to mention the needs for each country to strengthen individually its export control mechanisms. An example of such efforts is the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), a framework proposed by US President Bush in May 2003 to prevent proliferation collectively among the countries concerned within the scope of existing international and domestic laws. Since then, the participating countries have been working vigorously, including issuing the Statement of Interdiction Principles which constitutes the basic principles of PSI, and implementing various types of interdiction exercises. Japan has been taking part proactively in these efforts as a member of the original 11 participating countries. Furthermore, at the G8 Evian Summit in June, the leaders proposed enhancing the management and control of radioactive sources and Man-Portable Air Defense Systems (MANPADS), which are relatively easy to obtain by terrorist organizations. In 2004, it became apparent that nuclear-related technology flowed out of Pakistan, and against this background, US President Bush made a seven-point proposal concerning the non-proliferation of WMD in February that called for the expansion of PSI and the swift adoption of a UN Security Council resolution on

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

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

Note: (★) in the chart entails inspections.

non-proliferation.

In the field of conventional weapons as well, progress was made in 2003 in the areas of small arms and light weapons and unexploded ordnances, which serve as major factors impeding reconstruction and humanitarian assistance after the conclusion of conflict. In particular, as for small arms and light weapons, the UN First Biennial Meeting of States to Consider the Implementation of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects was held in July and was chaired by the Permanent Representative of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament Kuniko Inoguchi.

In the new security environment, Japan intends to

continue to lead the international community with a view to strengthening international disarmament and the non-proliferation regime in order to ensure its own peace and safety. In particular, the elimination of nuclear weapons is the earnest wish of the people of Japan, the only country ever to have experienced atomic devastation. To this end, Japan has been continuing its efforts to realistically and progressively advance nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation through such means as submitting draft resolutions on nuclear disarmament to the UN General Assembly and urging the international community to promote the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT).

(b) Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

From April 28 to May 9, 2003, the second session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2005 NPT Review Conference¹¹ was held in Geneva with 106 states parties in attendance. This meeting was held under severe international conditions in which North Korea's declaration to withdraw from the NPT became one of the great concerns. Japan stressed the need for the international community's unity to tackle appropriately such issues as non-compliance with the NPT. In addition, Japan strongly appealed that it was necessary to maintain and strengthen the international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime, with the NPT as its cornerstone, by continuing to take practical measures to realize the early entry into force of the CTBT and universalize the IAEA Additional Protocols, among other efforts. Furthermore, Japan contributed to the adoption of a balanced chair's summary by proactively participating in the Preparatory Committee through such means as delivering speeches and submitting working documents. As for the North Korean nuclear issue in particular, as a result of Japan's appeal for its position as well as repeated consultations with concerned countries and the chair at an early stage, the chair's summary stipulated that the states parties call upon North Korea to dismantle its nuclear weapons program in a prompt, verifiable and irreversible manner, among other items.

On May 5, while the second Preparatory Committee was in session, Timor-Leste became the 189th states party to accede to the NPT. Countries including Japan welcomed this development, as well as Cuba's accession to the NPT in November 2002, as steps that further enhance the universality of the NPT. At the same time, Japan intends to continue to call for India, Israel and Pakistan, which are non-states parties to the NPT, to accede to the NPT at an early date.

(c) Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty

Japan considers the CTBT to be an indispensable pillar of the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime together with the IAEA Safeguards Agreement,

based on the NPT. Japan places importance on the early entry into force of the CTBT as a priority issue in the field of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation and made the following diplomatic efforts in 2003.

In September 2003, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi of Japan attended the 3rd Conference on Facilitating the Entry into Force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty held in Vienna, giving a speech in which she directly appealed the importance of realizing the early entry into force of the CTBT. In July, in advance of the conference, the foreign ministers of three countries—Japan, Finland (the chair of the conference) and Austria (the host country)—jointly submitted a letter to the invitees, encouraging their ministerial-level participation at the conference as well as their early signing and ratification of the CTBT. In addition, the ambassadors of the above-mentioned three countries presented the foreign ministers' joint letter to the capitals of all 11 states that have not ratified the CTBT, except North Korea, out of the 44 countries that are required to sign and ratify the CTBT for its entry into force, and encouraged their ministerial-level participation at the conference as well as their early signing and ratification of the CTBT. As a result, the conference in September had the participation of 107 countries and a Final Declaration was adopted unanimously. This included requests to various countries to sign and ratify the CTBT at an early date as well as to continue the moratorium on nuclear testing. Furthermore, Japan urged the early signing and ratification of the CTBT through bilateral meetings and multilateral fora, and as part of the development of the International Monitoring System (IMS),¹² Japan advanced the construction and maintenance of ten monitoring facilities under the CTBT National Operation System of Japan, which was established in November 2002. In November, Ambassador to the Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations in Vienna Yukio Takasu was elected as the chairperson of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization for 2004.

¹¹ A conference of states parties to the Treaty that reviews the operations of the NPT, which is held once every five years according to the stipulation of Article 8, Paragraph 3 of the Treaty. The NPT Review and Extension Conference in 1995 decided the indefinite extension of the NPT. At the 2000 NPT Review Conference, the Final Document was adopted, which includes practical steps such as an "unequivocal undertaking" by nuclear-weapon states to accomplish the total elimination of their nuclear weapons leading to nuclear disarmament.

¹² A system that monitors whether test explosions of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosions that are prohibited by the CTBT have been carried out through four types of monitoring stations (seismic stations, radionuclide stations, hydro-acoustics stations and infrasound stations) established in 337 locations around the world.

(d) Draft Resolutions on Nuclear Disarmament

With a view to realizing a peaceful and safe world free of nuclear weapons at the earliest possible date, Japan continues its efforts to direct the international community's endeavors to advance pragmatically and progressively nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Every year since 1994, Japan has submitted a draft resolution on nuclear disarmament to the UN General Assembly, presented the goals that the international community should set for disarmament and made diplomatic efforts to win the overwhelming support of the international community. In December 2003, the draft resolution entitled, "A path to the total elimination of nuclear weapons," which Japan submitted to the UN General Assembly, was adopted with an overwhelming majority (164 in favor, two against (US and India) and 14 abstaining). (This was the largest number of votes in favor of the resolution in the past ten years.)

(e) The Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty and the Conference on Disarmament

As a concrete measure to advance nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, Japan has been continuing a wide range of diplomatic efforts toward commencing negotiations on the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT), based on its position that it is necessary to immediately commence negotiations on the FMCT along with the early entry into force of the CTBT, which bans all nuclear tests. Japan hosted a workshop on "Promoting Verification in Multilateral Arms Control Treaties—Future Verification Regime, FMCT in particular—" in March 2003, and in August, Japan submitted a working paper to the Conference on Disarmament that comprehensively summarized the points at issue concerning the FMCT in preparation for assuming the chairmanship of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.¹³ Subsequently, during Japan's term as chair of the Conference on

Disarmament, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi gave a speech there in September that comprehensively explained Japan's position on disarmament and non-proliferation. Japan vigorously conducted so-called conference diplomacy, appealing the activation of the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva including the commencement of negotiations on the FMCT. Although the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva was unable to agree on a programme of work including the commencement of negotiations on the FMCT during the 2003 session, Japan intends to continue such diplomatic efforts so as to commence negotiations on the FMCT at an early date.

(f) Cooperation Program for Denuclearization: "Star of Hope"

From the viewpoint of disarmament and non-proliferation and preventing the environmental pollution of the Sea of Japan,¹⁴ Japan, as part of denuclearization cooperation, has been providing Russia with support to dismantle safely and promptly the decommissioned nuclear submarines remaining in the Russian Far East. Even though Russia should assume primary responsibility in dismantling its decommissioned nuclear submarines, countries including Japan cooperate since it will take too much time for Russia alone to dismantle all its decommissioned nuclear submarines. This cooperation program is called "Star of Hope." At the end of June 2003, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi visited Zvezda Shipyard, which serves as the site for dismantlement and attended the signing ceremony for the implementing arrangement to dismantle the Victor III-class decommissioned nuclear submarine, the first project under the "Star of Hope" program. The necessary contracts for dismantlement were concluded and cooperation concerning dismantlement was launched in December. This program has also been identified as a part of the G8 Global Partnership.

¹³ Permanent Representative of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament Kuniko Inoguchi served as the chair of the Conference on Disarmament from August 18 to December 31.

¹⁴ Currently in the Russian Far East, many decommissioned nuclear submarines remain moored without having been dismantled, and there is a danger that radioactive contamination will occur due to hull corrosion and other factors. In addition, in the beginning of the 1990s, serious concerns were raised when it was found that Russia had been dumping low-level liquid radioactive waste, a by-product of the dismantlement of nuclear submarines, into the Sea of Japan. In 2001, the facility for disposing of low-level liquid radioactive industrial waste treatment plant named *Suzuran* (Lily of the Valley) was supplied through Japan's cooperation.

Cooperation Program for the Dismantlement of Decommissioned Nuclear Submarines in the Russian Far East: "Star of Hope"

With the end of the Cold War, Russia's nuclear force has been drastically reduced and a large number of nuclear submarines have been decommissioned. Due to a variety of difficulties within Russia, however, the dismantlement of decommissioned nuclear submarines has not proceeded sufficiently. In the Russian Far East, which is adjacent to Japan, there are still more than 40 decommissioned nuclear submarines that have not been dismantled but moored along the coast of the Sea of Japan and the Russian Pacific. The majority of these submarines' hulls are being corroded and there is a danger that they will cause serious radioactive contamination if they continue to be left as they are. In addition, the possibility that the nuclear materials left inside the submarines will be removed illegally and fall into the hands of terrorists cannot be ruled out. Hence, prompt dismantlement of the decommissioned nuclear submarines is necessary to prevent these situations from arising. This is fundamentally Russia's responsibility, but assistance from foreign countries is necessary because it would take much time for Russia to dismantle all its nuclear submarines independently. Japan has been promoting cooperation for denuclearization in the Russian Far East since 1993 through an international framework in cooperation with the G7 countries, aiming at nuclear disarmament, environmental conservation of the Sea of Japan, and prevention of the proliferation of nuclear materials.

During the official visit by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to Russia in January 2003, the Japan-Russia Action Plan was adopted. This plan incorporated a provision for the steady implementation of the cooperation programs for dismantlement of nuclear submarines in the Russian Far East. At that time, the cooperation program was named "Star of Hope." This name derives from *Zvezda* (Russian for "star"), the name of the shipyard on the outskirts of Vladivostok where the dismantlement will take place. Japan decided to assist the dismantlement of one Victor III-class decommissioned nuclear submarine in February of the same year as the first project for the "Star of Hope." After the official visits to Vladivostok in June 2003 by Parliamentary Secretary for Foreign Affairs Yoshitaka Shindo and Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi, the dismantling work commenced with the cooperation of Japan in December. The work involves the unloading of spent nuclear fuel, cutting up the hull, dismantling the bow and stern sections, and transferring the nuclear reactor compartment to storage facilities, in that order, and it is expected to be completed during 2004.



Minister for Foreign Affairs Yoriko Kawaguchi at the signing ceremony for the Project of Dismantling Victor III-class Decommissioned Nuclear Submarines (June 2003)

**(g) Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy:
Strengthening and Improving the
Efficiency of International Atomic Energy
Agency (IAEA) Safeguards**

The IAEA Safeguards¹⁵ is a system which constitutes the core structure in ensuring the effectiveness of the international nuclear non-proliferation regime. Japan has proactively contributed in the field of reinforcing the safeguards as it considers the maintenance and strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation regime to be one of its major diplomatic tasks. In particular, in recognition that it is essential for as many countries as possible to conclude the Additional Protocol¹⁶ to reinforce the safeguards, Japan has vigorously promoted the “universalization of the Additional Protocol” following the results of the International Conference on the Wider Adherence to Strengthened IAEA Safeguards that was held in Tokyo in December 2002. Furthermore, it was decided at the 47th IAEA General Conference in September 2003 that the regular budget, which mainly consisted of the safeguards budget, would be significantly increased, and Japan accepted the increased budget recognizing that securing a financial basis for the safeguards would contribute to their reinforcement. Meanwhile, Japan places importance on improving the efficiency of the safeguards and has been striving to apply the Integrated Safeguards¹⁷ for rational and organic integration of the conventional comprehensive safeguards and safeguards based on the Additional Protocol, and to ease the burden and reduce costs that arise as a result of accepting these safeguards. Japan has also been urging the IAEA Secretariat to enhance further the efficiency of its safeguards activities and reduce costs.

(h) Chemical Weapons

The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)¹⁸ is a groundbreaking treaty that places a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, including their development, production and stockpiling, and provides for the total destruction of existing chemical weapons and ensures compliance with the treaty through an effective verification system (declaration and inspections). The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW)¹⁹ has been established as an international organization to implement the CWC. Given that over five years had passed since the CWC entered into force, the First Review Conference of the States Parties to the Chemical Weapons Convention was held in The Hague in April 2003, at which a political declaration was adopted. This declaration advocated the importance of the universality of the CWC, namely increasing the number of states parties, and reinforcing the CWC national implementation measures by states parties including the enactment of national legislation. As a result, the Action Plan for the Universality of the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Plan of Action Regarding the Implementation of Article VII Obligation (National Implementation) were approved on occasions such as the Conference of the States Parties to the CWC held in October 2003, thereby reinforcing the efforts toward the universality of the CWC and enhancement of national implementation measures. Japan has been advocating the universality of the CWC and reinforcement of national implementation measures through such means as holding seminars mainly for Asian countries. Furthermore, the states parties approved at the Conference of the States Parties to the CWC in October 2003 that the final deadline for the US and Russia to destroy their chemical weapons would be extended until after 2007.²⁰

¹⁵ IAEA Safeguards: A means of conducting inspection and verification operations, primarily inspections, with the aim of ensuring that nuclear and other materials are not being used for military purposes based on the Safeguards Agreement that the IAEA has individually concluded with various countries. Non-nuclear-weapon states that are states parties to the NPT are obliged to conclude a Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA in accordance with Article 3 of the NPT.

¹⁶ Additional Protocol: A protocol that is concluded between the IAEA and various countries in addition to the IAEA Safeguards Agreement. The authority of the IAEA is enhanced by the conclusion of the Additional Protocol—for example, expansion of scope of information on atomic energy activities that should be declared to the IAEA and sites where inspections can be conducted by “complementary access.” As of the end of December 2003, 79 countries have signed the Additional Protocol and it entered into force in 38 countries.

¹⁷ Integrated Safeguards: The concept of rationally and organically integrating conventional safeguards and safeguards based on the Additional Protocol. To be specific, this aims to enhance the efficiency of the safeguards by rationalizing the regular inspections in accordance with the conventional safeguards and other means in countries where the IAEA has concluded that “there are no undeclared atomic energy activities and nuclear material” through the implementation of the Additional Protocol.

¹⁸ The CWC went into effect in April 1997. There were 161 states parties as of March 2004. Libya acceded to the CWC in January 2004.

¹⁹ An international organization that was established in The Hague in the Netherlands when the CWC went into effect. It undertakes activities such as dispatching inspection teams to verify the compliance of states parties to the CWC.

²⁰ According to the CWC, states parties are required in principle to complete the destruction of chemical weapons in their territories within ten years after the entry into force of the CWC (i.e., by April 2007). This deadline may be extended by a maximum of five years (until April 2012).

(i) Biological Weapons

The Biological Weapons Convention (BWC)²¹ is important as the only existing international framework that places a comprehensive ban on biological weapons, but strengthening the convention is a challenge as it lacks regulations on means to verify the compliance of states parties with the convention. Although states parties to the BWC suspended negotiations to create a protocol to introduce verification measures at the Fifth Review Conference of the States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention²² in November 2001, they adopted by consensus a three-year work plan²³ at the conference that was resumed in November 2002.

In August 2003, an experts' meeting was held, which was the first stage under the framework of the above-mentioned work plan, and there was a vigorous exchange of information and views in two areas that constitute the tasks of the year: national implementation measures of the convention and security control of biological agents (biosecurity). At the Annual Meeting of the States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention in November, states parties adopted the report in which they affirmed their commitment to reinforce their efforts in these two areas in the future, despite differences in the national systems of various countries, and they agreed to review the subsequent

progress at the 2006 Review Conference of States Parties to the Biological Weapons Convention. Japan made substantial contributions at the above-mentioned meetings, such as coordinating with various countries with a view to the adoption of the final report.

(j) New Developments and Efforts in the Area of Non-Proliferation

The proliferation of WMD and missiles as their delivery means poses a threat to the peace and stability of the international community, and therefore the importance of non-proliferation has increased. These efforts are being carried out by way of the non-proliferation regime in accordance with international conventions such as the NPT, BWC and CWC, as well as through international frameworks for coordination in export controls among the major supplier countries, including the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG, nuclear-related),²⁴ Australia Group (AG, chemical and biological weapons-related),²⁵ Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR, missiles-related)²⁶ and Wassenaar Arrangement (WA, conventional arms).²⁷ Furthermore, Japan focuses its efforts on tackling the missile issues regarding the non-proliferation of delivery means. In recent years, there have been countries that have developed missile technologies by themselves or received cooperation from countries

²¹ The BWC went into effect in March 1975. There were 151 states parties as of March 2004. It comprehensively prohibits the development, production, stockpiling, as well as acquisition and possession of biological weapons and obliges states parties to destroy biological weapons that they possess.

²² A conference of states parties that is held once every five years to review the operation of the BWC.

²³ States parties to the BWC decided that they would successively discuss the following five areas to strengthen the convention by holding experts' meetings and conferences of states parties every year from 2003 to 2006, the year when the next review conference is scheduled to be held, and promote mutual understanding and effective measures among states parties: (1) the adoption of necessary national measures to implement the prohibitions set forth in the Convention, including the enactment of penal legislation; (2) national mechanisms to establish and maintain the security and oversight of pathogenic microorganisms and toxins; (3) enhancing international capabilities for responding to, investigating and mitigating the effects of cases of alleged use of biological or toxin weapons or suspicious outbreaks of disease; (4) strengthening and broadening national and international institutional efforts and existing mechanisms for the surveillance, detection, diagnosis and combating of infectious diseases affecting humans, animals, and plants; and (5) the content, promulgation, and adoption of codes of conduct for scientists.

²⁴ The Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) is an export control regime whose objective is to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons by controlling exports of material, equipment and technology that may be used in nuclear weapons development. Forty countries currently participate in the regime. The NSG guidelines consist of the London Guidelines Part 1, which serves as a regulatory guideline for nuclear energy-related material (specialized material) and technology, and the London Guidelines Part 2, which is a regulatory guideline for dual-use material and technology.

²⁵ The Australia Group (AG) is an export controls regime whose objective is to prevent the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons by controlling exports of related dual-use material and technology that may be used to develop and manufacture chemical and biological weapons. Thirty-three countries constitute this regime.

²⁶ The Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) is an international export control framework whose objective is to control the exports of missiles, which serve as the delivery means of WMD, as well as related multipurpose material and technology that may contribute to missile development.

²⁷ The Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) was established as the successor to the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM, an export control regime covering the former Communist bloc). The WA is an international export control regime whose objective is to: (1) contribute to the security and stability of the regional and international community by preventing destabilizing accumulations of conventional arms and related sensitive dual-use goods and technologies; and (2) prevent terrorist groups and others from acquiring conventional arms and sensitive dual-use goods and technologies as part of the efforts in the global fight against terrorism. Thirty-three countries participated in this regime as of December 2003.

Proliferation Security Initiative

Establishment of PSI (PSI: Proliferation Security Initiative)

(1) Bush administration's response to proliferation of WMD

The Bush administration is deeply concerned with the development of weapons of mass destruction and missiles by states and non-state actors of proliferation concern such as North Korea and Iran.

- National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction (December 2002) calls for comprehensive approach (1. counterproliferation, 2. non-proliferation, 3. WMD consequence management).

(2) Launch of PSI

- In May 2003, President Bush announced the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) on the occasion of his visit to Poland. It calls for the participation of ten countries including Japan (Japan, UK, Italy, Netherlands, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, Poland, Portugal). Currently, there are 14 participating countries with the addition of Singapore, Norway and Canada to the above 11 countries.

- An initiative to consider possible measures to be taken collectively by participating states so as to prevent the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means and related materials, which is a threat to peace and security of the international community.

(3) Japan's basic stance

- Actively participates in PSI, as it is in line with Japan's efforts for non-proliferation of WMD and missiles.
- Between September 12–14, maritime interdiction exercise "Pacific Protector" hosted by Australia was conducted off the Australian coast as the first joint interdiction training exercise. This exercise is a joint interdiction exercise including law enforcement activities and is participated by the Japan Coast Guard patrol vessel *Shikishima*, Special Forces, and Defense Agency personnel sent as observers.
- Intends to continue conducting outreach activities to call for Asian countries to participate, cooperate and be involved in PSI activities.

that possess missiles other than MTCR members, making it impossible for developed countries to contain completely the proliferation of missile technologies solely by preventing the outflow of their technology. As an effort to combat such missile proliferation, the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC)²⁸ was adopted in November 2002. Japan not only raised concrete proposals in the process of formulation, but also made a pre-launch notification for launching rockets for peaceful purposes after the HCOC was adopted. In addition, Japan has been encouraging member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to participate in the HCOC and contributing to the universalization of the HCOC and ensuring its effectiveness.

These international efforts are crucial, but the current situation is that the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means have not been completely prevented since some countries do not comply with the relevant conventions. On May 31, 2003, US President Bush announced the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)²⁹ as a new measure to prevent proliferation in

(Photo)

²⁸ The Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCOC) is the first international rule for the non-proliferation of ballistic missiles and a political document indicating the principles that should be complied with in the prevention and containment of the proliferation of ballistic missiles and the necessary measures to that end (it is not a legally-binding international agreement). The main content of the HCOC includes: (1) prevention and containment of the proliferation of ballistic missiles that can deliver WMD; (2) restrict development, experimentation and deployment; (3) not contributing, supporting and assisting the ballistic missile programs of countries suspected of developing WMD; and (4) implementation of confidence-building measures. As of February 2004, 112 countries participated in the HCOC.

order to complement conventional international frameworks and improve the effectiveness of the international community's efforts toward non-proliferation. Japan has been participating in the meetings and activities of the PSI and was vigorously involved in the drafting of the Statement of Interdiction Principles,³⁰ which was adopted in September 2003. Furthermore, Japan has demonstrated its proactive stance by dispatching the patrol vessel *Shikishima* and special forces from the Japan Coast Guard as well as observers from the Japan Defense Agency to the first-ever maritime interdiction exercise hosted by the Australian government, held September 12 to 14. One of the future challenges includes how to elicit cooperation from non-PSI countries (outreach), and Japan intends to actively conduct outreach activities primarily in Asian countries according to its basic position that measures should be reinforced in every stage of proliferation, which includes not only prevention at the stage of transporting WMD, their delivery means and related materials, but also in the stages of export controls and domestic controls. In addition, as part of the efforts to reinforce the catch-all controls domestically, Japan has been strengthening export controls through such means as enhancing law enforcement concerning export controls with a view to prohibiting the illicit inflow of materials and technology necessary for producing and developing WMD.

In light of the intensifying threat posed by the proliferation of WMD and missiles, enhancing non-proliferation mechanisms through cooperation with neighboring Asian countries is important for the security of Japan and the entire Asian region. Based on this recognition, Japan in November 2003 invited ASEAN member countries, the ROK, US and Australia to Asian Senior-level Talks on Non-Proliferation (ASTOP) in Tokyo, the first director-general-level meeting to discuss comprehensively the non-proliferation issues in Asia. The participating countries shared the view that preventing the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means is crucial for the peace and stability of the international community and the importance of PSI was

shared to a certain extent among the Asian countries. In addition, multilateral fora including the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and ASEM addressed disarmament and non-proliferation, and the Political Declaration on Prevention of Proliferation of WMD and Their Means of Delivery, proposed by Japan, was adopted at the ASEM Foreign Ministers' Meeting in July. Furthermore, Japan has been working to achieve coordination in export controls through the MTCR with a view to the nonproliferation of ballistic missiles, and also tackling the missile issue in various fora including the United Nations Panel of Governmental Experts on Missiles in all their aspects. Considering factors such as the security environment of Asia where ballistic missile proliferation is a real issue, Japan intends to continue reinforcing its global and regional efforts toward the non-proliferation of ballistic missiles.

(k) Small Arms and Light Weapons

In recent years, there has been much importance placed on the prevention of conflicts and their recurrence in the efforts to resolve conflicts. There is an excessive availability of small arms and light weapons in the international community. This is one of the factors to foster the intensification and lengthening of conflicts, spread of damage, deterioration of post-conflict public security and recurrence of conflict, which serves as an enormous hindrance to the reconstruction of the countries and societies concerned. As a countermeasure against such issues, the international community drew up a Programme of Action that includes the prevention of illicit trade in small arms and light weapons as well as cooperation and assistance. In July 2003, the UN First Biennial Meeting of States to Consider the Implementation of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects was held and Ambassador Kuniko Inoguchi, the permanent representative of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament, served as the chairperson. As the chair, Japan broadly encouraged states parties and the UN during the meeting

²⁹ An initiative to consider possible measures collectively so as to prevent the proliferation of WMD, their delivery means and related materials. As of March 2004, 14 countries (US, Japan, UK, Italy, Netherlands, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Norway and Canada) participated in the PSI.

³⁰ The Statement of Interdiction Principles was adopted at the third plenary meeting of the PSI held in Paris in September 2003. This outlined the aims of the PSI and the principles of interdiction, including a pledge for various participating countries to prevent jointly proliferation in countries and non-state actors suspected of developing WMD and their delivery means.



Permanent Representative of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament Kuniko Inoguchi chairs the UN First Biennial Meeting of States to Consider the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (July)

and the preparatory process and a report with the chairperson's summary attached was adopted.

As a way to tackle the issue of small arms and light weapons, Japan has also been carrying out a small arms collection project that combines small arms and light weapons collection and development assistance in cooperation with organizations concerned. Japan already cooperated with the Cambodian government and its local governments and implemented the Peace Building and Comprehensive Small Arms Management Program as Grant Aid for Conflict Prevention and Peace Building (450 million yen). This program is based on development assistance, destruction of small arms and light weapons, assistance in controlling and registering small arms and light weapons, and educational activities in exchange for the collection of small arms and light weapons. Through this program, over 1,000 small arms and light weapons were collected and disposed of on September 21, 2003. Likewise, Japan carried out educational activities to promote the small arms and light weapons collection program in Kosovo in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

(I) Anti-Personnel Landmines

In regard to the issue of anti-personnel landmines, Japan will promote in the international community comprehensive efforts based on the two inseparable strategies of realizing a broad and effective prohibition of anti-personnel landmines and strengthening landmine clearance activities and victim assistance. Japan announced that it would provide approximately 10 billion yen over five years beginning in 1998 and achieved its goal of 10 billion yen of assistance in October 2002. In particular, in regard to Afghanistan, Japan contributed approximately 2 billion yen in January 2002 and approximately 600 million yen in October 2002 to UN organizations as assistance for activities including landmine clearance. In addition, Japan contributed approximately 700 million yen as assistance for the development of landmine clearance technology to the Transitional Administration of Afghanistan in 2003, and has been cooperating with Japanese NGOs involved in landmine clearance activities in Afghanistan.

In order to realize a broad and effective prohibition of anti-personnel landmines in the international community, it is important for more countries to conclude the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and

on Their Destruction (Ottawa Convention).³¹ Japan has been urging mainly Asia-Pacific countries that have not concluded the convention to become party to it. Furthermore, Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Tetsuro Yano attended the Fifth Meeting of States

Parties held in Bangkok in September, and it was established that Japan and Cambodia would co-chair the Standing Committee on Mine Clearance, Mine Awareness and Mine Action Technologies during the 2003–2004 session.

Topic

What are MANPADS (Man-Portable Air Defense Systems)?

MANPADS is an acronym for Man-Portable Air Defense Systems, also known as portable surface-to-air missiles. The most well known systems are US-made "Stinger" and the former Soviet Union-made SA-7. They are portable surface-to-air missiles that can be transported and fired by a single person or several people.

Because the firing range of MANPADS is short at just a few kilometers, targets are limited to airplanes and helicopters flying at a low enough altitude to be seen with the naked eye. However, because MANPADS can be easily concealed and operated, they have become a major threat to the safety of civil aviation in recent years, especially since the September 11 terrorist attacks in the US, as weapons that terrorists aim to acquire and use. For example, it is believed that MANPADS made in the former Soviet Union were used in the attempted downing of an Israeli civilian airliner in Mombasa, Kenya in November 2002 and incidents of shot down US military aircraft stationed in Iraq (including some failed attempts).

MANPADS are manufactured in a large number of countries and it is currently easy for terrorists to acquire them because they have proliferated throughout the world without proper controls. Therefore, the strict control of MANPADS in all countries has become an urgent issue to be tackled as a part of counter-terrorism measures as well as for ensuring the security of civil aviation.

The major international efforts in this area during 2003 include the adoption of Enhance Transport Security and Control of Man-Portable Air Defense Systems (MANPADS): A G8 Action Plan at the Evian Summit in June, the reference to MANPADS control in the APEC Leaders' Declaration in October, and the adoption of Elements for Export Controls on MANPADS at the plenary meeting of the Wassenaar Arrangement (an international export control regime on conventional weapons) in December. MANPADS are also manufactured in Japan, but in conformity with the Three Principles on Arms Exports, Japan has not exported MANPADS or the essential components of MANPADS. It has been making efforts to enhance the non-proliferation mechanisms in Asia in particular, and intends to cooperate with all countries to enhance MANPADS control as well.

³¹ A convention that went into effect in March 1999, which prohibits the use, production and other conduct related to anti-personnel landmines and makes the disposal of stockpiled landmines and removal of buried landmines obligatory. As of the end of March 2004, the number of countries that have concluded the convention is 141 including Japan.