

特 集

Human Security in Japanese Foreign Policy : A Challenge to Peacebuilding

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Introduction

It has been approximately ten years since the Japanese diplomacy introduced the concept of "Human Security," which was proposed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). During this period, five prime ministers have consistently expressed the serious consideration of this concept in diplomacy, even after the death of Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi who strongly promoted human security. Moreover, the Japanese government has developed concrete policies on human security through its Official Development Assistance (ODA). Japan regards this concept as a theoretical foundation that links security to development assistance and a means of peacebuilding efforts in conflict regions.

This paper examines the history and development of the concept of human security in Japanese foreign policy as a challenge to

peacebuilding. Firstly, this article describes the background against which the Japanese government introduced the human security concept and proposes a policy framework for the promotion of human security by the government. Secondly, this essay reviews the process that Japan introduced the concept. The process can be categorized into three stages. And finally, this study examines the Japanese approaches to providing reconstruction assistance to Afghanistan in order to consider the new challenges to peacebuilding in the context of human security.

I. Background of Human Security in Japanese Diplomacy and its Policy Framework

Shortly after UNDP introduced the concept of "human security," the Japanese government made it a pillar of its own diplomacy, and today Japan has become an advocate for human security in the international community. There were three factors that led up to Japan's adoption of this concept as a central component of its diplomacy.

1. Affinity with the Japanese Constitution

The first factor is the affinity that the concept of human security has with the Japanese constitution. The preamble to the Japanese constitution stipulates that "We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want." The important point here is that "war" is not the only possible antonym to "peace." The "peace" prescribed in the preamble is defined logically as "freedom from fear and want" — phrased another way, it means that peace cannot be achieved as long as there is "fear and want."

This comprehensive concept of peace embodied in the Japanese constitution is already oriented to human security.

2. Compatibility with the Comprehensive Security Concept

The second factor is the compatibility with "comprehensive security" concept of the 1980s. In April 1979, Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira established a policy research committee, and the committee's final report formulated a new concept of comprehensive security. The report said, "Comprehensive security means that both military and non-military aspects are considered regarding objectives and methods when formulating national security policy."

Comparing the concept of human security with that of comprehensive security, we see that they are similar in that they both advocate an extremely broad approach. .

3. Accumulative Results of Official Development Assistance

The third factor is the more than fifty years of Official Development Assistance (ODA) policy. Japan did not begin to provide ODA because of the introduction of human security, but it has already had a long history of ODA activities.

However, the introduction of this concept was not simply a renaming of government policy. Human security brought together the various individual elements that had been the objective of Japan's ODA policy. Due to the restrictions of the constitution, there was a tendency to avoid providing aid to unstable conflict countries. However, following the end of the Cold War, no longer was it possible to consider development and conflict separately. With this experience, as Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi said, Japan embarked on a new direction for utilizing ODA "actively as a means of promoting such

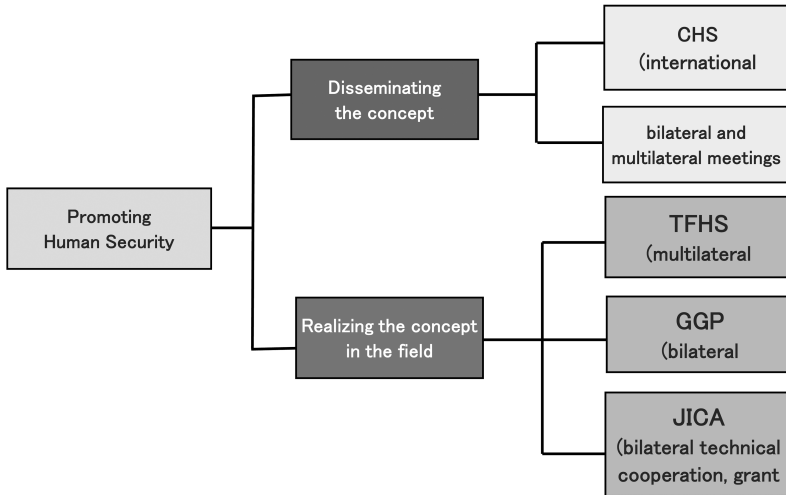
international peace cooperation" "not merely limiting it to development objectives."¹

It is because of this experience that Japan's view of human security is not just a temporary diplomatic slogan but rather a concept deeply connected with policy choices and activities over many years. Based on this historical background, we can discern two objectives in Japan's promotion of human security. The first is "to disseminate the concept of human security," while the second is "to realize human security on the ground," which means the achievement of human security through ODA activities.²

The former is demonstrated through the creation of the Commission on Human Security (CHS) in 2001, whose goal is to develop the concept of human security and propose a program of action. In addition, Japan is broadly and repeatedly promoting an understanding of human security throughout multilateral meetings and bilateral discussions.

The latter is demonstrated in the establishment of the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (TFHS) in 1998 and the Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects (GGP) in 2003. TFHS finances projects carried out by organizations in the UN system in partnership with non-UN entities, to advance the operational impact of the human security concept. GGP supports projects proposed by such bodies as NGOs and local government authorities, providing flexible and timely support to development projects at the grass-roots level.

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has also begun to implement the human security concept of CHS as the foundation of all new JICA operations. JICA undertakes the integrated assistance to offer comprehensive support in developing countries.

Figure: *Human Security policy framework for Japan's diplomacy*

Then, what events brought Japan to build such a framework? We will see in the discussion to follow the history and development of Japan's human security diplomacy.

II. History and Development of Human Security in Japanese Diplomacy

1. Nascent period (From June 1994 to July 1998)

In June 1994, the UNDP first introduced the concept of human security, following which the Japanese government first mentioned human security by Prime Minister Murayama's speech at the United Nations in October 1995.

Foreign Minister Obuchi

At the end of 1997, human security was brought center stage in the international community through the process of establishing the Convention on the Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Mines. Of particular

importance to Japanese diplomacy was the role of Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi, who later went on to become Prime Minister of Japan. Obuchi was the person who put so much importance on human security in Japan's diplomacy.

2. Formation period (From July 1998 to August 2003)

In July 1998, Obuchi became the 84th Prime Minister of Japan. The period starting with Obuchi's term as prime minister and lasting through the following Mori and Koizumi administrations witnessed the formation of the framework of Japan's human security diplomacy.

Prime Minister Obuchi

In December 1998, Obuchi held the international conference in Tokyo, and at this conference he spoke about human security, which thereafter became the foundation of Japan's diplomacy.

Two weeks later, on December 16, 1998, Obuchi gave a speech in Hanoi, Vietnam. In that policy speech, Obuchi revealed that "Japan has decided this time to contribute 500 million yen (US\$ 4.2 million) for the establishment of the 'Human Security Fund' under the United Nations."³

Thereafter, he actively promoted human security policies, but unfortunately in April 2000 he had to retire due to illness. However, even after that, there was no change in Japan's stance on government policies that promoted human security. After Obuchi's unexpected death, Yoshiro Mori assumed the office of prime minister, and this concept remained as one of the pillars of Japanese diplomacy.

Prime Minister Mori and the Establishment of CHS

At the United Nations Millennium Summit in September 2000,

Prime Minister Mori proposed "to establish an international committee on human security, with the participation of world renowned opinion leaders, and to further develop and deepen the concept of this human-centered approach."⁴ The proposal came to fruition in the following year. In January 2001, Secretary General of the United Nations, Kofi Annan established the Commission on Human Security (CHS) with Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen as co-chairs and 12 experts from around the world as members.

Prime Minister Koizumi

In April 2001, Junichiro Koizumi became the 89th Prime Minister of Japan. Koizumi kept an active interest in CHS activity.

the Final Report of CHS, Establishment of GGP and the revision of ODA Charter

In 2003, after the final report of CHS named *Human Security Now* was completed⁵, Japan began to strongly promote human security through its ODA policy. In February 2003, Foreign Minister Junko Kawaguchi expanded the bilateral aid titled "Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects (GGP)." This was Japan's second specific policy for human security after the TFHS. Then, the ODA Charter, amended in August 2003, adopted human security as one of its fundamental concepts.

3. Pervasive Period (From August 2003 to the present)

JICA's Introduction of Human Security and Medium-Term Policy on ODA

After the revision of the ODA Charter, human security was established as a pillar of Japan's diplomacy, and this marks the beginning of the pervasive period. In this period the reformation of

JICA was the driving force. JICA programs also formed the practical side of Japan's human security diplomacy with TFHS and GGP.

The Efforts of the Abe, Fukuda and Aso Administrations

In September 2006, Shinzo Abe replaced Koizumi as Prime Minister of Japan, and under his administration, human security diplomacy continued to develop. Bilateral relation was a focus of the Abe administration. Emphasizing on human security, Abe issued many joint statements with other countries.

In September 2007, Yasuo Fukuda replaced Abe as Prime Minister, and in January 2008, he gave a speech at the Davos conference in Switzerland. In his speech, "From the perspective of 'human security,' I intend to focus on health, water, and education at the G8 Summit."⁶ As a result, five official documents of the G8 Toyako summit touched on human security. In this way, the Fukuda administration positioned human security as a diplomacy concept promoted by Japan to the world, but before that declaration could be brought to fruition in the form of concrete policies, the Fukuda Cabinet came to an end.

Fukuda's replacement, Prime Minister Taro Aso, did not have many opportunities to mention human security to the leaders of other countries, and human security as a diplomatic concept did not receive the same attention as it did in the Fukuda administration.

III. Practical application of Human Security: Japan's Assistance for Afghanistan

Of all the support projects conducted by Japan, are there any projects that exemplify the application of human security? I would like to take up Japan's assistance to Afghanistan as one such example.

The assistance provided through TFHS, GGP and JICA, which reflect human security, was achieved through a combined approach of domestic security with reconstruction and humanitarian assistance in Afghanistan. What proportion of the assistance related to human security was filled through Japan's Afghanistan recovery aid? This proportion is shown in the following table. Of all the numerous assistance efforts devoted to the recovery of Afghanistan, human security aid accounts for about 15%.

*Table Human Security Assistance in Japan's Assistance to Afghanistan
(accumulative 2001-2005)*

Amount	\$951million
TFHS	0.98%
GGP	4.87%
JICA	9.07%
Total	14.92%

source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, *Japan's Assistance in Afghanistan*, March 2009

JICA's Assistance for Women

One of the typical projects conducted by JICA with the largest proportion in the three human security assistances, as shown above, was the support to develop the economic power of women.⁷

After the 9/11 in the United States, the Karzai interim government was installed, women's rights were revived, and the Afghan Ministry of Women's Affairs (MOWA) was established to improve the position of women. After the ministry was established, JICA provided assistance to improve the performance of the personnel and organization as well

as policy assistance. Through a project begun in 2005, the opinions of women in outlying regions were received through a State Office of Women's Affairs, and using this information, MOWA sought to communicate policies and measures so that they could meet the needs of women to other government ministries, agencies and institutions.

GGP and JICA in DDR

Though there wasn't a concerted effort using the three human security assistance, TFHS, GGP and JICA, there were some challenges that involved partial cooperation between two of them. For example disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) was a combined effort by GGP and JICA.⁸ Using the speed of GGP, GGP purchased the necessary materials for job training and prepared training facilities for former soldiers needed to be set up to effect DDR. Meanwhile, JICA dispatched job training advisers based on local surveys. This cooperation between GGP and JICA resulted in job training for 4,000 to 5,000 former soldiers.

TFHS and JICA in UN-Habitat program

In addition, TFHS provided assistance to UN-HABITAT activities. This project sought to reestablish 48 communities in 3 cities by working with the local residents to rebuild houses and roads, and restore basic public services such as water, sewage and garbage collection.⁹ JICA was originally slated to lead the rebuilding of roads and public facilities.¹⁰ This was the first effort on the part of TFHS and JICA to work together.

TFHS and GGP in large-scale assistance

There were no assistance efforts that involved TFHS and GGP

working together. However, in addition to implementing large-scale assistance through United Nations institutions like the TFHS, obtaining the understanding of people in the surrounding region, who may not be the target of that assistance, is a very important safety measure for the people providing assistance, particularly in conflict regions. According to the former Japanese Ambassador to Afghanistan Mr. Kin-ichi Komano, despite being a Taliban strong hold, large-scale roads between Kabul-Kandahar was completed without any incidents. This was because smaller roads in the surrounding area had been improved earlier by GGP projects.¹¹

Expected Peacebuilding Support

We can see from the results of three different tools of development policy, TFHS, GGP and JICA in the Afghanistan reconstruction assistance that an integrated and concerted development effort within the framework of human security is an expected peacebuilding support.

If assistance is integrated from the viewpoint of human security through TFHS, GGP and JICA, and if this is seen by the people of developing countries as more effective than earlier assistance, the concept of human security promoted by Japan will also become clearer.

Conclusion

The Japanese government understands that the human security concept broadly encompasses all issues faced in the international community, from conflict to development. Therefore, the introduction of the concept by the government enables Japan to treat ODA as a tool

for realizing not only development but also security.

Of course, this is just the beginning of peacebuilding operations by Japan, and many problems lie ahead. However, if Japan successfully contributes to peacebuilding efforts within the framework of human security, the introduction of this concept in its foreign policy will assume greater significance.

〈Notes〉

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