CHAPTER III

JAPAN AND HUMAN SECURITY

Before discussing Japan's ODA policy by itself it is necessary to look at how Human Security is being used by Japan as an integral part of its overall foreign policy. Human Security is a very broad framework and can even be considered to be an international relations paradigm and therefore it is difficult to understand the full implications of its application for ODA policy without first taking a look at how it is being implemented by Japan in other policy fields such as the environment, health, grey area phenomena, and in an important international forum. In other words, this chapter aims to give the reader a bird's eye view of Japan and Human Security before going into greater detail in the following chapters for the field of ODA policy. This chapter will provide the necessary background in order to understand the context behind the discursive analysis of the following chapters.

3.1 Japan's Role in Promoting Human Security in the United Nations

Japan played a pivotal role in the rise of Human Security in the United Nations. The name that comes to mind in this field is that of Sadako Ogata. The President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency and former UN High Commissionaire for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, and Professor Amartya Sen became co-chairs of the UN Commission on Human Security. This commission was established after the recommendation of the Japanese Government in 2001 (United-Nations, 2001). However, Japan's interest in Human Security can be traced further back to Keizo Obuchi, who served as Foreign Minister during the late 1990s. This coincided with

the Asian Financial crisis of 1997 and 1998. Former Foreign Minister Obuchi decided to establish a Trust Fund for Human Security in the United Nations. By the time Obuchi announced this plan in Hanoi, he had become Prime Minister and was trying to lead his country out of the crisis. At that time Japan pledged 500 million yen (Wah, 2003). The funding continued to increase during the following years and by 2003 it had reached about $172 million. Japan's role as one of the main donors in the field of human security will be described in more detail in later sections specially concentrating on Official Development Assistance (ODA) and actual projects.

Japan's role in promoting Human Security in the United Nations is not confined to funding. It has also promoted support for Non Governmental Organizations and Grass Root level initiatives. In this way, Japan is implementing the participatory and empowering aspects of Human Security. Some specific examples of this include the establishment of a Human Security fund specifically for grassroots organizations in order to promote an alternative way of intervention, both humanitarian and development related.

In the field of more conventional international security or what Human Security calls conflict situations, Japan has started to play an increasingly important role. Post-conflict reconstruction such as in the case of Cambodia was one of the first times in which the Japanese Self Defense Forces got involved in Peace Keeping Operations (PKOs). Japan has also shown more willingness to get involved in international Peace Making Operations (PMOs). The case in point is that of the War on Iraq. Japan was present in rear operations cooperating with Aegis-class Destroyers. Regarding the field of reconstruction, Japan organized a Conference of

Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan in 2003 (Wah, 2003). This shows that Japan is willing to become a more active player in the conflict field.

In summary Japan has been one the strongest supporters of the Human Security framework in the United Nations System. Japan is part of the Human Security Network, which is led by Canada and is made up of 13 countries that support the framework. At this point it is important to note that Japan officially declares Human Security to be a "pillar of its diplomacy" (MOFA, 2006b). In order to conclude this brief introduction to Japan's contribution to Human Security in the United Nations System it is important to mention the latest trend. Former Prime Minister Koizumi applied the framework to the war on terrorism in a speech he gave at the International Symposium on Human Security held in Tokyo in the year 2001 (Koizumi, 2001).

3.2 Japan's Internationalism and Its Implications for Human Security

Internationalism is a philosophy usually connected to what are currently called "middle powers" (William T. Tow, 2000). However this philosophy does not only apply to states. On a more human level it is closely related to cosmopolitanism and a kantian globalism. In other words, it deals with a feeling of belonging to the international community. It includes concepts such as "good global citizenship" and global regimes. One of its most important characteristics is that it serves as a counterweight to nationalism.

Japans' Internationalism is not one that came about endemically. The reasons of this should be evident when considering Japan's history. The end of the war was a traumatic experience for Japan. It was forced to go from an ultranationalist military

empire to an internationalist pacifist democracy. The previously mentioned shift was partly externally imposed and partly due to self-reflection. One important speech related to this was that given by the Emperor in which he declared that he was not a god. This was the end of ultranationalism for the time being. Nevertheless a new ideology was needed and this was supplied by the United States. The new constitution was filled with democratic ideals of freedom and liberty. Power was declared to emanate from the people and not from the Emperor. These ideas were eagerly adopted by most of the population due to the hardships they had experienced during the war and the leniency of the conquerors. Massive re-education campaigns, during the first part of the occupation, tried to teach the masses the meaning of peace and democracy.

Due to the circumstances in which Japan was reopened to the world, the new internationalism was one of atonement and guilt. Most Japanese felt that they had suffered a lot because of misguided nationalism and especially because of the armed forces. The outcome of this is that while Japan wanted to be a "good global citizen" it did not feel it had the moral right to be too active internationally, thus the "low-posture" stance. Historical guilt is the distinguishing feature of Japanese internationalism (Smith, 1997).

Japanese Internationalism has started to change and now is shifting towards a more active role and a rising nationalism. Historical revisionism is becoming more common and has raised concerns in the region. Most Japanese feel that their country should play a more active role in international affairs and that the war ended a long time ago so they should move on to become a "normal" country.

In summary Japanese Internationalism has gone through a long evolutionary process. It started as an imposition and as a rejection of the status quo to one in which

national and personal pride could be achieved by helping attain a higher goal, global peace and security. In other words, Japan's role is becoming more and more active while its internationalism changes from that of a defeated nation with a tainted past to one of an active "middle power".

Table 1. The Changing Context of Security

Dimension	Old	New
Protection	Territory	People
Threat	Military	Multiple
Institution	Nation-State	International/Local
Policy Framework	Cold War	Comprehensiveness, complexity, and linkages

Note: Adapted from Chen (Chen, 1995).

3.3 Japan's Environmental Policy and Human Security

Japan's cultural background is one that stresses harmony with nature. This is an integral part of Shinto and Buddhism. Nevertheless this benevolent attitude towards nature slowly shifted to a more western one of control over nature. The previously mentioned transition was gradual but became more obvious during the post-war period. Japan wanted to re-industrialize as fast as possible and therefore it set as its guiding principle, economic growth. The 1950s and 1960s were the golden years of GNPsm and saw Japan rise to prominence as a global industrial power. The price paid for this rapid growth was the degradation and pollution of the environment. Japan's coastline was polluted by industrial waste, the cities were covered by a dark mantle of smock which only disappeared momentarily after a heavy rain. Children started to suffer from respiratory problems and others from more serious afflictions such as genetic defects. The causes for those diseases varied from case to case but they all had something in common, they were all related to pollution and the degradation of the environment.

A good example of environmental degradation and population during the golden years of GNPsm is the Minamata disease. This disease was first discovered in the town of Minamata in Kumamoto Prefecture, Southern Japan. In 1956 the first case was reported to the Japanese government. After careful investigation at the behest of the villagers, it was determined that the cause of the disease was mercury poisoning. Apparently a factory owned by Chisso Corporation was releasing toxic waste to the ocean. The waste contained high levels of mercury which were then absorbed by shellfish. In turn, those shellfish were consumed by the inhabitants of the area. The disease causes a serious problem in the nervous system and can lead to paralysis or even death. The importance of this case is that it shows the lack of regulations at the time concerning the environment and pollution. In addition to this, this case was instrumental in raising public awareness in the field of environmental protection.

Minamata Disease is one of the four major pollution diseases in Japan. The other three are: Niigata Minamata disease (mercury poisoning), Yokkaichi Asthma (sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide), and Itai-itai disease (cadmium poisoning). Most of the previously mentioned diseases rose in the 1950s and 1960s ("Four Big Pollution Diseases of Japan," 2007). The four major pollution diseases led to many suits being filed against the government and against corporations. The cause was taken up mostly by women and it is significant in that it is one of those few times in Japanese history in which policy has been promoted from the bottom-up and not the other way around. The issue was concentrated around the concept of *kogai*, environmental disruption. The ensuing campaign led to the convening of the famous Pollution Diet of 1970. Two major actions were taken by the government at this point. The first was to pass Japan's first environmental law. The bill banned "the emission

of materials harmful to human life". The punishment for doing so was set to three years of prison (Olenik, 2005). The second action was to establish the Environmental Agency of Japan in 1971. It is important to note that this agency was recently upgraded to full-fledged Ministry of the Environment in 2006 ("Ministry of the Environment of Japan," 2007).

The beginnings of environmental policy in Japan are a good example of the Human Security framework in action. It was a policy originally mostly supported by women at the grass roots level which then was taken up by the government and ultimately by the entire country. In a sense it was a way to respond to people's needs and the government recognized the importance of protecting the well-being of the individual as a priority. The previously mentioned change in attitude led to the creation of the concept of "net national welfare" in order to replace economic growth as a national goal (Olenik, 2005). This transition was gradual and is still in progress.

Taking into consideration Japan's experience with environmental degradation and pollution, the Japanese government decided to promote sustainable development in other countries as a way to help them avoid Japan's mistakes. Japan has taken the lead in environmental issues at the international level for many reasons. One of the most important ones is that the environment is not a very controversial topic and therefore Japan does not have the problem of its historical guilt such as with issues of human rights. In addition to this, Japan is one of the major international donors. This means that Japan has a pivotal position in the field of development.

It is important at this point to describe the ways in which Japan has taken the initiative in the field of environmental protection. In the field of environmental education, Japan was the country that originally proposed to the United Nations the

declaration of the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (UNDESD). This decade began in 2005 and has as its main purpose the promotion of environmental education and raising awareness on environmental issues (MOFA, 2006b). Japan has also actively promoted the protection of forests. Japan sponsors two organizations against illegal logging, the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO), based in Yokohama, and the Asia Forest Partnership (AFP). In addition to supporting civil society organizations in this field, Japan has shown its political will to fight against this practice by advocating the use of only legal timber by G8 countries. This issue was brought up by Japan at the Gleneagles Summit (MOFA, 2006b).

Japan has also contributed to environmental protection by its creation of the 3R (Reduce, Reuse, and Recycle) approach. This is basically a plan of action for a "Sound Material-Cycle Society". This plan of action was at the center of the Gleneagles G8 summit and the purpose of this plan was to promote "economic competitiveness whilst decreasing environmental impacts" (MOFA, 2006b). In addition to that Japan is a signatory and one of the main supporters of the Kyoto Protocol which was adopted in 1997. The Japanese government has tried to strengthen the Protocol by requesting informal cooperation from the United States. This is an important role that Japan can play in the future and has already played in the past. That of a mediator between the East and the West and as one of the closest allies of the United States it is in a good position to promote environmental issues through informal diplomacy rather by than by the more formal Kyoto Protocol or other conventions (Aoi, 2000).

One of the most promising areas of human security is that of disaster reduction. This is an area in which Japan has been very active due to its experience with

disasters and due to its advanced technology. Japan is a country prone to great earthquakes and tsunamis. The UN World Conference on Disaster Reduction was held in Kobe 2005. This conference took place after a major earthquake off the coast of Sumatra and the devastating tsunami in the Indian Ocean.[2] The conference led to the drafting of the Hyogo Framework for Action which was then summarized in the Hyogo Declaration. This framework for disaster prevention was supported by representatives of 168 countries and stressed the importance of prevention in dealing with disasters. This reflects the human security framework in that it stresses the importance of the individual, since disasters are not limited to single sovereign nations, and that of prevention instead of simply humanitarian response in the aftermath of the disaster. Japan also supported the creation of a tsunami early warning system for the Indian Ocean in order to prevent the massive loss of lives seen in the last tsunami.

Environmental policy is a field in which Japan is truly applying the human security framework at home and abroad. It is also a field in which Japan has complemented its traditional security framework with that of human security. A prominent role can be observed in that Japan included environmental assistance as part of its effort to help reconstruct Iraq. Environmental policy is a field in which the Self Defense Forces can take an active role while avoiding controversial issues. The Military has the skills and the resources to make a big difference in environmental protection in conflict and post-conflict situations. It is also an integral part of the human security approach to deal with conflict situations to include the environment as an integral part of human security. By taking action at the right time in preventing

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[2] It is important to note that the conference marked the 10th anniversary of the Great Hanshin-Waji Earthquake

environmental disaster in conflict situations several negative effects can be avoided

such as massive migration flows due to environmental degradation, and the pollution

of necessary resources such as fresh water. This helps the affected populations

recover faster and protects a strong base for development. Therefore environmental

protection as that shown by Japan since 2004 in Iraq is a key meeting point between

the two views of security. An expanded conventional security framework that

included non-state threats and that of a moderate human security framework can lead

to the better use of valuable human resources such as the military. Due to Japan's

present restrictions on its Self-Defense Forces this is a field in which Japan can take

the lead and set an example for the rest of the world. As Lorraine Elliot has argued,

human security and conventional security should complement each other instead of

operating as separate fields (William T. Tow, 2000).

An interesting initiative promoted by Japan is the Northwest Pacific Action

Plan (NOWPAP) which was established in 1994 by Japan the Republic of Korea, the

People's Republic of China, and the Russian Federation. The main purpose of this

Plan is to protect the environment in the Northwest Pacific area. This area is an

important trade route and especially important for the shipment of oil. This has raised

fears of possible oil-spills in the already polluted area. The Plan has organized many

activities in order to protect the environment in this area such as clean-up campaigns

and has supported several NGOs and grass-roots groups. The significance of

NOWPAP lies in that it deals with an area full of territorial disputes. Most disputes

are centered around natural resources. The three main territorial disputes in that area

are the following: the Senkaku Islands between Japan and China, the Tok-to (or

Takeshima) between Japan and Korea, and the Northern Territories between Russia

and Japan. The importance of these disputes should not be underestimated. The area is considered to be rich in resources such as oil and natural gas which are vital for the economies of the countries in contention. It has proven virtually impossible to settle the disputes using conventional diplomatic means usually backed by military might while a human security approach has proven to be more effective. This is where the NOWPAP comes in. The Plan includes the joint "development of oil and natural gas in the waters off the eastern part of Sakhalin Islands" (MOFA, 2006b). In addition to that the coverage of the anti-spill plan was expanded to included contentious areas such as that of "offshore Sakhalin and the Sea of Okhotsk" (MOFA, 2006b). NOWPAP is based on collective action and cooperation and has helped to put aside the issue of sovereignty in favor of a more human and nature centered approach to environmental protection and resource management. Thus, NOWPAP applied the human security framework to an issue usually covered by conventional security and solved it without resorting to threats or military action.

A proper discussion of Japan's environmental policy would not be complete without mentioning a few outstanding problems. Lately there have been two main issues for which Japan has been criticized on environmental grounds. The first is the continued use of disposable wooden chopsticks. This may seem inoffensive but it is one of the main sources of demand for wood in Japan. The Japanese government has usually tried to brush off the accusation by mentioning that the use of wooden chopsticks is part of traditional culture. The actual environmental impact of the use of wooden chopsticks is still unknown however it is easy to see that around 126 million Japanese using disposable wooden chopsticks daily has an effect by greatly increasing demand for wood usually from Southeast Asia.

One of the most emotionally charged environmental issues related to Japan is that of whaling. Japan is one of the most important consumers of whale meat in the world. It is possible to find whale meat sold in Japanese markets even though it is technically illegal. However there is a loophole in the law regarding the hunt of whales. Commercial Whaling was banned in 1986 but the International Whaling Commission allows the hunting of whales for experimental purposes (Greimel, 2007). Japan has used this excuse for deploying one of the most advanced whaling fleets in the world. The explanation given by the Japanese government is that the activities carried out by this whaling fleet are important for collecting data for the future protection of whales. This explanation does not cover the fact that all of the whales are then sold for human consumption but at least helps Japan keep face. The controversy over whaling has come to light again due to the confrontations between environmental groups such as Green Peace and whaling ships such as the Nisshin Maru. The previously mentioned ship recently went on a hunting mission to the waters near Antarctica and went back to Japan with a load of 508 whales which were then immediately sold for consumption (Greimel, 2007). The real reasons behind Japan's reluctance on abolishing whaling not only *de jure* but also *de facto* are cultural. Whale meat is a highly priced delicacy in Japan. While whale meat is not for everyone, based on the author's own experience, it is a rich source of protein and fat which explains why an island nation whose main protein source is fish would value it so highly.

In conclusion, Japan has learned from its mistakes and has adopted a human security approach towards environmental issues. This is a field in which a "middle power" such as Japan has a key role to play. By applying a human security approach

Japan can avoid many of the difficulties it finds with conventional security such as disputes over territorial sovereignty and the use of its own military forces. It seems that Japan has taken an early lead in this field and has been able to capitalize on its strategic position as the second largest economy in the world and one of the closest allies of the United States in order to promote its human security agenda in the fields of environmental protection, resource management, and disaster prevention.

3.4 Japan's Health Policy and Human Security

Japan is known for its excellent health insurance system. This system provides coverage at a national level and allows Japanese citizens and residents to receive medical service both in public and private hospitals. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into detail regarding the structure of the national health insurance plan but it should be noted that Japan has attained one of the highest life expectancies in the world, 81.25 years average life expectancy at birth. In addition to that it has a very low HIV/AIDS adult prevalence rate, 0.1% (Central-Intelligence-Agency, 2007). In general Japan is an example of an effective health policy at a national level. Among the few health threats that Japan has experienced in the last decades is that of avian influenza. The outbreak of this disease in Asia in early 2006 was promptly identified as a serious health threat by the Japanese government. This is a clear case of a threat to human security which had transnational dimensions.

The avian influenza pandemic hit Asia in the year 2005. The disease spread at a very fast rate and was a cause of great worry for the region. The nature of the vector was also a surprise and raised fears of "new strains of influenza that are transmissible from human to human" (MOFA, 2006b). The possibility of an influenza pandemic in

the region led to the establishment of the International Partnership on Avian and Pandemic Influenza (IAPI) in September 2005. In this case the initiative was taken by the United States but Japan closely followed in supporting the Partnership. Japan organized several conferences bringing together a varied range of stakeholders. One of the most successful ones was the Japan-WHO Joint Meeting on Early Response to Potential Influenza Pandemic which was held from January 12 to 13, 2006 (MOFA, 2006b). The meeting came up with a plan of action to tackle a possible influenza pandemic in the region and at the same time pointed out the transnational nature of this threat to human security by promoting the allocation of funds to developing countries as a method of preventing an outbreak. This is a great example of Japan applying the human security framework to an actual health threat. Japan brought together all stakeholders to discuss the issue and came up with a plan centered on prevention not only on protection. The previous view was clearly stated by Japan's donation of US$155 million to developing countries in the region (MOFA, 2006b).

Regarding the three major infectious diseases, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria, Japan has advanced the Health and Development Initiative (HDI). This initiative follows a human security approach in that it stresses the importance of improving health conditions while simultaneously promoting development. This multi-track approach follows the recommendation of the UN Commission on Human Security which stresses the interrelationship between development, health, education, and other forms of human security (United-Nations, 2003). Japan has pledged over $5 billion in support for this purpose over a period of 5 years. On another front, "Japan hosted the High-Level Forum on Health Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Asia and the Pacific in June 2005" (MOFA, 2006b). The previously mentioned

initiative shows that Japan is taking a leadership role in the region in order to promote the millennium declaration goals.

On a macro level Japan is also supporting the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GTATM). Japan is an active founding member of the Fund and also one of its main donors. Japan has contributed a total of $346.19 million by 2005 (MOFA, 2006b)p.185. However, the truly innovative side to Japan's foreign policy regarding health is that it has shifted much of its support to NGOs and grass-roots groups for the implementation of its projects. Japan stresses the importance to operate through the UN and especially through the Trust Fund for Human Security. This fund was established by Japan in 1999 to support projects related to human security. Japan had provided almost $280 million to this fund by the end of 2006. The way in which this fund operates follows the human security framework in that the funds are channeled to other UN agencies which then in turn are given to local NGOs or grass-roots organizations for implementation. This includes the ownership and empowerment aspects of the paradigm.

An example of one such project is the assistance to "Support of Safe Motherhood in Nuba Mountains" Project in Sudan. Japan provided $1,298,374.21 to the United Nations Population Fund for this project. The project in discussion is significant in that it is part of the effort to consolidate peace in Sudan. The innovative approach of combining a health aspect with that of conflict resolution and peace consolidation is an integral part of the Human Security Paradigm. The project intended to tackle the high mortality rates in the area as well as supporting family planning. The project included strong elements of empowerment and participation such as the participation of the intended beneficiaries and consultation with the local community. The

following are the activities included in the project: "provide **training** to 60 midwives and other service providers on family planning counseling and equipping family planning delivery points with contraceptives; **training** 200 midwives and 25 assistant health visitors at adequate professional institutions and to equip them with antenatal care and essential delivery services; **gaining community support** for midwifery service by holding workshops and distributing training materials; providing basic emergency obstetric care in adequately equipped facilities" (MOFA, 2006a). (emphasis added) The project shows a large content of capacity building and empowerment. This project sums up Japan's foreign policy regarding health and shows how different aspects of human security are treated as integral parts of a whole. This holistic approach can then be included in peace consolidation efforts such as the one in Sudan.

In conclusion, Japan has been actively promoting Human Security in the health field. The policies sponsored by Japan have tried to include health aspects in previously considered unrelated areas such as conflict resolution and peace consolidation. This is a field in which Japan can take a leadership role without worrying about its "historical guilt".

3.5 Japan's Policies Towards Grey Area Phenomena and Human Security

The end of the Cold War brought about a change in conflict. The nature of conflict shifted from one based on conventional warfare to less conventional forms such as terrorism, transnational crime, and ethnic strife just to mention a few. This led to the identification of the Grey Area Phenomena (GAP). GAP "can be loosely defined as threats to the stability of sovereign states by non-state actors and non-governmental processes and organizations" (William T. Tow, 2000). Peter A. Chalk

divides GAP into two categories, namely violent GAP and non-violent GAP. Some examples of violent GAP are terrorism, crime syndicates, and drug trafficking while some representative examples of non-violent GAP are immigration, famine, and spread of diseases (William T. Tow, 2000). This section will concentrate on violent GAP and a human security approach to tackle them.

The first subtopic that will be discussed is transnational organized crime and illicit drugs. The Japanese government has taken several measures to combat money laundering such as supporting the Financial Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) which is part of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (MOFA, 2006b). In addition to that Japan is actively combating crime through the United Nations. This reflects Japan's declared UN-centered foreign policy (Dore, 1997). The Japanese government is currently in the process of passing national legislation in order to adopt the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. Regarding illicit drugs, Japan was recently elected to the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs and it introduced a draft which was passed as a resolution to promote cooperation in the field of abuse of legal drugs. This is an innovative approach to drug control since the abuse of legal substances has not usually been treated seriously at an international scale. Japan is also cooperating with the commission by providing expertise on the field of law enforcement regarding drug trafficking. Japan is not only combating illicit drugs at a macro level but has also donated $2.5 million to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime in the year 2005 (MOFA, 2006b). Most of the money donated was used in supporting projects related to law enforcement in Southeast Asia.

In order to understand Japan's holistic approach to drug trafficking it is
necessary to look at a case study as an example of the overall human security strategy.
The case in point is the "Support to ex-poppy farmers and poor vulnerable families in
border areas" Project in Myanmar. This project began in January 29, 2007 and was
funded by the UN Trust Fund for Human Security and by the Japanese Government.
Due to the interdiciplinary nature of the project it was implemented by the "United
Nations World Food Programme (WFP), the Food and Agriculture Organization of
United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC),
and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)" (MOFA, 2007). The total funding
for the project was about $1 million and included activities aimed at promoting
sustainable development. The project was intended to prevent, ameliorate, and protect
the people from the ban on poppy production. The Shan state has relied heavily on
this crop for its subsistence and thus its population has been affected by many threats
to their human security. The first threat that should be mentioned is to their food
security. The project has several activities geared at ameliorating the initial effects of
the ban such as food-for-work plans, food-for-training plans, and food-for-education
plans (MOFA, 2007). Therefore the first steps of the project are related to providing
immediate aid in order to protect the people from food insecurity. This component is
linked to the next which is to empower the people in order for them to get back on
their feet. In other words, by including capacity building in the early stages of the
project this will lead to other activities such as the introduction of alternative crops
and improving the marketing and business abilities of the population. This in turn
leads to sustainable development ergo food security. Nevertheless this is not the last
component of the project, it includes a gender and health aspect. The overall project

includes awareness-raising in the fields of gender and HIV/AIDS. This holistic approach is meant to provide overall human security to the target population in the Shan State. The project recognizes the need to go beyond simple humanitarian help and instead support and empower the people in order for them to achieve long lasting sustainable development and ultimately human security.

The previous example in addition to other more conventional approaches taken at the macro level point out to a succesful application of the Human Security framework in the field of transnational crime and illicit drugs by the Japanese government. The Human Security approach has helped in tackling these GAP problems at three levels simultaneously, at the global level through intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and international regimes, at the national level through cooperation with national governments, and most importantly at the local level through community based projects which bring together international know-how in order to meet local needs.

3.6 Japan's Development Policy as a Predecessor of the Concept of Human Security

This section will cover arguments claiming that Japan's checkbook diplomacy combined with its historical internationalism give a result which is very similar to the concept of Human Security. According to this argument Japan's role has been far from reactive but rather has taken other forms of activity such as promoting international development and other forms of security. This argument centers on a basic question: Does Japan's adoption of the concept of Human Security reflect a shift

in its foreign policy or just a continuation of its original foreign policy under a new name?

Japan has tried to pursue its foreign policy through economic means rather than by military means. This is evident in the promotion of economic development abroad. Japan has made use of official development assistance, foreign direct investment, and loans as a means of influencing other countries. This is a form of soft power in which the "iron triangle", the bureaucracy, big business, and the government, coordinate their policies in order to promote Japan's interests abroad. Nevertheless this policy of promoting development abroad did not involve many other factors other than economic considerations until the end of the cold war. There was a profound shift in this approach as the argument for and against the universality of human rights was at its height. With Asian leaders of countries such as Malaysia and Singapore promoting "Asian Values" rather than recognizing the universality of human rights, Japan was forced to take a stand in this controversial debate. Japan decided to side with the West and declared the universality of human rights and in addition to that followed the Western powers in deciding to promote democracy and free-market policies as parts of its development policy. Keizo Takemi reflects the Japanese point of view when saying that: "After the Cold War, the idea has become prominent within the advanced nations including Japan that human freedom, human rights, and democracy are universal values which serve as pillars around which the foundations for peace within the international community can be built" (Chen, 1995). Japan's approach towards this goals differed slightly from that of the other great powers in that it favored its promotion through economic rather than military means. In other words, Japan used the carrot more often than the stick. "Incorporating the argument

for political conditionality that ties economic aid to democracy, Japan in 1992 made

clear in one of the four principles of ODA that "along with the promotion of

democratization in developing countries and efforts to introduce market-based

economies, sufficient attention should be paid to the creation of conditions that secure

basic human rights" (Chen, 1995). As Keizo Takemi explains, this marked a shift in

Japanese policy. Its policy was still based on its economic power but started to

include other parallel goals such as the promotion of human rights and democracy.

This is important in that it included the possibility of intervention in the internal

affairs of sovereign nations.

Another important factor behind Japan's foreign policy is its historical

internationalism. Due to its experience in World War II as the only country to have

suffered a nuclear attack, it has developed a sense of responsibility of helping the

world avoid more such wars. This has engendered a feeling of internationalism that

places much trust and emphasis on the United Nations and other intergovernmental

organizations and on international development as a means to achieve greater security.

This was based on the belief that by tackling the root causes of conflict global security

could be achieved. This instrumental vision of development was quite revolutionary at

the time especially coming from a state. In turn this reflects what Oliver Ramsbotham

calls a "deep prevention" approach to conflict resolution (Oliver Ramsbotham, 2006).

"Deep prevention aims to address the root causes, including underlying conflicts of

interest and relationships. At the international level this may mean addressing

recurrent issues and problems in the international system. Within societies, it may

mean engaging with issues of *development*, political culture and community relations"

(Oliver Ramsbotham, 2006). (emphasis added) This "deep prevention" approach to

conflict resolution reflects many aspects of Human Security such as its emphasis on long term solutions and its stress on sustainability and what is especially significant about it is that it connects national well-being to global well-being. This is the missing link in most state's foreign policies and Japan realized this connection at a very early stage. Hook points out that: "The Japanese state and its people, then, harbor a view of security which is much broader than the military, or guns-bombs-and-tanks, approach found in most of the other major industrialized powers" (Glenn D. Hook, 2005). This broader view of security and a growing sense of internationalism in Japan can be observed in the comments made by ordinary Japanese people. It "was demonstrated by the reaction to the death of a young Japanese election monitor working as a UN volunteer in Cambodia. His father declared that in this son's memory he would devote himself to the cause of the UN and international solidarity. He wanted the world to know that there were people in Japan motivated "not by national interest, but by global citizenship, by the ideal of sharing global solidarity with the people of other countries." This led to 5,000 applications for the volunteer corps over the next two months" (Dore, 1997). Another example of this growing sense of internationalism can be observed in some of the proposed solutions to the debate over Japan's Peace Constitution and the limitation it imposes on its ability to participate in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Midori Yajima proposes the following: "And that leads to further reflection; if it were the case that members of the Self-Defense Forces who took part in peace-keeping activities were to suspend their Japanese citizenship in favor of UN citizenship, would there really be any need to amend the Japanese Constitution" (Dore, 1997)? As unlikely as this is to happen, it really shows that a

large segment of the Japanese people are really thinking outside the box, they are thinking beyond the more traditional and atavistic forms of identity.

Now that we have looked at Japan's traditional checkbook diplomacy and its parallel internationalism we may go ahead to identify some trends. The two approaches are complementary. The first can be identified as an early form of comprehensive security with a heavy emphasis on "deep prevention" while the second provides that missing link between the local and the global. The internationalism which permeates that early form of comprehensive security makes the traditional Japanese approach very similar to the present day concept of Human Security. However, there is only one aspect that was still missing at that point and that is what is called "light prevention" in conflict resolution theory and what Human Security refers to as immediate threats. In addition to that another small but important ingredient was lacking. That was an emphasis on people rather than on the state. There was a shift from state centered international development to people centered development by the Japanese government during the late 1980s and especially during the 1990s. This shift will be discussed in more detail at a later section however it is important to note that the basic framework of the Human Security approach was already in place by the beginning of the 1990s. This in turn helps explain why it was so easy for Japan to accept Human Security as the pillar of its foreign policy. In addition to that this preexisting compatibility between the two approaches was further strengthened by an unlikely ally, the nationalists. This marriage of convenience was very important in allowing Japan to play a more important role in UN peace keeping operations and is slowly providing the most important missing instrumental ingredient, the ability to undertake "light prevention".

Table 2 Instrumental Human Security and its Objectives

Instrumental Security (means)	Security Objectives (ends)
Military	"freedom from fear" (survival/wellbeing)
Economic	"freedom from want" (survival/wellbeing)
Political	"freedom from fear" (survival/wellbeing)
Environmental	"freedom from fear"/ "freedom from want" (survival/wellbeing)

Note: Adapted from (Chen, 1995)