



Towards

Collective Human Security:

A New Internationalism

and Japan

July 2001

The 20th Policy Recommendations
of the JFIR Policy Council

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Introduction

A central principle of the international community is that of self-governance by sovereign states with the responsibility of administering justice within individual countries under the rule of their respective governments. There are times, however, when governments lack the ability to carry out this responsibility or are unable themselves to function properly. On occasions when these governments are unable to deal with the humanitarian disasters that often accompany civil war - genocidal massacres, large numbers of refugees, economic devastation, etc. - the post-Cold War international community has increasingly come to believe that it cannot simply sit by as such intolerable large-scale tragedies take place, and that it should become involved for the purpose of offering relief.

Such involvement by the international community has been termed "global governance," in contrast to the self-governance of the states that it transcends. Conclusions as to who will shoulder the responsibilities of global governance and how it is to be carried out have yet to be reached, though, and only now are we seeing the first signs of success in establishing this framework. Given that involvement by the international community in situations in which human lives or human rights are threatened by extreme deprivation or violence that cannot be overlooked by civilized societies goes beyond the concept of national sovereignty, we will also label such involvement more broadly as "internationalism." Since internationalism is by its nature contradictory to the national sovereignty prized by modern states, the fundamental principle of which is that of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, it is generally understood that the aim of this involvement must be limited to preventing or stopping serious and extensive threats to human lives and fundamental human rights. Consequently, the thinking behind this new

internationalism emphasizes not simply the framework of states but individual human beings. Supplementing collective security, which is based on traditional national security, with the pursuit of "human security" is an emerging formula to organize security - "collective human security."

This perspective has developed against a background of certain viewpoints increasingly held in common among advanced information societies, a diversification of parties involved in relief efforts, including international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and increasing public interest internationally spurred on by a growing number of discussion fora. Already a principle has been established in Europe of mutual intervention, should domestic conflicts lead to extensive oppression of human rights, distinctively from the question of whether or not armed force will be used to resolve the issue.

As things stand at present, though, humanitarian interventions to provide humanitarian relief to the victims of civil war frequently include military actions involving the use of force, exposing one of the inherent contradictions of this internationalism. The use of armed force in interventions to protect human lives and stop violations of fundamental human rights can result in further loss of life. As can be seen in the humanitarian interventions in Somalia and Kosovo, armed intervention does not inevitably or readily lead to a political settlement. In addition, international involvement is not always entirely untainted by the unilateral or bilateral interests of the nations involved, and there may very well be occasions where individual countries pursue their own interests under the guise of internationalism. Another concern is the possibility of double standards being applied in pursuing intervention and relief efforts.

While gaining a comprehensive understanding of such matters, Japan must give positive thought, how difficult the issues may be, to sharing the concerns of the international community in situations intolerable to civilized societies, including humanitarian disasters and substantial loss

of human life, and to professing a sense of justice and conscience in ways that it sees fit. Japan needs to maintain cooperation with the US and Europe and to develop guidelines of some sort to put this internationalism into practice with a renewed determination. This is above all essential if Japan is to aspire to becoming a proactive actor for peace.

In these recommendations, entitled "Towards Collective Human Security: A New Internationalism and Japan," we have summarized 15 specific policy recommendations that Japan, in its own unique way, should focus on when dealing comprehensively with situations where large numbers of people are caught up in tragic humanitarian crises in deep-rooted conflicts such as genocidal disputes between ethnic groups or civil wars. Japan should place "collective human security" at the core of its foreign policy strategy and advocate a "prevent, stop, and build" approach towards humanitarian disasters. The 15 recommendations offered here can be generally divided by content into four categories:

[Basic Concepts]	1, 2
[Stage One: Preventing Humanitarian Disasters]	3, 4, 5, 6, 7
[Stage Two: Stopping Humanitarian Disasters]	8, 9, 10
[Stage Three: Building Conditions for the Prevention of the Recurrence of Humanitarian Disasters]	11, 12, 13, 14, 15

Let us also add that this English version of the 20th Policy Recommendations of the Policy Council is a reproduction in English of the "Summary" part only of the same Policy Recommendations in Japanese. The full text of the Policy Recommendations in Japanese, which include not only the Introduction and the Summary but the Body as well, is printed and published separately, and can be viewed on the web site of The Japan Forum on International Relations at <http://www.jfir.or.jp/>.

The Policy Council of The Japan Forum on International Relations first met to consider these proposals on 29 November 1999, and adopted them in final form at its fourth meeting on 7 May 2001. During this time

the Task Force headed by **Prof. Inoguchi Kuniko**, Professor of Sophia University, and staffed by **Prof. Ueta Takako**, Professor of International Christian University, **Prof. Hoshino Toshiya**, Associate Professor of Osaka University, **Mr. Habu Shuichi**, Deputy International Editor of the Yomiuri Shimbun (October 1999 - April 2001), and **Mr. Kawata Takuji**, Deputy International Editor of the Yomiuri Shimbun (May 2001 - the Present), assisted the Policy Council in preparing the final draft of the recommendations.

Once this final draft was completed, it was sent to all members of the Policy Council, and the following 75 members of the Council indicated their approval of its contents. Their names appear below as signers of these recommendations.

On this occasion, we would like to thank Mr. Yachi Shotaro, Director-General of Treaties Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (at the time), for his valuable opinions expressed at the second meeting of the Policy Council. We would also like to mention the helpful insights we have received from senior officials of our government, who willingly granted us their precious time to attend our meetings as individuals in their advisory capacity of Policy Council Counselors.

Let us also add that the views expressed in these recommendations do not represent those of Mr. Yachi Shotaro or the ministries and agencies represented by the Policy Council Counselors and that sole responsibility for the contents of the recommendations lies with those members of the Policy Council who signed them only.

July 2001

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The Policy Recommendations

[Basic Concepts]

1. Conveying to the World the New Concept of "Collective Human Security"

The concept of security initially covered only those issues directly connected with the security of an individual country. Through the two world wars of the 20th century, however, a common awareness has been fostered internationally that wars are matters affecting the interests of all countries, even those not directly involved. This is the idea behind collective security. From this has developed the thinking that the international community should join together as one in dealing with aggressors who disrupt the peace. Considering the fact that many conflicts today, such as those between differing religious or ethnic groups, are not confined within national borders, a new concept of security focusing not just on "nations" but on "human beings" as well is essential. Japan should convey this new concept of internationalism, which here will be called "collective human security," to the rest of the world. Such an effort would also enhance the status of Japan, the country communicating this concept, as the 21st century witnesses the metamorphosis to a knowledge-based world.

2. Adopting a Comprehensive Three-Stage Approach to This New Internationalism: "Prevent, Stop, and Build"

A three-stage approach to this new internationalism is needed to address issues stemming from humanitarian disasters from the perspective of "collective human security": chronologically, this entails (1) "preventing" possible disasters, (2)

"stopping" disasters already underway, and (3) bringing a halt to the use of armed force and "building" circumstances favorable to preventing a recurrence. This internationalism should not be restricted in the narrow sense to military intervention for the prevention of humanitarian disasters, but instead must be seen as a broader concept based on a comprehensive approach aimed at creating independent democratic societies that encompass structural reforms to the social background that led to the crisis in the first place. While stressing to the world the importance of this comprehensive approach, Japan should avoid becoming focused exclusively on making contributions similar in nature to those of other countries, but should rather, through policy choices uniquely its own, make important contributions and present to the world various forms of internationalism.

[Stage One: Preventing Humanitarian Disasters]

3. Reinforcing Early Warning Systems to Reduce the Danger of Potential Crises, and Promoting the Spread of a Political Culture of Conflict Prevention

Preventing humanitarian disasters before they occur is far more effective in reducing the resultant damage and costs than coping with such disasters after they occur. Japan should steer policy discussions at international fora towards the question of why the international community was not able to prevent the occurrence of the situation, it should construct an early warning system, and it should steer the parties involved towards a political settlement: Japan should also help improve the success rate of conflict prevention by taking the lead in forming and spreading value criteria to that end. Placing priority on a system for conflict prevention, and a political culture to support it, will likely lead to the creation of an early warning system for preventing or managing highly sensitive crises. Japan should stress the importance of not only the management of crises after they occur but also prompt political decisions to defuse potential crises, and should itself be able to serve as a "control tower" in easing tensions.

4. Improving Information-Gathering Capabilities to Gain an Accurate Understanding of Circumstances in Regions of Conflict and to Prevent Conflicts

An early warning system for conflicts requires accurate information. For that reason, the Japanese government should further improve its information-gathering capabilities across a full range of fields, including foreign policy and security, and enhance its ability to assess this information comprehensively. It should also strengthen its research in all regions and train/utilize area specialists familiar with local circumstances in these regions. The Japanese government should likewise take a fresh look at the information assessment capabilities of foreign and domestic NGOs/specialists that have long worked in specific regions and gained an understanding of social trends there; furthermore, it should reinforce its cooperative ties and networks for acquiring information. We believe that support should be given to the Japan Center for Preventive Diplomacy, founded by the Japan Forum on International Relations, as we have high expectations of its future activities. As political decisions based on a composite of various types of information are essential in preventing conflicts, we recommend that Japan introduce a system for providing accurate briefings on the day-to-day status of areas around the globe to the prime minister and other key political figures, so that they can help make notable contributions to conflict prevention.

5. Actively Utilizing Japan's Own Experiences to Help Promote Post-Conflict Reconciliation

As the new millennium begins, the efforts towards reconciliation that have been gaining momentum worldwide deserve special mention. While the origins of past animosities cannot be eradicated altogether, having disputing parties understand the truth and accept each other is the surest path to reconciliation and, regardless the difficulties, political and social reconciliation is undoubtedly a fundamental remedy for preventing renewed civil war and extraordinary humanitarian disasters. The political leaders of other countries that have already succeeded in reconciliation

should be skillfully supported to allow them to provide assistance to a wider circle internationally. Appreciation of the persistent efforts by other parties in social reconciliation is also important. As the world's largest ODA donor, Japan should offer aid to promote ethnic reconciliation and should implore the rest of the world to honor these efforts. At the same time, Japan can underscore its experience in becoming the only major developed non-Western country and in endeavoring to harmonize with outside cultures even as it maintained its own unique character, and put this experience to use in mediating reconciliation efforts.

6. Helping Countries Improve Their Ability to Resolve Domestic Issues Non-Violently Through Assistance for "Indigenous Democratization"

Among the fundamental principles of democracy is a respect for, and the equality of, human life and human rights, and it follows from this principle that disputes in a democratic society must be resolved by non-violent methods. To prevent large-scale and brutal humanitarian disasters and other situations intolerable to civilized societies, it is vital that support be given to democratic perspectives towards humanity and the development of democratic political processes. In doing so, however, special attention should be given to the diversity with which all societies and cultures inherently hold to the principles of respect for human beings as individuals and of encouraging mutual help and sympathy. While taking advantage of indigenous social principles that are highly consistent with democracy, it is important to assist democratization - "indigenous democratization" - in a self-sustaining manner so that people can feel a sense of initiative (ownership) towards the political system. Japan should make practical contributions to support democratization at the prevention stage, such as conducting training for civilian police officers and helping construct a system to firmly establish the rule of law. The Japanese government might also consider making important contributions on the technical side as well, providing guidance in areas needed by the governments of developing countries such as democratic crowd control.

7. Making "Indigenous Development" Possible and Working to Direct the Energy of Different Ethnic Groups Towards the Creation of a National Economy

It may be difficult to eliminate ethnic disputes and hatred directly, but often fundamental disputes can be kept from reaching a critical state if the living standards of large numbers of people can be improved and ways found for them to spend their time more productively in the process of expanding the "economic pies" of even conflict-ridden societies. In the same way that Japan used an income doubling plan to provide the psychological foundations for its post-WWII reconstruction and rapid economic growth, the collective energies of differing ethnic groups can be directed towards pragmatic concerns, and Japan can certainly make decisive contributions through policy-based assistance founded on its own experience. This method has proven quite effective in turning societies faced with potential rupture in a more future-oriented direction. In implementing this approach, though, the international community should not impose a uniform model for development but rather should promote "indigenous development" that respects the principles and systems already extant within the societies in question. Support for small- and medium-sized businesses aimed at fostering local industry in the region is particularly effective, and measures must be taken to protect societies at this stage from the negative impacts of market globalization.

[Stage Two: Stopping Humanitarian Disasters]

8. Halting the Flow of Capital to the Parties in Conflicts to Stop the Conflicts Themselves

Capital is often a key factor in the outbreak and continuation of armed conflicts. History shows that large-scale wars have broken out when there is surplus capital. Even in conflicts involving the poorest nations, there are numerous instances where major countries provide financial backing to the parties engaged in the conflicts in order to acquire economic rights and interests. Looking from the reverse perspective,

cutting off the flow of capital to the parties to conflicts would be an extremely effective means of stopping the conflicts. Being one of the few major countries not involved in the export of arms and a country maintaining economic relations globally as one of the top trading nations in the world, Japan is in a good moral and economic position to exercise leadership in this area. Taking such steps as suspending the import of major export commodities that provide capital for arms purchases in areas of conflict facing serious humanitarian disasters will prove effective in helping stop these conflicts. Involvement through the wielding of its economic power will also show the world a form of internationalism worthy of Japan. Boycotting companies providing capital to areas of conflict is another means gaining attention that individual citizens can take to help prevent conflicts.

9. Advocating a "Multinational Police Force" to Prevent Violence Against Residents in Areas of Conflict and to Ensure Peace and Order

Multinational military units have demonstrated a certain degree of effectiveness in stopping local conflicts and restoring peace and order in the post-Cold War era. The soldiers in these military units are, however, trained for combat against other regular armies, and are not sufficiently prepared to deal with hate-inspired outrages such as murders and rapes among the residents in their areas of operations. We therefore advocate the organization of a multinational police force made up of officers from numerous countries whose primary mission would be that of preventing such violence and maintaining public order. The dispatch of a multinational military force, which may lead to full-scale military conflict, should be seen as a last resort, and a multinational police force should be initially sent instead. Although there are precedents for dispatching civilian police officers to areas of conflict, neither the scale nor the organization of such efforts is presently adequate, and both must be substantially improved. Legal restrictions prevent Japan from participating in a multinational military force, but there are advantages to having a police organization that is highly regarded internationally. In addition to the dispatch of police officers, Japan should play a leading role in assembling a proper

multinational police force as well as in training civilian police locally.

10. Intensifying Security Perspective in Planning and Implementing Relief Operations

Women and children are often the greatest casualties of humanitarian disasters. Mothers trying to protect their infants may be slow to flee their homes, and young girls frequently become the objects of sexual exploitation: another serious issue is that of child soldiers. While all violent deaths are equally tragic, the deaths of children and mothers in conflicts signify the death of the future, a tragedy that must be acknowledged by the international community. In making "human security" the foundation for internationalism, gender-sensitive relief should be outlined much more clearly. Bringing the security of women and children to the forefront will further illustrate the tragedy of armed conflict, and may help to lessen the impression of women and children as hostile parties. In connection with "human security," Japan should promote within the international community the concept of "gender security," above all the protection of the mental and physical well-being of women and mothers, and should demonstrate the determination of the international community to protect their rights.

[Stage Three: Building Conditions for the Prevention of the Recurrence of Humanitarian Disasters]

11. Placing Top Priority on the Collection of Small Arms and Providing Economic Support so that Soldiers Can Be Reintegrated into Society

The collection of small arms such as pistols and rifles is a directly effective means of preventing renewed hostilities in areas of conflict and of helping these areas recover after conflicts, as the majority of people killed in local conflicts are the victims not of artillery fire or missiles but of small arms. When the country involved cannot carry out collection itself, international assistance becomes necessary. It is

important in doing so, though, that measures be adopted to ensure that soldiers and officers will not have to turn once again to the military to provide for their livelihood. This will require steps to promote their full reintegration into society: should they again turn to weapons in an attempt to maintain their authority, private armies will likely emerge, leading inevitably to renewed hostilities. An appropriate economic environment must be established to achieve this reintegration. Japan has actively provided assistance to small- and medium-sized companies domestically, so it is quite probable that it can help foster small- and medium-sized companies in areas of conflict. Helping companies in areas of conflict grow via Japanese technology and capital will constitute a qualitative contribution to the building of post-conflict peace.

12. Registering in the UN Standby Arrangements System and Pursuing Further Contributions to Peace Through the UN

United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) play an important role in establishing peace through such efforts as ceasefire monitoring in areas of conflict. Japan has shown a willingness in recent years to participate in such PKOs, as evidenced by the dispatch of Self-Defense Forces to the Golan Heights, but this participation is still not enough. Japan should "do what it can do," and one policy option immediately available to it in supporting PKOs is participation in the UN Standby Arrangements System. This system was developed to reduce the time needed to deploy peacekeeping forces, and is based upon commitments by UN member states to contribute specified resources within an agreed response time for United Nations PKOs. Nearly 90 countries, ranging from the permanent members of the UN Security Council to developing countries, are already participating, with commitments stipulated in terms of the types and numbers of personnel, equipment, etc. Japan is not yet participating in this system, nor has it set out a clear timetable for joining the system at some future point. Given that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has declared that there are no major legal obstacles to participation, Japan should quickly begin the procedures that will allow it to participate.

13. Cooperating with European Regional Organizations in the Area of Non-Military Crisis Management

The OSCE, in which both the EU and the US play an active role, is quickly putting into place a system for managing crises by non-military means. The EU is building up to deploy civilian police capabilities, and the OSCE has established a human resources database system, operational from April 2001, that will allow the dispatch of the necessary personnel to crisis areas within a short time. Japan should certainly participate actively in non-military crisis management, and should cooperate with these regional organizations. It should also improve its practical cooperation with the OSCE, the only European organization in which Japan has special participating status, and should provide personnel for conflict prevention and post-conflict rehabilitation efforts in the OSCE area. At the same time, there are no geographical limitations to the EU's non-military crisis management, and Japan's worldwide interests go beyond its position as a regional power in the Asia-Pacific area. By pursuing a partnership with the EU, which is increasing its political presence worldwide, and by cooperating and participating in the EU's non-military crisis management, Japan can help improve the efficiency with which regional conflicts are handled.

14. Constructing and Promoting a Comprehensive Program to Support National Self-Reliance

Japan must implement a comprehensive program to support self-reliance — covering a variety of areas, including political, economic, and social development — in nations that have been devastated or weakened by conflict. In the political arena, support for the administration of free and fair elections is the most important means of building the foundations for a democratic political system. There is, however, an important point to bear in mind when holding elections. If elections are held immediately after the end of a conflict, large numbers of refugees who fled the fighting and are living far from their original homes will be disenfranchised and the elections themselves will be inherently unfair. Elections held in such circumstances

could allow certain parties to forcibly drive off real or potential opponents and then hold elections to lend an air of legitimacy to their claim to rule: this would sow the seeds of a new conflict. Careful consideration must therefore be given to the timing of elections. With regard to economics, support can be provided to establish central bank functions and to raise ethnically harmonious social capital. Educational assistance, too, is significant in fostering democracy, and literacy education for mothers would help reduce both the infant mortality rate and the number of children born that cannot be supported: these in turn would contribute to stabilizing the population.

15. Seeking a 21st-Century Form of ODA and Increasing the Proportion of ODA Provided via NGOs

Japan's international aid activities must shift in the 21st century from "money alone" to "assistance with human face." NGOs founded on humanist principles that transcend national borders can perform an extremely significant role in this regard. In Japan's case, however, NGOs face a large number of obstacles in terms of capital and social environment in carrying out aid activities. One way to overcome the capital issue would be to increase the portion of the ODA budget allotted to NGOs, which is markedly low compared with Western countries: the government should first aim to expand the funds earmarked for NGOs to 10% of the ODA budget over the next five years. We would also recommend that a certain amount of ODA be budgeted for conflict prevention. In addition, the government should encourage companies to put into place systems that allow employees to take leaves of absence to engage in volunteer work with NGOs, and that permit them to return smoothly to the company after they complete their volunteer work: it should also assist in creating an environment that makes active use of the skills and knowledge of such employees in government-affiliated and international organizations. Furthermore, the government should supply adequate information to Japanese NGOs active in conflict zones to help ensure the safety of their personnel.



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