Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explain the concept of peace in Japan, and Japan’s policy tool to transcend this concept of peace into practice in diplomacy. Specifically, it will focus on Japan’s policy on human security and explain how this policy has evolved since 1990s, and how the concept has been applied in practice as well as its limitation. It will also explore its relevance to address various challenges in South Asia. The author hopes that this paper may shed some light in the pathway ahead for much closer cooperation among the South Asian countries, and between South Asia and the international community, in the joint efforts to cope with emerging critical issues of common concerns, including (but not limited to) infectious diseases, terrorism, and climate change.

Concept of Peace Embedded in Japan’s Constitution

It has been generally viewed that Japan’s concept of peace is instantiated in the Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan which stipulates the renunciation of war as stated below:

“Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.”
"In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized."

This Article 9 has invited, however, many controversies in Japan. There are those who argue in support of Article 9 that the declaration of, and strict adherence to the renunciation of the war in the Constitution is sufficient enough to bring peace in the world. On the other end, there are also those who argue negatively that Article 9, if interpreted inappropriately, could compromise Japan’s defense strategy in the midst of impressive military build-up by the neighbouring countries, the Soviet Union during the Cold War, and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the North Korea after the end of the Cold War.

In fact, many Japanese officials and experts take the view that the lack of Japan’s military confrontation with other countries cannot be attributed to this Article 9 alone, but that it should be attributed to a set of complex factors, including Japan’s pragmatic diplomacy and security strategies to secure its safety over the past decades. Since the 1960s, Japan’s diplomacy has rested on 3 primary pillars: the bilateral alliance between Japan and the United States (US); multilateral diplomacy centered on the United Nations (UN) system; and cooperative relationship with Asian countries.

Since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1946, the Japanese government has interpreted Article 9 in such a way that it is consistent with the UN Charter which stipulates the right of self-defense, the right of collective self-defense, and collective security. The Japanese government has made it very clear that Article 9 does not prohibit Japan from arming itself as long as those arms are intended for the purpose of "exclusive self-defense", and that Article 9 does not deny Japan to have the right of self-defense as well as the right of
collective self-defense. In pure legal theory, Article 9 alone does not necessarily prohibit Japan from possessing even nuclear weapon should it be judged as an unavoidable option to achieve the purpose of "exclusive self-defense".

Certainly, Article 9 is a manifestation of the political will of Japan not to engage in the act of aggression upon other countries, but it does not prohibit Japan from taking military action when such action is judged as unavoidable in order to carry out the objective of exclusive self-defense, by legal interpretation.

Many Japanese experts and officials take the view that the relative stability that Japan has enjoyed since the 1940s can be attributed primarily to the extended deterrence provided by the US. In addition, Japan has been attentive to the necessity to engage adversary or potential adversary through diplomacy. For example, between the late 1960s and the 1970s, Japan adopted the "omnidirectional diplomacy" vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and the PRC, while sustaining the bilateral alliance with the US, which eventually paved foundation for the normalization of the diplomatic relationship with the PRC in 1972, and relatively benign diplomatic relationship with the Soviet Union in the 1970s. Even today, Japan adopts a relatively similar engagement approach toward the PRC and the North Korea.

In Japan, especially since the 1990s, there has been a view that Article 9 should be revised, or at least its legal interpretation should be revised, in such a way that Japan's Self-Defense Forces can be engaged in UN peace-keeping military operations abroad or joint military action with the US with a greater legitimacy and an enhanced practicality. There are also those who argue that Article 9 should be rewritten in such a way that it would enable Japan to possess offensive capability vis-à-vis North Korea's ballistic missile forces,
although such view has been held by a minority relatively.

After all, many experts and officials in Japan take the view that Article 9 alone has not been a primary determining factor that has secured Japan’s safety, nor has necessarily guided Japan’s diplomacy in its entirety. However, the concept of peace embedded in Article 9 has been certainly a strong diplomatic tool for Japan’s engagement with other countries. In general, despite the above discussions within, and official policy of Japan, many countries in the world regard Japan as “peace-loving” nation, which owes heavily to the concept of peace embedded in Article 9. After the end of the Cold War, the Japanese government has begun to put this concept of peace into practice by initiating a new strategy of “human security.”

**Peace Research in Japan**

The concept of human security has evolved from several academic fields, including peace research, development, regional studies, public health, and national security, all of which merged together. Especially, the peace research has had a long tradition in academic field in Japan, which has contributed in paving a foundation to institute research on human security.

In Japan’s peace research, the works by Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist who made the foundation of peace study, have been cited often. The Japanese experts on peace have introduced the concept of “negative peace” and “positive peace”. Whereas the former refers to the condition of the absence of war, the latter refers to the condition where a range of collaborative and supportive relationships are actively achieved by the state, society, and the people. Positive peace refers to the condition where individuals can enjoy a safe and secure living environment, economic and political stability, respect of basic human right, political freedom and the right to
participate in the political process. Such concept of peace has been also used in international institutions, as represented by the UN.

When positive peace is not realized, individuals suffer from the “structural violence” which is widely defined as the systematic ways in which a regime prevents individuals from achieving their full potential. Under the structural violence, individuals suffer from deteriorated conditions, such as poverty, disorder, instability, injustice, unfairness, suppression, inequality, harm, famine, diseases, and low literacy rate. In addition to the necessity to prevent military conflicts or terrorism, Japan’s peace research also stresses the necessity to cope with the structural violence. They argue that, “if you wish peace, you must prepare for it (si vis pacem, para pacem)”. Peace is not something that arises naturally. But instead, it is something to be created. In order to create peace, it is important to study peace in the first place. This conception of active pursuit of positive peace lies at the heart of academic programmes on peace research in Japan.

In fact, the preamble of the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) stipulates: “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed”. Peace research in Japan is intended to achieve this objective by creating educational programme to train the teachers who can engage in education of peace.

Especially, after the terrorist attacks in the US on 11 September 2001, the concept of national security has been broadened. Previously, it was generally regarded that the chaos in Afghanistan barely had anything to do with the security of advanced countries. But today, the existence of failed states has become one of the top priority concerns for the entire international community. Similarly, emergence of new
infectious diseases in developing countries can spread throughout the world swiftly, making the public health challenges of developing countries a global issue. With such change in security environment, there has emerged a new area of interdisciplinary security research, involving research programmes on peace, national security, development, laws, institutions, science and technology, food, education, and public health, etc. They all combine together to generate new research focus on nation-building or state-building. Indeed, Japan’s policy on human security has been developed in accordance with this new focus on nation and state-building, with an expanded renewed concept of security.

**Japan’s Policy on Human Security**

In December 2001, the Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi defined the concept of human security as below:

“Human security is to protect survival, livelihood and dignity of individual human beings from diverse threats, by strengthening initiatives from human perspectives, so as to realize the full potential of each person. Human security will gain further importance in addressing diversifying threats in the globalized world after the Cold War.”

Originally, this concept is derived from the Japanese Constitution which states in its preamble: “We recognize that all people of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.”

Building upon the spirits embedded in this Constitution, Japan has focused on achieving economic growth, while being protected under the alliance with the United States, since the end of the Second World War throughout today.

Already in the late 1970s, Japan tried to expand the scope of the concept of national security to include a new focus on
economic security, after having experienced major shocks to its economic growth triggered by the so-called "oil shocks" in the 1970s which were originated from the restriction of oil exports by the member states of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). In 1980, a Commission of the Japanese prime minister recommended to introduce a new concept of Comprehensive National Security, which defined energy security, food security, and counter-measures for large-scale earthquakes as major components of Japan's national security.

Simultaneously, as the Japanese economy grew, Japan has provided an increasing amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA) to the developing countries, especially those in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia. The ODA primarily focused on development assistance in these regions, and proved strong diplomatic tool for Japan to strengthen relationship with the countries in these regions.

As time went by, the Japanese experiences of economic growth and Japan's provision of foreign aid assistance were formulated into a new concept of human security in the mid-1990s. In a way, Japan has come to feel strongly the necessity to reflect its own experience of high economic growth to its aid programme more effectively. Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi (1998-2000) positioned human security as one of the major pillars of Japan's diplomacy, officially for the first time. The key person in this regard was the then State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Keizo Takemi who currently engages in cooperation with developing countries in areas of public health. In 1999, Takemi already pointed out that "in addressing the various problems which arise from globalization and regional conflicts, the state-centered security and economic policies perspective should also include a focus placed on individual humans (human security)," and referred to "the importance of individual (especially women), the key role of NGOs and
stressed the need for partnership among donor countries, developing countries, international organizations, and NGOs as well as the importance of strengthening the role and function of the United Nations as an international coordinator.\(^3\)

Subsequently, Japan took leadership to establish a Commission on Human Security which was co-chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen, in order to deepen the concept of human security and translate it into actions, under the strong support of United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan. In the final report of this Commission to UN Secretary-General in May 2003, the following elements have been highlighted as key pillars of policy on human security: (1) Protecting people in violent conflict; (2) Protecting people from the proliferation of arms; (3) Supporting the security of people on the move; (4) Establishing human security transition funds for post-conflict situations; (5) Encouraging fair trade and markets to benefit the extreme poor; (6) Working to provide minimum living standards everywhere; (7) According higher priority to ensuring universal access to basic health care; (8) Developing an efficient and equitable global system for patent rights; (9) Empowering all people with universal basic education; and (10) Clarifying the need for a global human identity while respecting the freedom of individuals to have diverse identities and affiliations.\(^4\)

Along the line with this conception, Japan has established the “Trust Fund for Human Security” in the United Nations, in order to fund the implementation of UN policy on human security, and also provided various bilateral assistances through the use of ODA. Especially since 2001, in the bilateral ODA assistance, Japan has come to focus on assisting in such areas as environment, poverty eradication, health care, environment pollution, African development, education, and disaster preparation and mitigation, in addition to infrastructure development.
Similarly, by hosting the G8 Summit in Okinawa, the Japanese government paved critical foundation for the subsequent establishment of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria\(^5\) as well as the UN Millennium Development Goal under which UN member states are committed to a global partnership to reduce extreme poverty and set out a series of time-bound targets with a deadline of 2015.\(^6\)

Today, most of the critical problems of international security entail significant elements of human security, as represented by those issues (but not limited to) counter-terrorism, weapons proliferation, narcotic and human trafficking, state building, corruption, infectious diseases, and extreme natural disasters. It is assessed that the climate change may exacerbate these problems by generating more extreme weathers and raising the sea-water level, which may contribute to further spread of infectious diseases across various regions and to increasing the vulnerability of key economic regions, especially those in the coastal areas, in the coming years.

**Challenges for South Asia**

The above concerns are especially salient for countries in South Asia. For a long period, South Asia has suffered from a whole range of problems that have affected the safety and security of individuals, community, society, and even nation as a whole. Those concerns include corruption, poverty, malnutrition, lack of basic public service such as health, education, and welfare. The Failed State Index 2009, jointly created by the Fund for Peace and Foreign Policy, categorizes Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Solomon Islands as “Alert” countries.\(^7\) The other governance indicator of the year 2000 created by the Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, or the UN Human Development Index,
also points to the relatively deteriorating conditions of governance in South Asian countries, especially in Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh.8

What is complicating the situation more in the coming years is the fact that South Asia is one of the primary regions where population is expected to grow dramatically. According to the World Population Prospects by the UN, the populations of the major countries in South Asia are expected to grow by 2050 as below:9

- **Bangladesh**: 222.5 million (about 45 percent increase as compared to the population of 153.1 million in 2005)
- **India**: 1,613.8 million (about 43 percent increase as compared to the population of 1,130.6 million in 2005)
- **Nepal**: 49 million (about 80 percent increase as compared to the population of 27.2 million in 2005)
- **Pakistan**: 335.2 million (about 102 percent increase as compared to the population of 165.8 million in 2005)
- **Sri Lanka**: 21.7 million (about 11 percent increase as compared to the population of 19.5 million in 2005).

In these countries, population growth is expected to be coupled with the increase in the population density in metropolitan areas10, most of which are located in the coastal areas. Key port cities in those areas, such as Mumbai, are assessed to have high exposure and vulnerability to climate extremes.11 On the other hand, South Asian countries are expected to face the relative decrease in the volume of available water resources12 and crop production13, which may make it difficult to sustain the increasing population in the years to come.

Since 2009, the *climategate* scandal has emerged, where the information used in the assessment of the potential impacts of the climate change on the global situation by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was not handled
properly to overestimate the impacts of the climate change. The degree to which this misuse of the information used in the IPCC report may have exaggerated the actual impacts of the climate change on the world does need scrutiny, certainly. So far, however, despite this scandal, a majority of the scientists and policymakers in most countries are unanimous in the view that the trend of the impacts of the climate change on the global affairs still points to a negative direction, while the degree of those impacts should be a subject of serious investigation.

With this view in mind, there remains a growing concern in Japan that the impacts of the above factors (climate change and population growth) may generate new internal pressure upon the governments of South Asian countries. Climate change could potentially invite large scale natural disasters and spread of infectious diseases. Depletion of water resources and decrease in crop production could invite conflict. Those factors could mount additional pressure on the governments which may be tempted to adopt hostile diplomatic posture toward neighbouring countries in order to blame other countries for its own domestic problems in the face of angry public. Major outflow of migrants could further worsen such diplomatic tensions, and possibly trigger ethnic, intra-state, or inter-state conflict. As a result of weak governance of states, there are concerns that new safe havens of terrorist, pirates, and criminal organizations may emerge in this region.\textsuperscript{14}

In fact, South Asia is emerging as one of the geographical regions of priority concerns for Japan. Weak governance of states could generate those conditions under which various transnational threats, such as terrorism and crimes, may exacerbate in this region. Internal or external conflict could also arise from such deteriorated conditions. The instability of South Asia could have a significant impact on the safety and security of the sea-lanes of commerce and transportation between the Middle East and East Asia which constitute a
life-line of Japan’s maritime trade.

While the international community has been almost exclusively attentive to the necessity to assist the African development, a similar focus on South Asia barely exists. In a way, South Asia seems almost “forgotten” as compared to Africa. It is high time that this region receives more serious attention of the international community.

Salience of Human Security in the Context of South Asia

In order to mitigate the above expected impacts on South Asia in the years to come, various initiatives related to human security should be implemented as swiftly and effectively as possible. For this purpose, it is beneficial to learn from the case studies of Japan’s implementation of support programmes related to human security abroad. This section will introduce some of the case studies of, and lessons learned from, such case studies.

In the past, Japan has provided various support programmes associated with human security, including areas of conflict mediation, public health, education, poverty eradication, water, food, etc. Especially, Japan has been attentive in providing such assistance in order to address root causes of conflicts or instability of countries and regions, as best as possible. For example, in areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority (where the United States is not necessarily viewed as an objective party), Japan has provided aid to improve reproductive health with a special focus on maternal and child health between 2005 and 2008, utilizing its perception as an objective country in this area.

In addition, as conflicts occur across the world, there is an increasing need for prompt restoration of health systems in post-conflict countries as an emergency measure. As such,
Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has provided support to countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Sudan.

Also, Japan has provided educational support to those areas where Islamic fundamentalism has strong roots in the Philippines or Indonesia. In these countries, the United States, Australia, and the European countries are not necessarily perceived as popular countries, but Japan has retained a relatively benign popularity. Thus, Japan has selected relatively moderate Madrasahs in these areas and provided opportunities for the president, teachers, and students to engage in interaction with their counterparts at schools in Japan. A president of a Madrasah who is engaged in this programme said that before his students interacted with the Japanese students, he had been concerned that their belief system or value could be "threatened" by such interactions. Instead, through these interactions, he has found out that those non-Islamic students were rather friendly and respect Islamic religion and different culture, on contrary to his original fear, and that these interactions opened their eyes for the virtue of interacting with other religions, such as Buddhism.\(^{15}\)

The support programmes of Japan have been appreciated by the recipient countries and communities. This is due to the manner by which Japan has conducted these support programmes cautiously in such a way as to meet the local requirements, as well as the general impression of Japan as a peaceful and objective country within the recipient countries.

When providing support, Japan has generally refrained from providing substantial material or financial support, but instead, has been attentive to providing technical capability with a view to creating a successful model case in the recipient country, working together with the local community and developing local human resources, so that such model can be expanded to other local communities throughout the recipient country. Even after the aid project is terminated, it needs to be
ensured that the local community sustains the programmes on their own.

From Japan’s experience, the local community has great potential for providing various services to the local individuals. Participation by the local community from the onset of the project launch is highly important. It is essential to nurture a sense of ownership of the human security-related aid project among the local community. For example, when providing educational support, schools should be managed by the school managers, and not by the assistance providers.

A similar approach is also effective in police sector reform. For example, JICA has been providing technical assistance for the police reform in Indonesia, where Indonesian police has not been seen as a reliable entity to solve criminal cases by the local community but rather as the very source of problem. The police occasionally harass the local people, through such measures as demanding money or threatening to arrest these innocent individuals otherwise. With a view to reforming Indonesia’s police culture, Japan has been exporting key elements of Japan’s community policing system, which has been a cornerstone of Japan’s public safety system, to Indonesia. However, it is not a wholesale export of Japan’s police system, but instead, a system tailored to suit to Indonesian local culture has been developed jointly with Indonesian counterparts. By establishing a *Koban* box (a community police station), both the Japanese experts and Indonesian counterparts station here together, and can learn about the local situation, understand the needs of local people, gain grasp of what makes them anxious, as well as respond accordingly. This initiative of the local community police stations has been evaluated positively by the local people since it serves as a vehicle to disseminate various information that can be used for better governance to the local community accurately and swiftly.
Disseminating Human Security Initiatives throughout the Asia-Pacific Region

When appropriate, the lessons learnt or best practices derived from those assistance programmes should be shared by other countries as well. Thus, Japan has provided support in such a way as to encourage intra-regional cooperation.

As a result of such endeavour, the concept of human security has been adopted also by the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 2003. The APEC Leaders Declaration in Bangkok in October 2003 established a section on “Enhancing Human Security”, which stipulates as below:

“We agreed that transnational terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction pose direct and profound challenges to APEC’s vision of free, open and prosperous economies. We agreed to dedicate APEC not only to advancing the prosperity of our economies, but also to the complementary mission of ensuring the security of our people.”

Since then, APEC has clear focus on human security every year, including the hosting of an open seminar on "APEC Human Security Seminar - implementation of the human security related mandate from Leaders and Ministers" in October 2005. In the 2007 APEC Leaders Declaration, “Strengthening our community, building a sustainable future”, the APEC conference affirmed that “human security is essential to economic growth and prosperity.” In the following year, the 2008 APEC Leaders Declaration stated:

“Enhancing human security and protecting the region's business and trade against natural, accidental or deliberate disruptions remains an enduring priority for APEC, and an essential enabling element in APEC's core trade and investment agenda.”
Specifically, the 2008 APEC Leaders Declaration listed “Combating Terrorism and Securing Regional Trade” and “Disaster Risk Reduction, Preparedness and Management” as specific priority areas to be addressed in human security, and stated clearly as below:

“We endorsed the priority APEC has given to promoting risk management, business resilience and public-private sector partnerships, and supported efforts to prepare economies for the recovery phase. We instructed officials to undertake long-term capacity building projects aimed at accelerating recovery in disaster affected areas in APEC economies and supported the inclusion of education on disaster issues in school curricula where appropriate.”

All in all, APEC has committed a number of steps including pandemic preparedness, a more robust approach to food safety, preparedness for natural disasters, an ongoing commitment to counter terrorism and the dangers posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as policy matters to be handled in the realm of human security.²⁰

Similarly, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been also addressing these challenges multilaterally. The ASEAN has established its Social-Cultural Community to address such issues as disaster management, education, environment, haze, health, rural development and poverty eradication, science and technology, social welfare and development, women and youth, etc.²¹

It is highly recommended that South Asian countries also join these collaborative efforts. Human security is about strengthening governance, including healthcare, education, corruption, rule of law, and human rights, as well as coping with a variety of transnational challenges, including climate change, population growth, terrorism, ethnic conflicts, and weapon proliferation. Today, all these problems merge together
to pose ever more serious challenges to the countries in South Asia. Significant benefits can be expected from such cooperation because these are the very issues of serious common concerns of every country. The human security programmes can open a new window of opportunity for "win-win" collaboration across the region.

In order to advance such cooperation in areas related to human security in South Asia, it is important that the countries in this region have an open-minded concept of peace and stability, and respect for the conceptual boundary of policy framework held by respective state mutually. States are best advised to start with taking pragmatic steps in order to build trust and understanding with each other ever more deeply.

**Conclusion**

Cooperation for human security can serve as a reliable vehicle for confidence building among states. For instance, a good example of collaboration in human security in the Middle East can be cited. Cooperation for infectious diseases has been conducted between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, both of which are very well known to have had a very difficult diplomatic relationship for a very long time. Even they have begun, however, to exchange specific information about available public health resources in respective jurisdiction, and over the past few years, they even exchanged some culture of biological agents of infectious diseases because research and development of medical counter-measures using these agents are viewed as matter of their common interest.\(^{22}\)

Indeed, collaboration in areas related to human security is a common interest to every country. It can open a new window of opportunity for regional cooperation. It will also serve as a new vehicle to deepen regional cooperation in South Asia as well.
In the coming years, as noted previously, problems such as climate change, population, water, or food, are expected to generate serious challenges to the governance of South Asian countries, and these issues are increasing their weights as the subjects for cooperation between South Asian countries and Japan.

Furthermore, South Asia and East Asia can learn from each other by exchanging best practices and lessons learnt in areas of human security-related activities. It should be never forgotten that there are also various good examples that East Asia can learn from South Asia, such as the initiative of micro-financing by Grameen Bank which has significantly contributed to reduce poverty in Bangladesh. There are many things that South Asia can teach East Asia, as well.

Lastly, such cooperation for human security should be conducted through close cooperation among governments, industries, and academic institutions as well as local communities, so that it will pave foundation for sustainable economic growth across Asia. Such cooperation will surely contribute to deepen trust and build confidence among the Asian countries.

Endnotes


accessed on 22 November 2009.


7 This is an index created by The Fund for Peace and Foreign Policy annually. This index is based on 12 indicators of state cohesion and performance, compiled through an examination of more than 30,000 publicly available sources. It includes social, economic, and political indicators. 177 states are rated in order from most to least at risk of failure, in which the 60 most vulnerable states are listed in the rankings of The Failed States Index. See, Foreign Policy, "The Failed States Index 2009" available at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2009/06/22/the_2009_failed_states_index; accessed on 3 January 2010; and The Fund for Peace, "Failed State Index 2009", available at http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=99&Itemid=140, accessed on 3 January 2010.


15 A comment by a Madrasah’s president at a biannual meeting of the Council of Asian Terrorism Research in Jakarta, Indonesia, April 28, 2009.


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