SUBSTANTIALIZING AND IMPLEMENTING HUMAN SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF FOREIGN POLICY: THE CASE OF JAPAN (1995-2003)

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Abstract

The presentation of 'human security' notion in 1990s signified transformation of international relations from nation-centred international system to people-centred international system. This concept not only redefined the term security, but altered the perceptions of both objects and subjects of threat as well. This development in the discourse of 'security' and the logic of linkage between national-interests and human-interests convinced states to reconsider and reframe their security policy. This article describes the notion of human security as a crux to chain the people across the world owing to the recognition of identical security challenges and responses. The concept of human security brought states closer and infused the sense of collaboration and cooperation to mitigate the threats to the security of human being. Methodologically, this paper presents qualitative and analytical study applying secondary data. This study presents the period 1995-2003 as a historical tenure regarding development of human security approach in the foreign policy of Japan. This research analyses how the Japanese governments under the leadership of some people-friendly Prime Ministers advocated the concept of human security and promoted it as a vital determinant of the foreign policy of Japan.

Keywords: *Human Security, Foreign policy, Diplomacy, International systems*

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INTRODUCTION

The nation-state system introduced by the Westphalia International System in 1648 had linked the term 'security 'to 'national-interest'. It was assumed that defence of territorial integrity is the defence of people. The biggest threat to the survival and security of people was external, which could only be protected making the borders secure from all external threats. Consequently, for the security of borders the states needed to consume a big share of budget for defence. This definition of 'security' transformed in 1990s during post-cold war era due to big changes in international politics and international economic order as a result of deepening of globalization.

The post-cold era witnessed politically and economically fragmented countries undergoing intra-state conflicts and casualties, such as ethnic and racial issues, problems of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and immigrants, and worldwide concerns about the escalation of small arms and landmines. These social and political situations raised various challenges including poverty, malnutrition, health issues, environmental degradation, genocides, refugees' problems and terrorism. These challenges caused emergence of some new concepts like non-traditional security, comprehensive security, non-military security, trans-national security, and sustainable security (Dorn, 2012). Furthermore, these threats generated a discussion on the perception of security, shifting its emphasis from the traditional state and nation-security to the individual/human security–the security of their needs, concerns and wellbeing and growth (Acharya & Acharya, 2000). Accordingly, the concentration on the protection of human being got world-wide recognition and a new form of security entitled 'human security' was introduced. The concept of human security prioritizes human life emphasizing efficacious means of good governance for the safety of all people including civilians, patients, prisoners and victims of war (Dorn, 2012).

Since 1990s, states are adopting human security notion in their foreign policy agendas. Being one of the main supporters of the notion of

human security Japan also integrates this concept in its foreign policy. Taking Japan as a case study, this research investigates Japan's policy of human security, and its substantial schemes for its application.

Study reveals that the basic content of Japan's human security notion appeared during the period of 1995-2003. During the said period, some prominent political figures in Japan strived to make the concept of human security a successful concept for the well-being of Japanese nation and to vitalize its applicability for its own internal affairs. They endeavoured to express the significance of human security in Japan as a country with limited force and zero space for militancy. During this decade (1995-2003) both the conceptualization and concrete implementation of human security by Japan exhibited the preferences of Japanese foreign policy, which was significantly a non-military and human centred foreign policy. Additionally, in this course of time, the efforts of the then prime ministers advanced this concept to promote and preserve international peace and security as well. In this tenure, they fostered their efforts to inter link the concept of international aid to human security.

REVIEWING HUMAN SECURITY DISCOURSE

Proponents of human security concept believe that this form of security does not deny or revolutionize the traditional security concept but strengthens it. It rather supports to the pluralistic values by reinforcing the function of state within the course of human security and providing an organized and wide-ranging views about the security of states and human being.

Idiosyncratically, in the security study, Barry Buzan (1981) can be referred as the first proponent of the theory of security. Buzan did not use the term 'human security' but he was the first scholar of security studies, who presented the idea of individual's security. Buzan believes that security requires referent objects and state cannot be the only referent object of security, as it cannot solve all the problems. He added that, security of one state cannot be discussed without the

security of other state. Therefore, Buzan refers Waltz's three levels of analysis for security as referent objects focused on individuals, states and international system. He argues that none of them can be counted as a referent object or responsible for security in isolation.

There are various threats to individual's security known as social threats. These threats could be countered through positive link between individuals and state. Meanwhile, Buzan gives four types of threats: social and physical intimidations; economic pressures; coercion of rights; and perils to position or status. Buzan assumes Political terrorism as one of the biggest threats to individuals because regardless the targets of terrorist attacks the victims are always common people. At this stage, international system or world community as third referent object of security may help the individuals through international legal codes and conducts.

Exploring the concept of human security Mehbubul Haq defined the concept as safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. Seven types of security were listed as components of human security: economic security; food security; health security; environmental security; personal (physical) security; community security; and political security (UNDP, 1994).

The former Secretary General of United Nations, Kofi Annan has explained the concept of human security within the two most important universal norms; freedom from fear and freedom for want. In his opinion, human security symbolizes the absence of violence, and it covers achievement of all fundamental rights and this all is possible through alleviating poverty and boosting up economic development.

The Canadian foreign minister, Lloyd Ax worthy (1999), also summarized the Canadian Human Security Policy with the same definition "Human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety and lives". This security agenda aimed at

protecting civilians from chronic threats assisting peace-keeping operations over all world. To implement this agenda Canadian government has taken many practical steps such as engagement in arms control negotiations to ban small arms and land mines; providing aid for peace building and rehabilitation process; and contributing to UN and international community for the establishment of legal institutions and legislations for human safeguard (Kilgour, 1999). Explaining the range of human security, Edward Newman (2010) gives an idea that 'human security requires protection of people's health, shelter, education, employment, equal opportunities and all other basic rights'.

Comprehensively, human security is people-centred idea in which individuals are the referent objects and the subjects of security are states and intra-state agencies. These subjects, in their own capacities, are responsible not only for the security of their own countries but also for enhancing prestige and development of the individuals of all nations.

NORMATIVE AND HISTORICAL SUBSTANCE OF JAPAN'S HUMAN SECURITY POLICY

Japan was left completely devastated after World War-II with acute want for societal as well as economic reintegration. With the aim of achieving the desired interests, Japan had only single option, and it was to align with the prevailing superpowers of West. This opportunity was availed through signing the San Francisco Peace Treaty and US-Japan Security Treaty in 1951. In the post WW-II era, Japan re-oriented and revived its foreign and security policy (Berger, 1996). The Post-WW-II policy based on Non-Traditional Security, which led the country towards the journey of Human Security Policy. Figure 1 shows the factors of Non-Traditional Policy of Japan, which are jointly working as Japanese Human Security Framework.
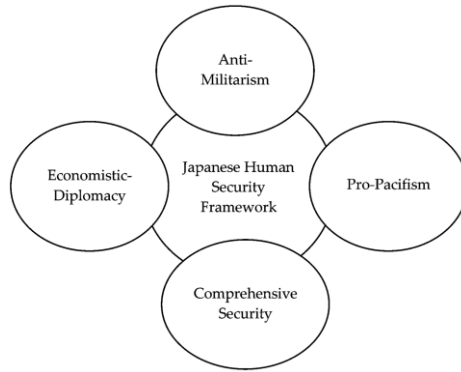
Figure 1: Japanese Human Security Framework

The Non-Traditional approach of Japan in the Post-WW-II era reflected a culture of 'anti-militarism' and 'pro-pacifism'. Under anti-militarism policy, Japan determined not to use force as a legitimate power to run the statecraft. In this connection, in 1960s, Japan involved with the three nuclear non-proliferation principles – no to producing, possessing and proliferating nuclear weapons in Japan. These anti-militaristic standards have been the robust features of the Japanese state ever since 1945 (Berger, 1996). Following Pacifistic policy, Japan defined its foreign policy in terms of bringing together all peaceful means such as cooperation on civilian grounds, foreign investment and foreign aid. This policy became the significant trademark for Japan's Human-centred security policy approach (Katzenstein, 1996).

In 1980, the Japanese government revived its security doctrine and adopted 'comprehensive national security' as its security strategy. Thereby, Japanese government stepped out its security policy from US military-centric approach of traditional military strategy to a broader 'comprehensive security' policy. This policy was pronounced as an amalgamation of three conceptions — self-defence, non-military diplomacy and natural disaster response. Comprehensive security policy included social, economic and political aspects for achieving national security objectives (Yasutomo, 2011).

In the comprehensive security policy, the priority was given to economic expansion, which was known as 'economistic' diplomacy and 'Cheque-book' diplomacy (Calder, 1988). Thereby, economy became the first determinant of Japan's foreign policy and Japan relied on financial contributions in terms of its international relations. Through economistic policy, Japan engaged its own economic interests in a pacific style. This economistic diplomacy was based on three pillars: harmonization with democratic and liberal countries, building healthier relations with neighbouring countries in Asia, and supporting UN missions. There by with the opening of 90s Japan had ascended the venture to exercise its political influence on international community applying its economic abilities through foreign policy mechanism (Calder, 1988). In the same decade, this political and economic influence over international environment was utilized to promote the human security agendas.

JAPAN HEADS TO HUMAN SECURITY VENTURE VIA FOREIGN POLICY (1995-2003)

Promoting human security through foreign policy requires a coordination between main stakeholders including government, bureaucracy, international organizations and civil society. This coordination can be materialized through a particular strategy from top to bottom level. In this regard, Japan implemented some policy actions such as delivering government policymaking speeches; organizing seminars and symposia; holding meetings with other countries and engaging them in bilateral and multilateral dialogues with reference to human security agendas; and establishing groups and making them active on national and international level aiming to apply human security agendas.

Addressing UN Summit for Social Development in March 1995 at Copenhagen, the then Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi supported Human Security Policy as a priority agenda of Japan for the human-centred social development. In October 1995, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, at the Special Commemorative

Meeting of the General Assembly, Tomiichi recognized human security as a new-fangled approach and urged UN to recreate a significant role to make the idea of human security workable for the entire world.

Prime Minster Tomiichi believed that the active role of UN for implementation of human security was required for well-being and welfare of individuals, which was jeopardized by the immense threats such as violence, oppressions, diseases, poverty, and ignorance. All these threats could be addressed by the implementation of the ideas of promotion of democracy, economic reforms, arms control, nuclear disarmament and peacekeeping operations. The United Nations could smoothly resolve all these issues, as it is the central forum of world community. The then Secretary General of UN Kofi Annan (1997) foreshadowed his words and expressed that human security was the chief mission of the UN.

To alleviate criticism and reproaches of opposition groups who were staunch believers of traditional security policy Murayama applied two rational strategies. He presented human security policy as a strategy of UN to be followed by all the state for social development at home. Secondly, he depicted the human security policy as policy that completed national security policy and it was not replacing agenda to the traditional concept of security. He claimed that human security policy harmonized the pacifist notions personified in the Japanese idealism and constitution avowed by a number of Japanese leftist politicians, intellectuals and experts. This rational approach made Murayama a pioneer of human security in the Japanese context (Edström, 2011).

Nonetheless, Ueda (2000) refers Obuchi Keizō the forerunner of human security policy in the internal as well as foreign affairs of Japan. The international horizon of Obuchi was quite broad due to frequent international visits during his young age. In his words, these solitary journeys taught him meaning of the connections between people and made him known to the sense of human security.

Although, Murayama and Hashimoto reinforced the human security policies verbally, Obuchi made a hallmark of special vows, which make him champion of human security policy both on national and international level.

The international campaign against landmines in 1991 was a trigger for Obuchi and his government. It ought to be mentioned here that Obuchi was strong supporter of this policy. Under his guidance, Japan joined the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and ratified international treaty against landmines. Obuchi (1998) linked the underlying spirit of this campaign to Japan's human security policy. It was the first time he brought up human security on international level epitomizing the interdependence as a key component of international relations. Linking Economy to Human Security, as a Foreign Minister of Japan during Hashimoto regime, he advocated the policy of economic cooperation to Asian countries and labelled it as 'Five Cs'.

Obuchi, outlined 'compassion' among 'Five Cs' as the most important element to reduce economic risks. He identified the aged, poor, the disabled, children and women, as socially vulnerable people and sternly harmed by economic hitches. He prioritized health and education as central components of human security framework concerns and took interest to further collaboration in these two areas giving them importance in Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) policy (Obuchi, 1998). Thereby, Obuchi made human security a vital perspective of the foreign policy of Japan.

Apart from remarkable speeches in support of human security, Obuchi displayed the practical initiatives in his era as a Prime Minister of Japan. He announced 500 million yen (US $ 4.2 million) for the establishment of the "Human Security Fund" under the United Nations (the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security).

The foundation of United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security purported to support monetary organizations working on

development projects in Asia. In this regard, Japan's support to Trust Fund proposes two dispositions of Japan's human security diplomacy. First, it displays Japan's approach to 'freedom from want' and second, it highlights Japan's tilt to secure the whole society in a systematic way. The most prominent achievements on the profile of Obuchi in the context of human security encompass his efforts to tackle the matter of anti-personnel landmines, countering Asian countries economic depression and Foundation of Human Security Fund. His achievements had received international recognition. The erstwhile UN Secretary General Kofi Annan also lauded his efforts on the visit to Japan in 1999 (Annan, 2006).

Efforts of Obuchi to make human security a key aspect of foreign policy of Japan were inherited by his forerunner Prime Minister Mori Yoshirō. Mori demonstrated more influence at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000 to continue human security as a pillar of Japan's foreign policy. In his speech at the Summit, he reiterated the approach of Murayama and Obuchi recommending each human being as a referent object of security and specified survival and dignity as the core values of this human security approach. To counter the threats to human security approach, Mori suggested two step; increasing contributions to the Trust Fund for Human Security and formation of an international commission on human security within the United Nations.

As Obuchi's policy had made the Trust Fund for Human Security focusing on Asia, the Mori government intended to focus on Human Security Commission supporting Asia centred policy. After the establishment, the activities of commission were expanded to the entire globe with special focus on Africa. In his eyes, human security issues in Africa were more critical as compared to any other area of the world. He invited African leaders in Okinawa Summit to discuss their human security concerns. In addition, he visited three African countries (South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria). After the roundtrip, he delineated his opinion on human security with reference to Africa. He

specified all African problems- poverty, refugees, internal conflicts, infectious disease, environmental destructions, and water resources – as problems that intimidate human survival on this earth. Thus, Prime Minster Mori made Africa one of the main affairs of the external policy of his government (Yoshirō, 2001).

Jun'ichirō Koizumi, who was the successor of Prime Minister Mori tracked the human security policy of predecessors initially, but could not pay much attention to the same in the years ahead. Designing his own programs for human centred assistance, Prime Minister Koizumi regarded 21st century as the human centred century. He was also appreciative of Trust Fund for Human Security, but the 9/11 terrorists' attacks caused a turn-off in Japan's quest to human security and impacted the foreign policy agendas of Japan. After 9/11 fighting terrorism was topmost objective of Japan's external policy (Jun'ichirō, 2001).

Prime Minister Koizumi denoted human security in his speech in the Diet on 31st January 2003. In 2003, Koizumi initiated a task to modify Official Development Assistance (ODA) Policy of Japan in the context of human security. The revised ODA plan consisted of five key concepts (i) Supporting self-help efforts of developing countries (ii) The perspective of human security (iii) Assurance of fairness (iv) Utilization of Japan's experiences and expertise (v) Partnership and collaboration with the international community (Edström, 2011).

Human security was placed as number two concept of ODA policy in 2003 subsequent to self-defence as number one. However, the integration of this concept in the ODA policy as one of the main pillars. Koizumi specified technical application of human security context to recover its effectiveness for the advancement in Asia and the developing countries of other continents. Briefly, the ODA charter was revised by the Diet and the mission to advance human security had been adopted as an important component of Japanese ODA policy (Jun'ichirō, 2004).

CONCLUSION

Japan has endorsed the human security policy not as a new policy, which replaces the traditional security policy concept of Japan, but as a complementing and additional notion to the national security policy. This paper explored enthusiasm and advocacy of Japanese governments for human security agendas through foreign policy process. It concludes that making best use of human security agendas, Japan has contributed to international peace, stability, security and development causes.

Human security policy spaced in Japan gradually invigorating cheque-book diplomacy in order to promote multidimensional efforts for human welfare. Official Development Assistance (ODA) which is the main contributing policy of Japan to the welfare of world, it is being enabled as an instrument of human Security Policy of Japan. This country promotes its ODA Policy as an instrument to recover plights of troubled people across the world. Thereby, for Japan ODA is an intellectual and financial contribution to international society in terms of human security.

By this means, human security broadened visions of Japan grooming up its international standard. In one decade from 1995 to 2003, human security not only positioned as a one of the determinants of the Japan's foreign policy, but it became centrifugal of ODA and development policies. Now human security is one of the integral principles of Japan's development policy.

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