

## CHAPTER IV

### JAPAN AND OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA)

#### 4.1 Brief Overview of the History of Japan's ODA Policy

Japan rejoined the international community in 1952 after the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. At this time, Japan's most pressing foreign policy imperative was to re-establish peaceful diplomatic relations with most of the international community. In order to do that, Japan had to pay reparations for the damages caused by its war-time aggression. Some of the beneficiaries of that were countries such as Myanmar (Burma) and Indonesia, among others (Togo, 2005). Those reparations became the beginning of Japan's ODA policy. The estimated total of the reparations paid by Japan amounted to 945.53 billion yen, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Togo, 2005). Japan's ODA during the 1950s and most of the 1960s was characterized by its conditionality (MOFA, 2006c). This conditionality is not the one usually expected which includes respect for human rights and democracy but rather one that limited the way in which the aid could be used. Most of those reparations were paid with the transfer of outdated technology and industrial plants for example (Glenn D. Hook, 2005). The recipient had to use the aid to buy or pay for Japanese products or services. By doing this, Japan used its ODA to stimulate its economy and to increase the level of interdependency with the beneficiary (MOFA, 2006c). This policy went side by side with Japan's norm of "economism" and later on with its "GNPsm" both of which favored economic growth above all else. Some countries resented the conditionality of aid during this period with the argument that the money or loans provided could be more effectively used procuring local products and services or those of a third country.

The 1960s saw Japan's period of high speed growth and also a growing concern to find markets for its products. Thus ODA became an economic tool which served to open new markets and to find sources of raw materials. Regarding Japan's ODA policy during this period, it was very similar to that of the 1950s except that it became more conspicuous internationally due to Japan's rising importance, especially in East Asia. "Tied" aid was the norm during the 1960s and Japan started to realize that while it lacked military power, economic power could be just as useful and as powerful. In 1961 Japan was one of the founding members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) (Glenn D. Hook, 2005). Japan's ODA reached \$100 million in 1964 and was mostly confined to Asia (Togo, 2005).

The 1970s were also characterized by large sized infrastructure projects and mostly "tied" aid. However changing trends in international development norms put some pressure on Japan to include other approaches as part of its ODA policy. One such approach was that of Basic Human Needs (BHN) (MOFA, 2006c). This approach stressed that aid should help satisfy the needs of the people, and benefit the recipient country as a whole, rather than only serve the economic agenda of the donor. This trend was contradicted by Japan's continuing policy of "tying" aid to Japanese products and services. In 1972 72 percent of aid was tied (Glenn D. Hook, 2005). In addition to that most of Japan's ODA was concentrated in the Asia-Pacific region. This decade saw ODA rise tenfold and it reached the staggering amount of \$1.1 billion in 1976 (Togo, 2005).

The 1980s saw two important changes in Japan's ODA policy. The first was that structural adjustment and liberalization came to the fore (MOFA, 2006c). In addition to that Japan started to respond to negative criticism by developing countries

over its policy of “tying” aid to Japanese products and services by “untying” all aid by 1982 (Glenn D. Hook, 2005). Nevertheless Japanese Official Development Aid continued to be “tied” in practice. This is due to the practice of granting aid through private companies operating in the beneficiary countries. In other words this means that the common practice was for the government to present a request with the help and guidance of a Japanese company. This means that the petitioning company will usually provide the products or the services. According to Glenn Hook this helped Japanese transnational corporations penetrate foreign markets and thus increased interdependency and trade (Glenn D. Hook, 2005).

The end of the Cold War and continued economic success meant that Japan increased its ODA during the early 1990s (MOFA, 2006c). In 1991 Japan became the number one donor in the world and held that position until the onset of the 1997 Asian economic crisis. Before the economic crisis Japan made great efforts to promote its peculiar style of development based on strong government guidance over the private sector and trade. Those feelings of success were voiced in the much discussed 1993 World Bank report entitled “The East Asian Miracle” (MOFA, 2006c). This report represented the apex of Asian pride and also served as a summary of what Japan and its East Asian followers believed was the key to successful development. It favored the “developmental state model” and was also implicitly used by Japan to justify its “flying geese model” and the division of labor it had created in Asia. In summary it declared that Japan had a great influence through its ODA and other economic policies in the development of East Asia. From a more qualitative point of view Japan’s ODA underwent major changes during this decade. The end of the Cold War drastically changed world order and Japan was awakened to that fact by the Gulf War.

After this event, Japan realized that more aid should be allocated for peacebuilding, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and finally for the protection of those affected by conflict. Conflict prevention was also emphasized and by the end of the decade and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the trend was moving towards nation building and a more comprehensive development approach.

The late 1980s through the early 21<sup>st</sup> century saw another interesting change in Japan's ODA policy. This is related to human rights and democracy. While always claiming to promote the concepts of human rights and democracy, Japan was known for its staunch opposition to connecting economics to those more political issues. In other words, Japan was historically keen to separate human rights and democracy from economic considerations. This started to change slightly in the late 1980s initially due to Western Pressure and the growing polarization over the issue of the universality of human rights. Most of East Asia upheld that Asian values were superior and had precedence over human rights. Japan was then forced to take a stand on this issue, at least officially, that supported the position of the Western Powers which claimed that human rights are universal. It can not be denied that this was mostly done due to Western pressure like in the case of the Tiananmen massacre when Japan temporarily stopped ODA to China. However Japan did try to persuade its Western allies to resume it as soon as possible. According to Aoi and others, this trend increased steadily as can be seen in the 1992 ODA Charter which includes some conditions to qualify for ODA (Aoi, 2000). Finally during the late 1990s and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century global conditions such as the rise of virulent nationalism and terrorism forced Japan to reconsider its historic apathy towards using ODA as a tool to promote the respect of human rights and the spread of democracy (Togo, 2005). The reasons

for this shift are complex and involve many actors. But one important factor is the tightening of the security alliance with the United States and also a growing understanding of the connections between development and security. The climax of this came about with the development of the concept of human security. This concept was eagerly adopted by Japan so as to bring some coherence to its foreign policy. While the concept effectively incorporates most aspects of Japan's foreign policy, the question is whether it served as an actually different and innovative approach to guide Japan's foreign policy towards a single direction or rather just served as a way to justify incoherent policy goals formulated through complex political interactions which in reality serve to hide other very different policy goals. In other words, the following sections will trace back the history of the concept in relation to Japan's ODA policy and then draw from that Japan's official position regarding the term. In addition to that, Japan's official position regarding the term will be analyzed and tested in order to find inconsistencies and contradictions that may provide some useful insights for the more comprehensive case study analysis that will be provided in the following chapter.

#### 4.1.1 Brief Quantitative Overview of Japan's ODA

The present section will provide a brief overview of Japan's ODA policy based on quantitative considerations. While the author considers that quantitative data is insufficient for a holistic interpretation of Japan's ODA policy, its inclusion is helpful to show the validity of this assertion. One recent study dealing with Japan's ODA policy towards Southeast Asia is based almost entirely on quantitative analysis, namely that by Trinidad (Trinidad, 2007). The following paragraph will interpret

some of the quantitative data available on Japan's ODA and mention some of the conclusions reached by Trinidad's interpretations.

**Table 3 Regional Distribution of Japanese Bilateral ODA (in US\$ million)**

Region	1985	1990	1995	1998	2000	2002	2004
Total	2557	6941	10557.06	8606.90	9640.10	6725.91	5954.10
Asia	1732	4117	5745.34	5372.03	5283.82	4085.56	2544.56
ASEAN	(46%) 800	(56%) 2299	(39%) 2229	(44%) 2356	(59%) 3126	(43%) 1748	(35%) 897.04
Middle East	201	705	721	392	727	209	1030.87
Africa	252	792	1333	950	969	585	646.97
Latin America	225	561	1142	553	800	592	309.30
Oceania	24	114	160	147	151	94	42.15
Europe	1	158	153	144	118	121	140.69
Unspecified	122	494	1303	1048	1592	1043	1239.56

Note: Adapted from (Trinidad, 2007, p. 107). "Total may not add up due to rounding. The percentage in the parentheses pertains to the share of ASEAN in the ODA disbursements to Asia (Trinidad, 2007, p. 107)".

Let us first look at Japan's ODA divided by region. Table 3 shows the regional distribution of Japanese bilateral ODA. It is clear that Asia historically has always received the largest share of ODA. In 2004 Asia's share was 2544.56 million dollars from a total of 5954.10 million dollars. Now let us look at ASEAN's share. Percentages show that while ASEAN's share remains the larger than any other region, it has decreased proportionally in recent years. Trinidad provides a few interesting reasons for this shift. The emphasis placed on helping Africa by the Millennium Development Goals and Japan's increasing interest in participating in nation-building and peace-making in the Middle East. This explains the obvious increase in aid to the Middle East and the decline in proportional aid to ASEAN.

From table 3 is it also clear that Japan's ODA has steadily declined from its maximum level in 1995 to the present. The gap between the previously mentioned

maximum level of 10557.06 million dollars and 2004's level of 5954.10 is quite considerable. The reasons of this are clearly linked to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis and the continued difficulties encountered by the Japanese economy. Due to this Japanese ODA Policy has had to operate under strict budget constraints and has had to make more strategic use of its ODA. Trinidad states that the budget constraints under which Japan is operating reflects domestic pressure to make more strategic use of ODA as an "earning" strategy while Japan's increased ODA to the Middle East and Africa shows international pressure favoring a "spending" strategy. While Trinidad's observations are useful in order to help understand some of the pressures under which Japanese policy makers operate it is also overly simplistic to divide ODA policy between "spending" and "earning" strategies (Trinidad, 2007). This is one clear drawback of basing a full interpretation of Japan's ODA on quantitative data. It is impossible to know the true intentions behind Japan's allocation of ODA by just looking at cold numbers. Nevertheless a close look at Table 3 will provide the reader with necessary data in order to understand the context under which Japanese policy makers are operating.

A look at quantitative data related to the actual make-up of ODA to ASEAN countries provides mixed results. As shown in Table 4, Japanese ODA is composed basically of grant aid and loans. Ten member countries of ASEAN are shown and the ODA they received from 1994 to 2004 has been divided into grant aid and loans. It is clear that Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand have been the major recipients and that Vietnam is another country received increasing amounts of Japanese ODA. Also aid to the relatively developed economies of Thailand and Indonesia has been mostly composed of loans while aid provided to the less developed members of ASEAN such

as Cambodia and Laos has been mostly composed of grant aid. This could have something to do with ability to repay loans and most importantly with Japan's view about the strength of the economy in question. A good point made by Trinidad is Japan's increasing aid to Vietnam. As can be seen in Table 4 most aid to Vietnam has been in the form of loans which shows that Japan believes in Vietnam's economic future and in the growing strength of its economy.

**Table 4 Japan's ODA to ASEAN by Type of aid (in US\$ million)**

ASEAN 10	ODA 1991-2004		
	ODA	Loan	Grant
Brunei	(10) 24.91	0	24.91
Cambodia	(5) 952.69	12.53	940.16
Indonesia	(1) 11296.32	8517.19	2779.04
Laos	(6) 950.34	14.02	936.33
Malaysia	(8) 312.96	-551.72	864.64
Myanmar	(7) 765.37	-59.36	830.74
Philippines	(2) 5831.77	3504.26	2327.50
Singapore	(9) 99.46	-3.66	103.12
Thailand	(3) 5802.83	4086.66	1716.16
Vietnam	(4) 4344.67	3073.88	1270.80

Note: Adapted from (Trinidad, 2007, p. 112) Grant includes technical assistance. Loan is total disbursement less payment. Numbers in parenthesis are ranks.

A quantitative analysis of Japan's ODA reveals a few interesting trends.

Japan's ODA has decreased since the onset of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis. Japan considers Asia to be of great importance and thus had provided most of its ODA to



this region. Nevertheless, recent events have prompted Japan to divert some of its ODA to other regions such as Africa and the Middle East. Japan's ODA to ASEAN has always been considerable. ODA to the more advanced economies of Southeast Asia tends to be composed mostly of loans while that to the less advanced ones tends to be mostly in the form of grants. Finally, Vietnam is receiving increasingly large amounts of aid in the form of loans.

The following sections will deal with the actual topic of the present dissertation which is a discursive analysis of Japan's ODA policy regarding the concept of Human Security.

## 4.2 Human Security and Japan's Official ODA Policy

### 4.2.1 Overview of Early Discourse

Japan adopted the concept of human security as an important part of its foreign policy as early as 1998 but it took a while longer for it to permeate more specific areas such as ODA policy. This is evident in the 1999 Diplomatic Bluebook in which an entire subsection of chapter 2 was devoted to human security in general under the more general topic of the betterment of global society (MOFA, 1999b). This overview of the concept was intended as a general introduction and as an attempt to bring some cohesion to Japan's foreign policy in general. A more specific application of the concept of human security can be found in connection to Japan's policy towards developing countries and Official Development Assistance. Section 3 includes a few paragraphs on the importance of the concept for a better understanding of the problems caused by the 1997 economic crisis and how Japan interprets the concept in relation to its ODA. It is worthy of quoting two important passages that summarize Japan's official position. "Human security comprehensively covers all the

menaces that threaten human survival, daily life and dignity-for example, environmental degradation, violations of human rights, transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, antipersonnel landmines, and other infectious diseases such as AIDS-and strengthens efforts to confront these threats.” The explanation then continues by saying that "As these are all cross-border issues, coordinated action by the international community will be important, as will linkages and cooperation among governments, international organizations, NGOs and other parts of civil society" (MOFA, 1999a). The first excerpt provides a general definition of the concept. It is important to note the general and loose nature of the definition provided. This definition is then complemented by the second quote which gives a glimpse at the concept in practice, the approach. In summary Human Security is defined as including all the threats that affect a person’s quality of life and also recognizes that those threats concern actors at all levels, from the individual, to the global level. It is evident that this view of Human Security is as broad as can be and that therefore the commitment it implies is so great that at the end it is very little. In other words, this initial introduction of the concept of Human Security by the Japanese government is very broad and simply tries to include almost everything covered by its previous ODA policy by a simple umbrella-term, human security. In addition to that, the short mention it includes about the actual approach or methodology simply recommends that a concerted action is needed in order to tackle a long list of threats. Thus the first time the concept of Human Security is mentioned in Japanese ODA policy is superficial.

Another important official document about ODA policy published in the same year is the yearly ODA Country Policy towards major recipients (MOFA, 1999c).

This document does not mention the concept of human security and while including some approaches which are potentially compatible with this approach, a large portion of it deals with macroeconomic considerations and a traditional top-down approach. This division is present in all of the country policies included but the section on the Philippines will serve as a representative example. This section is divided into two parts. The first part deals with contemporary development trends such as sustainable development and human development while the second represents a modern day example of structural adjustment policies and modernization theory. So as to convince the reader of the validity of the previous assertions let us analyze a representative excerpt from the first section of this document. This section identified four key points that guide Japan's ODA policy towards the Philippines which are: sustainable growth, "mitigation of disparities", "environmental conservation and disaster management", and "human resources development and institution building" (MOFA, 1999c). This part represents the softer side of development and while it remains top-down it does give some consideration to environmental and humanitarian concerns.

The second part of the Country Policy for the Philippines moves even closer to a complete top-down approach based on neo-liberal structural adjustment. This is evident in the following excerpt. "Structural reform of the economy must be pursued through measures such as stabilizing budget expenditure and revenue, improving the current balance, resolving the problem of cumulative debts and deregulation; the promotion of trade investment and improving of the banking system must also be pursued" (MOFA, 1999c). The rest of the section is very similar in nature to the previous excerpt and thus it is clear that the second part of Japan's country policy on ODA for the Philippines does not reflect the concept of Human Security and instead

more closely resembles World Bank recommendations and traditional neo-liberal economic prescriptions.

In summary, the concept of Human Security first appeared in Japan's diplomatic Bluebook in 1999. At this point it was introduced by means of a short overview of the concept in the general introduction of the book and also by means of a brief introductory section in the chapter dealing with Developing countries and ODA. The concept of Human Security did not permeate more deeply into more specific sections of the Bluebook and while the chapters dealing with ODA such as Chapter 2 has an introductory subsection about the concept, the rest of the chapter does not mention the concept again and does not show any signs of any kind of influence the concept may have had on actual policies. Another clear example of this lack of cohesion, at this point in time, was shown to be found in Japan's ODA policy towards major recipients. The document in discussion does not mention the concept of human security and while including some compatible practices such as environmental conservation and environmental protection, it does not apply the human security approach and instead follows the standard top-down approach.

The 2000 Diplomatic Bluebook is a good example of how the concept of Human Security rose in importance in a single year. The 2000 edition includes Human Security as one the pillars of Japanese foreign policy. It is also significant that the concept is mentioned in the first page of the entire Diplomatic Bluebook. The introduction of the overview begins by explaining the importance of individual-focused measures and of protecting human dignity. The document then continues to stress the importance of non-profit organizations in dealing with threats to individuals. Finally the first page of the overview mentions the concept of Human Security and

Japan's economic support for the establishment of the Trust Fund for Human Security as part of the United Nations (MOFA, 2000b).

Chapter two of the 2000 Diplomatic Bluebook deals specifically with Human Security. This overview begins with a very general definition of Human Security: "Japan emphasizes "Human Security" from the perspective of strengthening efforts to cope with threats to human lives, livelihoods and dignity as poverty, environmental degradation, illicit drugs, transnational organized crime, infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, the outflow of refugees and anti-personnel land mines..." (MOFA, 2000a) The document then traces the history of Japan's support for the concept such as when former Primer Minister Obuchi first mentioned the concept in 1998 in a Conference entitled "An Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia's Tomorrow" in which he declared that he wanted the 21<sup>st</sup> century to be human-centered (MOFA, 2000a). The Prime Minister then mentioned the concept again in Hanoi and in a meeting with the representatives of the Nordic countries in 1999. The concept was first officially connected to development in 1999 in a Conference jointly organized by the United Nations University and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This shows that Japan was making an attempt to mainstream the concept of Human Security in order for the international community to accept it. This strategy was by no means hidden or undercover but on the contrary Japan explicitly declared it to be its intention. "As observed above, Japan is leading discussion on "Human Security" in the international community, while undertaking the implementation of concrete policies. These efforts will be strengthened in the years to come, positioning "Human Security" as a key perspective in developing Japan's foreign policy" (MOFA, 2000a). The previous excerpt from the 2000 Diplomatic Bluebook summarizes Japan's strategy regarding

the mainstreaming of Human Security while remaining vague regarding the true intentions behind this intended paradigmatic shift or discursive co-optation.

In summary official policy discourse regarding human security during the late 1990s and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, increasingly give importance to the concept of Human Security. While the concept rapidly occupied center-stage as Japan's basic doctrine regarding its foreign policy, it did not manage to permeate all areas of it. In other words, as shown in the 1999 Diplomatic Bluebook diffusion of the concept moved from the overview to other more specific areas of foreign policy.

#### 4.2.2 The 2003 Official Development Assistance Charter and Human Security

Next, we will look at the most important document regarding Japan's ODA policy, the 2003 Official Development Assistance Charter. This document begins by clearly stating the general goals behind Japan's Official Development. This is succinctly put by stating that "the Objectives of Japan's ODA are to contribute to the peace and development of the international community, and thereby to help ensure Japan's own security and prosperity" (MOFA, 2003). It should be noted that the previously mentioned goal is perfectly compatible with human security and recognizes the global interdependence emphasized by the concept of Human Security. The document then proceeds to explain Japan's basic policies regarding ODA. It is notable that those policies reflect the concept of Human Security. For example the first stresses the importance of self-help efforts and ownership. In addition to that it also mentions the importance of promoting democracy and human rights in conjunction with development efforts (MOFA, 2003). The second policy deals with the perspective of "human security" and mainly concentrates on the concept's

emphasis on human dignity and its perspective on threats on individuals. The Document clearly states that Japan will provide assistance to protect human dignity and for the empowerment of individuals (MOFA, 2003). In other words, the document made an explicit promise to apply the concept of Human Security in the implementation of its ODA. “Accordingly, Japan will implement ODA to strengthen the capacity of local communities through human resource development. To ensure that human dignity is maintained at all stages, from the conflict stage to the reconstruction and development stages, Japan will extend assistance for the protection and empowerment of individuals” (MOFA, 2003). The third basic policy complements the previous ones by emphasizing the importance of taking care of the most vulnerable first, a statement that echoes the ethos of Human Security (MOFA, 2003). The fourth deals with Japan sharing its development experience and expertise while the fifth and final policy stresses collaboration. The document links the first four policies by stressing the importance of collaboration and partnership with all members of the international community. It states that in order for ODA to make a difference it has to be planned and implemented in collaboration with NGOs, private companies, intergovernmental organizations, and international financial institutions (MOFA, 2003). It is evident that the previously mentioned basic policies regarding Japan’s ODA policy embody the concept of Human Security not only as an idea but also as an approach.

Four Priority Issues are mentioned: poverty reduction (including environmental and health aspects), sustainable growth (intellectual property rights, and macroeconomic growth), global issues (development of international norms), and peace-building (comprehensive assistance for nation-building) (MOFA, 2003). While

maintaining the same tone as the section on basic policies, the section on priority issues is more traditional in nature and deals with issues such as macroeconomic growth and intellectual rights that do not necessarily stress the concept of Human Security. Nevertheless it is important to recognize that those traditional foreign policy concerns such as peace-building and economic growth have been influenced by the Human Security approach specially when dealing with their implementation. For example, rather than promoting economic growth as an end, the document recognizes some of the dangers of unsustainable economic growth and also the connections it may have to health and environmental considerations. The same holds true in the case of peace-building and conflict prevention for which a comprehensive approach is recommended and also one that protects the most vulnerable while promoting long term development.

The 2003 ODA Charter states that East Asia is a priority region due to geographic proximity and the level of economic and cultural interconnectedness it has with Japan. ASEAN is mentioned as of significance importance for Japan. This region maintained high rates of economic growth during the 1990s and is a very important market of Japanese good and services, in addition to that it is also an importance source of raw materials and labor for Japan and its transnational corporations (TNCs). As a result of this interconnectedness Japan maintains that its focus on this region for purposes of ODA is justified and necessary. While clearly showing economic considerations as an important motive behind Japan's prioritization of this region, there is also an aspect of Human Security in that the Charter includes the important goals of reducing disparities in this region and of promoting economic partnerships as



a more human security-friendly way of promoting economic growth and trade (MOFA, 2003).

Japan's principles of ODA implementation tend to be controversial due to the conditionality they entail. While the ideals they embody are almost universally accepted, some NGOs and developing countries tend to view them as unacceptable intervention in their internal affairs. In order to understand why this is so we will review the four principles of ODA implementation. The first deals with environmental conservation. This means that theoretically Japan will give priority to projects or beneficiaries who promote environmental conservation and thus sustainable development. This clearly reflects Human Security in that environmental threats can be important sources of insecurity for vulnerable populations. The second principle deals with the actual use of ODA funds. It clearly states that it should not be used under any circumstances for military purposes. This also reflects the human security approach which stresses non-military solutions to international problems. The third principle also deals with the military but does not only include the use of ODA funds but even looks at the way in which a certain country spends money on the military or on weapons of mass destruction. Conditionality is probably one of the most controversial principles since it states that Japan may refuse ODA on the grounds of undue military expenditures or for the illegal possession or production of weapons of mass destruction. While it is evident that Japan has historically overlooked clear violations of the previously mentioned principles it is important that they are stated so that Japan reserves the right to refuse ODA at any time for internal reasons. The previous statement clearly reflects the concept of Human Security and not only the watered down UNDP version but also the more comprehensive approach espoused by

Middle Powers such as Canada and Australia, also known as protective Human Security. The fourth and final principle is also the most comprehensive and arguably controversial of all of them, and states the following: "Full attention should be paid to efforts for promoting democratization and the introduction of a market-oriented economy, and the situation regarding the protection of basic human rights and freedoms in the recipient country" (MOFA, 2003). The fourth and last principle includes important aspects of Human Security such as the promotion of democratization which implicitly includes empowerment and participation and the protection of human rights. It is also interesting to note that Japan includes the introduction of a market-oriented economy in the same category as basic human rights and democracy. While democracy and human rights are part of human security a market-oriented economy does not necessarily lead to human security and thus should not be grouped with the others. The four principles represent a strong version of human security which goes beyond ideals and set up, at least potentially, practical measures that can be used in order to use ODA as a weapon or tool in order to promote Human Security strategically. In other words, the concept of conditionality in this case recognizes the interconnectedness of all threats and also makes the much needed assertion that some threats are internal and are caused by faulty national policies and blatant human rights violations caused by a diverse array of factors such as selfish military dictatorships or atavistic traditional local practices. In this respect Japan's approach to human security regarding ODA goes beyond a human needs approach, and sustainable development by recognizing the legitimate needs of potential beneficiaries and their right to ownership while also understanding that some

external guidance is necessary in order to tackle local conditions that cause insecurity and thus make better use of ODA.

Finally the document stresses the need for collaboration with aid-related entities such as Japanese NGOs, and also local NGOs in order to more effectively implement ODA projects. It is important to note that the charter does not make the frequent mistake of omitting the private sector as a valuable partner and instead stresses the importance of collaborating with the private sector both from Japan and local in order to their technologies and expertise (MOFA, 2003). The charter also mentions other important stakeholders such a local governments, universities and economic organizations. This constructive approach taken by Japan contrasts with that taken by more radical non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which demonize the private sector together with economic organizations and thus ignore valuable sources of funds and expertise. It should be remembered that Human Security is a holistic approach that stresses the importance of a comprehensive approach to solving and ameliorating human insecurity. This implies that in order to tackle such as vast array of threats ranging from environmental ones to health-related ones more is needed that simply talking to the village elder or the most prominent shaman of the tribe. While important too, the elder and the shaman are not sufficient to tackle such daunting problems and thus Japan's official approach to the implementation of ODA is more in tune with the concept of Human Security than other contemporary competitors in the field of international development.

#### 4.2.3 Recent ODA Policy Developments and Human Security

The present section will cover developments in official ODA policy from 2004 to the present and will try to show how the concept of human security has been

increasingly reflected in them. One relatively early example of this batch of official documents is a statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding ODA and NGOs. The 2004 Statement on Partnerships with NGOs for the purpose of ODA is a brief attempt by the government at explaining how it was striving to solve one of its greatest weaknesses (MOFA, 2004). Japan is an interesting case in that its civil society is relatively weak considering its economic power and level of development. There are around 400 Japanese NGOs which according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lag behind their European and American counterparts in organization and human resources (MOFA, 2004). Nevertheless the Japanese government recognizes that this is an important area that needs attention and that in order to fully adopt the human security approach to development it must strengthen and cooperate with both Japanese and local NGOs. The document in question states three main principles in order to have a good partnership with NGOs: dialogue, collaboration, and support (MOFA, 2004). Dialogue refers to the exchange of information and views at all stages of the policy making process so as to include the point of view of NGOs and their experience at the grassroots level in ODA policy. Collaboration mostly refers to sharing responsibility in implementation of ODA funded projects and also exchanges of human resources and expertise. While the third principle, support, is mostly one sided and reflects the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' commitment to support the development of Japanese NGOs by funding them and also by providing them with necessary expertise. It should be noted at this point that the three principles reflect the concept of human security and of the most recent development studies trends. Input is requested at all stages of the process and implementation is also delegated to those in direct contact with the grassroots beneficiaries. This means that this approach is both

holistic and participatory in nature. Therefore while this document does not explicitly mention the concept of Human Security it does reflect important elements of it and more broadly is perfectly compatible with its approach to development.

It is important to look at the concrete measures taken to put into practice the previously explained principles. The first measure is that of the Japan Platform which was established in 2000 as a way to facilitate the cooperation of the government, the private sector, and NGOs for humanitarian relief (MOFA, 2004). The previous measure is certainly not the earliest one but it is the most holistic and ambitious in nature. The three sectors are brought together in order to cooperate for a single goal which in this case is humanitarian relief. This Platform tries to promote the seamless integration of the three main sectors of Japanese society in order to maximize the combined resources and expertise for Japan's humanitarian relief projects. The way in which this platform actually works is through a combination of formal and informal consultations and a loose network of Japanese companies and NGOs both at home and abroad. Their activities are coordinated by Japanese official representatives dispatched around the world in diplomatic missions and at home more directly with the Ministry itself.

A third measure taken in order to facilitate cooperation with NGOs for purposes of ODA planning and implementation is older than the previously explained one but is more limited in nature. The NGO Subsidy and the Grant Assistance for Grassroots Projects date back to 1989 and represent a one way exchange of resources from the government to NGOs. While limited in scope, this measure does have some beneficial effects such as strengthening NGOs and transferring some of the responsibility of implementations to the civil sector. In other words, by channeling

ODA through NGOs the resulting projects will arguably be more participatory in nature and closer to the actual beneficiaries. In addition to that, the funds channeled through the Grant Assistance for Grassroots Projects will be more likely to have an effect on individual human security than macro projects channeled through large aid organizations or national governments. It should be noted that this measure is not limited to Japanese NGOs and therefore includes local NGOs which are more likely to know the actual needs and threats related to a certain community.

The third measure to be discussed is limited to Japanese NGOs and consists mostly of Grant Assistance for Japanese NGO projects and the Japan International Cooperation Agency's (JICA) Partnership Program (MOFA, 2004). The main goal of this measure is to foster the strength of Japanese NGOs as a useful tool for ODA. By limiting the target organizations to those of Japanese origin the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expects Japanese NGOs to be strengthened and for them to eventually develop to the level of their European and American counterparts.

In summary the Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Partnership with Japanese NGOs under ODA does not mention the concept of Human Security while it does reflect the approach.

The first document to make comprehensive use of the Human Security approach is the latest Medium-Term Policy on Official Development Assistance which was passed on February 4, 2005 (MOFA, 2005). This document is one of the three most important documents on ODA policy following the ODA Charter. It represents the direction policy will take for five years while the ODA Charter has a longer term in nature and the Individual Country Policies are more narrow in nature.

Due to the length and importance of this document the next few pages will be devoted to the careful description, explanation, and analysis of it.

The Medium-Term Policy on ODA deals with six main issues: human security, poverty reduction, sustainable growth, global issues, peace-building, and measures for better implementation. The first is described as a central perspective of the Charter, the next four are priority issues, and the last deals with effectiveness. It is important to note at this point that Japan's stance on ODA according to the introduction of the Midterm Policy is to promote its strategic and effective use. This reflects a decrease in the total size of Japanese ODA starting with the 1997 financial crisis. In addition to that while the document in discussion treats human security as a separate area of interest, it is evident throughout the paper that it permeates its entirety.

The first major section of the document deals with the concept of human security and attempts to connect the concept to the present state of affairs, in other words to global issues such as the uncertainties caused by increasing globalization, terrorism, *inter alia*, and the effects they have on the most vulnerable. The definition provided of Human Security does not shine for its originality and remains as broad and vague as the one provided by the ODA Charter however it is more concise and does a good job at linking the concept to the approach. In other words, this definition stresses the fact that Human Security is not only a concept but more importantly it is an approach to development. "Human Security' means focusing on individual people and building societies in which everyone can live with dignity by protecting and empowering individuals and communities that are exposed to actual or potential threats" (MOFA, 2005). This document is also the first instance in which the informal definition of human security as "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" is used.

The most notable characteristic of this policy paper is that it includes a section on actual approaches on assistance necessary in order to achieve “human security”. The Midterm Policy Paper on ODA clearly links them to the four policy issues identified in the introduction. The first point states that ODA should be made up of “assistance that puts people at the center of concerns and that effectively reaches the people” (MOFA, 2005). This point clearly states that ODA should be people-centered, which is the principal postulate of Human Security. The next two points are linked to empowerment and ownership: “assistance to strengthen local communities” and “assistance that emphasizes empowering of people” and that views them as “promoters of development” and aims to make them self-reliant (MOFA, 2005). The fourth point deals with assistance to those who are most vulnerable to threats and also briefly discusses how those threats should be tackled in a comprehensive way thus including not only “freedom from fear” but also “freedom from want”. This is important in that due to the already discussed limitations faced by Japan’s foreign policy, economic factors embodied by “freedom from want” are given equal importance to more traditional concerns of security such as “freedom from fear”. The fifth point is probably the most controversial and contradictory one. This one is deals with respect for cultural diversity and how ODA should respect it. It states that cultural diversity should be protected while at the same time the individual should be protected so that their human rights are not violated in the name of culture (MOFA, 2005). The ambiguity here is evident since it is very difficult to know where to draw the line between cultural practices and violations to human rights. Nevertheless this simply reflects the same ambiguity expressed by the UN Commission on Human Security and other supporters of the development view of Human Security, and



therefore arguably they are just following the trend. However, this point can be contentious due to Japan's support for the universality of human rights and due to its collaboration with the western democracies in nation-building in the Middle East. In other words, it should be noted that this presents an example of incongruity and a gap between discourse and implementation.

The final point deals with implementation and more specifically with Human Security's emphasis on a holistic approach. It stresses the need for what it calls "cross-sectoral assistance" that involves a vast array of actors and pools their expertise in order to achieve human security (MOFA, 2005). This point is also notable in that it explicitly stresses the need for professional expertise in order to tackle structural problems. This is a point in which the Japanese approach to human security slightly diverges from the one held by most grass root organizations and some NGOs. While the second stresses the importance of community based development and empowerment and usually disregard and at times even demonize professional expertise and structural adjustments, the former is mindful of the complementary nature of the two approaches.

The following sections of the Midterm Policy on ODA are the most interesting one from the point of view of Human Security permeation into other policy areas. While they deal with the four priority issues and peace-building it is important to note that the term "human security" is mentioned a plurality of times and that every effort is made to bring cohesion to the different sections through the use of the human security approach as policy glue. The transition between the previously explained section dealing specifically with the human security approach to assistance to the section on the four priority issues of poverty reduction, sustainable growth, addressing

global issues, and peace-building is made through the use of basic principles reflecting human security which are applied to the specific issues. Those basic principles are: promoting ownership through self-help efforts of developing countries, adoption of the “human security” perspective, equity, utilization of Japan’s experience and expertise, and finally concerted action with the international community as well as fostering South to South cooperation (MOFA, 2005). This may seem repetitive considering that most of the principles are already included in the previous section’s approaches to official development aid, nevertheless their reiteration serves to bring cohesion to the paper and most importantly to enhance policy coherence. Furthermore, the use of the term human security as a bridge between these two sections is both a sign of the importance of the term in ODA policy discourse and of the ambiguity and vagueness of its nature. However at this point the most important thing is to note the use of the term, and its centrality in ODA discourse as exemplified by the Midterm Policy on ODA.

The level of permeation will become increasingly clear as the four priority issues are analyzed. The first issue to be discussed is that of poverty reduction. This is an important point due to its close connection to vulnerability and “freedom from want”. The paper treats this topic with caution and chooses to begin with poverty reduction and protection for the vulnerable instead of with growth and macroeconomic stabilization. The document makes a few important points on the general nature of poverty reduction. It mentions the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the complex nature of poverty which involves economic as well as social aspects. Then it goes on to link that to East Asia’s experience with development and emphasizes the obvious correlation between poverty reduction and economic growth.

Finally it moves on to reiterate its commitment to local development efforts and implies that the complexity of poverty requires locally planned development (MOFA, 2005).

Let us analyze the previously described passage. While stressing the importance of local development efforts and of social as well as economic aspects of poverty, the document also includes the example of East Asian development as an instance in which economic growth was observed to help reduce poverty. The important thing here is that while clearly alluding to the importance of free trade and structural adjustment, the document embellishes the message by embedding it in the larger concept of human security. This is a clear example of discourse formation in which the language of human security is used as a vehicle to promote free market policies. This will become clearer as the specific policies for poverty reduction are described.

The first approach prescribes “cross-sectoral assistance that is tailored to the stages of development” (MOFA, 2005) of a country. This point includes such things as cooperation with NGOs and local communities so as to determine their needs and also the aspect of prevention. It is clear that this approach echoes that of human security and is simply a repetition of already mentioned ideas to the problem of poverty reduction. Therefore it can be seen that Official Discourse is making an attempt at justifying all policy areas through the perspective of human security. Thus this is another instance of discourse permeation by Human Security. The next approach directly follows the previous one and as expected deals with direct assistance to the poor (MOFA, 2005). This point stresses the need for empowerment and ownership. It also includes the need for safety in order to protect the most

vulnerable from sudden downturns and disasters. The previous point is again a direct application of the concept of human security to the problem of poverty reduction. However the next point is even more interesting due to its macroeconomic nature. It deals with the use of economic growth for poverty reduction. While dealing with a very old topic of traditional development the way in which it is treated is relatively innovative. It stresses the importance to promote economic growth while keeping in mind that equity must be promoted and that that equity should not only be that between individuals but also between rural and urban areas and between sectors such as agriculture and industry. The passage also recommends job creation as a possible measure to be taken and the promotion of labor-intensive enterprises and micro-finance. To the careful eye the mention of direct foreign investment (FDI) is notable. The passage in discussion includes two important elements of traditional economic growth, the promotion of tourism, and of foreign direct investment. While the passage does not dwell on those two topics and only mentions them on very positive terms and only in passing, they are concealed in a myriad of other development concerns such as safety nets, and ownership and camouflaged with the language of human security.

The next approach to poverty reduction deals with assistance to institutions and policies to reduce poverty. This is a blatant example of traditional development and a hint of concealed modernization theory in Japan's ODA policy. "In order to reduce poverty, it is important to establish institutions and policies that protect the rights of the poor based on the principle of equality under the law, and to enable the poor to participate in political activities and to exercise their capabilities. Assistance will therefore be provided to contribute to the protection of human rights, the rule of law, and the promotion of democratization"(MOFA, 2005). The previous excerpt

from the Midterm Policy on ODA dealing with poverty reduction is apparently innocuous however a closer look will reveal the hidden message behind the language of human security. It should be obvious that the previous passage is highly intrusive and explicitly states that ODA will be used in order to promote institutions and policies which promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. The problem here, is how to interpret those concepts. Democracy is very problematic in that respect for while most developing countries in Asia interpret it as greater participation and equity at the local level, Japan and most of the Western Democracies interpret it as having elections and democratic accountability. Another term that is potentially problematic is human rights for while most Eastern developing countries emphasize economic and cultural rights, Japan and the Western Democracies favor political and civil rights. Finally the rule of law is also tricky since some eastern developing countries may interpret it to mean the respect of the laws and a good judicial system, Japan and most of the developed world will interpret intellectual property rights, and the sanctity of contracts. It is therefore clear that by keeping the language vague Japan is able to openly state its policy position while also avoiding criticism from unresponsive crowds and undemocratic leaders in the developing world. This is a clear example of how the concept of Human Security can be used as a tool for discourse formation. The message in the previous passage is by no means new, but the way to deliver it is. Therefore from a policy perspective the use of Human Security in this instance is very effective in that it helps in the dissemination of beneficial policies in way in which third world sensibilities are not hurt.

Now let us look at the section on sustainable growth. What kind of growth is Japan promoting? Has that changed due to the adoption of the perspective of human

security? The next point will easily answer the previous questions by showing that the message has not changed only the language has. First of all, the document uses sustainable growth as a justification for Japan's provision of ODA. "As a country that receives benefits from international trade and that is heavily dependent on other countries for resources, energy, and food, Japan will actively contribute to the sustainable growth of developing countries through ODA. This is highly relevant for ensuring Japan's security and prosperity, thus promoting the interests of the Japanese people" (MOFA, 2005). This passage clearly states the main reason behind Japan's ODA, basically national interest. While the justification provided sounds like any other standard liberal-institutionalist one, it is important to note that it stresses the interdependency of security and thus does reflect the concept of Human Security. It is therefore important to keep an open mind about the core aspects of the concept of human security and remember that some issues that also form part of the neo-liberal agenda can be perfectly compatible with the human security approach.

The section on sustainable growth centers on the promotion of free trade. The document repeatedly states that in addition to providing ODA for economic and social infrastructure it will also provide aid for macroeconomic adjustment including advisors for fiscal and monetary policy (MOFA, 2005). This policy paper clearly states that the main goal should be to promote development through the greater participation of developing countries in the multilateral trading system. It is also worthy of note that the kind of industrial policy that is recommended is private-sector led. In other words by combining a multilateral trading system with a leading private sector the result is an economic policy based on neo-liberal principles. While this is not surprising and by no means negative it is important to understand that while some

of the language used in official policy papers such as the one being discussed has changed, the core goals and policies behind it have not. Another important point is that the intended audience of this policy paper is not only the international community but also the Japanese people and thus the Ministry of Foreign Affairs constantly tries to find the right balance between a genuine internationalist commitment to promote development abroad and the imperative of justifying ODA to the Japanese people under difficult economic conditions.

The section following sustainable growth deals with global issues. This section is very vague and broad in nature but mostly concentrates on disaster prevention and environmental problems (MOFA, 2005). While lacking originality the important point about this section is that it stresses the complexity and interconnected nature of disasters and environmental problems. Therefore the solutions proposed are also expected to be complex and comprehensive in nature. The section in discussion simply stresses the importance of allocating ODA for disaster prevention and environmental protection in order to tackle important threats to human security. The language of human security is more obvious here than in the previous section on sustainable growth and helps to highly a tendency for some policy areas to reflect the approach more than others.

The next to last section of the Midterm Policy on ODA deals with the important issue of peace-building. Peace-building is an area that has risen in importance since the Gulf War and continues to be of great importance for international peace and prosperity. In addition to that it has an important psychological effect on the Japanese due to their participation in the first Gulf War and the international criticism it received. As described in earlier chapters of this

dissertation, the limitations imposed by the peace constitution mean that Japan's participation in conflict resolution and peace-keeping can be problematic. Thus Japan has tried to find ways around this dilemma by adopting the most up-to-date trends in the field of conflict resolution. One such trend is that of applying the human security approach to peace-keeping, peace-building, and nation building. The Midterm Policy on ODA stresses that all actions taken in the field of peace-building should have a short, mid, and long term perspective (MOFA, 2005). In other words, that all stages of the process should be recognized and connected as part of a whole. One stage should smoothly lead to the next so that reconstruction leads to development for example. In addition to that the paper recognizes that due to the complex nature of conflict the response should also be complex and take into consideration all threats to human security not only those dealing with "freedom from fear" but also those dealing with "freedom from want". This includes promoting development in the former conflict zone so as to improve economic conditions and eliminate the root causes of conflict. The approach recommended by the document also stresses the importance of prevention rather than only intervention after the conflict has already started. Thus this section on peace-building is a good example of a policy area that has been completely absorbed by the human security approach. It includes most of the core precepts of Human Security and uses its language.

The final section of the Midterm Policy on ODA deals with improvements to the process of ODA implementation. This is a section that truly reflects the human security approach in that it stresses the importance of cooperation between stakeholders. Since the three governmental bodies in charge of ODA planning and implementation are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japan International



Cooperation Agency and up to last year the Japan Bank of International Cooperation the proper coordination and cooperation between them is pivotal for there to be policy coherence and effective implementation of ODA. Thus the Midterm Policy on ODA recommends the establishment of what it calls ODA Task Forces composed of representatives from the three organizations and located in the field (MOFA, 2005). In other words, they will be centered around embassies and will be in charge of recommending and selecting projects for ODA funding. The reason behind this is related to the Human Security approach in that it is believed that by bringing representatives from three different organizations some of which are working at the grassroots level will have a better idea about the needs of the people and most importantly how to appropriately cater to them.

Now let us look back at our description and partial analysis of the 2005 Midterm Policy on ODA. As previously mentioned the lengthy discussion on this government document is due to the pivotal position it plays in term of Japanese ODA policy. The first few sections of the paper almost exclusively deal with human security as a perspective. As previously discussed the introduction uses the language of human security to try to bring cohesion to all other areas of ODA policy such as poverty reduction, and peace-building. It is also important to remember that the paper clearly enumerates specific approaches to ODA as part of the Human Security approach. While most other sections reflect the concept of human security to a certain degree it is evident that it is present throughout the paper. While some sections such as the one on poverty reduction and especially sustainable growth tend to be more conventional in approach. One thing is clear, and that is that the concept of Human

Security is used through out the paper as a way to link previously disparate policy areas and to give ODA a sense of purpose.

#### 4.2.4 The 2006 Diplomatic Bluebook on ODA and Human Security

The 2006 edition of the Diplomatic Bluebook is full of references to the concept of human security while at the same time presents few innovations. The overview of the 2006 edition of the Diplomatic Bluebook clearly states that Human Security has an important position in Japan's foreign policy. In addition to that its subsection on ODA clearly states that Human Security is the central approach guiding its implementation and planning. "In implementing ODA, Japan emphasizes the perspective of 'human security.' Through advocating this concept, Japan aims to create a society that enables each individual to lead a life with dignity. Such goals will be achieved through safeguarding individuals and local communities as well as through building their capacities. Japan is also strengthening cooperation with the NGOs in order to promote the concept of 'human security'" (MOFA, 2006f).

One of the most important introductory sections of the 2006 Diplomatic Bluebook has the subtitle of "Efforts to Tackle Various Global Challenges to Promote Human Security" and while giving a useful introduction on the concept of human security, it concentrates on naming specific actions taken by the Japanese government that fit under the concept of Human Security rather than in explaining the actual approach (MOFA, 2006b). Since this document was explained in detail in previous chapters of this dissertation, at this point it will suffice to say that this paper is mostly descriptive and its value is that it serves as a clear example of how Japan is making an

effort to justify not only its ODA policy but all of its foreign policy by means of the human security perspective.

Regarding regional diplomacy, Human Security is also present. In the case of Southeast Asia and more concretely the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Japan uses the language of Human Security in describing its foreign policy towards this region (MOFA, 2006d). ASEAN is a very important organization for Japan due to the level of economic interdependence and also in terms of conventional security due to geographical proximity. Because of the aforesaid reasons Japan devotes much of its ODA to this region. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 50.6% of the total amount of ODA received by ASEAN is of Japanese origin (MOFA, 2006d). Japan's influence in ASEAN is not limited to ODA but also is exerted through foreign direct investment and other financial flows. While Japan is promoting economic partnerships with those countries it has a vested interest in fostering a stable and safe business environment. This interdependence which is both economic and related to security is captured very well by the concept of human security and because of this Japan has eagerly adopted the approach when describing its foreign policy towards this region. In simple terms Japan's policy is to foster the development of the region and to promote multilateral trade so that both sides of the agreement can prosper and benefit from the relationship. One difference in Japan's policy towards this region compared to the early decades of Japanese ODA is that there is a greater concern for threats to the individual. In other words Japan is showing a greater awareness towards the insecurities caused by market liberalization and other policies related to macro economic adjustment. Safety nets are considered as part of ODA and other aspects such as equity and sustainable development are considered. In other

words, one may conclude that while Japan's policy towards Southeast Asia is still centered on trade and economic benefit, there are other aspects that have gained ascendancy such as the protection of vulnerable people from economic downturns and from the negative externalities of industrialization (MOFA, 2006d). Another aspect that is more controversial in nature is Japan's position on human rights and other aspects concerning "freedom from fear". While the ASEAN way is to avoid all kinds of intervention in the internal affairs of member countries, Japan has taken a rather inconsistent approach. Japan maintains in all of its official documents that the promotion of democracy and human rights is a central part of its foreign policy and of the human security approach. The problem is that in practice Japan places economic considerations above political ones and tends to ignore or overlook blatant violations to human rights and fatal blows to democracy such as in the case of the 1996 Military Coup in Thailand. This is incompatible with human security since both "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" are necessary in order to achieve human security and thus shows that there is a lack of commitment from the Japanese leadership. In other words there is a gap between discourse and implementation.

#### 4.2.5 The Japan International Cooperation Agency and Human Security

"In order to address direct threats to individuals such as conflicts, disasters, infectious diseases, it is important not only to consider the global, regional and national perspectives, but also to consider the perspective of human security, which focuses on individuals. Accordingly, Japan will implement Official Development Assistance (ODA) to strengthen the capacity of local communities through human resource development. To ensure that human dignity is maintained at all stages, from the conflict stage to the reconstruction and development stages, Japan will extend assistance for the protection and empowerment of individuals" (JICA, 2007f).

The Japan International Cooperation Agency is the governmental body in charge of most of the implementation of ODA and recently has assumed the former responsibilities of the Japan Bank of International Cooperation. There are three forms of ODA: yen-loans, technical cooperation, and grant aid. Since this body is in charge of the implementation of the actual projects at the middle and grassroots levels, it is very important to understand how it has adopted the human security approach.

A good starting point is its official policy position paper on Human Security titled “Human Security and JICA” (JICA, 2007a). This paper summarizes the human security approach as embodied by the ODA Charter and the Midterm Policy on ODA (JICA, 2007a). Then it goes on to describe more specific measures espoused by JICA for the proper implementation of ODA.

JICA’s view of human security is based on both protection and empowerment. This emphasizes the importance of providing immediate protection to the most vulnerable and at the same time promoting long term sustainable empowerment. This will in turn make the intended beneficiaries more able to withstand sudden downturns and more able to provide for themselves. On a more practical level, JICA states that protection and empowerment should be primarily provided at the community level. The reasoning behind this is that it is between the nation and the individual as a social level. Now we reach an important question. How to provide protection and empowerment? According to JICA it is important to keep in mind that the human security approach should guide both the formulation and the implementation of projects. So as to give some more concrete human security guidelines the policy paper identifies seven basic principles of human security. The first is “reaching those in need through a people-centered approach” (JICA, 2007a). This principle represents

the most basic precept of Human Security, namely that security should be centered on the individual not the state. The second principle is “empowering people as well as protecting them”. This one reflects a practical approach to the concept of human security that is very useful for ODA implementation. It reflects the holistic and integrated nature of the human security approach. The third principle is “Focusing on the most vulnerable people, whose survival, livelihood and dignity are at risk” (JICA, 2007a). The third principle is also basic to human security in that it places emphasis on helping those who need help the most so as to provide protection before moving on to longer term goals such as development. The fourth principle is “comprehensively addressing both "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear"” (JICA, 2007a). This principle may be interpreted in a variety of ways but it can be understood to mean that both “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” are necessary in order to achieve human security. Alternatively this reflects the argument over human rights over which set of rights is more important civil and political or economic and cultural. Japan takes a position between those of the Western Powers which favor “freedom from fear” over “freedom from want” and that of the developing world which favors “freedom from want” over “freedom from fear”. Thus from this point of view at a theoretical level Japan’s point of view on human security may be the most balanced of them all and represents a truly holistic view of human security and of ODA. The fifth principle is “responding to people's needs by assessing and addressing threats through flexible and inter-sectoral approaches” (JICA, 2007a). This principle reflects Japan’s flexible stance on human security. Japan favors a flexible definition of the term and a flexible approach that can adapt to changing circumstances and foster the necessary resources and expertise from all sectors of society and all interested stakeholders. This

also shows that Japan has a more balanced view than most other opinion groups on human security. While some groups favor the private sector over all other stakeholders, Japan favors a holistic approach that incorporates all sectors and facilitates their cooperation for a common goal, which is to achieve human security. Other groups such as radical NGOs and social movements tend to ignore and demonize the private sector and thus take an antagonistic stance that wastes resources and makes cooperation difficult to say the least. The two final principles also deal with cooperation and they are “Working with both government and local communities to realize sustainable development” and “Strengthening partnerships with various actors to achieve a higher impact from assistance” (JICA, 2007a). The last two principles reiterate the holistic nature of human security. The more actors included the better. Also an aspect of equity between urban and rural development is implied in getting local communities involved. In summary the approach espoused by JICA is one that promotes comprehensive sustainable development and that involves all stakeholders in order to achieve human security.

As described in the previous paragraph, JICA espouses the general guidelines set out in the ODA Charter and the Midterm Policy on ODA but also has its own more specific approach to ODA implementation. The official position on Human Security espoused by JICA is one that is based on protection and empowerment and that gives equal value to “freedom from fear” as to “freedom from want”. In addition to that JICA emphasizes the need to get as many stakeholders involved as possible and to keep a flexible approach based on strengthening security at both the national and at the community level.

It is evident that Human Security is overwhelmingly present in JICA's policy on ODA implementation but the question is how is it putting those principles into practice? This was done through four main actions. The first action takes place at the macro level and deals with incorporating human security in JICA's regional and country aid policies (JICA, 2007a). This is an example of a concrete case in which Japan is applying the human security approach for policy formulation at the macro level. The second action is related to reflecting human security in projects and programs. This is a direct statement of intend and wanted to incorporate the human security approach into project formulation and implementation. The third action is improving development instruments and implementation procedures. This deals with how to implement actual projects and shows that the human security approach is followed at all levels of ODA policy from macro level regional policies to village level implementation. This last action deals with assessment and monitoring and attempts to more effectively determine the needs of the people and whether a project has been effective or not. The final action deals with the mainstreaming of the concept of human security. JICA wants to promote the adoption of the approach through contacts and cooperation with NGOs, other donors, international organizations, among others. This last point is important in that JICA explicitly states its intend to promote the concept in other to move it to the mainstream of development discourse. This is a process of discursive construction in which Japan is actively attempting to mainstream its version of human security in order to validate its foreign policy in the eyes of the international community.