

JICA- Development Studies Program  
School of International and Public Policy (IPP)

# **A Profile of Japan's International Cooperation in the age of Geopolitics**



HITOTSUBASHI  
UNIVERSITY

AUTUMN / WINTER 2023



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## **Foreword by JICA**

Today, the world confronts multiple crises, including those brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic, the war in Ukraine and climate change. They have threatened the lives and the livelihood and shaken people's sense of security, especially for those most vulnerable.

There is no simple solution to these compounded crises. Nevertheless, I believe that the international community can move towards peace, human security, and the achievement of the SDGs, by dynamically seeking innovative solutions through cross-sectoral thinking and co-creation among various actors.

Every year, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) receives hundreds of masters and doctoral students from abroad. This JICA scholar program has an important role in supporting future leaders who can lead innovation and development in their countries. They also play a pivotal role in establishing good relationship between their own countries and Japan. Launched in 2018, the JICA Development Studies Program (JICA-DSP) helps those future leaders to understand Japan, especially its modernization, post-war experiences and ODA policy, in addition to their degree program. Since its enactment JICA-DSP has received endorsement from a number of leading universities in Japan, which includes Hitotsubashi University.

This booklet contains a summary of lectures on the important foreign policy and development issues. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Visiting Lecturer Kaji Misako for her strong initiative as well as to other lecturers for their contributions. I hope this booklet will help international students to deepen their understanding on the complex global challenges and to explore solutions for overcoming them.

March 2024

Tanaka Akihiko

President

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)



## Introduction

Kaji Misako

In 2018, on the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Meiji Restoration when Japan started its process of modernization as the first non-western nation, JICA launched the Development Studies Programme JICA-DSP. Under this programme, students from developing/post conflict countries who study in Japan would learn from Japan's experience as a most successful post-conflict country and this could be of use when they go back home and work to build their own nations. Japanese students who will later shoulder the future of the country in various ways can also harvest from witnessing how Japan is externally explained.

The Graduate School of International and Public Policy of Hitotsubashi University took part in JICA-DSP since its launch, by offering a course entitled Japan's Foreign Policy Making under its Global Governance Programme. Practitioners, experts and analysts have taken turns as lecturers to elaborate on why and how international cooperation is needed for a sound development of a country. As a reference material, a booklet entitled "A Profile of Japan's International Cooperation" has been on the JICA-DSP Website since 2019, compiled from the gist of the lectures mainly held in autumn/winter term of 2018.

This Booklet is an up-dated successor version of the 2019 booklet. In the current age of geopolitics, is it still valid to celebrate and promote international cooperation? Yes, of course, is the answer. But how?

During the course "Japan's Foreign Policy Making I" in the 2023 autumn/winter term, Ambassadors, practitioners from the government, JICA, international organizations, and the media, former and incumbent, extended their analyses and shared their experiences. The fruits of their lectures and discussions with the class of 25 students from 13 countries/region are compiled here for a wider audience under the JICA-Development Studies Program and beyond.

Each Chapter of this booklet sheds light on the following three questions:

1. What has been changed in recent years by such factors as war, pandemic and climate change?
2. What are the major policy goals for Japan as the G7 President (2023) and as an advocate of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific?
3. What are the merits of a free and open international order based on the rule of law?

Under a free and open international order Japan achieved a high level of economic and social development after the devastation of the Second World War 78 years ago. Free trade and freedom of navigation were among the major principles of the system in which Japan expanded its economic weight as well as its political and cultural presence in the international arena. Japan became the second largest economy in 1968 until overtaken by China in 2010 and by Germany in 2023. While the era of Heisei, 30 years from 1989 to 2019, is often said to be one of economic stagnation, Japan gradually assumed its role in global governance during and after those years through such systems as the G7, G20, the UN and the IFIs (International Financial Institutions), and by extending ODA and undertaking unique diplomacy towards all countries, geographically near and far. Now the world is seeing rapid innovation in science and technology in various fields, which



could be effective tools to be applied to return to the path towards the Sustainable Development Goals. And here too, Japan has a role to play.

In recent years, the environment of international relations has drastically changed for the worse. In February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine, demonstrating a stark breach of international law. In December 2019 a new virus COVID-19 was identified, and the result has been nearly 7 million confirmed deaths by December 2023. COVID- 19, identified as pandemic by the WHO in March 2020, continues to disrupt essential health services in 90% of countries (WHO 2021 survey), reducing educational opportunities and increasing the number of people in extreme poverty for the first time in a generation (2021 UN SDGs Knowledge platform). This means that the path towards the Sustainable Development Goals to be attained by 2030 that were adopted at the United Nations General Assembly in 2015, will be much more difficult. Moreover, just when the human race needs to act in a coordinated way to manage climate change, states across the globe are in confrontation and further atrocities are unfolding, most strikingly in and around Gaza after the incident on 7 October 2023.

In this booklet, the first two Chapters focus on the practical areas of Japan's international cooperation, those in which 1) Japan is traditionally good at, and 2) Japan extends now to a country fighting for its territorial integrity. The next five Chapters are authored by freshly retired Japanese civil servants who shouldered Japanese diplomacy as Ambassadors/Directors-General and as a Defense Vice Minister. Readers would learn how Japan has embraced, and invested in, the relationships with countries in different parts of the world, and how Japan has been adjusting to and strengthening its basic position in the new reality. In the Chapter that follows these, uncertainty the international community faces today is captured through the eyes of a Japanese journalist. The final two Chapters reveal that the steady implementation of Japan's international cooperation, based on human security and leaving no one behind, is recognised and ever more expected by UN organisations.

## 1. Disaster Risk Reduction

The scale and frequency of disasters have grown in recent years, exacerbated by climate change. This is so particularly in the Indo-Pacific, where natural disasters pose existential threats to many lives in the region. Takeya revisits Disaster Risk Reduction and confirms that Japan's approach going back centuries is still effective in ensuring sustainability. He also points out the inadequate adjustments in the policy stances of some governments in taking account of climate change as well as incorporating Build Back Better measures.

## 2. Support for Ukraine

The effects of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine have been multifaced, inducing price rises in food and energy. While Japan joined the sanctions against the invader, Prime Minister Kishida incorporated defending peace in his vision of FOIP in his speech of March 2023 in New Delhi. Kobayakawa shows how Japan attempts to defend peace by

elaborating on JICA's three pillar approach; extending support to the Ukrainian government, to the displaced people and their hosts, and to the reconstruction process.

### 3. Rule of Law for an Orderly and Predictable World

The post-World War II system based on the rule of law was challenged even prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Unlike a national government, in a world composed of states with equal sovereignty where there is no enforcement, why do states comply with the rule of law? Sato depicts the cases of a variety of systems that have functioned to date and provides for an answer to this interesting question. She stresses the role Japan has played, quoting the success story of CPTPP, Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership.

### 4. Development of Africa in comparison with Asia

Africa has often suffered from skewed damage inflicted by such incidents as war, pandemics and climate change, due to its unsuccessful economic and social development record in the past decades in comparison to Asia. Okamura attributes this to "continent curse" rather than the conventional "resource curse." He also comments on the unique posture of Japan towards Africa, gained through his experience both in serving as Ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire and as the Director-General in charge of the 5<sup>th</sup> TICAD, Tokyo International Conference on African Development, held in Yokohama in June 2013.

### 5. Relations with Latin America and Caribbean, Opening up the Horizon of Japan's Foreign Policy

Foreign Minister Kamikawa Yoko attended the G20 Foreign Ministerial meeting held in Rio and then visited Panama in February 2024. In her address to the press there the Minister recalled the "three Juntos," stressing the mutual trust based on historically friendly relationships between Japan and the LAC (Latin America and the Caribbean) countries, while acknowledging the Nikkei people who serve as the bridge between the two. Yamada, having been in a position for years to plan and promote these relationships, shares with the readers the background and his philosophy behind the unique approach of Japan.

### 6. Asia nurtured by Japan's ODA

FOIP, a vision of a free, open, and rule-based Indo-Pacific, was advocated by Prime Minister Abe Shinzo first in Nairobi in 2016 and has been enriched in accordance with developments in the international arena, as elaborated by Prime Minister Kishida Fumio in New Delhi in 2023. Kawamura depicts how the vision is embraced by ASEAN and is shared by North American partners. He shows how Japan tackles the growing demand

for cooperation to address compound crises, building upon the trust established through 60 years of ODA.

## 7. Security Cooperation in the Age of Great Power Competition

Global challenges that transcend national borders carry security connotations, and this is increasingly so under the current geopolitical circumstances. Tokuchi elaborates on the new FOIP vision found in Japan's National Security Strategy as well as in its National Defense Strategy of 2022, where he stresses the importance of maritime security. He also reminds readers that the salient feature of a free and open international order is rule-based where all countries are equal, unlike the hierarchical order propagated by certain states.

## 8. How US politics Affects the World

The international system that was dominantly conceived and run by the United States after the Second World War, its Gulliver winner, is now being challenged in many ways. Ouchi visits the basics for why and how the US is still big and influential. She provides a snapshot of the world political structure on the eve of the US Presidential election in November 2024. While the election result is deemed consequential, the policy goals are unchanged for Japan; to keep partnership with its only ally.

## 9. Refugees and Displacement

In 2022, the number of people forced to flee their homes induced by such menaces as war and climate change exceeded 100 million. In 2023, 76% percent of the displaced are hosted in low and middle-income countries, while 72% of funds to UNHCR came from the G7 and EU (2022). Ito points out the shift in economic weight and power amongst states and the severely challenged model of refugee protection, where refugee issues have often become instruments for politics. He places hope in Japan with its human focused policy goals.

## 10. Sustainable Development Goals, Today and Tomorrow

All 17 goals that 193 UN member states agreed upon in 2015 are seriously off track in 2023, halfway to the target year of 2030. Kondo shares his experience in promoting SDGs in Japanese businesses, bringing the Japanese private sector and the public in general to awareness of the SDGs. Kondo also reminds the readers that the gender equality, while a goal in itself, is a means to achieve most other goals. On 8th March, the International Women's Day, 2024, UN Secretary-General António Guterres urged the

world to “invest in women and girls, turbocharge progress and build a better world for us all.”

The views extended in this booklet are honest accounts of the lecturers’ professional experiences and thoughts, rather than the official positions of the organizations they have served. Interested readers may find out in Japan’s profile of international cooperation, what is a reflection of long-accumulated posture unchanged, and what are the results of the newly adopted measures to meet the challenges posed by rapidly evolving changes in geopolitics and science.

Readers may also wish to revisit the 2019 Booklet and make comparisons.

## Chapter 1 Disaster Risk Reduction

Takeya Kimio

### 1. Effects of War, Pandemic and Climate Change

Long before the effects of climate change were felt across the world, Japan was a nation forged by natural disasters. Due to its geography, topography and climate, Japan is prone to disasters ranging from earthquakes and volcanic eruptions to typhoons, rain-induced flooding and landslides. The first Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) project in Japan goes back to the eighth century CE. Ever since then DRR has been a priority in the governance of the country. In the unfortunate case of a disaster, Japan makes efforts to recover not just to the pre-disaster situation but to a stronger state by continuously strengthening its DRR systems. This “Build Back Better” policy has enabled sustainable development through avoiding recurring vulnerability. Japan has also made DRR investments, in other words capacity-building actions that are meant to reduce damages from future disasters. This long history has built abundant knowledge and experience in minimizing damage from disasters.

Japan has allocated 7 to 10 percent of the central government's annual budget to DRR each year since World War II (Figure 1). These efforts to allocate funds for disaster mitigation in advance successfully reduced the deaths attributable to flooding, from 5,000 caused by the Ise Gulf Typhoon in 1959 to only 27 in the year 2010. Even during the 1960s and 70s when per capita GDP was still below \$5,000, the Japanese government invested 5 to 8 percent of its national budget for DRR (Figure 2).

Japan has invested in both structural and non-structural measures. These include regulatory and institutional DRR mechanisms, land-use regulations and building codes, early-warning systems, business continuity plans, insurance, education, and awareness-raising programs. Various coordination efforts by the central government to overcome political, environmental and social conflicts have also been included in the implementation process. This investment in DRR contributed to maintaining economic growth until the early 1990s without much interruption by natural disasters.

Climate Change related disasters are intensive, and often catastrophic, events such as flooding and extensive drought. Japan is likely to be in greater risk of flooding than drought according to an analysis by the Japanese government in March 2021. A 2-degree

Celsius rise in temperature will increase precipitation by 15% in Hokkaido and 10% in mainland and other parts of Japan. \*<sup>1</sup> Based on this simulation the Japanese government is now reviewing all the main river system flood management plans. This program started in 2022 and is set to finish within several years.

Concerning temperature induced climate change, the “slow onset events” where recovery to the stage prior to the temperature rise is not envisaged, are already causing serious damage in many parts of the world, especially to island countries. According to the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) Secretariat, slow onset events include sea level rise, increasing temperature, ocean acidification, glacial and related retreat, salinization, land and forest degradation, loss of biodiversity and desertification. \*<sup>2</sup> Additional issues have recently been pointed out by specialists, including deep-sea water flow (current) change, which will have a serious impact on global climate patterns. This means that curbing climate change by addressing its root causes is all the more vital for mankind.

## 2. Major Policy Goals for Japan

In his statement entitled *The Future of the Indo-Pacific-Japan's New Plan for a 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific'* on 20 March 2023 in New Delhi, \*<sup>3</sup> Prime Minister Kishida took up disaster risk reduction as one of the items under the title of *Addressing Challenges in an Indo-Pacific Way* as follows:

The scale and frequency of disasters are becoming more serious due to the effects of climate change and others. To help countries build resilient societies, both in terms of disaster prevention and recovery, Japan will harness its expertise and technology to provide support including for improving disaster prevention and response capacity. \*<sup>3</sup>

This is not new. Japan has previously taken the lead in DRR initiatives through the United Nations: the *Yokohama Strategy and Plan of Action for a Safer World* in 1994, and the *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015* are important examples. These initiatives led to the city of Sendai hosting the Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction, 14-18 March 2015. More than 185 member states of the United Nations participated in this conference and finalized the DRR world concept for the next 15 years, entitled the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030*.

Japan not only hosted the Conference but its delegation, composed of government representatives and JICA experts, took the lead in negotiations towards the adoption of an agreed document. The priority areas of the Sendai Framework were based on lessons learnt through JICA's activities in the DRR sectors, which originally had been gained through long standing efforts and experiences on the Japanese archipelago. The Sendai Framework aimed at substantial reduction of disaster risk and losses in lives, livelihoods and health, and in the economic, physical, social, cultural and environmental assets of persons, businesses, communities and countries over the coming 15 years.

During the negotiations on the Framework, climate change was a sensitive issue to be dealt with. With flood control measures having been absent in many developing countries, some stressed the responsibility of developed countries for these, based on the concept of CBDR "common but differentiated responsibility," the well-known phrase stated in the UNFCCC, the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*, adopted in Rio in 1992, that took effect in 1994.<sup>\*4</sup> To avoid the moral hazard of attributing responsibility to the developed countries for the lack of engagement in flood control in developing countries, 90% of whose floods tend not to be derived from climate change, the first sentence of paragraph 19 of the Sendai Framework reads: (a) Each State has the primary responsibility to prevent and reduce disaster risk, including through international, regional, subregional, transboundary and bilateral cooperation.

### 3. The Merits of a Free and Open International Order

The definition of "Build Back Better" is to use every disaster as an opportunity to create a more resilient nation and society than before. This is to be achieved through the implementation of well-balanced risk reduction measures, including physical restoration of infrastructure, revitalization of livelihood and economy/industry, and the restoration of local culture and environment. In the words of Ms. Mizutori Mami, Special Representative of the UN Secretary General and Head of the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (2018-2023), "There is no such thing as a natural disaster; natural hazards will turn into disasters when we do not handle them well." In the Sendai Framework, the international community had agreed to reduce existing disaster risks and prevent the creation of new risks.

The Sendai Framework established National and Local DRR Strategies from 2015 to 2020 as targets for the implementation of DRR investment in this program. According to the report of the midterm review of the implementation of the Sendai Framework,

countries reporting local DRR strategies increased from 51 in 2015 to 99 in 2021 and the average proportion of local governments with local strategies reached around 70% (Figure 3).<sup>\*5</sup>

According to JICA, when seeking support from more than 10 vulnerable countries to formulate Local DRR strategy, more than 50% of the countries reported that they had established local DRR Strategies. When we looked at the contents of these local DRR strategies, however, they still tended not to include budget preparation, and contained no decision on implementation schedules. Merely upholding the concept of DRR is often not practical enough for a DRR investment. Thus, continuous efforts and cooperation are needed to make stronger and more resilient societies. A free and open international order is required as the basis of such efforts and cooperation.

#### Notes

- \*1 [https://www.mlit.go.jp/river/shinngikai\\_blog/chisui\\_kentoukai/pdf/r0304/00\\_gaiyou.pdf](https://www.mlit.go.jp/river/shinngikai_blog/chisui_kentoukai/pdf/r0304/00_gaiyou.pdf).
- \*2 UNFCC. 2012. *Slow Onset Events*. UNFCC Technical Paper. <https://unfccc.int/documents/7429>.
- \*3 Kishida, F. 2023. *The Future of the Indo-Pacific –Japan’s New Plan for a “Free and Open Indo-Pacific –Together with India, as an Indispensable Partner*. New Delhi: SSB, March 20. <https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100477739.pdf>.
- \*4 United Nations. 1992. *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change*. [https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/convention\\_text\\_with\\_annexes\\_english\\_for\\_posting.pdf](https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/convention_text_with_annexes_english_for_posting.pdf)

#### **United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Article 3 (Principles):**

1 The Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. Accordingly, developed country parties should take the lead in combating climate change and the adverse effects thereof.

- \*5 UNDRR. 2023. *Risk Reduction 2015-30*. <https://sendaiframework-mtr.undrr.org/publication/report-midterm-review-implementation-sendai-framework-disaster-risk-reduction-2015-2030>, 24.



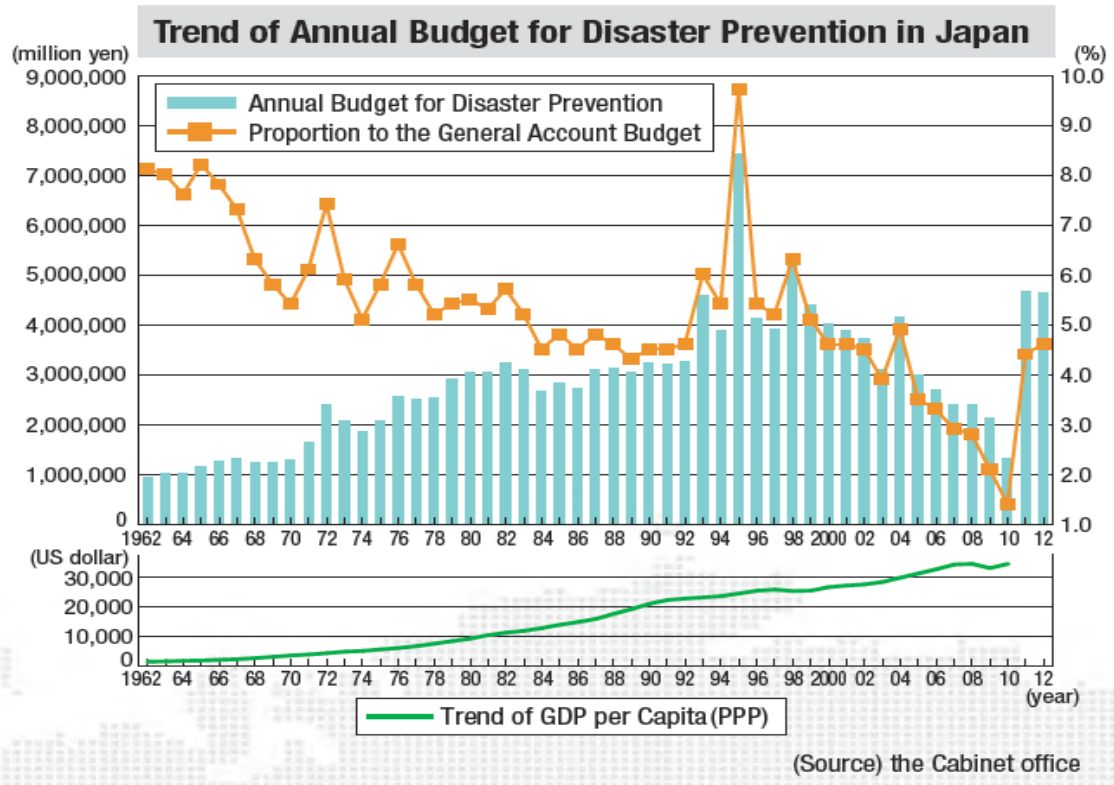


Figure 1. The Trend of the Annual Budget for Disaster Prevention in Japan

Figure 6.3 Successful flood reduction in Japan

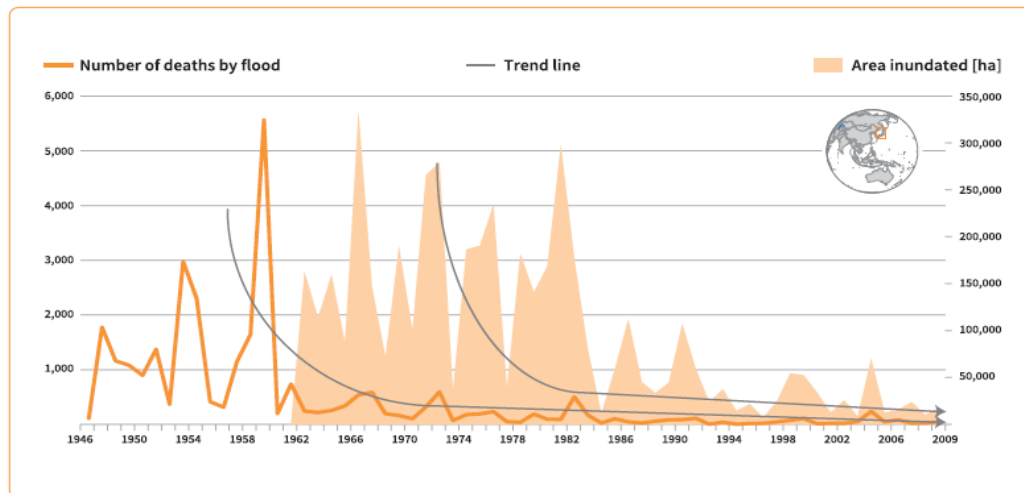


Figure 2. Successful flood reduction in Japan

Source: Global Assessment Report 2015, 125.

Figure 8. Trends in countries reporting local disaster risk reduction strategies (light blue) and average proportion of local governments with local strategies (purple)

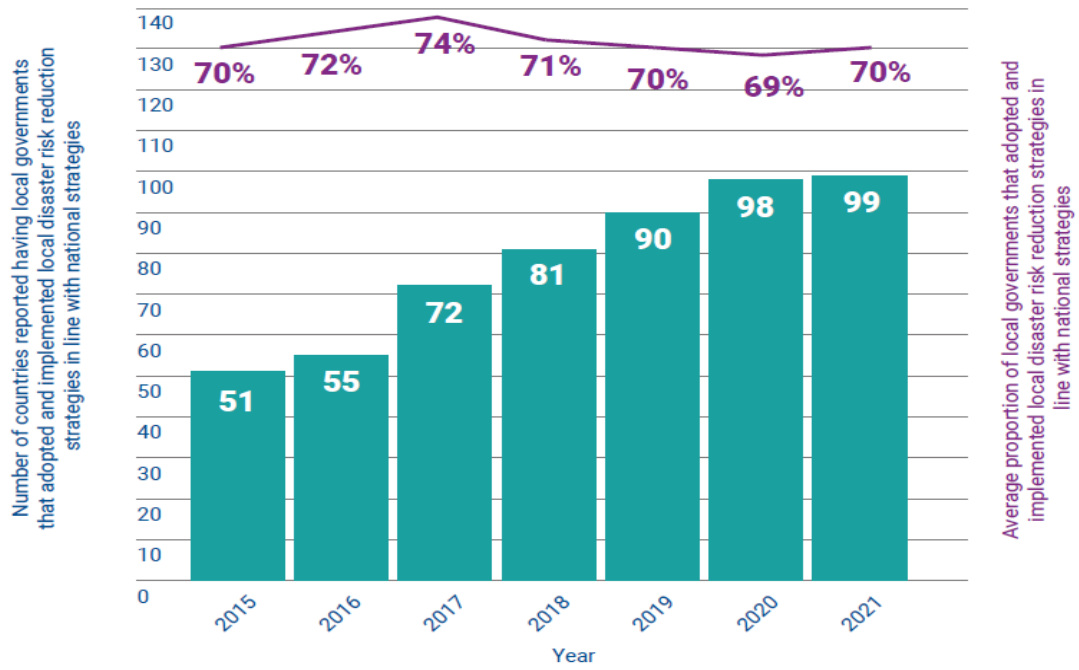


Figure 3. Achievement of Target(s)

**Prof. TAKEYA Kimio** is Distinguished Technical Advisor to the President of JICA and Visiting Professor of the International Research Institute of Disaster Science (IRIDeS) at Tohoku University. Prof. Takeya has joined most of the Post Disaster Needs Assessment (PDNA) surveys and recovery policy dialogues around world Mega Disasters, including the Sumatra Tsunami of 2004, the Pakistan Indus Flood of 2010, and the Nepal Earthquake of 2015. After a disaster occurs, he advises government Ministerial decision makers on how to recover from it. He first proposed the concept “Build Back Better” after the 2006 Central Java Earthquake and this approach was first documented on the PDNA of the Manila Ondoy Flood of 2009. He was a leading member of the Japanese Government’s negotiation team for the formulation of the Sendai Framework for DRR 2015–2030 and made “Build Back Better” an international standard recovery concept. He continuously contributes to the Sendai Framework Indicator finalizing process as a member of the open-ended expert group. He was awarded the International Association of Traffic and Safety Sciences Best Paper Award (2012), and the Japan River Association Award for International Contribution (2012).

## Chapter 2 Support for Ukraine

Kobayakawa Toru

### 1. Effects of war, pandemic and climate change

Ukraine, situated in a historically contested region between Russian influence and European aspirations, has gradually strengthened its sense of nationalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries. However, even after gaining independence from the former Soviet Union in 1991, internal politics in Ukraine has been marked by an ongoing rivalry between pro-Russian and pro-European factions, leading to events such as the Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Maidan Revolution in 2013-14. President Volodymyr Zelensky, who took office in May 2019, reaffirmed Ukraine's aspiration to join the EU and NATO. In response, Russian President Vladimir Putin initiated the invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022.

At a Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, a resolution demanding “that the Russian Federation immediately, completely and unconditionally withdraw all of its military forces from the territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders” (A/RES/ES-11/1 op4)\*, was adopted by 143 votes in favour from the 183 (of 193) member states present. While consecutive related resolutions at the GA reveal a somewhat mixed reaction by the international community as a whole, a similar resolution adopted on 22 February 2023, one year on from the invasion, gained 141 votes from the 180 member states present. A group of states, led by the G7, on the other hand, have been adamant from the outset that the invasion should cease and have imposed economic sanctions, including a ban on Russian oil imports, in response.

As a result, already high energy prices due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic soared further. Also, with both Ukraine and Russia being major producers of agricultural products such as grains, the disruptions to their exports caused by the invasion led to a spike in world food prices. Some low-income countries, especially in Africa, which rely on these exports, faced a serious food crisis as a result. However, as reflected in the voting patterns in GA resolutions, some countries such as India and China had different reactions and increased their imports, especially oil, from Russia, taking advantage of its economic situation. These reactions limited the effectiveness of the economic sanctions but had the effect of easing the global price hikes to some extent. The war itself has widened a global divide in terms of relations with Russia, but it also highlighted the merits of maintaining openness in the world economy.

## 2. Major policy goals for Japan

The government of Japan announced its support to Ukraine right after the Russian invasion started. JICA, as the implementing agency of Japanese ODA, has extended assistance in different modalities. JICA's cooperation to Ukraine has been centered around the three pillars: (i) Support for the continuance of government functions; (ii) Assist neighboring host countries to support Ukrainians displaced by the invasion; and (iii) Conduct recovery and reconstruction support.

Under the first pillar, budget support equivalent to 600 million USD was disbursed during the first half of 2022 through a co-financing arrangement with the World Bank. Under the second pillar, budget support equivalent to 100 million USD as well as grant aid and technical cooperation for the medical sector were extended to Moldova, which has accepted significant number of refugees from Ukraine. Under the third pillar, cooperation has been extended to the Ukrainian government in four priority areas:

- (1) Laying a foundation for smooth recovery (support for removal of landmines and unexploded ordnance; support in improving debris management, etc.);
- (2) Improving livelihoods and environment (support for restoration of such sectors as energy, water supply, transport, healthcare, education, etc.);
- (3) Recovery of agricultural production and industrial promotion (support for recovery of agriculture; support for entrepreneurs, etc.);
- (4) Strengthening democracy and governance (capacity building of the Public Broadcasting Company; support for improving the financial sector, etc.).

JICA, as a bilateral aid agency, shares Japan's own experience of recovery and reconstruction in the past - its recovery from the severe damage caused by World War II as well as natural disasters such as earthquakes and tsunami. For instance, in debris management, leveraging on the experience from recovery and reconstruction after disasters like the Great East Japan Earthquake means that Japan's expertise in the proper and efficient disposal of disaster waste can be shared.

JICA also shares its experience and networks developed through its support to other countries' recovery and reconstruction processes. For example, in the field of landmine/unexploded ordnance disposal, in collaboration with the Cambodian Mine Action Center (CMAC), an organization with whom JICA has had a long-standing cooperative relationship, Japan provides technical support to Ukraine. In addition, IT skills training for Ukrainian refugees in Poland is conducted in collaboration with the Polish-Japanese Academy of Information Technology (PJAIT). This academy was established in 1994 with the cooperation of the Japanese government and saw significant development after JICA's technical assistance was implemented.

These attempts by JICA to collaborate with its partners in saving the global commons are the materialization of the Japanese government's policy. In his policy speech entitled *The Future of the Indo-Pacific-Japan's New Plan for a "Free and Open*

*Indo-Pacific*” given in Delhi, India in March 2023, Prime Minister Kishida stressed the following:

“..Japan will expand cooperation for FOIP. Russia’s aggression against Ukraine obliges us to face the most fundamental challenge; defending peace. Various other challenges related to the "global commons," such as climate and the environment, global health and cyberspace, have become more serious. I will incorporate these new elements of addressing peace and the global commons-related issues into FOIP.”

### 3. The Merits of a Free and Open International Order

Russia’s invasion of Ukraine constitutes a serious violation of several principles of international law, including sovereignty, territorial integrity, and others outlined in the United Nations Charter. Further, the resultant surge in energy and grain prices in the international market posed a threat of famine in poverty-stricken countries. While the international prices for energy and food have since stabilized, this has revealed the fact that conflict in certain regions can threaten the free and open international order, potentially causing humanitarian crises in distant regions.

For Japan, which relies heavily on overseas sources for energy and food, preserving a free and open international order is a matter of survival. It is essential for the international community to continue its support not only to Ukraine but also to countries vulnerable to negative impacts caused by war. In order to prevent the same man-made disasters in the future, the international community must unite and make concerted efforts to uphold the international order based on the rule of law.

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\* United Nations General Assembly. 2022. *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 2 March 2022*. In response to Eleventh Emergency Special Session Agenda Item 5, Letter dated 28 February 2014 from the Permanent Representative of Ukraine to the United Nations. A/RES/ES-11/1op4.

BBC News. n.d. *Russia Sanctions: What impact have they had on its oil and gas exports?*

<https://www.bbc.com/news/58888451>

Global Food Prices Decline in August- Lowest in Two Years, But Rice at 15-Year High - Farm Policy News(illinois.edu)

<https://farmpolicynews.illinois.edu/2023/09/global-food-prices-decline-in-august-lowest-in-two-years-but-rice-at-15-year-high/>

**Dr. KOBAYAKAWA Toru** has worked for JICA since 1998. His sectoral focus has been energy and sustainable development, and his regional focus South Asia. He served in JICA offices in India (2006-2011), and in Sri Lanka (2016-2019). He was assigned as the Head of Office for the Ukraine Crisis Response, Recovery and Reconstruction programme in September 2022. He has Bachelor and Master degrees in Engineering, an MPA, and a PhD in energy.

## **Chapter 3** Rule of Law for an Orderly and Predictable World

Sato Kuni

### 1. Effects of war, pandemic and climate change

The war in Ukraine has brought economic consequences such as supply chain dislocations, food shortages, high energy costs, slower growth, and soaring inflation. The war also brought geopolitical consequences notably in Europe, exemplified by: Switzerland joining sanctions against Russia; Finland and Sweden abandoning long traditions of neutrality and seeking to join NATO; and Germany doubling its defense budget. We also observe a process of painful reduction of dependence on Russian energy as well as diverging international and internal interests. Longer-term ramifications of the war will include those that have an impact on the nuclear non-proliferation regimes. But we should not fail to realize that coping with the challenges posed by those consequences and ramifications will require consideration of the situations that had already started prior to the war. Those preexisting conditions include the end of hopeful liberalism in international law.

The rule of law was a basic premise upon which the post-World War II regime was constructed, and maintained with adjustments/modifications as required. As for the making of the regime, institutions were set up for peace and stability, such as the United Nations Security Council established in 1945, to prevent and suppress aggression, and UNESCO, to build peace in the minds of the people. For prosperity and development, such institutions as the World Bank and IMF were established, and the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) started.

In the adaptation of the post-war regime, developments were seen in different phases: under the cold war the Uniting for Peace Resolution was adopted at the UN General Assembly in 1950, to authorize itself to seize the matter, where the Security Council, because of the lack of unanimity of its 5 permanent members, failed to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Under the age of newly independent countries in the 1960s and beyond, a New International Economic Order, NIEO, was called for, where states claimed ownership of the natural resources with which they were endowed.

Such thinking was prevalent as a thread in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982), in particular in its part 11 pertaining to deep seabed mining. And at the World Trade Organization (WTO) the Doha Round started as a means to improve the trading prospects of developing countries, and hence is called the Doha Development Agenda. The EU enlargement, largest in 2004 when 10 States were given accession, helped Eastern Europe to transit to liberal democracy and the market economy. The 30 years between 1989 and 2019 is sometimes called the “30 years of crises” after E. H. Carr’s “20 years of crises.” Both periods, post-World War I and post-Cold War, witnessed changes in the constellation of power, and challenges to the existing rules of law.

The post-World War II schemes/regimes have not only been challenged by the war in Ukraine, the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change, but also by such factors as new areas of science and technology, including cyber space and AI. Solutions are sought in adjusting to new demands such as the green and clean economy, and deterrence of war by a coalition of like-minded countries.

## 2. Major policy goals for Japan

Given the above changes and challenges, a variety of multilateral, bilateral, plurilateral, and mini-lateral efforts have been sought to address them. Japan has been instrumental in a number of these efforts, playing a unique role in the context of global governance. One successful example has been to take the leadership in negotiating the conclusion of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, CPTPP, which entered into force in July 2023 and includes an original membership of 11 states around the Pacific Ocean. In the words of the UK, which acceded to the agreement as the twelfth member in August 2023, the CPTPP features ambitious market access commitments in trade in goods, services, investment, labour mobility and government procurement.\*1

## 3. Merits of a free and open international order based on the rule of law

There are basic differences between the rule of law in a state and that in the international community of sovereign states. There is also a difference between the “rule of law” and the “rules of law.” The rule of law “functions in the domestic context with other constitutional concepts such as legal supremacy, separation of power, judicial independence and legal clarity together to safeguard the liberal and constitutional values of a country.”\*2



But, lacking a legislative organ similar to that of domestic society, the rules of international law bind only those states that have agreed to them. The world does not have a central government, as in the case of a national executive branch. And in the international context, judicial institutions exist only to a limited extent as of today. Why, then, do states make and observe rules of international law? In the end, the rule of law, to make and observe rules of international law, serves the long-term if not short-term interests of states. Examples can be found in the UNCLOS and DDA negotiations. An orderly and predictable world is much preferred to that of “might is right.”

#### Notes

\*1 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/cptpp-benefits-for-the-uk>

\*2 Grabenwarter, C. 2011. *Separation of Powers and the Independence of Constitutional Courts and Equivalent Bodies*. Keynote Speech presented to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the World Conference on Constitutional Justice. Brazil: Rio de Janeiro.

[https://www.venice.coe.int/WCCJ/Rio/Papers/AUT\\_Grabenwarter\\_keynotespeech.pdf](https://www.venice.coe.int/WCCJ/Rio/Papers/AUT_Grabenwarter_keynotespeech.pdf)

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## Chapter 4 Development of Africa in comparison with Asia

Okamura Yoshifumi

### 1. Effects of war, pandemic and climate change

Africa tends to be the hardest hit by crises that affect the entire world. Climate change is having a negative impact on the continent, exacerbated by associated severe weather conditions. Perpetual droughts devastate even low-productivity farmlands, especially in the Sahel region, and farmers are obliged to abandon their traditional homelands and become internally displaced people. This mass displacement of people has been a distant cause of ethnic and regional conflicts over land and water.

The recent COVID -19 crisis and the war in Ukraine have further accentuated these difficult situations. Distribution of vaccines to prevent the fatal effects of COVID-19 is reported to have been notoriously skewed to the developed world. At the outset of the Ukrainian War, the countries in northern Africa that traditionally relied on cheap wheat imported from Ukraine and Russia faced serious difficulties in their food supplies. In addition, the war-enforced halt in exports of Ukrainian-made fertilizer to northern Africa is reported to have caused food shortages. The disruption of these supplies due to the war in Ukraine has thus caused great economic hardship for African countries.

The sufferings and negative effects of these crises appear to be particularly severe in Africa in comparison to other parts of the developing world, namely Asia. Asian countries have achieved excellent economic development progress and improved their people's standard of living in recent years, even though the Southeast Asian countries are developing countries and some face similarly harsh climatic conditions as Africa. Why is it so difficult for Africa to do what Asia can do?

The conventional answer is “Resource curse.” In many African countries, exports are skewed towards a limited number of primary commodities whose price volatility in international markets, together with fluctuating exchange rates, leads to the vulnerability of the economy against exogenous shock. On the other hand, the enormous revenues generated by natural resources can also be hotbeds for corruption and power distortions. If the cause of poor economic development in Africa is to be attributed to commodity dependence, however, why the effective take-offs that took place in Asia, where its main exports also used to be primary products? Vietnam is a case in point, whose exports of manufactured products have replaced and greatly surpassed their primary commodity exports.

The other factors that have traditionally been cited as backgrounds for Africa's lack of a viable economic growth trajectory include tropical climates, the legacy of colonial rule, political instability often resulting in armed conflicts and coups, dictatorial regimes, and traditionally conservative tribal cultures. But these are, in fact, conditions shared by many ASEAN countries before the 1970s and 80s. The ASEAN countries were however able to grow their economies by developing their domestic manufacturing industries, generating growth and employment.

In my view, one of the major disadvantages of Africa in its industrialization is the vastness of the land area. I call it the "Continent curse." The land transportation required for the movement of goods between different locations within a territory and across national borders is far costlier than shipping. In contrast to Southeast Asia, where countries are scattered across the South China Sea and their ports can be connected on an area wide basis, establishing supply chains within regional markets for industrial products and raw material procurement tends to be more difficult in Africa.

Also, in Africa relatively flat lands have kept people in agriculture. The percentage of the population living within 100km of coastlines or rivers that connect to the sea is 21% in Sub-Saharan Africa, compared to 61% in Southeast Asia (Bloom et al. 1998, 237)\*1. This hinders the establishment of population concentrations suitable for coastal urbanization needed as hinterlands and markets for industrial production. Moreover, the current delineation of borders as colonial legacies reduces the size of contiguous population groups and hence domestic markets, and the expense of land transportation tends to inhibit regional market integration.

## 2. Major Policy Goals for Japan

African countries are important partners for Japan. To have the 54 African countries understand and support Japan's position in negotiations at the United Nations and in the international community is of great value. At the same time, to ensure the peace and stability that Japan desires in the world, it is fundamental that Africa first demonstrate sound economic and social development. Japan and African countries established TICAD, the Tokyo International Conference on African Development, in 1993. What began as a one-time international conference has been held regularly for the past 30 years. This is because of the strong wish of the African countries who also consider Japan as a valuable partner, probably because it has a different perspective and methodology for African development than their traditional European partners. African countries have noticed that

the Japanese style of development assistance has actually produced tangible results in Asian countries.

European countries, based on the Christian “charity and mission” like approach, have been “giving and teaching” when it comes to aid. As a result, Africa has developed the attitude of waiting for someone else to give them aid and to solve their problems. Japan, on the other hand, tells aid recipients in developing countries to make it happen and to think for themselves. Thus, “Ownership and Partnership” has been the basic principle of TICAD from the very beginning. Also, European countries have instilled in Africa that the most important attitude was to listen to orders from superiors and faithfully carry them out. This is a top-down approach and tends to discourage self-help initiatives. Japan, however, has been advocating “kaizen,” which is a bottom-up approach. African tribal societies have traditionally and culturally followed a bottom-up approach, but during the colonial period, they became accustomed to being told what to do by external superiors and forgot the habit of thinking for themselves. Japan's policy goal is to play a pivotal role in Africa's prosperity, peace, and stability based on this Japanese approach to economic and social construction.

### 3. The Merits of a Free and Open International Order

To overcome the “Continent Curse,” Africa has decided to promote intra-African trade leading to market integration through such means as AfCFTA, the African Continental Free Trade Area. Furthermore, it can ride the tide towards the information and service industries evident in the 21st century. Through such approaches, Africa will surely be a strong promoter but also a big benefactor of a free and open international order. The moves to expand free trade in Africa will pave the way for the formation of major business interactions with the developing and expanding economies of Asia. With population growth expected to continue, these two regional economies will become the driving force of the world economy. Given this outlook, maintaining and expanding free trade between the two economic blocs is an extremely important agenda item in their discussions.

It is against this backdrop that Japan proposed the FOIP concept, a Free and Open Indo Pacific. It is highly symbolic that this was first announced to the African leaders by then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in Nairobi at TICAD VI in August 2016. Major policy goals for Japan, still valid today, were eloquently described in the Abe TICAD speech as below:

“When you cross the seas of Asia and the Indian Ocean and come to Nairobi, you then understand very well that what connects Asia and Africa is the sea lanes. What will give stability and prosperity to the world is none other than the enormous liveliness brought forth through the union of two free and open oceans and two continents. Japan bears the responsibility of fostering the confluence of the Pacific and Indian Oceans and of Asia and Africa into a place that values freedom, the rule of law, and the market economy, free from force or coercion, and making it prosperous. Japan wants to work together with Africa in order to make the seas that connect the two continents into peaceful seas that are governed by the rule of law. That is what we wish to do with you. The winds that traverse the ocean turn our eyes to the future.”

The days when Japan viewed Africa only as a target for economic and social development and aid are past. Now, Japan views Africa as an important partner that supports free trade and business. Engagement with Africa through this global posture is a major part of Japan’s policy goals.

#### Notes

\*1 Bloom, David E., Jeffrey D. Sachs, Paul Collier, and Christopher Udry. 1998. “Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa.” *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 1998(2): 207-295.

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## **Chapter 5** Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean, Opening up the Horizon of Japan's Foreign Policy

Yamada Akira

### 1. Effects of War, Pandemic and Climate Change

1990s saw a structural change in international society - the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union enabled the US led coalition of states to act in unity in the Gulf War of 1991. Japan's diplomacy also saw a change; the values of freedom and democracy had become more important than ever, and Japan began to more clearly articulate a diplomatic stance on providing steady support for the establishment of democracy in various parts of the world and contributing more proactively to peacebuilding. This trend was seen in its diplomacy towards Latin America. Indeed, the 1990s also saw many conflicts in Central America end and Japan was able to extend assistance to help consolidate peace and democracy in that region.

In spite of the developments in the international arena observed since the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the basic posture of the states including Japan, who share the same values, has not changed. Japan has intensified its measures to collaborate with the international community, including countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean (hereinafter LAC), to uphold the rule of law, and to overcome such common challenges as the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change.

### 2. Major Policy Goals for Japan

If we look at the history of their cooperation, due to the distance the LAC countries were of relatively little importance in Japanese foreign policies in the Meiji era. However, Japan opened diplomatic relations with the LAC from the end of the 19th century onward, and over the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Brazil, Peru, and others became important destinations for Japanese immigrants.

During World War II though, the Latin American countries joined the Allied side and broke off diplomatic relations with Japan. Japanese immigrants there suffered greatly. However, after the war, the Latin American countries were favorable to Japan's

reintegration to the international community. From the 1950s, Japanese immigration to Latin America began to revive, and from the 1960s to the 1970s, as Japan achieved high economic growth, its companies began to actively expand (invest) in Latin America.

In the 1980s, Latin American countries faced economic crises, and their economic relations with Japan were greatly affected. After the end of the Cold War, as above, Japan started to extend more support towards peace and democracy. An important development in the 2000s was the development of Japan's EPA (Economic Partnership Agreement) diplomacy. The Japan-Mexico EPA concluded in 2004 marked a major turning point in Japan's foreign trade policy, after which Japan proceeded to conclude EPAs with Chile and Peru in Latin America as well as with the closer to home ASEAN countries. In recent years, Japan has expanded its network of broad trade agreements, including the CPTPP (Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership), the Japan-EU/EPA, and a broad network of trade agreements.

It is estimated that there are currently more than 2.3 million “Nikkei,” Japanese immigrants and their descendants in the Latin American region. The Nikkei community is a major asset for Japanese diplomacy, and Japan will not only improve the position of this community but also the relations between Japan and the host country by strengthening its ties with them.

In 2014, then Prime Minister Abe Shinzo visited five LAC countries (Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, Colombia, Chile, and Brazil). This visit was a milestone in Japan's diplomatic relations with LAC. In Trinidad and Tobago, the leaders of CARICOM (Caribbean Community) countries gathered for the first Japan-CARICOM Summit. At the end of his visit, Prime Minister Abe delivered a policy speech in Sao Paulo in which he announced the "*Three Juntos*," which are the guiding principles of Japan's diplomacy with LAC.

“*Juntos*” means in English, “Together.” What are the “Three Juntos?” The first is “Development Together,” which means to further deepen economic ties and bring about mutual economic development. The second is “Lead Together,” which means that Japan and LAC should exercise leadership together in confronting the challenges of the international community. And the third one is “Inspire Together,” which means to promote human exchange and to enlighten people together to leave a peaceful and prosperous world to our descendants. The key word “Juntos” expresses the idea that Japan is “together” with the LAC countries, and that we would like to walk and cooperate “together” as friends (Amigos) and partners; not in a hierarchical relationship.

### 3. Merits of a Free and Open International Order

Analyzing the above, one could say that the characteristics of the relationship between Japan and the LAC are as (1) and (2) as below, while (3) is the background:

(1) Latin America is the most “friendly to Japan” region in the world. The reasons for this are as follows:

- The existence of Japanese immigrants (Nikkei) in Latin American countries and their contribution;
- The positive results and achievement of Japan’s economic and technological cooperation implemented by both public and private sectors;
- The fact that Japan and Latin American countries have never directly engaged in warfare, thus there is no “negative history;”
- Respect for Japanese science and technology, and the recent popularity of pop culture such as anime and manga, have also increased the sense of familiarity with Japan.

(2) "LAC has opened up the horizon of Japanese diplomacy." Let me give some examples:

- The first treaty of equality in Meiji Japan was the Japan-Mexico Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1888;
- The immigration to Latin America also dramatically expanded the horizons of the Japanese people and Japanese society;
- Latin America was the first to support Japan's reintegration into the international community after World War II;
- The first democratization assistance through ODA was provided to Central American countries after the end of their conflict;
- It was in Honduras that the Self-Defense Forces were first dispatched as an international emergency relief team. This was also an epoch-making event for Japan;
- The Japan-Mexico EPA was a major shift in foreign trade policy.



(3) Why did this happen? My hypothesis is as follows:

- First, as mentioned earlier, as a region, the most “friendly-to-Japan” region in the world is Latin America, where the negative image of Japan is almost non-existent;
- Second, although they have friendly relations, LAC has no vital security interest for Japan, from the military and national security point of view and vice-versa.

Therefore, (and this is a rather bold way of putting it) “*diplomatic experiments*” are possible. Even if one fails, Japan can recover from this. And as a matter of the fact, most new experiments did not fail, but rather became pioneering measures and policies in Japanese diplomacy. Now Japan and the LAC have a very friendly relationship. However, when considering the status of both in the international community, there remains tremendous room for developing friendly and cooperative relations.

At first, it is important to note that Japan and the LAC countries share basic values such as democracy, freedom, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. Because we share these fundamental values, we can work together, take initiatives together, and become important partners in creating a free and open international order. On the economic front, Japan and the LAC countries have a complementary relationship, and through cooperation, we can achieve development together.

I conclude with the hope that Japan and LAC will be together as partners and amigos in a free and open international society.

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## **Chapter 6** Asia Nurtured by Japan's ODA

Kawamura Yasuhisa

### 1. Effects of War, Pandemic and Climate Change

The global community is grappling with multiple complex crises, including climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Climate change has brought about record high temperatures, flooding, and economic losses, while the COVID-19 pandemic caused a decline in GDP growth and increased poverty levels in low-income countries that will result in a delay in the achievement of SDG targets and greater debt in less developed countries. The invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2022 was a blatant denial of the rule of law under the UN Charter. Russia banned wheat exports, decreased substantial amount of its pipelined LNG supply to Europe, as it weaponized food and energy. The resulting high prices have been threatening the lives of the peoples of many developing countries.

Against this background the Japanese Government revised the National Development Cooperation Charter focus of human security, which has been at the core of Japan's ODA policy since 2003. It emphasizes the right to live in peace, free from fear and from want with dignity as a human being. Prime Minister Kishida Fumio announced his plan to address the crises at the United Nations General Assembly in September 2023, underlining human-centered cooperation and the importance of realizing a free and open Indo-Pacific (FOIP).

### 2. Major Policy Goals for Japan

The Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) is a concept introduced by Prime Minister Abe Shinzo at the 2016 TICAD (Tokyo International Conference on African Development) meeting in Nairobi. It advocates for a free and open order based on the rule of law in the Indo-Pacific region. The economic development of the region is dynamic, but it needs to be assured by linking both land and maritime routes. The FOIP seeks to achieve five core principles: Defending freedom, the rule of law, respecting diversity, inclusiveness, and openness. Japan takes an open approach as it makes clear that it will cooperate with any country that supports such fundamental vision. ASEAN also released the ASEAN Outlook for the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) in 2016, with the vision of creating a

free, open, and rule-based Indo-Pacific. ASEAN and Japan have confirmed their commitment to promote concrete cooperation by honoring ASEAN's centrality. Abdul Razak, head of the policy advisory council of Beit Amanah in Malaysia, emphasizes the importance of Japan-ASEAN cooperation targeting new areas including knowledge-intensive cooperation through such means as AI, climate change, food, and regional security to mitigate US-China tension, and economic security to establish resilience in supply chains following the COVID-19 pandemic.

Japan and ASEAN as well as the Indo-Pacific countries are thus in agreement on what they seek, indicating growing room for further cooperation between the two. Prime Minister Kishida announced a new plan for FOIP in India in March 2023. The new plan offers various pillars, including peacebuilding and reconstruction after conflict, practical energy transition, green transformation, food security, and disaster prevention.

For peace keeping, Japan provides the UN with 8.8 million yen and dispatches 291 Self Defense Force personnel as trainers in the engineering and medical fields to Asian and African PKO troop contributing countries. In peacebuilding, Japan provides unique support such as the construction of resilient institutions through investment in people, supporting reduction in disparities and vulnerable populations in the region to realize peace and stability by regaining trust and strengthening governance and the rule of law through dialogue between citizens in countries with regional conflicts. Examples include support for the Mindanao peace process and the establishment of the Bangsamoro autonomous government in the Philippines.

For energy transition, Japan plans to establish "the Asian Zero Emissions Community" as a regional platform, accelerating the development of the Asia Energy Transition Initiative (AETI) to formulate roadmaps, support financing, and provide capacity-building. For GX, Japan utilizes public funds, including JICA funds, to support the development and implementation of an electricity master plan for renewable energy in Sri Lanka.

Japan's ODA has 70 years of accumulated expertise in supporting Asian and Indo-Pacific development. As the World Bank's "The Miracle of East Asia (1993)" points out, Japan's ODA to the region in retrospect has been based on pragmatism drawn from Japan's own experience of economic development since the Meiji era. Japan's ODA was characterized by transferring its own "translative adaptation" of advanced foreign technologies and socio-economic experience, using the trinity industrial development approach (investment-export-employment) and trust building through Japanese individual service providers. This led to successful growth mainly through manufacturing development and export growth in ASEAN countries in the 1980s. In dealing with the

current compound crises, Japan and Indo-Pacific, in particular, ASEAN countries need to cooperate as equal partners to tackle common new challenges. Japan's long experience in ODA is expected to function continuously as a practical guideline in promoting cooperation on these issues.

### 3. The Merits of a Free and Open International Order

The challenges ahead for Japan's ODA under FOIP include a sluggish budget growth amid the growing demand for aid to address compound crises, and the growing presence of non-member countries from the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) or the Paris Club.

Japan's ODA budget constraints may be eased by increasing joint actions with a number of like-minded countries throughout North America and Europe that share the FOIP agenda. Canada announced its first ever Indo-Pacific Strategy in 2022 and has been rigorously implementing the joint FOIP Action Plan with Japan. Undertaking joint cooperation projects such as the Delhi Metro with India, a non-DAC member country, has had a synergistic effect in realizing connectivity and has facilitated South-South cooperation through India's re-export of the Japanese style Delhi Metro system.

The issue of developing countries' ballooning debt due to the COVID-19 and other crises poses another challenge as it requires the creditor nations of the Paris Club to reach a restructuring agreement with debtor countries by assuring transparency and equality in the debtor country's separate agreement with China as the largest donor and a non-member of the Paris Club.

Finally, trust building must be underlined as a fundamental condition for any cooperation in the current context of the divisions that have plagued the world since the invasion of Ukraine. The high level of trust in Japan shown in public polls in the region, which seems to be the result of its ODA provision over the past 60 years, is an all-encompassing factor in the future progress of FOIP cooperation.

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## Chapter 7 Security Cooperation in the Age of Great Power Competition

Tokuchi Hideshi

### 1. Effects of War, Pandemic, and Climate Change

Today's world is highly connected. There is no such thing as security for Europe alone or peace for Asia alone. Japan's Prime Minister Kishida often says, "Ukraine today might be East Asia tomorrow." In this environment, international partnership is an indispensable tool for national security of any single country today. That is what the war between Russia and Ukraine tells us.

The Indo-Pacific region, particularly Northeast Asia where Japan is located, is full of problems related to the traditional security agenda of the countries involved. In order to address these agendas security cooperation with like-minded countries is increasingly important. In fact, the alliance relationship with the US and security partnerships with other like-minded countries are posited as pillars of Japan's national security and defense policy.

The region is mainly an inter-national society of sovereign states, but at the same time, it is part of global society without national borders and exposed to global challenges such as the COVID-19 pandemic and climate change. The impacts of those global issues on regional security cannot be ignored. In short, restrictions and demands are increasing, but the chances for new types of cooperation are also increasing.

COVID-19 caused restrictions on travel and in-person meetings. It caused impediment to cooperation, particularly military operational cooperation. Climate change also potentially causes a lot of restrictions on the military: restrictions on military training due to extreme environments; and on using different types of training environment, i.e., training grounds and military bases. The military forces will have to adapt themselves to these changes.

Meanwhile, COVID-19 has brought an increase in demands for military contributions to address the pandemic, including medical support by military doctors and nurses, the transportation of vaccines and medical gears, and related logistics support. Climate change will bring different demands for military contributions: response to military conflicts and civil wars due to instability caused by climate change; disaster relief operations on a larger scale; and the shift of energy sources from fossil fuels to renewable

ones used in military equipment, bases, facilities and other installations.

Some of these impacts are known unknowns, but probably most of them are still unknown unknowns. Therefore, risks are higher, but will widen the window of opportunity for cooperation, as shown in the military medical resource cooperation to deal with the pandemic.

Nevertheless, here are a number of challenges. First, because anything to be prioritized can be easily regarded as a matter of security, each government has to have specific criteria for prioritization. As the risks are increasing and resources are limited, effective and efficient mechanisms of coordination based on a whole-of-government approach are indispensable.

Second, we cannot avoid efforts to prepare for geopolitical risks even when other global issues prevail. The main mission of military forces is to defend the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of a country from foreign aggression, not protection of global natural environment or global health. If the efforts of military organizations for adaptation to new natural environments, such as use of renewable energies even with higher costs, do not contribute to national defense, those adaptation efforts may not last long enough.

Third, the research and development in climate engineering (geoengineering), such as solar radiation management and carbon dioxide removal may not be risk-free. Today's climate engineering is designed to alleviate the impacts of climate change for the benefit of mankind, but we have to watch out for the possibility of use of new technologies to modify those natural environments for possible military and hostile purposes. When the treaty to ban the use of such technologies was concluded in 1976, those technologies were not real ones, but today's situation does not seem to be the same. We must consider this issue seriously. It is a matter of arms control cooperation.

## 2. Major policy goals for Japan

The National Security Strategy 2022 (Section VI. 2. (1) (ii)) reads: "As a nation in the Indo-Pacific region, Japan will further promote efforts to realize a FOIP by deepening cooperation with like-minded countries through the Japan-U.S. Alliance as a cornerstone and through efforts such as the Japan-US-Australia-India (Quad) partnership. To this end, Japan will strive to make the vision of a FOIP more universal around the world, create rules to expand free and fair economic zones, improve connectivity, empower governance of countries and international organizations, and expand efforts to ensure maritime security."

The National Defense Strategy 2022 (Section III. 3) reads, “Japan will promote efforts to contribute to realizing the vision for the FOIP.” The vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) has become the key concept of Japan’s international security cooperation.

What is a free and open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) then? The National Security Strategy simply says, “Guided by the vision of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific (hereinafter referred to as “FOIP”), in the Indo-Pacific region, Japan has the vital importance of striving to realize a free and open international order based on the rule of law and securing regional peace and stability in cooperation with its ally, like-minded countries, and others.”

Until recently, this concept was explained as follows: The purpose of the vision is to develop a free and open Indo-Pacific region as “international public goods,” through ensuring the rule-based international order, in a comprehensive, inclusive and transparent manner, attaching importance to ASEAN’s centrality and unity, to bring stability and prosperity for every country as well as secure peace and prosperity in the region as a whole. Japan will cooperate with any country that supports this idea.

The vision has the following three pillars: first, promotion and establishment of the rule of law (freedom of navigation, free trade, etc.); second, pursuit of economic prosperity (improving connectivity and strengthening economic partnership including EPA/FTAs and investment treaties); and third, commitment for peace and stability (capacity building on maritime law enforcement, HA/DR cooperation, etc.).

Thus, Japan’s FOIP vision is not only about economic projects related to connectivity but also about peace and security. Now that the Indo-Pacific region is characterized by its seascape nature, and the term “Indo-Pacific” represents the connectedness of the world’s largest and third largest oceans and also reinforces the fact that as Japan is a maritime nation, maritime security should be an integral part of its vision. In fact, the Japanese policy is moving toward that direction.

Prime Minister Kishida Fumio launched Japan’s new plan for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific in his speech before the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) on March 20, 2023. In his policy speech, the possible contribution of Japan’s defense forces to FOIP is clearer than before. From the viewpoint of resource allocation, a new framework for maritime security assistance in the form of grant aid to armed forces and other organizations of like-minded countries deserves attention.

In accordance with this policy speech, Japan’s will to promote the FOIP vision in a more detailed and transparent way provides a formal basis for aligning with a variety of partners which already established their own Indo-Pacific strategies such as the US, Australia, South Korea, Canada, Europe and Southeast Asia.



Kishida's speech emphasizes several important principles: rule of law, diversity, inclusiveness, openness, rulemaking through dialogue, and equal partnership. The new plan has four pillars: first, principles for peace and rules for prosperity; second, addressing challenges in an Indo-Pacific way; third, multi-layered connectivity; and fourth, extending efforts for security and safe use of the "Sea" to the "Air."

The core of the first pillar is the rule of law. The second pillar probably means equal partnership and tailored approach. The third pillar is based on the notion that countries have to stay connected in various aspect to achieve economic growth. It includes not only infrastructure building but also knowledge connectivity, human resource development, and digital connectivity.

The most important pillar from the viewpoint of international security is the fourth one. the FOIP vision stays focused on maritime space. Japan will also work on issues in the entire public domain, including air space. To protect the sea from a variety of risks, Japan has been calling for the acceptance of the three principles of the rule of law at sea: first, States should make and clarify their claims based on international law; second, States should not use force or coercion in trying to drive their claims; and third, States should seek to settle disputes by peaceful means.

### 3. The Merits of a Free and Open International Order

The National Defense Strategy of Japan defines Japan's defense objectives as follows: first, to shape a security environment that will not accept unilateral changes to the status quo by force; second, to deter and respond to unilateral changes to the status quo by force and such attempts concerning Japan's peace and security through cooperation with its ally and like-minded countries; and third, to disrupt and defeat an invasion once it happens. In order to accomplish these objectives, three approaches are taken: first and foremost, to strengthen Japan's own defense architecture; second, to reinforce the deterrence and response capability of the Japan-US alliance; and third, to reinforce collaboration with like-minded countries.

With regard to the second and third approaches, the more friends and partners a country has, the more secured it will be. Friends are precious assets for anyone. As already discussed, international partnership is an indispensable tool for national security. However, the real world is not that easy as national sovereignty is regarded as absolute in the decentralized world. Security cooperation with foreign countries might be viewed as compromising national sovereignty.

In order to overcome this difficult situation, a common understanding of basic guiding principles is a must. A world view known as rules-based international order, or a free and open international order built upon the principle of the rule of law, is the basis of a partnership of the western bloc. It is because this world view is consonant with of democracy and legal culture. It provides predictability and stability to the international community as long as there is a shared understanding that rules are binding and should be observed in good faith. Agreed rules generate a relationship of mutual trust and brings predictability and leads to stability.

The concept of the rules-based international order is built upon this principle of the rule of law. Under this principle, all countries are equal. It is not a hierarchical order. Presumably, there are only a very few countries which would be comfortable with a hierarchical order because most of the countries in the world would be in an inferior position, and this would not generate long-lasting stability.

China regards the present international rules as an instrument to preserve developed countries' interests at the expense of developing countries. China's revisionist approach to the rules-based international order creates the concept of "a community with a shared future for mankind." China's world view is a hierarchical one. It is different from the western concept of the rules-based international order.

The objective of the vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific is maintenance and promotion of the rules-based international order. So, although the FOIP concept emphasizes diversity and inclusiveness and is open to any countries, it is in fact open only to those countries which share the basic principles in the FOIP vision, particularly the rule of law. Competition between these two world views is inevitable. Those countries who promote the FOIP vision are willing to help vulnerable countries acquire enough capability to resist the risks brought by partnership with those with hierarchical world views.

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**Prof. TOKUCHI Hideshi** served as the nation’s first-ever Vice-Minister of Defense for International Affairs from 2014 to 2015 after completing several senior assignments in the Ministry of Defense, including periods as the Director-General of the Defense Policy Bureau, of the Budget and Equipment Bureau, of the Personnel and Education Bureau, and of the Operations Bureau. He has been the President of the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), an independent think-tank in Tokyo, since 2021. He is teaching security-related issues at a number of universities in Japan, including National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), Hitotsubashi University and Sophia University. He earned his Bachelor of Laws degree from the University of Tokyo in 1979, and his Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy (MALD) degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1986.

His recent articles in English include “The Senkaku Island Issue and Regional Security,” *Expert Speak*, January 9, 2024, <https://orcasia.org/article/553/the-senkaku-islands-issue-and-regional-security>; “Promoting the Japan Taiwan Partnership After Taiwan Taiwan’s Presidential Election” *Prospects & Perspectives*, February 20, 2024, <https://www.pf.org.tw/en/pfen/33-10562.html>; and “Climate security and Japan’s new national security strategy: a policy analysis,” *Third World Quarterly*, February 28, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2024.2314681>.

## **Chapter 8 How US politics Affects the World**

Ouchi Saki

### 1. Effects of War, Pandemic and Climate Change

US Presidential elections are at the center of attention from the rest of the world. The upcoming election on 5 November 2024 could be the most watched and consequential of any of the elections in the past. This is because it is still fresh in many minds that on 6 January 2021, an angry mob, allegedly induced by the then President of the United States attacked the Congress, the shrine of democracy, causing death and turbulence. What if the candidate indicted on 4 criminal charges comes back as President?

Why does the world care about the US? For democracies, the US is the leader of one of the three camps identified in today's world: 1) The democracies include about 30 states including the US, Japan, Canada, Australia, ROK, and most European countries, who share core values of Democracy, Freedom, and protection of Human rights; 2) the Authoritarian regimes of about 40 states including Russia, China, North Korea, Iran, and Cuba; and 3) the so-called Global South of over 120 states including India, Egypt, Indonesia, Brazil as the developing, emerging countries.

The US is identified as the most powerful nation on earth at the moment, on account of: 1) its military strength of 1.35 million persons, 11 aircraft carriers, and 5500 nuclear warheads, its advanced ability to Cyber-attack and defend, as well as its ability to undertake significant research and development of new types of AI related weapons systems; 2) its economic power (a GNP of \$25 trillion in 2022). According to the World Bank, its GNP per capita is \$ 76,300 dollars, and its population is over 330 million in 2023 (US Census Bureau), the 3rd largest in the world after India and China; and 3) its enormous soft power - Hollywood movies, music, Disneyland, Silicon Valley, and business dominance through such firms as Amazon, and X.

Not surprisingly the US President is called the "Most powerful person on Earth." He/she is the Chief of the Executive branch and the Commander in Chief and is expected to unite the nation. However, if we look at the US in recent years, the President's actions unfortunately often reveal the opposite to this unifying role.

## 2. Major Policy Goals for Japan

For Japan, the US is not only its second largest business partner (2021, 2022), its actions and policies affect Japan as an ally. US is the only ally of Japan based upon the Japan-US security treaty of 1960. In its foreign affairs, the US is now facing a possible 3-front problem; Russia, the Middle East and China.

Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022, in clear violation of the UN Charter. US criticized Russia for breaking international laws, ignoring human rights, and has been sending large amounts of military aid to Ukraine. Two years since the outbreak, aid fatigue is pointed out in the international community. The US cannot let Russia win but does not want to confront Russia directly; the two are nuclear powers.

Then Hamas attacked Israel on October 7, 2023. Israel's response is killing many civilians, the majority of whom are children. The UN calls Gaza a humanitarian catastrophe, where Israel and Hamas are both violating the international humanitarian law that prohibits attacking hospitals and civilians. US is accused of a double standard and the US's status as the guardian of democracy is at stake. The US supports Israel due to its strong Jewish lobby and the influence of the religious right.

A third possible front is China. The US recognizes China as the only country which can currently compete with the US for hegemony. By pulling out troops from Afghanistan on 30 August 2021, ending 20 years of war, the US wanted to relocate military resources from the Middle East to the Indo-Pacific area. At the US President Biden-Chinese President Xi meeting on November 16, 2023, the US and China agreed to reassume military-to-military contacts to avoid misunderstanding. "Vital miscalculations on either side can cause real trouble." They also agreed to discuss risk and safety issues associated with AI. President Biden said after the meeting that "the US will continue to compete with China, but we will manage that competition responsibly. That is what rest of the world expects of us." One thing they could not agree on was Taiwan. China insists on reunification, while the US is for Taiwan's independence. Taiwan's presidential election in January 2024 focused on this.

In all of the above three fronts, Japan is and will be expected to play its role as an ally, a member (President in 2023) of the G7, a member of the UN Security Council in 2022-24, and an advocate of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. However, the Japanese people have no voting rights in US elections, and the Japanese government must collaborate with either result of whoever is the choice of the US electorates for President.

### 3. The Merits of a Free and Open International Order

The international system as a foundation for a free and open order was conceived and built under the strong leadership of the US after the second world war. Peace was to be secured by collective security, where the UN Security Council identifies the threat to international peace and its decisions oblige all UN member states to act to deal with that threat. Among the 15 members of the security council, the Permanent 5, the US, Russia, China, the UK, and France have a veto power. In the case of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Russia exercised veto on all resolutions accusing Russia. On the Israel-Hamas conflict, it took the Security Council more than 5 weeks to adopt a very moderate resolution calling to stop the atrocity, then the US exercised veto. This did not make the US look good. And should there be a conflict over Taiwan, it is not difficult to see China exerting its veto power. As a result, the Security Council today is often accused of being dysfunctional.

The US presidential electoral system has three peculiar aspects:

- 1) It is a two-fold system; one stage of choosing a candidate for each party and a 2nd stage that is a race between the rival Republican and Democratic candidates;
- 2) It is a two party system. Power shifts between these two parties and regime change occurs regularly;
- 3) Presidential candidates fight for each electorate, allocated to states in accordance with the scale of their population. In 48 states, the winner takes all.

In foreign policy, there used to be a certain consistency in spite of changes in the Presidency. It is likely though that this cannot be expected anymore as the US voters tend to care more about domestic issues, such as the economy, immigration, and gun control. President Biden's regime removed President Trump's "America first" actions in his term 2017-2020, such as pulling out of the 2015 Paris Accord, and "brought America back to the international community." Fears/expectations mount that this trend is going to be readdressed, depending on which position is taken by the next president. If former President Trump comes back, he has already publicly pronounced that such actions as expelling immigrants and imposing high rates of taxes on foreign goods will again be presidential policy.

The polls are currently even (Trump 47.1%, Biden 45% as of 25 February 2024). \*<sup>1</sup> Whatever the final outcome, the international community needs a free and open order to

overcome wars and to work together to face common challenges as pandemic and climate change, whose damages can quickly be at our doorstep without effective collaborative action.

#### Notes

\*1 RealClear Polling. 2024. *General Election: Trump vs Biden*  
<https://www.realclearpolling.com/polls/president/general/2024/trump-vs-biden>

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## Chapter 9 Refugees and Displacement

Ito Ayaki

### 1. Effects of War, Pandemic and Climate Change

In recent years, especially since the European refugee crisis in 2015-16, Brexit, and the US presidential election in 2016, the international norms around refugee protection have been increasingly challenged. This is compounded by growing polarization in international politics, pitching emerging actors against the established liberal international order.

#### Setting the Scene: The Current Model of Refugee Protection

Since the inception of UNHCR in 1950, the norms of refugee protection have been built upon the values defined in the prevailing liberal international order by the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol as the cornerstone. The western countries – or the Global North as they have been often referred to in recent years – maintained their leadership in upholding these values and norms until recently. They have also remained the major financial contributors to ensure the norms are respected and implemented on the ground, especially through generous funding to UNHCR operations. In 2022, combined funding from private and public sectors from G7 and European Union countries made up 72.04% of all contributions to UNHCR; a drastic contrast to the mere 0.38% contributed by the BRICS countries (see Appendix A).

However, while the rich countries contribute financial resources to protect and support refugees, 76% of the more than 110-million-person refugee population in 2023 are in fact hosted in low- and middle-income countries, broadly referred to as the Global South (UNHCR Data Finder (2023)). This shows why the current model of managing the refugee situation is often seen as one in which the Global South is assigned the role of hosting refugees, while the Global North finances them to keep them where they are.

#### Realpolitik: Shifting International Values

However, in recent years, this model has been put under greater pressure as (1) many countries in the Global North have been flouting the very standards they themselves spearheaded in promoting refugee support; (2) the unabated increase in forced



displacements has made it unsustainable for the Global North to finance the current model by relying heavily on “band aid” humanitarian assistance; and (3) the Global South has increased its economic and political influence sufficiently to challenge the model. In the last decade, the double standards of the Global North came to the fore in events such as the 2015-16 refugee crisis, Brexit, and in the aftermath of the US election in 2016.

While confidence in the liberal international order wavers, the rise of the Global South further challenges the status quo. As of 2021, the BRICS countries’ share of the world’s GDP in purchasing power parity has exceeded that of the G7 countries (see Appendix B). Projections by the IMF World Economic Outlook show that the rise of BRICS will continue, with these countries estimated to hold 32.1% of the global GDP, in comparison to a diminishing 29.9% held by G7 countries, in 2023 (see Appendix C). Fueled by this growing influence, some of the emerging economies have started to challenge the current model of refugee protection.

The politicization of refugees: Between a rock and a hard place

In such a polarized political climate, forced displacement has become a topic of contention over which global powers vie for influence at the expense of resolving the root causes of displacement. In other words, the refugees have fallen victim to instrumentalization and politicization.

## 2. Major Policy Goals for Japan

These geopolitical shifts pose major challenges to resolving the global displacement crisis, but in the current intractable situation, Japan can play a critical leadership role in addressing the global displacement issues, using its unique position in the international scene. The shifting international dynamics provide an opportunity for Japan to be a credible player to bridge the divide by leveraging its long history of people-centered overseas development assistance. Japan has historically taken a discreet but assertive approach to diplomacy with a people-oriented approach to ODA. Thus, Japan would be able to leverage influence beyond the confines of the current refugee crisis, capitalizing on its position as neither fully “West” or “East,” as a major funder, placing 5th (government) and 6th (private donors) in contributions to UNHCR in 2022 (UNHCR Global Focus 2023).

“Principled pragmatism” that acknowledges the realpolitik of the refugee crisis can be a useful *modus operandi*. UNHCR uses this to ensure protection space for refugees

without being exposed to the moral preaching of principles or purely transactional negotiations. It is an approach to address the fundamental needs of refugees by balancing between the exigencies of international refugee law and political reality. Specifically, Japan's human-focused policy goals that commit to "defending 'freedom' and the 'rule of law'" driven by the principle of respect for 'diversity', 'inclusiveness' and 'openness' can ascertain human security that safeguards the dignity of refugees and displaced populations. \*<sup>1</sup>

This diverges greatly from the current transactional system wherein refugees are used as pawns in a game of chess among powers. In adopting an "approach to focusing on 'people'" that is "not limited to the national level," Japan's policy goals speak to international responsibility sharing to support refugees and find solutions that leads to their self-reliance. \*<sup>2</sup>

### 3. Merits of a Free and Open International Order

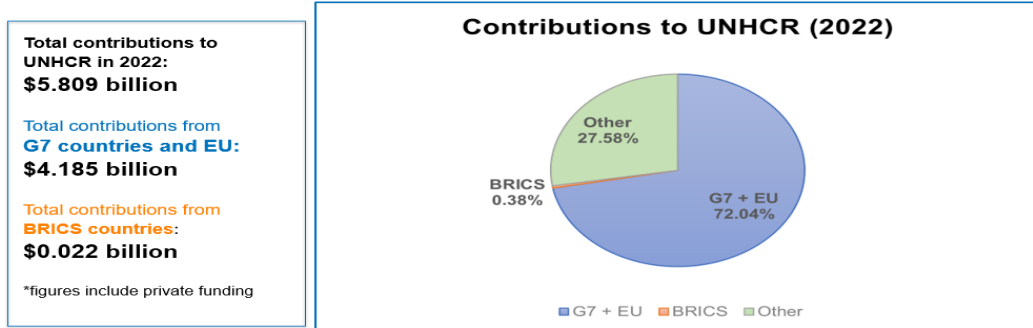
As discussed, the international community needs to address the root causes of refugee situations more than ever. Countries have to recognize that this should be an important component of a free and open international order.

#### Notes

\*1 Kishida, Fumio. 2023. *The Future of the Indo-Pacific – Japan's New Plan for a 'Free and Open' Indo-Pacific* (Statement in New Delhi, India), 3-4.

\*2 Kishida, Fumio. 2023. *The Future of the Indo-Pacific – Japan's New Plan for a 'Free and Open' Indo-Pacific* (Statement in New Delhi, India), 4.

## Appendix A: Breakdown of contributions to UNHCR in 2022

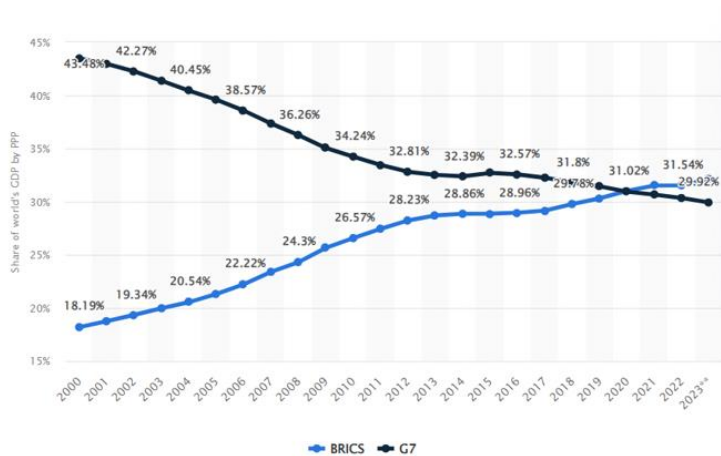


Source: Global Review, Funding Update (Dec 2022)



## Appendix B: BRICS and G7 countries share of world's GDP in PPP (2000-2023)

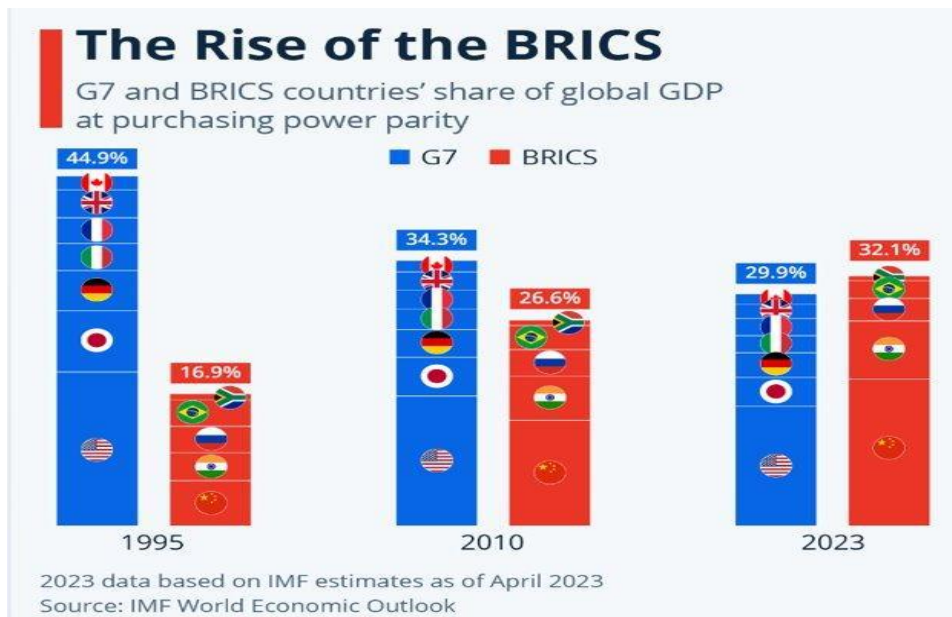
### BRICS and G7 countries' share of the world's GDP in PPP (2000-2023)



Source: IMF via Statista Research Department (Oct 2023)



## Appendix C: The Rise of the BRICS



Source: IMF (April 2023).

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**Mr. ITO Ayaki** was born in Tokyo and graduated from Columbia University with a Master of International Affairs. Ito Ayaki has devoted his entire UN career to helping refugees, including forcibly displaced and stateless people. After working as a UN Volunteer in an active conflict zone in Bosnia and Herzegovina, he was dispatched by UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency, as a Junior Professional Officer (sponsored by the government of Japan) to Myanmar where he was involved in the repatriation of Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh. He has worked with UNHCR in a variety of field and protection roles in Rwanda, Armenia, Sudan, Lebanon, and Somalia, as well as in donor relations with the World Food Programme based in Tokyo. Later in his career, he returned to Myanmar as UNHCR Deputy Representative and also served as Deputy Director of the Asia Pacific Bureau at UNHCR's Geneva Headquarters. After serving as UNHCR Representative in Syria and again in Lebanon as the Representative, he took up his current role as UNHCR Japan Representative in January 2023 where he continues to advocate for refugee causes both globally and in Japan. He is fluent in English, French and Japanese.

## **Chapter 10** Sustainable Development Goals, Today and Tomorrow

Kondo Tetsuo

### 1. Effects of War, Pandemic and Climate Change

In September 2000, 55 years after the United Nations came into being, the UN member states, then 189, met in a Summit meeting and adopted a resolution (A/RES/55/2) known as the Millennium Declaration. In this declaration, they resolved to “halve, by the year 2015, the proportion of the world's people whose income is less than one dollar a day and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger and, by the same date, to halve the proportion of people who are unable to reach or afford safe drinking water.” The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were a synthesis of the United Nations Millennium Declaration and a variety of past agreements, and had 8 goals. These were: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; Achieve universal primary education; Promote gender equality and empower women; Reduce child mortality; Improve maternal health; Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; Ensure environmental sustainability; and Create a global partnership for development.

In 2015, the UN made a positive self-evaluation of the achievement of the MDGs as, “The number of people now living in extreme poverty has declined by more than half, falling from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015. The world has also witnessed a dramatic improvement in gender equality in schooling since the MDGs” (United Nations Millennium Development Goals Report 2015). Building on the success and momentum of the MDGs, extensive negotiations led to a Sustainable Development Summit in September 2015. The outcome of this summit was the adoption by all 193 UN member states of a resolution (A/RES/70/1) to set 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs) with 169 targets for the year 2030. The SDGs were not only to be about poverty; they were to be about “people, planet, prosperity, peace and partnership,” covering the economic, social and environmental spheres and their intertwined relationships. The SDGs are for developing and developed countries alike, and for the public and the private sectors to work together.

Today in 2023, halfway through the 15 years until 2030, the UN makes a grim evaluation as to its achievements to date and the likelihood of meeting the goals: “all of the SDGs are seriously off track (United Nations 2023).” From 2015 to 2019, the world made some progress on the SDGs, although this was already vastly insufficient to achieve the goals. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 and other

simultaneous crises, progress on the SDGs has stalled globally. While in most high-income countries (HICs), automatic stabilizers, emergency expenditure, and recovery plans have mitigated the impacts of these multiple crises on socioeconomic outcomes, only limited progress has been made on the environmental and biodiversity goals such as SDG 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production), SDG 13 (Climate Action), SDG 14 (Life Below Water), and SDG 15 (Life on Land), even in countries that are largely to blame for the climate and biodiversity crises. Even more concerning is the fact that the disruptions caused by these compounding crises have aggravated fiscal-space issues in low-income countries (LICs) and in lower-middle income countries (LMICs), leading to a *reversal* in progress on several goals and indicators” (United Nations Sustainable Development Report 2023).

## 2. Major Policy Goals for Japan

To leave no one behind, the basic philosophy of the SDGs, is a concept that originated in Human Security, a concept first introduced in 1994 by the UNDP Human Development Report, that served as the bedrock of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2001–2015). Human Security has been promoted by the Government of Japan as a key principle in its official development assistance (ODA), and clearly stated in its ODA charter since 2003. The UNDP issued a *Special Report on Human Security in the Anthropocene* in 2022 to illustrate the compounding threats to the sustainability of humanity and the planet (UNDP 2022).

Also, in full recognition that the private sector is a key stakeholder in SDGs, the Japan Business Federation (KEIDANREN) signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the UNDP in 2018 aiming to identify those business products and practices that clearly generate impacts that will help developing countries obtain solutions for achieving the SDGs. Innovative business fully exploiting rapidly advancing new technologies are key instruments in all aspects of this process. Japan has been prominent among the UN member states in promoting the awareness of the SDGs in its society and industry. What is required now is to take concrete actions to push for those goals that it does not fare so well in, such as gender equality and climate action.

## 3. The Merits of a Free and Open International Order

The UN says that, “Despite this alarming development, the SDGs are still achievable. None of their objectives are beyond our reach. The world is off track, but

that is all the more reason to double down on the SDGs” (United Nations 2023). The Secretary General has called for a three-tier solution: a massive surge in finance for development, enabled by a transformation in the business model of Multilateral Development Banks; a new initiative on debt under which short-term debt could be exchanged for longer-term instruments; and the expansion of contingency financing to all countries in need. Furthermore, deeply rooted structural obstacles such as the unequal perception of women need to be tackled. As indicated in the Women’s Empowerment Index (WEI), measures for women’s empowerment cover five dimensions of human development: 1) life and good health; 2) education, skill-building and knowledge; 3) labour and financial inclusion; 4) participation in decision-making; and 5) freedom from violence.

A free and open international order is both a prerequisite and the fruits of the SDGs on which Japan sets its priorities in relation to the ODA Charter 2023 (MOFA 2023).

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## **Afterword by IPP**

Hitotsubashi University was founded in 1875, seven years after the 1868 Meiji Restoration. The university's mission statement reads: "to create intellectual and cultural property which will contribute to the building of free and peaceful political and economic societies in Japan and the world and to nurture those who will assume positions of leadership." Since its establishment, it has produced many highly talented graduates who have been active not only in Japan but also internationally. In the 21st century, demand for specialized and practical skills has increased given the need to ensure better formulation and implementation of international and public policies at national and local governments. The School of International and Public Policy (IPP) was established in 2005 to foster future leaders who can identify relevant public policy problems and find solutions to tackle them. IPP therefore finds itself well placed to take part in the JICA Development Studies Program (DSP).

This booklet is a compilation of a series of lectures primarily from the course *Japan Foreign Policy Making* in the Law and Political area of JICA DSP. It is intended to be of use to students in the coming academic years and to be of reference to lecturers and students in the wider academic sphere in Japan under the DSP. The IPP hopes that this second issue will be well received and foster deliberations, serving the good cause of nourishing future leaders around the world. Our further hope is that it will provide a foundation on which expertise and knowledge on training and learning at the JICA DSP will be accumulated and developed.

March 2024

Akiyama Nobumasa

Dean

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## Acknowledgements

My profound appreciation goes to Mr. Kitaoka Shinichi, former President of JICA and Special Advisor to the President, and to Mr. Tanaka Akihiko, the current President of JICA. Without the guidance and collaboration of Mr. Goto Ko, Deputy Director General for University Partnership Domestic Strategy and Partnership Department and his team at JICA Ogata Sadako Research Institute for Peace and Development; Dr. Maruyama Takao, Senior Research Fellow, Dr. Shibusawa Takao, Senior Assistant Director, and Ms. Oda Sachiko, Research Officer, this booklet would never have come into existence.

My appreciation also goes to Professor Akiyama Nobumasa, Dean of the School of International and Public Policy of Hitotsubashi University and his colleagues, as well as to Ms. Oikawa Kyoko, deputy head of the IPP Office, and her team at the IPP Office. I thank Professor Obayashi Kazuhiro and Mr. Otani Takeo, PhD student at the Graduate School of Law and Teaching Assistant in the Japan Foreign Policy Making course, for their kind and effective support.

And of course, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to all the lecturers who came to Kunitachi and shared their thoughts and engaged in lively exchanges with the students. They have kindly agreed to contribute a chapter based on their lectures to this booklet. Furthermore, I would like to thank three more lecturers in the 2023 course, though they do not directly appear in this booklet. Ms. Makimoto Saeda, then Principal Research Fellow of JICA Ogata Research Institute (currently Deputy Director General of the Human Resources Department) gave an informative update on global health. H. E. Mr. Dražen Hrastić, Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to Japan, gave a vivid introduction about his most successful post conflict country in Europe. Dr. Caleb King of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, during his short visit to Japan, participated in the SDGs lecture to share his experience in post conflict Rwanda, where he ran a hospital with his family from 2003 to 2018. On the following Saturday, Dr. King visited in the footsteps of his great, great, grand-father, Dr. William S. Clark, at Hokkaido University and was kindly received by Professor Yokota Atsushi, Vice President in charge of SDGs and his team. This is an episode added just to remind readers that academic missions can lay foundations for nourishing good and fruitful relationship beyond national borders, throughout the centuries.

Last but not least, my gratitude goes to my 25 students from 13 different countries/region for having attended with passion the 2023 course. I am hopeful that they have been inspired in one way or another to voyage through their challenges ahead.

March 2024

Kaji Misako

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