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# The Nexus of Development and Security Cooperation: Possibilities for EU-Japan Cooperation

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# Main Arguments

- Japan now appears to be suffering from “alliance fatigue”
  - ◆ SDF dispatch to Iraq subsequently undermined public and elite support for overseas SDF humanitarian and reconstruction (H&R) deployments
  - ◆ Yet, the SDF counter-piracy deployment off-Somalia suggests Japan’s willingness to participate in non-US centric broad multilateral coalitions
  - ◆ Foreign Minister Okada’s recent proposal for reviewing the 5 PKO Principles suggests a willingness to expand multilateral-centric and less US centric deployments
- The EU has a special role to play as a partner, helping Japan to redefine SDF overseas dispatches for H&R missions outside of a narrow alliance context, relegitimizing these deployments in the eyes of the public and DPJ elites
  - ◆ However, relegitimizing these dispatches is predicated upon their continued non-combat nature
- Japan and the EU are natural co-leaders for strengthening stability through promoting development and human security in unstable regions

# A Model for EU-Japan Cooperation in Post-conflict Reconstruction

- Although the SDF deployment to Iraq never really achieved public support in Japan, the GSDF deployment to southern Iraq nonetheless offers a good model for how to integrate aid and military units for post-conflict reconstruction
  - ◆ Reflects unique strengths of the GSDF
- This is a model that the EU and Japan should build on cooperatively to help stabilize countries such as Afghanistan, Sudan, Somalia, etc., and this should be one major focus of the new EU-Japan Action Plan

# Foreign Aid vs. Military Deployments

- Foreign Aid Paradigm
  - ◆ Humanitarian Assistance
  - ◆ Development and Reconstruction Assistance
    - ★ Traditional Japanese emphasis
  - ◆ Non-involvement in combat or other military activities
- Military Deployment Paradigm
  - ◆ Involvement in combat, security, stabilization and policing missions
- Grey Zones
  - ◆ Use of “foreign aid” to train and supply police
  - ◆ Transportation of supplies for allied militaries
  - ◆ Reflects recent trend toward “securitization” of foreign aid

# The GSDF Deployment to Southern Iraq was integrated with ODA

- Reflects the adoption of “Human Security” as a central tenet of Japanese Foreign Policy by PM Obuchi in 1998, and its integration into Japan’s ODA Charter in 2003
  - ◆ The main difference is that SDF aid operations focus more on humanitarian relief and grant aid than does traditional Japanese ODA
  - ◆ Also reflects securitization of development aid
- Japan’s MOD and ODA Policy makers explicitly linked the GSDF Iraq deployment with ODA:
  - ◆ “The dispatched SDF units have conducted operations for humanitarian assistance in cooperation with support provided by Official Development Assistance (ODA)”
    - *Defense of Japan 2007*, p. 336
  - ◆ “To date, Japan has conducted the reconstruction assistance of Iraq by combining the human contribution of Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and development assistance as an ‘inseparable pair’”
    - ★ *ODA White Paper 2008*, p. 96

# GSDF Operations in Samawah, Southern Iraq, 2004-2006

- Medical Services
- Water Purification
- Public Facility Restoration & Construction
- Local Employment
- Isolation from, and non-involvement in, combat
  - ◆ Samawah was relatively safe area
  - ◆ As was the case in Cambodia, GSDF was guarded by foreign troops, including French and Dutch troops, reducing potential SDF use of side-arms to mostly a theoretical possibility

# Linked ODA and SDF Operations in Samawah

- Japan provided over \$200 million in Grant Assistance for SDF related projects in Al-Muthanna province
  - ◆ Provided under the rubric of “Grass Roots Human Security Projects” as well “Emergency Grant Aid”
- Examples
  - ◆ SDF medical officers provided instruction on how to use medical equipment purchased with ODA funds
  - ◆ ODA funds paid for asphaltting roads graveled by the SDF
  - ◆ ODA funds were also used for bridge construction and reconstruction, and for various irrigation projects

# Use the SDF to Effectively Channel Japanese Reconstruction Assistance

- 5 November 2009: Hatoyama Administration announced a new aid package of \$5 billion for Afghanistan to be distributed over 5 years, but excluded SDF involvement
- Problem: how to disburse this aid effectively even in relatively safe areas?
  - ◆ Hard to use Japanese civilians to disburse aid in the current environment
- Answer: Involve the SDF together with European militaries
- How?
- Four options from least to most ambitious

# Four options for SDF Participation in Reconstruction Assistance

- 1. Least ambitious: dispatch SDF members to European countries or third countries to train European counter-parts in how to use /instruct locals on how to use Japanese donated equipment, use GSDF water purification systems, landmine removal, etc.
  - ◆ Will promote long-term cooperation between Japanese and European militaries in post-conflict reconstruction
- 2. More Ambitious: Dispatch ASDF planes to deliver humanitarian and reconstruction supplies
  - ◆ In 2001 Social Democratic Party supported dispatch of ASDF to Pakistan to deliver supplies to refugees, suggesting something similar may be politically possible today

# Four options for SDF Participation in Reconstruction Assistance Continued

- 3. Still More Ambitious: Second (出向) SDF members to European Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) for non-military operations such as water purification, infrastructure, equipment training, etc.
  - ◆ Resembles old Socialist and other peacekeeping proposals from early 1990s, so might be politically possible
  - ◆ Question of whether seconded SDF members would carry personal weapons
- 4. Most ambitious: Dispatch SDF units to relatively safe areas to implement ODA projects and render more general post-reconstruction assistance together with European militaries
  - ◆ Similar to GSDF dispatches to Cambodia and Iraq

# Conclusions

- These four SDF options not only apply to Afghanistan, but hold promise for post-conflict reconstruction assistance in the Sudan, a possible future mission to Somalia, and other post-conflict zones
- Again, the EU has a special role to play in helping Japanese elites and the public to disassociate SDF deployments for post-reconstruction assistance from the use of force, or narrow & politically controversial alliance purposes
  - ◆ The tendency of many DPJ leaders to look to Europe for inspiration also enhances the EU's leadership potential here
    - EU can learn from Japan's human security concept
- Working together the EU and Japan have the potential to demonstrate to their US ally and others, that developmentalist and human security approaches for promoting stability hold more promise than more combat focused approaches

# Thank you for Listening!

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12

# EXTRA SLIDES

# Samawah Operations: Medical Services

- Activities by GSDF medical personnel at four regional hospitals
  - ◆ Training & advice to local doctors
  - ◆ Training on use of medical equipment from Japan
  - ◆ Technical training of ambulance personnel
  - ◆ Technical training for management & storage of medicine
- Results
  - ◆ Medical technique support provided 277 times
  - ◆ Improved emergency medical service
  - ◆ Infant mortality rate reduced in Samawah by 1/3<sup>rd</sup>

# Samawah Water Supply Activities

- Water purification for local water trucks supplied at GSDF base
- GSDF water supply operations ended when the GSDF completed a water purification plant in February 2005
  - Water plant was paid for Japanese ODA funds
- Results
  - 53,500 tons of water supplied to 11.89 million people (including multiple requests)
  - Stable access to clean water

# Samawah Public Facility Restoration & Construction

- Repair of walls, floors, electric circuits, etc., at schools in Al-Muthanna Province
  - ◆ Renovated 36 facilities, or about 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of provincial schools
- Road construction
  - ◆ Completed 36 projects
- Repair of other public facilities
  - ◆ Medical clinic, nursing facilities & low income residential housing, water facilities, sports stadium, other cultural facilities
    - ★ Renovated 66 facilities
- Local Employment
  - ◆ Subcontracting for repairs
  - ◆ Locals recruited for interpreting & garbage collection at base
  - ◆ 1100 jobs created per day for a total of 490,000 labor days