

A Review of and Prospects for Japanese-Canadian Cooperation for Peace and Security

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The Genesis of the Current Cooperation

In February 1996 the current cooperation between Japan and Canada in the area of peace and security began when a Japanese contingent of logistical support troops began working with their Canadian counterparts in the UN peacekeeping operations in the Golan Heights.

The end of the cold war was the motivation for this cooperation. Japan began to take a fresh approach to the emerging world situation in which the collapse of the Soviet Union was followed by a new climate of “cooperative security.” In 1992, Japan participated in UN peacekeeping operations for the first time. Then two years later, in July 1994, Japan joined the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). These two actions served as the start of Japan’s multilateral diplomacy in the post-cold war period regarding regional security affairs, which in turn led to the present Japanese-Canadian cooperation in the Middle East.

Major Accomplishments to Date

Since 1996, Japan and Canada have strengthened their cooperative relations. The visit by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien to Japan in November 1996 produced a joint document with Prime Minister Ryûtarô Hashimoto, “Japan and Canada: An Agenda for Cooperation.” This document referred to the need for bilateral cooperation by the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); for the effective implementation of arms control agreements, including the enforcement of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the ban on anti-personnel land mines; the reform of the United Nations; and the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights.

In November 1997 Prime Minister Hashimoto visited Ottawa, where he and Prime Minister Chrétien issued another statement, “Strengthening Japan-Canada Relations for the Twenty-first Century,” which basically reaffirmed the 1996 document. Two years later, in September 1999, when Prime Minister Chrétien visited Tokyo with Team Canada, two more joint statements were issued: “Canada and Japan: Global Partnership for the Twenty-first Century” and “Canada-Japan Action Agenda for Peace and Security Cooperation.” The latter document laid out major areas of cooperation for the two countries: an exchange and discussion of regional and global security affairs, human security and peacebuilding, cooperation on disarmament and nonproliferation, cooperation among defense authorities, and a security structure for the future. Among the two governments’ accomplishments since 1996, four items merit particular mention here.

1. Japanese and Canadian Troops for UNDOF's Joint Mission

The cooperation between the two armed forces in the Golan Heights was both a symbolic and a concrete example of bilateral cooperation on international security issues. Japan's 45 troops and Canada's 184 troops (as of February 2002) are working closely together to complete the logistical support requirement of 1,050 troops under UNDOF. For its part of the mission, Japan has taken over from Canada the transport of daily goods, the management of supplies at the depots, and the repair of roads. The Canadians continue to be engaged in communications, supplies, and equipment.

2. The 1997 Anti-Personnel Land Mine Ban Treaty

Canada organized an international conference in Ottawa in October 1996 to enforce an international treaty to implement a ban on anti-personnel land mines. The treaty gained force with the support of active NGOs and led to the adoption of the Anti-Personnel Land Mines Ban Treaty at a conference held in Oslo in September of the following year. In the meantime, in March 1997 Japan organized an international conference in Tokyo to strengthen the measures to eliminate land mines and to assist the victims. To help accomplish this, Japan offered about \$10 billion in financial support, which Prime Minister Hashimoto announced in a summit meeting with Prime Minister Chrétien in November of that year. (In December 1997 Canada hosted another international conference at which Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi signed the treaty, which became effective on September 16, 1998. Japan ratified it on September 30.)

3. The Expansion of Bilateral Defense Relations

Contacts between Japanese and Canadian armed forces and defense officials have increased considerably over the last few years, including visits by high-ranking defense officials and leaders of the armed forces, political-military talks, military-to-military talks, and staff talks (talks between officials of the two defense ministries and the staffs of the two governments' military chiefs) (see appendix). The Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Forces and the Canadian Navy have also started consultations (navy-to-navy talks). Officers of the two countries also have frequently met at multilateral defense forums both at home and abroad.

4. Increased Interaction at the Track-Two Level

Finally, academics of the two countries who have an interest in security have been meeting more often. The North Pacific Cooperative Security Dialogue, which Canada initiated in 1990, was probably the first exchange of scholars and think tank specialists regarding security matters. One meeting of the Dialogue was hosted by a Japanese think tank, the Research Institute for Peace and Security.

In 1994 Japan and Canada were invited to co-chair the North Pacific Security Working Group of the Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP). In accordance with a paper prepared by Professor Brian Job and myself in March 1997, a bilateral track-two-level

symposium was held in Vancouver in September of the following year. In December 2000, Vancouver II was held in Tokyo, and in February 2000, the York University organized the Canada-Japan Seminar on Global Security Cooperation in Toronto, to identify security issues on which the two nations could work together.

Today, security specialists from both Japan and Canada often get together at multilateral conferences held both inside and outside their countries.

Where Bilateral Cooperation Has Not Worked

Despite these cooperative accomplishments in peace and security, Japan and Canada have been unable to work together in areas thought to be promising. These failures stem from several factors including financial constraints, scheduling difficulties, and, importantly, differences between the two nations' views of security and the political and legal constraints involved in Japanese roles in this area. The following are some examples:

Human Security and Preventive Diplomacy

Although both governments have voiced support for "human security," their definitions of this concept and their approaches to it are quite different. The Japanese government defines the concept much more broadly than does the Canadian government. That is, Japan approaches human security primarily through official development aid (ODA), whereas Canada often stresses intervention to protect humanitarian needs in areas of armed conflict. For example, the Canadians emphasize "preventive diplomacy" before a conflict breaks out, whereas the Japanese prefer to provide economic and technical aid after the conflict has ended.

These differences were, for instance, discussed at the Japanese-Canadian Symposium on Peace and Security Cooperation held in Vancouver in September 1998 (Vancouver I). The two countries' different understandings of and approaches to human security have made it difficult for Japan and Canada to work closely together on this issue. Their different views of when to intervene also are related to the political and legal constraints on Japan. That is, the current Japanese constitution prohibiting "the use of force" prevents the government from intervening militarily in armed conflicts. The Japanese role under the UN peacekeeping operations is still restricted to non-combat missions that come after a cease-fire has been established.

Civilian Police in Peacekeeping Operations

The Japanese-Canadian Symposium on Peace and Security Cooperation, held in Tokyo in 2000 (Vancouver II), discussed another issue dividing the two countries: the use of civilian police in UN peacekeeping operations. It is well known that many post-conflict situations are better handled by civilian police than by armed forces. For example, civilian police may be more skilled at controlling the flow of refugees and political demonstrators and monitoring elections. Even so, the Japanese government has been reluctant to provide Japanese police for UN peacekeeping operations. Indeed, since the death of one police officer in Cambodia during a UN operation, the Japanese police have had strong reservation about joining international peace

support activities.

North Korea

The issue of North Korea also was discussed at Vancouver II as a possible area of political and security cooperation between Japan and Canada. Clearly, North Korea is a much more serious national security issue for Japan than for it is for Canada. In addition, because the United States has a direct political and military presence on the peninsula, Tokyo has been working more closely with Washington than with Ottawa.

Although Canada established diplomatic relations with Pyongyang in 2001, the problematic relations between Japan and North Korea in the past have kept their two governments from doing the same. The summit meeting between Prime Minister Junichirô Koizumi and General Secretary Kim Jong Il summit held in September 2002 appeared briefly to be a dramatic breakthrough, but hopes were shattered by both North Korea's revelation that it had abducted several Japanese nationals and its admission that it was developing nuclear weapons. Japan, in coordination with the United States and South Korea, refuses to normalize diplomatic relations with Pyongyang until it can prove that it has stopped its program of developing weapons of mass destruction. Canada's role in this issue has so far remained limited.

Africa

The possibility of Japanese-Canadian cooperation in the development of Africa was another subject raised at Vancouver II, but this, too, proved to be rather difficult. Although the two countries agreed on the need to help Africa, they could not agree on how to do this.

Both governments have programs for Africa. Japan has the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), which met in 1993 and 1998, and a ministerial-level meeting was held in December 2001. Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori became the first Japanese prime minister to visit Sub-Saharan Africa in January 2001. Again, however, the Japanese approach has been primarily long-term economic and social development of the continent rather than the prevention of armed intertribal conflicts.

New Areas for Bilateral Cooperation

Coping with Terrorism

Since September 11, 2001, both Japan and Canada have been forced to recognize the need to fight terrorism, although the intensity of their concerns is different: Japanese do not believe that their country will be a direct target of Islamic radicals, whereas Canadians do believe that their country may be a target of terrorists. The irony is that the situation may actually be reversed, since Japan is home to several large American bases and thus is at least just as likely, if not more likely, to be a terrorist target as Canada is.

Both Japan and Canada have sent naval ships to the Indian Ocean since the fall of 2001, although not as a cooperative force. That is, Japan supplies fuel oil and water to American and

British ships but not to Canadian ships.

Japan's activities in the Indian Ocean are again restricted by its constitution. Its forces can engage only in non-combative activities such as supplying fuel oil. Canadian ships dispatched there, however, help patrol and intercept those al-Qaeda elements trying to escape from Afghanistan and Pakistan into African countries such as Sudan and Kenya.

These differences between Japan and Canada make joint action difficult, even though at several international meetings during the past year, both countries have signed documents condemning terrorism and calling for the coordination of policies regarding terrorism. Their leaders met, for instance, at the APEC summits (Shanghai in October 2001 and Cabo San Lucas in October 2002), the G-8 summit (Kananaskis in June 2002), and the ASEAN Regional Forum (Brunei in August 2002). Both the G-8 summit in Canada and the APEC summit in Mexico called for tighter scrutiny of, among other things, container ships and passenger flights.

Possible War on Iraq

The resolution adopted by the UN Security Council on November 8 condemned Iraq for its "material breach" of international obligations and gave Iraq a final opportunity to allow UN inspectors to look for weapons of mass destruction. If Iraq fails to comply with the resolution, it would raise an important issue for Japan: What role should Japan play in "a coalition of the willing" fighting a war on Iraq?

Under the current interpretation of its constitution, Japan's Self-Defense Forces could not join allied military operations against Saddam. On November 19, 2002, Tokyo decided to extend its naval deployments in the Indian Ocean for another half year, a decision ostensibly meant to help U.S. operations in Afghanistan. However, by aiding American operations in Afghanistan, Japanese forces are indirectly aiding U.S. operations in Iraq. This is another area in which the Japanese and Canadian approaches differ.

The Changing Political Climate in Japan

Over the last ten years the political climate in Japan has changed in favor of the government's playing a more active role in national and international security affairs. It began in 1992 with Japan's participation in UN peacekeeping operations, although its activities still were restricted to the establishment of a cease-fire first and also to only non-combative functions (constructing roads and bridges, assisting refugees, etc.) by troops carrying only side arms. Since then, Japan has slightly relaxed its self-imposed restrictions.

In 1996 a joint declaration issued by Prime Minister Ryūtarō Hashimoto and President Bill Clinton called for Japan's expanding its defense role from homeland defense to regional defense or the defense of "areas surrounding Japan that have important influence on the peace and security of Japan." This allows the Self-Defense Forces to provide logistical support of U.S. troops operating near Japan in non-combatant areas.

Since the summer of 1998, military actions by North Korea in close proximity to Japan have led to serious security concerns and have persuaded the Japanese to insist that North Korea end its long-range missile development program, its deployment of spy ships, and its abduction

of Japanese nationals. With the revision of the relevant laws, the Japanese Coast Guard and Self-Defense Forces now have the authority to chase and attack suspected spy ships that enter Japanese territorial waters.

Finally, after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the Koizumi government quickly submitted a bill to the National Diet to allow Japanese forces to assist the U.S.-led international coalition to fight terrorism. The bill passed within a month, and on November 9 the first Japanese ships left for the Indian Ocean.

These specific changes reflect the more general change in Japan's political climate. Most Japanese now are willing to support a more active role by the government in international security, which in turn would help Japan expand its cooperation with Canada for peace and security.

Rationale for Japan's Cooperation with Canada

There are several reasons for Japan to promote bilateral and multilateral cooperation with Canada.

First, Canada is a stable and friendly partner of Japan in the Asia Pacific region. Although many Asian countries, like South Korea and Singapore, are now much more politically and economically stable, they still are not as solidly stable as countries like Australia, Canada, and the United States. In addition, no notable economic and political tensions exist between Japan and Canada.

Second, Japan, being a democratic nation itself, is most comfortable creating partnerships with other democratic nations, like Canada.

Third, Canada's active multilateral diplomacy through its membership in organizations like NATO, OSCE, and the British Commonwealth can help Japan expand its own international contacts.

Fourth, Canada's desire for diplomatic autonomy while depending on the United States for its national security is a good example for Japanese diplomacy. Japan has generally followed the United States in both national security and diplomatic matters, with some notable exceptions, whereas Canada has achieved greater diplomatic independence of Washington by seeking more active, multilateral diplomatic relations.

Fifth, through a partnership with Canada, Canada's international reputation as a UN peacekeeper and a nation that seeks internationalist rather than nationalist interests can help Japan improve its international image.

Sixth, Canada's diplomatic presence in East Asia may help Japanese causes. For example, Canada is strongly promoting the role of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in preventive diplomacy, a role on which ARF's Asian members cannot agree. However, any tensions in the future regarding the disputed South China Sea islands may well be eased by preventive diplomatic intervention by ARF or Canada itself, which would greatly benefit Japanese causes.

A Few Proposals

Cooperation between Japan and Canada has been successful for UNDOF, the Anti-Personnel Land Mine Ban Treaty, the expansion of defense relations, and greater interaction at the track-two level. But the two countries have had difficulty finding other areas in which they could work together.

It is important for Japan and Canada, two stable democracies on opposite sides of the Pacific, to maintain close contact, to compare their views on regional and global security matters, and to search for opportunities to work together. Intellectual contacts at various levels are vital, from summits attended by the two prime ministers, to talks between defense authorities, and to exchanges of junior and senior officers as well as cadets.

The following are topics that the two governments might consider discussing:

1. Joint missions under UN auspices.
2. Exchanges of information and intelligence regarding North Korea.
3. An expansion of bilateral defense exchanges.
4. Exchanges of information and intelligence on terrorism.
5. An arrangement for Japan's Maritime Self-Defense Forces to provide fuel oil to Canadian naval ships in the Indian Ocean.
6. An exchange of prominent security specialists.

Appendix:

OFFICIAL CONTACTS BETWEEN JAPAN AND CANADA, 1996-2002

I. Visits by Prime Ministers, Foreign and Defense Ministers, and the Like

From Japan to Canada

- 1996 FM Yukihiko Ikeda
- 1997 PM Ryûtarô Hashimoto (APEC Vancouver Summit), FM Keizo Obuchi (to sign APLMB Treaty)
- 1998 FM Keizo Obuchi
- 1998 PM Yoshiro Mori
- 2002 PM Junichirô Koizumi, FM Yoriko Kawaguchi (for G-8 Kananaskis Summit)
- 2003 PM Junichirô Koizumi (being planned)

From Canada to Japan

- 1996 PM Jean Chrétien
- 1997 FM Lloyd Axworthy
- 1998 FM Lloyd Axworthy (for Nagano Winter Olympics)
- 1999 PM Jean Chrétien (with Team Canada)
- 2000 PM Jean Chrétien, FM Lloyd Axworthy (for G-8 Okinawa Summit)
- 2002 Deputy FM Gaëtan Lavertu

II. Bilateral Defense Relations

Visits by High-Level Defense Officials

- Oct 92 Admiral Hajime Sakuma, Chairman, Joint Staff Council, SDF, to Canada
- May 96 Defense Minister David Collenette to Japan
- Sept 96 General Jean Boyle, Chief of the Defense Staff, Canadian Forces, to Japan
- June 98 General Maurice Baril, Chief of the Defense Staff, CF, to Japan
- July 99 General Yuji Fujinawa, Chairman, Joint Staff Council, SDF, to Canada
- Nov 00 Major General Cameron Ross, Director-General, International Security Policy Operations (former UNDOF Commander) to Japan
- Apr 01 Vice Admiral Ron Buck, Commander, Maritime Forces Pacific, to Japan
- Mar 02 Defense Minister Art Eggleton to Japan
- May 02 Admiral Toru Ishikawa, Chief of Staff, Maritime SDF, to Canada
- Oct 02 Vice Admiral Ron Buck, Chief of Maritime Staff, Canadian Forces, to Japan

Bilateral Political-Military (PM) Talks (Biannual)

Sept 97 First Meeting (Tokyo)
Jan 00 Second Meeting (Ottawa)
Nov 02 Third Meeting (Tokyo)

Bilateral Military-to-Military (MM) Talks (Annual)

Apr 98 First Meeting (Tokyo)
Jan 00 Second Meeting (Ottawa)
Nov 00 Third Meeting (Tokyo)
Nov 02 Fourth Meeting (Tokyo)

Bilateral Staff Talks

May 93 First Meeting (Tokyo)
May 94 Second Meeting (Ottawa)
May 95 Third Meeting (Tokyo)
Oct 96 Fourth Meeting (Ottawa)
Apr 98 Fifth Meeting (Tokyo)
May 99 Sixth Meeting (Ottawa)
Nov 00 Seventh Meeting (Tokyo)
Mar 02 Eighth Meeting (Ottawa)

Bilateral Navy-to-Navy (NN) Talks

Sept 02 First Meeting (Ottawa)

Bilateral Visits by Ships

Japanese training ships have visited Canada 17 times, approximately twice a year since 1960, including recent visits in 1997, 1999, and 2002.

Canadian ships have visited Japan, several times, most recently in 1988, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, and 2002.

Japanese Ground SDF Officers Attending Canadian UN Logistics Course (held at Boden Base)

96	1 person	99	2 persons
97	1	00	2
98	1	01	1

Cadet Exchange Programs (1980–1997)

Eighty-five cadets from Japan's National Defense Academy made short visits to Canada's Royal Military College between 1980 and 1997, and 14 cadets from Canada's Royal Military College reciprocated between 1990 and 1996. Canadian cadets also were invited to the International Cadets Conference which the National Defense Academy sponsors annually.

Canadian Officers Attending Security-Related Seminars in Japan

Canadian officers are invited each year to participate in the Asia-Pacific Security Seminar (hosted by the National Institute for Defense Studies since 1994); the Forum for Defense Authorities in the Asia Pacific Region (hosted by the Japan Defense Agency since 1996); and the International Seminar on Military Science (hosted by the National Defense Academy since 1995). The Maritime SDF organized the Western Pacific Naval Symposium in 2002, which Canadian officers attended.

Japanese Academics and Officers Attending Security-Related Seminars Hosted by the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo

Nov 96 Seminar on PKO

Nov 98 Seminar on Arms Control and Disarmament

Apr 01 Symposium on Issues for the Twenty-first Century: Peace and Security

July 02 Symposium on Regional Security (on board of a Canadian frigate in Yokosuka)

Note: My thanks to the G-5 office of the Joint Staff Council, SDF, and the Japanese Embassy in Ottawa for these data.