

REVIEW: Policy responses by Japan and the European Union to the new security challenges in the 21st century

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Abstract

The 21st century has witnessed the development of new types of security challenges which require a revision of the traditional security policies that were based on military concerns. With the end of the Cold War, the geopolitical centers of power have undergone a transformation to respond to a different source of tension; while still having to maintain traditional territorial security they also have to eliminate the perceived threats over the human factors. This study focuses on this changing situation by comparing Japan and the European Union (EU) policies and their political practice and responses to the new urgent issues. The common security demands to these two powers, and their common interests as well as differences are noted and it is examined how these interests may strengthen or weaken their cooperation, respectively. The paper argues that Japan and the EU should cooperate in order to be able to deal effectively with non-traditional security issues.

Keywords: Energy security, Environmental security, European Union, Human security, Japan, Non-traditional security, Official Development Assistance

Introduction

Traditional security theories mainly focus on military and political issues. However, the concept of security changed with the end of the Cold War, and new security sectors have emerged and become important issues in regional cooperation. The geopolitical powers now should balance their traditional security concerns against non-traditional ones such as energy, resource depletion, climate change, forced migration, international crime, disease pandemics, health issues, green technology, and life sciences all of which carry challenging security implications. The principle of human security is closely associated with the notion of non-traditional security, because the unconventional security issues may threaten not only the individual rights of citizens but also the stability of the state.

The broadly defined concept of security includes the issues related to human security. In the 1994 Human Development Report, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced a new understanding of human security, which interprets this notion as related to people rather than territories and with developmental issues rather than military power (UNDP Homepage, 1994). This change broadened the meaning of human security from the national scale towards a global scale. The said report dealt with such concerns from the perspective of sustainable human development, which is a new way of looking at developmental cooperation by global institutions.

Under such terms human security is about the security of people and their societies. It may be expressed as “freedom from fear” or “freedom from want”. The school of freedom from fear seeks to protect individuals from threat of poverty, lack of state capacity and other inequities. The school of freedom from want argues that individuals should be protected from hunger, disease and natural disasters. Both concepts refer to the protection of individuals, as opposed to state or national security, hence the defense of borders.

The 1994 Human Development Report enlists seven core aspects of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security (UNDP Homepage, 1994, 24-25). Ban Ki-moon, the Secretary General of the United Nations made a speech on the UN Day in 2009 which displayed a broad understanding of how non-traditional security threats have challenged our world, as he

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mentioned the multiple crises in food, fuel, finance, flu, and climate change; he also referred to the fact that we all live as nations, as a species, on the same planet and we “may sink or swim together” (United Nations Homepage, 2009).

This research focuses on the examination of how the EU and Japan react to the new security risks of the 21st century. While borders have become easy to cross, countries have formed interrelations that significantly differ from the traditional way; new systems of dependence have been shaped under the new circumstances. Home and foreign policy have become interdependent. The concept of security has earned several interpretations in this complex world. The term was first used by the Realist School of the theory of international relations, and they saw the governments as the dominating character of international relations, and their interpretation of security was reflected by the three simple concepts of power, interest and war. According to the realist theory shaped by Morgenthau, scientific research should be carried out to observe the role of these three principles at the national level. However, the Idealist School did not only took the governments as the exclusive participants in the international scene, but also considered organizations (social, civil or private, and NGOs), whether state-owned or not, as important factors. According to them, foreign policy can serve home policy only when it takes cooperation and interdependence into consideration. They emphasized on the importance of peace and the reduction of the number of conflicts by exercising aggressive power.

Bany Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, reject the government-centered interpretation of the realists and view the concept of security in the light of a new sectoral approach. They examine the extended notion of security in the five main fields of military, political, economic, social and environmental areas (Buzan-Waever-de Wilde, 1988). The concept of securitization is related to the Copenhagen school of the theory of international relations, namely to Ole Waever, and means that any life threatening question or matter must be approached on a political level, and discussed publicly. Governments are responsible for the securitization of any specific, political, economic, social or environmental matter (Kiss, 2006). My research is predominantly concentrated on the fields of politics and the economy, to investigate the predicted changes in the attitude of the EU and Japan towards foreign policy in the 21st century.

Methodology

This study is based on an analytic review of the documents published by Japanese and EU institutions and governmental organizations. Since few literature has been published on the topic of Japan’s security policy in the 21st century, I have mainly relied on the official documents issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and by the Japan Science and Technology Agency, as well as on the publications made by Fukushima and Tow (2009), Clausen (2011), and Cardwell (2011). Many more experts have dealt with the topic in the EU, and one of the most well-known experts of the matter of human security, Mary Káldor, the daughter of the British economist Nicholas Káldor, has played an important role in shaping the Human Security Strategy of the EU (2008). The documents issued by the European Committee, as well as those of the European Parliament and the Council reveal the problems of risk and security in a more detailed way. This paper aims to analyze the accumulated empirical knowledge by comparing the policy responses of development assistance, peace-building activities, and the environment and energy security.

The present study investigates into the fields of strategic cooperation between Japan and the EU, on important topics such as climate protection, security policy, research and technology. We shall analyze how two views on security are reflected in the new policies of Japan and the European Union. We can understand the similarities and the differences of these concepts and the main priorities and methods of their diplomacy. The basic elements of their

security strategies will also become clear. We must not however ignore the criticism over the cooperation either, such as the ideas of Cardwell (2004), Berkofsky (2007) and Midford (2009).

This study examines the current security challenges which might be of serious consequence for the near future and shows how the new types of security threats can force an organization or a country to completely alter their policy. The governments are facing the reality that they would not be able to act effectively without creating adequate strategies to deal with the new types of threats. The first step would be for the governments to realize the existence of such non-traditional security risks. The occurrence of non-traditional security affairs has become one of the most important risks to national security. There is a wide range of threat factors the impact of which may be transnational and with a dramatic outbreak.

The emergence of non-traditional security issues can be partly attributed to the effects of fragmentation caused by globalization. Human security deserves special attention within the general theme of non-traditional security; therefore, I will first attempt to describe some of the policies applied by the two powers.

Findings

Japan

Human Security Policies: The Japanese foreign policy first incorporated human security issues in 1998. Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo illustrated his vision for responding to the issues of rapid economic development and globalization in the midst of the Asian financial crisis, and by associating it to human security he pushed the concept to the forefront of Japanese foreign policy (Obuchi, 1998). Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori later continued this trend in a joint project with the UN whereby the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) was established in order to control the realization of human security projects (MOFA, 2002). UNTFHS programs focus on the least developed countries, especially the ones that show the lowest level of progress. These projects fill the gap between humanitarian and development assistance. Japan also helped to establish the Commission on Human Security (CHS) in 2001 (CHS Homepage). Doing so, the government assisted to the further development of the human security concept and made recommendations on the applicable techniques.

Japan has applied the human security approach as a part of her foreign policy and has emphasized on the “freedom from want” aspect of the concept. Striving to make the 21st century a “human-centered” one, Japan endorsed human security as the main principal of international cooperation. To achieve this goal, Japan follows three main activities: public promotion by means of policy speeches and symposia, inviting other countries to bilateral and multilateral meetings, and creating movements with that aim to mainstream human security (Okubo 2007: 12-13).

Official Development Assistance (ODA) is the official tool for implementing human security; it includes financial and technical aids, loans, and assistance for developing countries. ODA attempts to address the challenges coming from the international community and to advance the country’s national interests. Japan’s government-to-government cooperation is marked by joining the Colombo Plan in 1954, whose main goal was to facilitate economic and technical cooperation with developing countries. The main principle of this cooperation was to ensure stability and peaceful prosperity throughout the world, which is the main reason why Japan assists developing countries (50 Years of Japan’s ODA, MOFA Homepage).

The basic philosophies of the ODA as defined in its charter include: (1) humanitarian issues, (2) an understanding that the international community is interdependent, (3) attention to the environment, and (4) supporting the self-help activities of recipient countries. Japan has provided ODA in the past fifty years so that these countries could make

progress in their economy. This particularly concerns Asian countries because of the ties they have in their history, geography and economy (MOFA Homepage, Japan's ODA Charter).

Despite the economic setback in the 1990s, Japan is still the fifth largest ODA donor in the world. The biggest amount of ODA, about 60%, was directed to Asian countries in order to develop their economic infrastructure and to improve the environment for investment. A large amount of aid has been provided for agriculture in these countries and consequently production has increased. Japan has spent an enormous amount of money on the training of engineers and other personnel too. As a result, the East Asian economy has shown a boost in growth. Japan's economic cooperation along with the grant aids that were provided to help develop the social infrastructure (education, public health, as well as sanitation) have created a multiplying effect to enhance the living conditions of local communities and reduce the regional disparity between cities and rural areas (MOFA Homepage, History of ODA, 1994).

Non-Traditional Security Issues and Relevant Policies: In 1980, the Japanese government adopted a “comprehensive national security” as its security doctrine. The concept of comprehensive national security (*shogo anzen hosho*) implied the prioritization of non-military over traditional military threats, cooperation with other administrative authorities and organizations in the field of economy, industry, export, foreign assistance, etc. So, for the first time, the country stepped outside the US military-centric thinking. Three concepts of self-defense, non-military diplomacy and natural disaster response merged under this policy. From today's perspective, the most interesting aspect of comprehensive security was the inclusion of natural disasters as a major threat (MOFA 1981).

After the recent earthquake and tsunami, Japan has adjusted its security policy paying more attention to non-traditional security threats like natural disasters. In the Diplomatic Bluebook of 2010, an annual report published by the Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs about foreign policy and activities, it is said that the international community has entered a new era of cooperation. The security policy of Japan now considers climate change, natural disasters, environment, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, and energy security as non-traditional security threats (MOFA 2010).

Climate Change and Environment: Climate change is a significant issue that needs long-term and global efforts. Japan has supported the developing countries on the climate change through its Cool Earth Partnership since 2008, and announced the “Hatoyama Initiative” at the UN Summit on Climate Change in 2009. According to this initiative, Japan would contribute more actively and is willing to support the countermeasures of climatic change in the developing countries both financially and technically (MOFA 2010).

In 2009, in Copenhagen, Denmark, at the fifteenth session of the Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP15) Japan promised to take active measures under the “Hatoyama Initiative” to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and to provide aid to the countries vulnerable to the negative effects of climate change; these include various impacts on the living environment, such as droughts, floods and extreme weather, as well as rising sea levels. Japan conducts various projects in Africa and Asia, and provides technical assistance to China, Vietnam, Fiji, Mexico and other countries, so as to promote the 3Rs (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle) among local residents, companies and organizations (UN 2009).

Energy and Environmental Security: Energy security has traditionally been viewed in Japan as an indispensable component of the development strategies. Compared to the EU, Japan has emerged from the financial crisis relatively unharmed. Therefore, Japan is still able to show some economic growth. Facing supply instability and the volatility of prices along with an ever-growing global demand, the country has put a great emphasis on energy security. Nevertheless, energy security does not mean access to fuel sources at an affordable price; there are societal, economic

and environmental consequences to our reliance on fossil fuels. However, fossil fuels will continue to make up the bulk of energy mix in the near future. Japan has to find a way for the reconciliation of socio-economic development with environmental protection. Measures need to be taken to control energy efficiency on the one hand, while viable alternative energy sources must be explored on the other hand. Japan has always shown a great interest in clean energy technologies which may reduce carbon emissions and the dependence on fossil fuels as well.

According to the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ), about 30% of Japan's energy supply has been generated from nuclear energy. The country has always strived for energy diversification and energy security through less dependence on oil imports from the Middle East (IEEJ 2011). The earthquake of March 11th 2011 and the tsunami that followed severely damaged the nuclear power plants in Fukushima. The three disasters of earthquake, tsunami and nuclear fallout are now considered as Japan's worst crisis since the World War II. These disasters have challenged Japan's disaster management capacity and her long record of high standards in safety, and have also uncovered the disadvantages of nuclear energy as the basis of economic development. The countries of the region will have to consider how to deal with the latent threat of nuclear power and the importance of safety requirements. The advance of nuclear science and technology will have to focus on reliability.

Energy security often has close linkages to environmental security. The scarcity of clean water and food affects public health and sanitation. The effects of the present nuclear disaster have generated other problems besides energy and environmental security; there is a heavy impact on food, health, social and personal security, and on almost all aspects of human security, which the Japanese government has to deal with at one time.

Resource Security: Japan depends heavily on imports of energy, minerals, food and other resources and thus, the strengthening of economic security is one of Japan's fundamental diplomatic objectives. There is a transition in the paradigm regarding the allocation of resources which is associated with several factors including the growth of emergent nations and the impacts of climate change. Under such circumstances, the Japanese private sector and government need to work together to secure the needed resources for the long-term stability of supply to Japan. In order to promote an international partnership for responsible resource development and utilization, Japan is following activities such as participating in organizations like the International Energy Agency (IEA) and the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA).

In dealing with environmental issues, global economic and financial crisis and energy sustenance, the international community is looking forward to Japanese science and technology with great expectation. Recognizing the need for international cooperation, Japan has continued to promote science, technology and space diplomacy to pursue synergistic progress among these branches of research as declared in its general diplomatic policy (MOFA 2009).

European Union (EU)

Human Security Policies: The policy of human security has received a lot of attention within the European Union in recent years. Since the launch and development of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), now to be incorporated in the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP), the EU has demonstrated its capacity to act as a global power in security affairs.

In 2003, the European Council approved the European Security Strategy (ESS), which marks the main points of human security. In this document the EU clarified its security strategy, and described the overall vision of the Union's foreign policy priorities, security posture and the integration objectives:

“Security is a precondition of development. Conflict not only destroys infrastructure, including social infrastructure, it also encourages criminality, deters investment and makes normal economic activity impossible. A number of countries and regions are caught in a cycle of conflict, insecurity and poverty. Competition for natural resources - notably water- which will be aggravated by global warming over the next decades, is likely to create further turbulence and migratory movements in various regions.” (Council of the European Union 2003, 2-3).

The Strategy names five “key threats” or new dangers, including terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, conflicts over regional issues, failed states, and organized crime, all of which destroy human lives and threaten human rights (Council of the European Union 2003, 3-5).

Outlining the EU Human Security concept, a Study Group chaired by Mary Káldor was convened in 2004 to look into the potential for generating a human security policy within the EU (Káldor, Martin, Selchow, 2007). Mary Káldor argues that the European foreign and security policy terms such as crisis management, conflict prevention, and cooperation of civil and military forces do not reveal the nature of European foreign policy; human security is a term that encompasses all the previous three concepts but takes them further towards “responsibility to protect”, “effective multilateralism” and “human development”. The report proposed a Human Security Doctrine for Europe, with three elements (Káldor, Martin, Selchow 2007: 2-3) which included an emphasis on human rights, demonstration of a clear political authority as well as a regional focus, multilateralism, reliance on legal instruments, and the appropriate use of force.

Human Security Approach: The human security approach of the EU is different from the Japanese concept; it is characterized by the “freedom from fear” principle. In the new global context, the EU security policy is made around human security rather than just state security. A human security approach means that contribution should be made to the protection of every individual, instead of an exclusive focus on the defense of the borders, or on the security of the member states.

The Human Security Doctrine lists three reasons for the adoption of a human security approach by the EU. The first argument is on “morality”; all humans have the “right to live in dignity and security”. There are a few examples like Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone and Yugoslavia where many activities were done by countries of the European Union. The second reason is a “legal” one. The United Nations Charter invites states to promote universal respect to human rights and the same principles are recognized in the Constitutional Treaty of the EU. The third reason can be defined as “enlightened self-interest”. In practice this means the fact that the EU cannot be secure if others in its neighborhood are insecure (Council of the European Union, 2004: 4-5).

Realizing Human Security: The development policy aims to reduce poverty in developing countries by supporting reforms and by assisting development and trade. The EU currently provides over half of all Official Development Assistance (ODA) allocated by the major donor countries. In 2009, the total amount was EUR 49 billion, which equals to almost EUR 100 per citizen; in per capita terms it is higher than the sum of the participation of the US and Japan.

The key objective of EU is to create sustainable development in order to mitigate poverty. The aid aims to revive local economies by establishing the minimum conditions of basic physical and social infrastructure, and to strengthen the legal system and democratic governance. The ODA can be delivered in many ways such as cooperation with governments, implementing individual projects through NGOs, providing humanitarian aid, helping prevent from crises and support for a civil society (Delegation of the European Union to Japan Homepage, 2011).

Humanitarian aid: The EU and its member states form the world's largest donor of humanitarian aid, through the European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO). The purpose is to provide emergency assistance and relief at the time of natural disasters or armed conflicts for people suffering from the distress, no matter what their race, religion or political convictions may be. Since its set-up in 1992, ECHO has been the channel of emergency relief of the EU in more than 100 countries and has provided the essential equipment and emergency supplies to disaster victims. From its annual budget of over EUR 700 million, ECHO provides medical and other expert teams, finances the needed transport, communication, food aid and logistic support, as well as technical assistance, public awareness, and support for humanitarian networks and training (ECHO Homepage, 2011).

The year 2010 was a demanding one for the EU humanitarian assistance, with numerous large-scale disasters both natural and man-made in Sudan, Pakistan, Haiti, Somalia, Middle East, Sri Lanka, Colombia and Kyrgyzstan. In 2011 the EU delivered a swift response to the crises that occurred in the world. Military conflicts as well as natural catastrophes have been responded to in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Ivory Coast and Yemen. The European Commission recently approved of a humanitarian funding of EUR 10 million to help the Japanese people with the consequences of the 11 March disaster (ECHO Homepage, Japan 2011).

Non-Traditional Security Issues and Relevant Policy: In 2008, the European Council approved the Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy, Providing Security in a Changing World (Council of the European Union, 2008). It did not replace the ESS of 2003 but supported it, and mentioned further key threats such as terrorism and cyber security, energy security and climate change.

In 2010, the Council of the European Union approved the EU Internal Security Strategy, which highlights the main challenges that the EU has to face, including terrorism, organized crime, cyber-crime, trafficking of drugs and arms, sexual exploitation of minors, child pornography, human trafficking, corruption and economic crimes and youth violence. The focus is on prevention (Council of the European Union, 2010). With the Treaty of Lisbon as the new legal structure, the Internal Security Strategy in Action will be the shared agenda of the EU until 2014. Its success depends on the combined efforts of all EU actors, as well as cooperation with the outside world. Of the recent and most accurate non-traditional security factors, the two most important ones are on energy security and climate change (Council of the European Union, 2010).

Energy Security: The EU market with half a million consumers is the largest in the world and the EU is the largest importer of energy. The scarcity of energy, the growing need for it in the emerging countries, the higher prices and climate change are just some of the risky security factors that the EU has to face.

The European Security Strategy of 2008 expressed a deep concern over the EU's energy dependence which has only increased over the last years. Europe is the largest importer of oil and gas in the world. Imports accounted for about 54% of energy consumption in 2006, and by 2030 up to 75% of oil and gas will have to be purchased from abroad. Most of the oil is imported from the OPEC (38%) and Russia (33%), while gas arrives mainly from Norway (26%), Russia (21%), Algeria (17%) and Nigeria (5%). The majority of the EU members feel defenseless against a limited circle of exporters because of their dependence on them. Several countries may face a stability threat since their ratio of import might exceed 80% (Council of the European Union 2008).

The EU needs a more unified energy market with more diversification of fuels, of sources and transit routes; therefore, the strengthening of bilateral cooperation in the energy field with countries like Brazil, Russia, Norway, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Iraq is vital. There are various energy forums to bring the different interests closer to each other. The EU has regular meetings within the EU-Russia dialogue, EU-OPEC dialogue, Baku initiative,

Eastern Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean. The problem of financial support and clashing interests within the EU makes it difficult to find a partner that is suitable from every aspect (Council of the European Union 2008).

Responding to the concerns expressed in ESS 2008, the European Commission proposed a wide-ranging energy package to provide more energy security in Europe. There are plans for a 20% reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, to increase the share of the renewable energy to 20%, and to save 20% of future energy demand in the EU by 2020.

In 2010 the Commission adopted the communication called “Energy 2020, a strategy for competitive, sustainable and secure energy”. In it, the priorities for the next nine years are defined and measures are set to respond to the challenges of saving energy, securing supplies for a competitive market, and becoming a leader in technology (European Commission 2010).

The EU needs to save and produce more power, invest in low carbon alternatives, and build diverse networks. In order to achieve these aims, the EU needs to further develop and coordinate its internal market. Recently more legislation has been adopted and implemented, including the third Internal Energy Market Package, the directive for promotion of renewable energy, and the eco-design of products.

With its partners, including Japan, China, India and the US, the EU could promote low-carbon technologies, higher efficiency, and transparent and well-regulated global markets alongside renewable energy resources; all these countries have a common interest to come to a consensus concerning the most urging problems and to find a solution that is acceptable to all of them within the next few decades (European Commission 2010).

Climate Change: In 2003, the European Security Strategy identified the security implications of climate change. In 2008, the High Representative and Commission presented a Report on the Implementation of the ESS to the European Council in which climate change was described as a “threat multiplier” (Council of the European Union, 2008:5-6). Climate change may cause conflicts between countries over trade routes, maritime zones and food and water resources. The EU has enhanced its conflict prevention and crisis management, but needs to improve its ability to analyze data and issue early warnings. However, this cannot be done alone and international cooperation with the UN and regional organizations is essential.

Discussion

EU-Japan cooperation on security: There has been no coordinated mission between EU and Japan, though both parties are present in Afghanistan; and although they have a common goal to restore stability in this country, their responsibilities and tasks are very different. Their final aim is to ensure security in their surrounding areas and thus to decrease the level of global threats. Within the framework of the 19th Japan-EU Summit in 2010, the EU and Japan decided to tighten their interoperability in Afghanistan. This means that following an on-the-ground cooperation with the Provincial Reconstruction Teams, they would also cooperate on security, reintegration and development assistance, according to the EU’s Action Plan and Japan’s assistance package to Afghanistan and Pakistan (Council of the European Union, 2010).

The EU and Japan have both expressed their will to organize joint counter-piracy efforts in order to maintain the navigation safety along the Somalia coast and the Gulf of Aden. In order to stabilize the region, there have been interactions between the units of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force and EU NAVFOR Somalia Operation ATALANTA, and they decided to support the planned Djibouti regional training centre as well as other information-sharing centers in Yemen, Kenya and Tanzania.

Japan and the EU decided to cooperate in a more action-oriented way regarding the issues of promoting peace and security, Japan's assistance to the EU security and defense policy, and partnership in Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as research and innovation. Both parties are committed to seeking for a world without nuclear weapons, along the goals of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Furthermore, they have expressed serious concern over Iran's nuclear program.

Japan shows a high regard for the EU's crisis management and post-conflict peace-building activities under the CSDP and for the first time the government expressed an interest in providing civilian personnel to CSDP missions, and the EU welcomed it. The parties agreed to also cooperate on security and development assistance in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Council of the European Union, 19th Japan-EU Summit 2010: 5).

EU-Japan cooperation on climate change: At the G8 summit in July 2008 held in Japan, an EU-Japan joint statement demonstrated a binding international approach to deal with the climate change problem (Council of the European Union: 17th Japan-EU Summit, 2008). Japan wanted the summit to continue negotiations for a post-Kyoto Protocol deal to curb global warming by the end of 2009. But the joint statement did not provide a specific figure for the cuts. While the EU has proposed emission reductions of 20% to 30% by 2020 from the 1990 level, Japan has followed the United States statement that it is too early to set numbers for future emission curbs. On the following G8 summit in Prague in 2009, again a promising statement was made by both parties. They decided to join forces in the battle against climate change to "build a low-carbon society" and invited a large number of countries to follow (Council of the European Union: 18th Japan-EU Summit, 2009).

The United Nations Climate Change Conference in 2009 in Copenhagen (COP15) did not lead to a legally binding agreement to succeed the Kyoto Protocol. The parties only agreed to proceed with the Copenhagen Accord, which included a number of positive elements but fell short of expectations (United Nations, 2009). In December 2010, COP16 took place in Cancun, Mexico, but as expected no binding agreement was signed (Nguyen, 2010). The Kyoto Protocol expires in 2012, which makes it increasingly urgent that developed nations agree to a new agreement. The announcement that Japan is not going to be involved is increasingly worrisome, especially for the fact that Japan was the host nation for the climate change talks in 1997 when the Protocol was first generated (Kyoto Protocol, 2011).

EU-Japan Strategic Partnership: Javier Solana, the EU High Representative for the CFSP until 2009, delivered a speech in 2006 about the EU's strategic partnership with Japan. One of the top priorities within this partnership is to promote common values such as democracy, human rights and good governance. Both parties have a similar view about security questions and prefer a multilateral forum for carrying on the discussions. East Asia is central to the interest of the EU, and as the new center of the world trade, it has attracted great investments especially by Japan and China. While accepting Japan's concerns about China's rising economy and growing military budget, the EU considers China as one of the key partners. Although the basic questions of security that the EU and Japan face are almost the same, there are big differences in the approaches and policies they implement (Council of the European Union, Solana, 2009).

The 19th EU-Japan Summit was held in Tokyo in April 2010. The Prime Minister of Japan, the President of the European Council and the European Commission were committed to strengthening bilateral relations, exchanged views on a number of international key questions and confirmed the common positions of Japan and the EU over many of the regional and global challenges. Furthermore, the parties agreed to make their relationship closer in the future in a number of areas. To strengthen the economic relations, a joint High-Level Group was established to determine the key issues of interest by both parties (Council of the European Union, 19th Japan-EU Summit 2010: 2).

EU-Japan Science and Technology Relations: Japan and the EU are going to increase their collaboration for the research and development of innovative technologies. They decided on cooperation in science and technology in 1993 to create a high-level forum in order to exchange views and promote joint research in many areas. In 2009 Japan and the European Community signed an agreement on Science & Technology Cooperation, which identified common research priorities and areas of common interest, such as energy and environment, green and low carbon technologies, space applications and thermonuclear fusion (Delegation of the European Union to Japan, MOFA Homepage).

The EU regards Japan as an important partner to cooperate within these fields and aims to strengthen their relations. Knowledge is the basis of the EU's Lisbon Strategy for turning into the “most dynamic competitive knowledge-based economy in the world” (European Union Homepage, A Constitution for Europe). The “knowledge triangle” of research, education and innovation, is a fundamental factor in order to achieve competitiveness. Various programs, initiatives and support measures are carried out at the EU level to promote knowledge.

The currently valid EU 7th Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development (FP7) has been set for seven years (2007-2013). The program has a total budget of over EUR 50 billion which represents a 63% increase, compared to the previous Framework Programme FP6. FP7 provides funding for exchange of fellows between the parties and facilitates cooperative research projects. These mechanisms enable Japanese companies, universities and individual scientists to work closer with their European counterparts. There are several areas for collaborative research including health, food, agriculture and biotechnology, information and communication technologies (ICT), nanoscience and nanotechnology, energy, the environment, transport, and others (European Commission Homepage, Seventh Framework Programme, 2011).

According to the exchange agreement of 2008, the Japan Science and Technology Agency (JST) can participate under the “Cooperation” category of FP7. JST has offered a new plan for the funding of cooperative research exchange projects with the EU. The “environment” has been selected as the field of research to which the funding goes. Among the member states of the EU, the UK, Sweden, Spain, Denmark, Germany, Finland and France participate in JST projects (Japan Science and Technology Agency Homepage, 2011).

Criticism of the EU-Japan Relations: There are thousands of pages emphasizing the good relations of the two powers, and we can only find just few experts who have given a substantial and reliable criticism of the cooperation between the EU and Japan.

Paul James Cardwell has doubts over the EU-Japan relationship on whether it may be characterized as a “meaningful partnership” or rather a form of “mutual ignorance” (Cardwell 2004: 11-16). The EU and Japan have strengthened their relationship ever since they signed a Joint Declaration in 1991, which was the first document to govern their political and economic relationship. Both of them are economic powers, regardless of their present budget and balance problems and the impediments that stand against them on the world stage to diminish their political power. But there is a lack of political will to do more in the areas of international politics and security. In spite of the signatures on protocols and declarations, few joint policies have been implemented.

Axel Berkofsky says that little has been achieved in the field of security either (Berkofsky 2007: 19-24). The EU and Japan have created a framework for regular consultations over the issues of interest. The EU and Japan together support international efforts for global nuclear disarmament and stopping the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Still, there remains the question of security. Soft security² is the area where Japan and the EU could

² Soft security is the opposite of hard security. According to Aleksandar Fatić soft security means responding to mainly internal or trans-border threats, not inter-state ones, without the use of military force, but rather through the efficient management of society from within with strong conflict-prevention measures. The response to security threats would not be geographic but policy-oriented.

actually make a difference and achieve success (Fatić, Aleksandar 2002: 93-98). Soft security can also be named alternative security, which refers to issues such as providing development aid, technical assistance, and economic and financial grants. The development of specific European-Japanese initiatives focus exclusively on that area of security.

Paul Midford argues that the EU and Japan can work together and show their allies in the US and other countries that the human security approach for promoting stability could be more expedient rather than the approach focusing on military interventions (Midford 2009: 11). The EU can play the role of a partner in redefining the ambivalent question whether Japan is able to participate with SDF in the field of overseas humanitarian and reconstruction missions. According to Midford, Japan and the EU should cooperate and help to stabilize countries such as Afghanistan, Somalia and Sudan. The only problem is that Japanese SDF has to be separated from the combat areas. Four possible solutions were raised by Midford, out of which the most ambitious was that SDF units should be dispatched to safer areas to implement ODA projects and participate in reconstruction together with EU forces.

Conclusion

Japan is the EU's most important partner in Asia, whilst for Japan the EU is a center of stability and growth in a turbulent economic world. Both parties have become the leading economic powers during the last four decades. Their relation is significant since they are two of the greatest economies of the world. They both belong to the club of developed economies, though they have faced enduring and heavy crises during the last years. The EU and Japan together have a population of 627 million, which may be less than 10% of the world population but makes more than 40% of the world GDP (Eurostat, 2011). This however, increases their responsibilities in the promotion and maintenance of stability and security at the regional and global level.

Their overall relationship follows the three axes of political dialogue, economic cooperation, and partnership in common and global challenges. Japan's New Growth Strategy published in 2009 has clarified the directions for three strategic areas, as well as the principal measures and the 2020 targets; they include the implementation of reform arrangements in growth areas that may rely on Japan's strengths (environment, energy, health) and the needed framework for supporting growth (science and technology, human resources and employment) (National Policy Unit, 2009). Green innovation and life science innovations are the fields where Japan and the EU could possibly have a significant advantage based on the past as well as the presently ongoing scientific research. Innovation in the environment and energy sector and similarly in the medical and health sectors can engage Japan and the EU by fostering to develop new technologies that may provide fuel for the growth of their economies to the level of the most advantaged powers in the world.

The EU has a limited amount of natural resources compared to its territory. This is a weakness which together with the abolishment of the bipolar system of power at the end of the Cold War and the following unpredictability of the political regimes, have made the EU think of the question of the diversification of the import routes. The expansion of EU membership and the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon have increased the importance of the EU-Japan dialogue and presented opportunities for the building of a stronger relationship. Both of them depend heavily on imports of energy and mineral resources, and their future development depends on the successful renewal of relations. Such common interests cause the EU and Japan to be natural allies in their effort to develop a stable system of multilateral political and economic relations. It is very important for the two to cooperate so as to achieve this goal. The political and economic interdependence of Japan and the EU puts them in a position that may help with a mutually beneficial development. Therefore, Japan and the EU may be considered as two strategic global partners.

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