



Title	The New Security and Nongovernmental Organizations
Author(s)	Lau, Sim Yee; Onishi, Yoshinobu
Citation	計画行政. 2002, 25(3), p. 28-39
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://hdl.handle.net/11094/3145
rights	
Note	

The University of Osaka Institutional Knowledge Archive : OUKA

<https://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/>

The University of Osaka

The New Security and Nongovernmental Organizations

Lau Sim Yee*, Yoshinobu Onishi**

Abstract

The concept of security has changed profoundly since the end of the Cold War. The new security agenda encompasses various areas, ranging from the traditional problem of national security to new issues involving human security. Focusing on Japan, this article reviews the problems related to the new security agenda and examines the roles of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in responding to the new security challenges. It then relates the compatibility of human security with Japan's comprehensive security strategy. The paper highlights several ways that NGOs could contribute to enhancing the new security in the coming period. This paper stresses that NGOs are characterized by their autonomy, flexibility, and effectiveness in mobilizing forces for cohesive action to tackle specific issues of concern to members at all levels. As such, this paper suggests that NGOs could be facilitators for confidence-building in such sensitive issues as conventional regional security; the usage and management of water resources; conflict prevention; the advancement of freedom, democracy and human rights; and the development of related activities.

Introduction

The terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001 have certainly changed the perception of national security. While this tragic event will require further analysis to understand its full meaning, the concept of security had in fact already undergone substantial change since the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989. Conventionally, the concept of security was confined solely to issues of national security, with the primary objective being to protect territory, political independence, and national integrity by means of military power. However, since the end of the Cold War, the concept of security has expanded to include problems like civil war, ethnic conflict, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, human

rights, internally displaced people and cross-border refugees, human and drugs trafficking, internationally organized crime, global environmental problems, food and population problems, energy and water resources, epidemics like HIV/AIDS, and other issues beyond the narrow conception of national defense. Some observers call this spectrum of issues "the new security agenda" (Stares 1998, Akaneya 2001). Not surprisingly, because the issues raised by the new security are so diverse (even if not mutually exclusive), they require different kinds of responses: on the one hand, at different levels (viz., local, national, sub-regional, regional, and global) and, on the other hand, from different actors (viz., states and non-states) (Stares 1998). In other words, the new security agenda deals with different forms of threat from various

* Associate Professor, the International School of Economics and Business Administration, Reitaku University, and Program Advisor, The Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

** Program Officer, The Sasakawa Peace Foundation.

quarters.

The emergence of a new security agenda has attracted the attention of leaders, policymakers, scholars, and other representatives from the developed and developing world. In particular, many events in the past dozen years have demonstrated that the dynamics of the new security agenda pose unprecedented, complex challenges to the international community. How the actors, such as states and governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, business corporations, and others, respond individually as well as collectively, in political, economic, social, environmental, and humanitarian spheres, will play a significant role in creating an international environment that, in the future, could bring about global peace, stability, and prosperity.

Against this backdrop, the purpose of this article is twofold: first, it reviews the problems related to the new security agenda and, second, discusses the potential roles of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in responding to the challenges posed by the new security. In particular, the aim here is to highlight some salient features of NGOs that constitute their strength in complementing the role of other actors in dealing with the key issues concerning the new security. In addition, with the Japanese readers in mind, this paper makes Japan the case study in this analysis. Because the coverage of the new security agenda is extremely broad, this article concentrates on those issues central to the new security concept.

1. Sources of Change in Security

With respect to the traditional problem areas of security, several regions still continue to exhibit, perhaps in intensified form, structural uncertainty. Northeast Asia (the Korean Peninsula; China and Taiwan), South Asia (India and Pakistan), and the Middle East (Iraq; Iran; Israel and Palestine) are

typical cases. The sources of external threat to state security mainly involve historical and territorial issues. During the Cold War, tensions in these regions were part of the U.S.-Soviet bipolarity. However, with the end of the Cold War, several countries in these regions emerged as the major regional powers with nuclear capability. These developments demand initiatives to make regional multilateral security arrangements or cooperation to enhance regional order¹.

While the new order has yet to emerge from the demise of the Cold War bipolarity, the dynamics of the new security concerns pose new and complex challenges for the international community. The tragic event of September 11, 2001 is one byproduct of the complex and uncertain climate in the post-Cold War era. Certainly, there was enthusiasm about the rise of a promising new world order immediately after the fall of Berlin Wall. The international community, however, became confused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the first event to expose the fragility of the post-Cold War order. After the Cold War, many countries perceived that the major powers (mainly the United States and several Western industrialized countries) would not intervene unless they saw a threat to their national interests. In particular, that perception was compounded by a surge in popular consciousness of identity (related to ethnicity, religion, and history) that had been suppressed by the icy layers of the Cold War; this new force led directly to the outbreak of civil war and internal violent conflicts in countries like Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and the like.

Within this context, the security approach of developed and developing countries underwent a profound transformation. For the developed world, security pertained mainly to threats from external aggression and to events outside their national boundary that have significant consequences for

¹ There are several types of multilateral security arrangements: collective security, which aims to deter and defend against aggression from within (e.g., United Nations); collective defense, which aims to deter and defend against aggression from without (e.g., Australia-New Zealand-US, ANZUS); cooperative security, which aims for confidence-building between adversaries (e.g., ASEAN Regional Forum, ARF). In addition, collective defense and cooperative security also apply in bilateral security arrangement.

their national interests. By contrast, the questions of “security”—for what, from which threats, and by whom it is defined—are complicated. *More important still*, these questions are primarily related to internal factors, which in turn contain an intertwining complex of political, economic, societal, religious and cultural dimensions (Prasetyono 2001).

The outbreak of civil wars or internal violent conflicts in the 1990s posed a serious challenge to the developed world. These challenges raised a host of new questions. How was one to define real threats to national interests, particularly in developing countries? What are the justification and purpose of intervention to prevent or resolve conflicts in developing countries? What are the criteria for intervention? Who is to judge whether they exist in a specific case? Under the aegis of the United States and other Western industrialized countries, the basic criterion to justify intervention is humanitarian concern, with the United Nations (UN) being the referee of this judgement. The result was a flurry of UN-sanctioned humanitarian interventions in conflict countries in the past decade, but these operations also raised the questions about state sovereignty². The results of UN-sanctioned operations, moreover, have been mixed. *Still more important*, because UN peacekeeping missions have violated state sovereignty, these actions have certainly had a negative impact on the relationships between developed and developing countries.

On the economic front, the population of the market-based economic systems was 2.6 billion at the end of the 1980s. This number has doubled since the beginning of the twenty-first Century.

This impressive increase was due partly to the collapse of the Soviet bloc, but also to the adoption of market-oriented policies by socialist countries in Asia like China and Vietnam. At the same time, the improvement in information and communication technology, which coincided with the demise of communism, has accelerated the flow of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to some degree) people³. This process of internationalization of economic activities formed the basic foundation of a new and powerful process of integration and change collectively described by the term “globalization.”

In the tangible reality, both advanced and developing countries have encountered significant difficulties amidst globalization. As the Asian financial crisis in 1997-98 had demonstrated, globalization creates powerful pressures for adjustment by the countries in the developing world because of the myriad differences in their economies, politics, history, and social systems. In the case of advanced countries, it is imperative that they undergo a structural shift toward high value-added industries and expand their service sector; only then can they avoid downward pressures on wages and an increase in unemployment (particularly in the unskilled labor sector). Otherwise, the advanced countries will resort to protectionism, which in turn is fraught with enormous negative consequences for the developing world.

If these realities are judged from the perspective of the developing world, the central question is how to reconcile profound differences in economic and noneconomic factors among countries yet still ensure the global participation that brings the bene-

² One of the vital interests of the West in the post-Cold War era is to promote freedom, democracy, and human rights. Thus, justifications for intervening on humanitarian ground in a sovereign state and its purpose are based on the following schools of thought. First, the realist school of thought contends that if the interests of the West are threatened, intervention in a sovereign state is justified. The purpose of such intervention is to protect its interest in the dissemination of liberal democratic principles. Second, proponents of liberalism seek to advance democracy and human rights. Thus, in international relations, liberalism claims the right to intervene in a sovereign state for the sake of humanitarian purpose. Third, the adherents of the constructivist theory argue that in the situation of weak and/or falling states, intervention in a sovereign state is vital in order to build a nation that can protect and promote human rights and that can deliver goods and services essential to the welfare of its society.

³ For example, world exports account for 21 percent of GDP (US\$7 trillion) in the 1990s, compared with 17 percent of a much smaller GDP in 1970s. Foreign direct investments reached US\$400 billion in 1997, seven times the level in real terms in the 1970s. The daily turnover in foreign exchange markets increased from around US\$10-20 billion in the 1970s to US\$1.5 trillion in 1998. People travel more between 1980 and 1996, from 260 million to 590 million (UNDP 2001, p. 25)

fits of economic interdependence through a specialization of production. Essentially, the advocates of globalization argue that this process demands liberalization and deregulation of national markets, *thereby reducing* government involvement in economic activities to a bare minimum. Hence globalization creates two important challenges: openness means vulnerability; competitiveness threatens sovereignty.

Indeed, globalization, and the international systems that underpin this process, has been shaped by the orthodoxy of a neoclassical universalism propounded by the United States and supported by the major industrialized countries in the West. In essence, this doctrine demands that the political system be built on common liberal democratic norms and that the economic system be based on free-market capitalism. The thesis about "the End of History" asserts that the world will converge to form a single civilization⁴, one that conforms to free-market capitalism and parliamentary democracy. All this, in turn, will eventually bring about peace, a broader distribution of equality, and greater prosperity. In other words, in order to lock into the globalization process that ensures progress, all countries must adopt democracy in the political sphere and free-market principles in the economic sphere, regardless of their historical, cultural, and religious background. Therefore, even though globalization can bring about certain positive results, it can also have a negative, marginalizing, and distorting impact on developing countries.

Worse still, globalization, where technological advances in information and communication, lower trade barriers, commerce, and capital can more easily cross national borders, has also generated such transnational threats as terrorism, narcotics, crime, arms smuggling, human trafficking, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, money laundering, and the like. These illicit activi-

ties pose a real threat to all nations and peoples. They are also closely intertwined. For example, terrorism is linked with narcotics, and money laundering has ties to arms smuggling and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; international organized crime is connected with drugs and people trafficking, arms smuggling, and theft and sale of nuclear materials. Terrorists work independently in "cells," but the latter constitute organized networks. Similarly, international organized crime operates under the guise of legitimate enterprises; it uses modern communications and transportation technology to conduct its global operations. As a result, traditional diplomatic and law enforcement no longer have the capacity to cope with transnational threats. Rather, in order to combat these threats effectively, it is essential to have closer cooperation at the governmental, business, and other nongovernmental levels of the international community.

2. Development and Human Security

The challenges to development at the dawn of the twenty-first century are still immense. According to the *World Development Indicators* (2001), "of the world's 6 billion population, 1.2 billion are living on less than US\$1 a day. About 10 million children under the age of five died in 1999, most from preventable diseases." Furthermore, according to *Human Development Report* (2001), "of the 4.6 billion people in developing countries, more than 850 million are illiterate, nearly a billion lack access to improved water sources, and 2.4 billion lack access to basic sanitation. Nearly 325 million boys and girls are out of school. At the end of 2000 about 36 million people were living with HIV/AIDS, 95% of them in developing countries and 70% in Sub-Saharan Africa." These figures illustrate only part of the desperate conditions that afflict people in the developing world.

⁴Fukuyama's thesis contends that, with the demise of communism, there is no longer any political and economic ideology that divides mankind, and thus history has ended with the victory of enlightened reason, science, and a respect for humanity (Fukuyama 1992).

In today's world, development is not limited to a simple quantitative expansion of gross domestic product, but must also include qualitative improvement, that is, a higher standard of living that includes more personal income, better health, more education, and greater protection of environment for future generations. It is also crucial that development entail greater freedom of choice in the economic sphere as well as the right to participate in the political decision-making that affects people's lives and livelihoods.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) put forward the concept of human security in 1994. Given the end of the Cold War, the UNDP (1994) argued that "security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, and environmental hazards." On this basis, human security now consists of two major components: freedom from fear and freedom from want. In a more concrete way, human security entails the following: economic security; food security; health security; environmental security; personal security; community security; and political security (UNDP 1994). Without doubt, human security constitutes the very essence of development. In addition, according to the UNDP (1994), human security has the following main characteristics: human security is a universal concern; the components of human security are interdependent; human security is easier to achieve through early prevention rather than later intervention; and human security is people-centered.

The UNDP's notion of human security has generated a lively debate between the developed and developing countries⁵. The industrialized countries of the West emphasize human rights and humanitarian law as essential to preventing the human

insecurity that ensues from violent conflicts⁶. However, developing countries (particularly those in Asia) prefer a need-oriented human security approach, that is, one which does not include freedom from fear (Amitav 2001). Many developing countries believe that Western countries seek to superimpose human rights and liberal democratic principles through the notion of human security. Indeed, that perception results from the Western practice, applied by Western industrialized countries to several developing countries in recent years, of linking human rights and democracy to international trade and economic assistance. As a result, in lieu of practical solutions that would enhance development and human security, this debate about human security has only deepened tensions regarding state sovereignty and individual rights.

3. Japan and Human Security

Akaneya (1998), Amitav (2001), and Prasetyono (2001) argue that the concept of human security is actually compatible with Japan's traditional security agenda under the framework of a "comprehensive security strategy." The latter was adopted by Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki's cabinet in 1980. This strategy includes national security, which stresses closer military and general cooperation with the United States, but it also placed special emphasis on economic security for the procurement of raw materials, energy, and food as well as markets for the sale of Japan's manufactured goods. In other words, the Japanese comprehensive strategy was not restricted just to the military threat, but also included various forms of non-military threats. All this shows that the non-military threat and non-traditional security are not new concepts in Japan; indeed, this awareness has helped

⁵The notions of human security were widely discussed during the Cold War in the United Nations, which focused on the disarmament-development nexus. By contrast, other independent commissions such as the Brandt Commission, the Brundland Commission, and the Commission on Global Governance had shifted the focus of security analysis from national and state security to security for the people (Amitav 2001).

⁶Developed countries argue that developing countries, particularly those with weak states, for the sake of national or state security as justification, employ military force that results in the killing of their own population (Prasetyono 2001).

to facilitate Japanese acceptance of the idea of human security.

Like other industrialized countries in the West, Japan has been seeking an active international role that would enable it to contribute to the creation of a new world order in the post-Cold War era. Because Article Nine of the Japanese Constitution restricts the country's military contribution, Japan has integrated its Official Development Assistance (ODA) into an overall foreign policy that reflects its sense of obligation to become actively engaged in international affairs. In 1992, the Government of Japan adopted an ODA Charter that prescribed the following principles⁷:

- (1) Environmental conservation and development should be pursued in tandem.
- (2) Any use of ODA to serve military objectives or to aggravate international conflicts must be avoided.
- (3) Close scrutiny should be given to a recipient country's military expenditures, development and production of missiles and weapons of mass destruction, the export and import of *arms, etc.* Given the goal of maintaining and bolstering international peace and stability, it is clearly essential that developing countries make the appropriate priorities in their allocation of resources in order to be most effective in promoting economic and social development.
- (4) Full attention should be given to the efforts to promote democratization and development of a market-oriented economy, as well as measures to secure basic human rights and liberties in the recipient country.

These four principles are indeed comprehensive and clearly reflect Japan's concerns and priorities in addressing the problems that now confront the international community. Moreover, according to

a poll on foreign relations conducted by Japanese Government in 2001⁸, 62 percent responded that "contribution to the stability of the developing world, which is important to achieving world peace," is the most important reason "for enhanced economic cooperation." In response to the question about "the role of Japan in the international community," the majority (50.3 percent) chose to support "humanitarian assistance, peaceful resolutions of regional conflicts, which in turn will contribute to maintaining international peace." These responses also reflect the view of ordinary Japanese people with regard to their country's role in the international community.

4. NGOs and International Cooperation

(1) Definition of NGOs

As used here, an NGO is an organization created by individuals who wish to promote a common interest or who share a common concern. These interests range from social welfare and alleviation of poverty to such issues as peace, religion, human rights, environmental protection, and scientific research. Some NGOs are created to advance a movement, some to administer relief to the needy, some to exchange knowledge and information, and still others to promote scholarly contacts and to advance collaborative research. Some NGOs are founded for the purpose of promoting the interests of a particular group, industry, or profession. In the broadest sense, NGOs include groups that aim to influence the formation and implementation of public policy as well as groups that have no interest in the public domain at all. Finally, NGOs refer to all forms of nonprofit organizations that enjoy autonomy from the government, but, as one of their main goals, seek to influence the state on behalf of their members.

(2) Japanese NGOs and International Cooperation

In recent years, NGOs have become much more powerful in international affairs. Thus, the NGOs

⁷Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1999), p. 151.

⁸URL: <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h13-gaikou/2-2.html>.

have increased their pressure in an effort to influence the policies and practices of the World Trade Organization (at its 1999 meeting in Seattle), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (at their annual meeting in Washington, D.C. in 2000), and other international organizations (at a variety of UN conferences). Hence, in an overt recognition of the growing influence of the NGO sector, many governmental and inter-governmental institutions have increased their ties with the NGO sector in spheres where they share common objectives.

The initiatives undertaken by NGOs in international cooperation are not a new phenomenon in Japan. Here the term “nongovernmental initiative” denotes specific actions or activities of NGOs that seek to effect qualitative changes in the beneficiaries’ political, economic, and social environment. In Japan, the emergence of private activities to foster international cooperation is closely linked to the rise of this country’s economic position in the international community and its process of internationalization. Over time, nongovernmental initiatives in international cooperation have been closely related to development activities carried out abroad, such as rural development, health and medical services, education, and environmental protection.

In Japan, the initiatives for international cooperation by many NGOs have included the assistance for Indo-Chinese refugees in the 1970s and early 1980s, for illegal foreign workers since the mid-1980s, and for foreign students and residents in Japan itself⁹. However, it should be noted that most NGO initiatives in the area of international cooperation have been expanded to encompass issues of concern to developing countries. In particular, NGOs have shown an impressive expansion in the scale of their activities in developing countries during the past decade.

(3) Categories of NGOs

As has already been pointed out, NGOs encompass a wide range of activities, depending on the nature and scope of their objectives and missions. With respect to international cooperation, NGOs can be divided into two broad categories: operational and advocacy NGOs. Operational NGOs are organizations that focus primarily on designing and implementing activities related to development projects. NGOs like the Japan Volunteers Center (JVC), the Association of Medical Doctors in Asia (AMDA), and Peace Winds Japan are examples of this category. How they perform this role varies: some operational NGOs collaborate with local NGOs and community-based organizations in developing countries, while others serve as intermediaries between local NGOs and governmental and inter-governmental organizations.

Advocacy NGOs, by contrast, concentrate on promoting or defending a specific goal and seek to influence or improve public policies and practices at the local, national, sub-regional, regional, and international level. “Advocacy” denotes an effort to promote ideas among a broader group of people who are involved in the decision-making process. An advocacy NGO can address the targeted audience through various channels. For example, it can organize conferences, research seminars, and workshops to create a network of individuals and groups who share similar commitments in promoting a particular object. Similarly, written reports also provide an effective means to disseminate ideas and thoughts to a specific targeted audience. Mass media likewise provides a useful channel for raising public awareness and interest. Private research institutes, foundations that issue financial grants, societies and associations of academics, professionals, and practitioners are examples of advocacy NGOs. Finally, it bears noting that some NGOs engage both in operational and advocacy activities. The Japan Center for Preventive Diplo-

⁹ For an excellent survey of the evolution of Japanese NGOs, see Toshihiro Menju and Takako Aoki (1995).

macy (JCPD) is an example of such NGOs.

5. Anticipated Roles of Japanese NGOs in the New Security Agenda

As noted earlier, the new security agenda covers a broad spectrum of issues that range from traditional national security to broader issues of human security. Without doubt, there are serious differences in the views held by developed and developing worlds with respect to the concept and practices of the new security. Nevertheless, the real threats to humanity have indeed increased and come from different quarters. More important, these threats are likely to intensify as a result of globalization, on the one hand, and a heightening of popular identity (based on traditional historical, cultural and religious attributes) on the other. Furthermore, individual countries find it increasingly difficult to manage these challenges on their own; hence the new security agenda requires that not only the state, but also non-state actors, such as NGOs, become involved in finding solutions at local, national, regional and international levels. Given these constraints, it is important to highlight those areas where Japanese NGOs could make a contribution. It bears noting that the underlying challenge for the NGO is not to react to a *fait accompli*, but to be preemptive and proactive in determining “what has to be done” to boost “freedom from fear, freedom from want.”

(1) NGOs as Facilitators of Confidence Building

As discussed above, several regions still face structural uncertainty in traditional security. The Korean Peninsular, China-Taiwan, South China Sea, and India-Pakistan are several examples of such problems. Although formal bilateral security arrangements and multilateral forums exist to contain these problems, many factors still impede the creation of a comprehensive framework to resolve these conflicts. In particular, the complexity of historical, political, territorial, and other factors have a great impact on the attitude toward constructive relations between these countries. Given this situa-

tion, official approaches by representatives of governments and diplomats (the “Track I” approach) are not appropriate for removing obstacles to an improvement in relations.

On the contrary, given the autonomy and flexibility of NGOs, these could play an important role in facilitating informal dialogues between representatives of the opposing sides. More specifically, advocacy NGOs (e.g., research institutes and the associations of academics, professionals, and practitioners) have expertise and skills; they could therefore organize conferences, seminars, meetings and other activities to arrange informal meetings of representatives from the various parties. These “Track II” activities will certainly promote confidence building among the key actors and, in turn, help to advance more productive formal dialogues. In addition, advocacy NGOs could encourage independent policy research to examine practical approaches that are grounded in rigorous conceptual and theoretical bases and that can help to facilitate security cooperation. Furthermore, NGOs could assist in creating a network of researchers, scholars, and practitioners to exchange information and ideas.

As in the case of regional security, water poses another important issue fraught with serious consequences. Water is obviously critical for social-economic development, particularly in arid and semi-arid countries. As economic activities expand, the demand for water increases correspondingly; hence it will become (if indeed it has not yet become) a critical resource for many countries concerned. For countries in arid and semiarid regions like Central Asia and the Middle East, the usage and management of scarce water resources will become a source of war and peace, life and death, in the coming years. Political differences, however, have often forced the countries affected to engage in positive cooperation. Under these circumstances, NGOs can make a contribution by bringing experts and relevant people together to discuss and to examine issues (independently from the narrow

interests of individual countries) related to the sharing and management of water. NGOs can thus play a facilitating role in confidence building as well as providing independent and objective opinions for those with a stake in these problems.

(2) Conflict Prevention

Civil wars or internal violent conflicts are often associated with religious or ethnic factors. The post-Cold War intra-state conflicts are often fought not only by regular armies but also by soldiers and armed civilians who are undisciplined and demonstrate unusual violence and cruelty. In almost every case, civilians were the main targets and victims. Recognizing these threats to humanity, the international community (led by the major industrialized countries but often under the auspices of the United Nations) has increased efforts to avert or suppress conflict. According to the UN, conflict prevention consists of four stages: preventive diplomacy; peacemaking; peacekeeping; and post-conflict peace building. There is a general consensus that preventive diplomacy is the most cost effective; the international community therefore lays increasing emphasis on efforts to prevent conflicts before they reach the explosive stage.

However, third party involvement in intra-state conflicts has also generated confusion. Frequently, the third party consists of influential power brokers that either have the capability to impose their will (through military coercion, for example) or can use their international political leverage on the warring parties¹⁰. But there are certain specific actions that governments or inter-governmental actors find it difficult to do. Specifically, they cannot easily improve relations between adversaries when the conflict has its roots in history, religion, and identity.

Under these conditions, NGOs can play a valuable role as facilitators or mediators in reducing the mutual hostility of adversaries, a critical precondition for transforming their relations and mak-

ing peace possible. In other words, NGOs can complement the work of governments and inter-governmental agencies in preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution by serving as neutral facilitators for building mutual trust.

Another important role that NGOs could play comes at an early stage in the conflict. Namely, operational NGOs that work in conflict-prone regions can gather accurate information (in particular, about factors that may precipitate or escalate conflict) that would be useful for early warning purposes.

A third contribution that NGOs can make is in the conflict resolution stages (that is, during peacekeeping operations and in the post-conflict peacebuilding stage). During these phases, NGOs could, *inter alia*, complement the work of state-actors by providing services and assistance to help local people to disengage from violence; by giving humanitarian assistance (including activities sponsored by state organizations); and by supporting institution building and human resources development to foster the nation-building process in the post-conflict phase.

(3) Enhancing Freedom, Democracy and Human Rights

With the demise of communism, the developed countries of the North have increased their support for the growth of freedom, democracy, and human rights in the former socialist countries and in the developing South. However, the Western approach, which is based on liberal convictions, has generated suspicion and tension throughout the developing world (particularly in East Asia). Many developing countries suspect that the West is simply using democracy and human rights as a pretext to advance its own economic and political interests. Many developing countries (particularly those in East Asia) invoke the idea of “cultural relativism” to argue that the promotion of freedom, democracy, and human rights should take into considera-

¹⁰This intervention by major powers within the framework of the United Nations has raised issues of state sovereignty.

tion different historical, cultural, and political contexts. From the experiences of East Asian countries, it is quite reasonable to say that progress based on economic freedom has also generated relative degrees of political freedom, although not in the sense of the Western liberal tradition.

From this perspective, Japanese NGOs, because of their cultural emphasis on cooperative values (harmony-consensus), could help avoid dogmatic intrusion and instead support practical activities that serve to advance freedom, democracy, and human rights in the developing countries of Asia (particularly those countries in transition to market-oriented systems). Specifically, Japanese NGOs could provide support for the development of journalism, mass media, and related fields. After all, these sectors are important channels for enabling ordinary people to understand and embrace freedom, democracy, and human rights. At the same time, given the advances in information technology, journalism and mass media present valuable new opportunities to communicate fundamental values and ideas like freedom.

(4) Development Related Activities

Human security encompasses several core challenges for development. People are poor because they lack physical capital (such as agricultural land and capital) and have little human capital (education, technical skills, and physical health). The vicious cycle of poverty has long been recognized, but developmental approaches advocated by the developed North and international aid agencies, such as “trickling down,” “basic human needs,” “getting the prices right,” and the like, have failed to produce satisfactory results. Income gaps continue to widen not only between poor and rich countries, but also within countries. As such, under the auspices of the UN, the international community has set the following development goals: to halve the proportion of people living in extreme poverty between 1990 and 2015; to enroll all children in primary school by 2015; to empower women by eliminating gender disparities in primary

and secondary education by 2005; to reduce infant and child mortality rates by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015; to reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015; to provide access to all who need reproductive health services by 2015; and to implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005 in order to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015 (The World Bank, 2001).

To meet these challenges and to have maximum impact, donor countries and aid agencies, as well as developing country, recipients of aid, have adopted initiatives to integrate NGOs into planning and design, execution and monitoring, and the evaluation of developmental projects. In Japan, there is also a growing awareness of the need to involve NGOs to deliver ODA-related services to developing countries. Many operational NGOs in Japan are conducting work closely related to human security. For example, they engage in such activities as the promotion of education (e.g., construction of school building and delivery of education materials); the creation of a sanitary water supply; the delivery of medicines and supplies to prevent infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS (e.g., by distributing condoms and by helping to raise popular awareness of the need for preventive measures) and malaria (e.g., by providing mosquitoes nets and medicines); support for environmental projects like reforestation (e.g., tree planting) and activities to increase public awareness of the need to protect the air and water from pollution and to have proper disposal of waste; and, income enhancement projects that promote the export of handicrafts and traditional goods to Japan.

The work performed by Japanese NGOs in developing countries is indeed encouraging. While their efforts have certainly produced impressive results, it is nonetheless desirable for Japanese NGOs to give greater attention to the following. First, they should assist in institution building at the grassroots, that is, local community organiza-

tions to improve the delivery of social services. This is important because the public sector in most developing countries is often too weak to provide these social services. Second, the NGOs should expand their role as intermediaries between the Japanese government and local NGOs. This is of particular importance because Japanese NGOs often have “local knowledge” (acquired through their hands-on operations) of the poor; this can be quite useful in designing and formulating effective aid projects and programs. Third, the NGOs should contribute actively by generating ideas, knowledge, and information (or by providing alternative opinions) to advise Japanese aid agencies regarding policies and to shed light on the institutional issues in developing countries. In addition, Japanese NGOs can also play a leading role in encouraging NGOs from newly industrialized countries in East Asia to contribute (or to share) their development experiences with other developing countries.

6. NGOs and Human Security: Opportunities, Challenges, and Limitations

In the past, by and large, NGOs have focused mainly on delivering those services that the state sector had not, as yet, recognized as necessary. However, chiefly because of the growth of NGOs, in recent years there has been an encouraging rise in partnership between the state and NGOs in running projects to promote social, political, and economic development in developing countries. As discussed above, the autonomy, flexibility and effectiveness of NGOs enable them to mobilize resources for coordinated action at the local, national, regional, and international levels. In addition, the strength of NGOs lies in their strong grassroots links, field-based expertise and know-how, their ability to innovate and adapt, and a long-term commitment that is process-oriented and participatory.

Obviously, NGOs are not perfect. Thus, while NGOs have expertise, experience, and other

resources to complement the state or governmental sector, they also have some obvious limitations. For example, NGOs may be instrumental in creating incremental qualitative changes, but often lack the means to foster more sweeping change in the policy environment that would lead more quickly to a positive outcome. Another shortcoming is their limited financial resources. To ensure that NGOs remain active on a sustained basis, it is essential that they receive substantial financial support from the state sector. Hence it is necessary to develop a strategy to forge functional collaboration both within NGO networks and between them and the state sector. A related strategy would be to establish an effective mechanism to enable a division of labor between the state and NGOs, whereby the former would provide financial support and the latter would deliver the services. However, care must be taken to ensure that NGOs maintain their independence from the state, regardless of any governmental funding.

Since NGOs represent the opinions, interests, and wishes of their members (who, in turn, reflect public opinion more broadly), their credibility rests on the responsible and constructive role they play in society. In order that they might realize their full potential, it is essential that the NGOs and governmental agencies in Japan have more open communication and closer cooperation. Specifically, government agencies should be invited to participate in dialogues with NGOs and to make full use of the networks created by various private initiatives across national boundaries. Unnecessary competition, monopolies on information, and parochial agenda must be avoided if Japanese NGOs are to become more effective agents of change. They need to foster cooperation and communication among themselves, domestically and internationally.

Concluding Remarks

Previously, NGOs have been viewed by the public sector as a force opposed to governmental poli-

cies and practices. In recent years, however, governments in both the developed and developing world have increasingly recognized the independence, flexibility, and effectiveness of NGOs in conducting well-run programs at the local, national, regional, and international levels.

This article has highlighted several selected issues related to the new security agenda. This is a preliminary study, with inevitable conceptual, analytical, and empirical limitations; more research, unquestionably, is needed to clarify the policy implications for a state-NGO partnership. Indeed, we hope that this paper will stimulate additional studies of the general principles and attitudes of NGOs in their approach to dealing with the new security agenda. This is vitally important because conceptualizing the practical experience of NGOs can lead to the next stage of empirical analysis; that, in turn, can yield specific conclusions as to how NGOs can improve their operational methods and thereby enhance their role in the security sphere.

Last but not least, we hope this article will encourage the following. First, policymakers and public administrators of the ODA in Japan should reexamine the likelihood and desirability of enhanced collaboration with NGOs in all stages of a project cycle. This collaboration should involve both operational and advocacy NGOs. Second, academic associations should organize more activities that can serve as an interface between the state and NGOs; that can help generate new ideas for the development of security and for the growth of the state-NGO partnership (where the two sectors have different approaches but perform complementary roles in areas of the new security). That cooperation can help to cultivate a broader spectrum of specialists and a higher level of professionalism in the NGO sector, efforts that will certainly enhance Japan's security.

References

- 1) Akaneya, Tatsuo and Ochiai Koutaro eds., 2001,

Atarashi Anzen Hoshou Ron No Shiza, Akishobo.

- 2) Amitav, Acharya, 2001, "Human Security: East Versus West," a conference paper presented at "New Thinking in Regional Security: The Challenges of Uncertainty," Yangon, August 27-31, 2001.
- 3) Fukuyama, Francis, 1992, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Avon Books.
- 4) Katsumata, Makoto ed., 2001, *Goro-baruka To Ninken no Anzen Houshou*, Nihon Keizai Hyouron Sha.
- 5) Menju, Toshihiro and Takako Aoki, "The Evolution of Japanese NGOs in the Asia Pacific Context," in Tadashi Yamamoto, ed., *Emerging Civil Society in the Asia Pacific Community*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), 1995.
- 6) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999, *Japan's Official Development Assistance Annual Report 1998*.
- 7) Onishi, Yoshinobu, 1999, "Vietnamese Higher Education: An Overview," in Harutoshi Kagoshima ed., *A Challenge for the Curriculum Reform of Vietnamese Higher Education*, pp. 9-17, and Nguyen Xuan Que ed., Statistics Publishing House, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam
- 8) Prasetyono, Edy, 2001, "Emerging Security Concepts: Old Wine in New Bottle," a conference paper presented at "New Thinking in Regional Security: The Challenges of Uncertainty," Yangon, August 27-31, 2001.
- 9) Shirasu, Takashi and Lau Sim Yee, 1996, "A NGO's Approach to Regional Cooperation in Northeast Asia: Concept, Methodology and Its Practical Implications," The 19th Annual Conference of Japan Association of Planning Administration, Tokyo University, October 4-5, 1996 (unpublished paper).
- 10) Shirasu, Takashi and Lau Sim Yee, 1999, "Non-governmental Initiatives in Japan for Regional Cooperation," pp. 329-346, in Tsuneo Akaha ed., *Politics and Economics in Northeast Asia: Nationalism and Regionalism in Contention*, St. Martin's Press.
- 11) Stares, Paul B., 1998, *The New Security Agenda: A Global Survey*, Japan Center for International Exchange.
- 12) UNDP, 1994, *Human Development Report 1994: New Dimensions of Human Security*, Oxford University Press.
- 13) UNDP, 2001, *Human Development Report 2001: Making New Technologies Work for Human Development*, Oxford University Press.
- 14) The World Bank, 2001, *World Development Indicators 2001*.