

Introduction

The vision discussed herein lays out the shape of Japan's foreign and security policy during the next ten years, in the event that a change of administration takes place, creating a new Democratic Party of Japan government. In order to plan the foreign and security policy for those ten years, we first need to envisage what the world will look like in 2015. We do not intend here to predict the shape of the world. But it seems obvious that world events will evolve beyond the ability of Japan's conventional foreign and security policy, which has passively accepted world trends as given. In fact, even today, Japan's foreign policy is deadlocked vis-à-vis China, South Korea, and North Korea due to the highly temporizing conduct of the current Koizumi government, while relations with Russia and even the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have also been stagnant.

What is urgently required is for Japan to plan and execute foreign and security policy that is firmly based on the vision of Japan's role in attaining the desirable yet feasible shape of the world in ten years time. We believe that this active foreign policy stance on the part of Japan is a postulate for a better world.

This vision herein examines what policy Japan should pursue in light of the desirable shape of the world in 2015. It is by no means a comprehensive sketch of Japan's foreign policy but tries to focus on what seem to be the three most urgent issues for Japan: Asia, the United States, and international governance. We hope to address the issues of Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and others on a separate occasion.

First and foremost, we wish to establish that the primary objective of Japan's foreign and security policy is to pursue the country's "enlightened national interest." It is our conviction that, in the highly globalized world of today, looking after Japan's national interest resonates with the realization of the world's interest and, conversely, realization of the world's interest results in Japan's national interest. We should not pursue a zero-sum national interest that allows only one winner in the race for peace, prosperity, and national security. What is called for, instead, is to pursue the path of positive-sum national interest by which Japan can share gains and benefits with the rest of the world. This, in turn, calls for the adoption of the concept of enlightened national interest, in other words, pursuit of national

interest in harmony with the international community.

History shows that chauvinistic nationalism is not only harmful to national interest in the long run but also clearly unproductive in the current, increasingly globalized, international environment. At the same time, a one-country pacifism, in which all responsibilities are surrendered to international society, is equally incompatible with the notion of enlightened national interest. This is obvious when we think of all the global issues we are facing today, including the environment, energy, terrorism, and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

We believe it is the responsibility of the new government of Japan to actively, constructively, and imaginatively pursue this goal of enlightened national interest. In the present world where globalization is opening door of many national societies and diverse interests cross both within and outside of the national boundaries, however, it would be difficult for the government alone to accurately define what this enlightened national interest is. In this sense, Japanese citizens' support and participation will be indispensable for the realization of enlightened national interest. The new government of Japan will be accountable to the citizens for its foreign and security policy and, at the same time, request active participation of citizens in the decision-making process.

I. Japan and the World Ten Years From Now

Our future-oriented vision, which will be presented below, is constructed on our projection of the world in 2015 in light of the current conditions of international politics. Of course it is impossible to accurately predict how the world will look ten years from now. But it seems beyond doubt that the following three factors will be of utmost importance:

- (1) whether U.S. foreign and security policy will shift to attach more importance to international cooperation;
- (2) whether Asia, particularly the rise of China, will be a stabilizing force; and
- (3) whether global governance, including that of international organizations, will be enhanced.

Pessimistic views of these factors may lead to a tragic worst-case scenario for 2015 in which:

- (1) the U.S. inclination toward unilateralism becomes stronger, leading to a series of preemptive attacks by the United States alone or by coalitions of the willing without a U.N. resolution, thus undermining the authority of the Security Council and igniting an endless chain of self-proclaimed “just wars” all over the world;
- (2) narrow-minded national interest becomes dominant in Asia, while a rising China prioritizes its national interest when acting, so that China becomes a threat to the region and regional stability and economic prosperity is lost; and
- (3) the capability of international organizations is gravely diminished through conflicts between the United States and Europe and between developing and advanced countries as well as the inefficiency of the United Nations itself, which results in a great loss of global governance concerning such key issues as proliferation of WMD, environmental devastation, and prevention and control of infectious diseases.

Yet, we could strive to realize a different scenario toward a much better world. Our scenario for a desirable world and Japan in ten years consists of an internationally harmonious United States, stability and growth in Asia, and enhancement of global governance.

We believe this desirable world should include the following elements:

- (1) a United States that has regained its respect for international cooperation;
- (2) an international society where a collective security framework in which use of military force should be endorsed by a U.N. resolution is the norm; and
- (3) a world characterized by a myriad of interreligious and intercultural dialogues as well as mutual respect, gradually embedding stability even in the Middle East.

In this desirable world, Japan would be playing a befitting role in maintaining its own defense and the stability of the Asian-Pacific region as a sovereign nation and as an ally of the United States. In this world, there should be more occasions in which Japan plays a bigger role in U.S. foreign policymaking, communicating the expectations of the Japanese people as well as other Asian nations. There would be marked improvements in such issues as the U.S. military bases in Japan and the bilateral agreement on the status of U.S. forces in Japan.

Asia would be a world growth center by 2015 and steady steps toward an East Asian Community would have been taken. Countries in the region would be networked by layers of free trade agreements (FTAs) and many would have attained democratization and political stability. This East Asian Community would have become a major international actor thanks to Japan's leadership and China's active engagement in regional affairs as a dependable international power. Addressing such issues as energy, the environment, and financial policies, it would be the norm to take a regional approach. In the security realm, movement toward a regional regime would have been reinforced by successful confidence-building measures, deepened security dialogues, and cooperation in peacekeeping operations. China-Taiwan relations and North Korea would no longer pose a risk of war. Mutual trust would have been improved between Japan and its neighbors on both the governmental and societal levels.

International society will have calmly accepted the reality that world stability cannot be attained by the United States alone or without the United States. U.S.-European relations would be restored, and the legitimacy and effectiveness of international organizations would be recovered, based on the realization that they are not mere servants to U.S. interests. Furthermore, enhanced cooperation in peace building and nation

building would have contributed to a decrease in the number of failed states. Terrorism and transborder organized crime will have been effectively contained by comprehensive multilateral cooperation in alleviating poverty and enhancing law enforcement capabilities. The nonproliferation treaty regime will have been reconstructed, and movement toward the non-nuclear option will have been reinvigorated. Establishment of a post-Kyoto Protocol regime with the participation of both advanced and developing countries, in addition to various technical innovations, would heighten expectations for the solution of environmental problems. Some infectious diseases would be on the verge of eradication. In international organizations as well as in Japan, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), private corporations, and citizens groups will be participating in the making and execution of foreign policy.

Japan will be a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, constructively engaging in the enhancement of peace and prosperity in Asia and the world as well as in the reform of the United Nations itself. While the relative weight of the Japanese economy in the world may have declined due to the rapid economic development of China and India, its attractiveness in the areas of technology and culture will be further increased. Japan will have earned the attention and respect of neighboring countries as well as of the international community as a great engine of a peaceful and prosperous Asia.

Whether we can actually realize this desirable landscape depends on how we conduct ourselves from now on. We herein present this vision “Toward Realization of Enlightened National Interest” as a chart toward this desirable world.

II. Developing a Peaceful and Prosperous Asia

Japan is a member of Asia and, therefore, it is in Japan's utmost enlightened national interest to create a peaceful and prosperous Asia. Japan is fortunate to be a member of this fast-growing, very promising Asia. To play an active role in creating a peaceful and prosperous Asia is directly connected to Japan's own security and prosperity. Japan is the most matured democracy in the region, well endowed with industries with high technological and financial capabilities as well as a rich market. Japan can also function as a connector between the United States and Asia by engaging the United States further in Asian affairs through various cooperative schemes, utilizing the alliance as the region's public property, and attempting to communicate various voices from Asia to the U.S. policy-making mechanism. To make Asia the most peaceful and prosperous region in the world, Japan needs to use all of its resources to promote nation building, human resource development, economic partnership, and peacekeeping operations (PKO) in the region. It will be, therefore, absolutely essential for Japan to nurture mutual trust with neighboring countries, particularly China and South Korea.

Economically, Asia has become the most dynamic region in the world. Japan has immeasurably benefited from this sustained growth and peace in Asia. With the globalization of the world economy and their own economic development, Asian countries have been increasingly integrated as an economic group. Interdependence has deepened among China, Japan, South Korea, and ASEAN, which, in turn, has promoted further growth of individual economies. Asia is extremely diverse in terms of ethnicity, religion, culture, degree of economic development, and many other factors, and a number of grave causes for concern in the security field exist including the Korean peninsula, the Taiwan Strait, India-Pakistan rivalry, and terrorist groups in Indonesia and the Philippines, etc. If properly addressed, however, this diversity can prove to be an advantage in promoting further growth, democracy, and interdependence. It will also become important to construct criteria for an East Asian Community, to which member countries should be induced to subscribe, thus contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region.

The most important element in building a peaceful and prosperous Asia is the rise of China. Depending on China's future course of action, the rise of China can be an opportunity for greater peace and prosperity in Asia, on one hand, or a risk bringing confusion and stagnation, on the other hand. It will be greatly in Japan's interest if China maintains its sustainable growth; while properly addressing its environmental and energy problems; overcomes social crises to consolidate political stability; and, contributes, as a major power, to the peace and prosperity of Asia, becoming a responsible force in the region.

India is expected to be a nucleus of Asian economic development in the 21st century along with Japan, China, South Korea, and ASEAN. It projects a unique charisma not only as an economic, demographic, and cultural/philosophical giant but also as a huge democracy. Establishing and maintaining a close relationship, including strategic, with this India will be in the national interests of Japan and will expand Japan's diplomatic options.

In Asia today, dynamic progress is taking place toward the construction of the new regional order, including the consensus among regional countries on the goal of an East Asian Community. It is the task of the new government of Japan to take the initiative in designing and promoting this regional order. In so doing, Japan should realize that the basic rule of foreign policy in Asia is to play a positive-sum game (where one's gain is others' gain) instead of a zero-sum game (where one's gain is the others' loss). Asia is known for great diversity as well as great gaps in stages of democratic maturity and economic development among countries. This new government of Japan should develop a foreign policy for Asian stability and prosperity that takes this diversity into account. But first, it should acknowledge the past mistake of World War II squarely and humbly in order to obtain the trust of Asian people.

1. Building an East Asian Community

In East Asia, economic interdependence has already surpassed that of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) area, with intraregional trade exceeding 50 percent of total trade. Japan is expected to experience a population decrease, making it further improbable for Japan to continue

one-country prosperity. It is, therefore, only reasonable as well as essential for Japan to conclude FTAs and economic partnership agreements (EPAs) with such regional entities as ASEAN, South Korea, China, and India.

Negotiations toward these agreements with East Asian countries have not been advancing as fast as they should, and this is mainly attributable to the lack of awareness of their importance for Japan on the part of the current government. Japan has benefited from free trade in attaining today's high living standards. Japan should, therefore, never forget the absolute importance of free trade or lose sight of the large picture in the coordination of specific interests. Japan should never become introverted. The new government of Japan will vigorously advance the conclusion of these FTAs and EPAs.

As the economic integration of East Asia proceeds, a prompt response will be required vis-à-vis various regional issues such as energy, the environment, and finances. The East Asian Community will address a wide range of issues including economic issues such as trade and investment as well as social issues such as public health, sanitation, population, education, and training. An important preparation toward this community building will be to collect and analyze basic data that will provide the basis for policy dialogue among regional countries. We therefore propose the establishment of a permanent East Asian Community Secretariat that will collect and analyze these data and facilitate policy discussions on common regional issues. At the same time, the function of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) should also be reinforced.

Globalization of the world economy improves living standards, which in turn cause each country to face such issues as democratization, universal rule of law, and protection of human rights. The East Asian Community will address these issues as common regional challenges. The East Asian Community will have a firmer base if parliamentarians representing the inhabitants of member countries can have regular exchange. In this spirit we propose the launching of an East Asian Parliamentarian Congress (provisional name) in order to promote parliamentary exchange and policy dialogue.

The East Asian Community should never become an exclusive institution. India, Australia, and New Zealand will be important partners when building a full-scale East Asian Community. Aiming for a wide

membership at the outset, however, will require a longer time for mutual adjustment and, thus, may hamper the institution's maneuverability as in the case of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. It seems natural, therefore, to begin with an East Asian Summit Meeting, as the first step toward East Asian Community building, among the ASEAN-10 plus three Northeast Asian countries. It will be necessary to have a view of an expanded East Asian Community that in the future includes the United States. Meanwhile, it seems realistic for Japan to aim at a conclusion of the bilateral FTA with the United States and function as a connector between the United States and the East Asian Community.

In order to encourage further integration of East Asia and to invigorate Japan, the new Japanese government should precipitate the conclusion of the investment guarantee agreement among China, South Korea, and Japan, and facilitate the enrollment of overseas students and employment of skilled workers from Asian countries within Japan. Furthermore, it should even prepare itself to accept an inflow of unskilled labor into the Japanese market, albeit with a certain time limit, upon the reinforcement of pertinent rules such as rigorous immigration control. These measures will contribute to the further opening of Japanese society.

At the same time, economic cooperation policy should be converted from the current all-inclusive aid to more strategically focused provision of official development assistance (ODA) to such countries as Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The focus of ODA should be on the building of human and physical infrastructure of the East Asian Community.

The very first thing that the new Japanese government must do, prior to the above measures, is to build a relationship of mutual trust with neighboring countries. It is a lamentable liability of Japan's foreign policy that, even sixty years after the end of the war, we have not succeeded in building a relationship of mutual trust with the Chinese and Korean peoples. The recent rise of anti-Japan demonstrations in China and Korea was a reminder that the mutual trust between Japan and these countries, a fruit of long and painstaking efforts by our predecessors in the post-war days, can perish instantly. To blame this solely on the other party and indulge in exchange of mutual criticism will not bear any positive outcome. It will be a great loss for all countries concerned if we fail to establish a relationship of

mutual trust and we should all make sincere efforts to improve our relationships in order to realize mutual understanding and respect.

The Japanese must bear in mind that the offended will not easily forget the pain and humiliation, while the offenders are liable to amnesia. It is absolutely undeniable, as recorded in Prime Minister Murayama's remark of August 15, 1995, that Japan's invasion and occupation brought tremendous loss and pain to our neighboring countries. After honestly and humbly reflecting on our past conduct, we must work determinedly to build a future-oriented relationship with our Asian neighbors. This will be a common perception within the new Japanese government and the center pillar of its foreign policy. In this spirit, the new government will open a new national facility to pay tribute to past war victims as well as any future casualties of international lines of duty. It will also work steadily to strengthen joint initiatives with neighboring countries toward achieving a shared perception of historical issues.

2. Toward Regional Cooperation including Security Cooperation

While the East Asian Community will start with economic integration and political cooperation, its ultimate goal is to nurture mutual trust and a sense of security among member states. It aspires to be a community in which no member country holds hostility toward other members. In light of differences in political systems and democratic maturity among regional countries, however, it would be more prudent to start with what is immediately attainable, making a full-fledged security community a future aim. It should be noted that the United States will be indispensable for the security cooperation in East Asia.

Thus, as far as security cooperation is concerned, we will start with the nucleus of ASEAN plus three Northeast Asian countries, but we will try to gradually and steadily expand this group, mobilizing all the possible occasions such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the Six-Party Talks. When the Six-Party Talks succeed in accomplishing a nuclear-free Korean peninsula, its framework can be made into a permanent institution geared toward regional stability.

Furthermore, Japan should sponsor joint training and exercise of PKO personnel and civilian police officers in cooperation with other Asian

countries and introduce an East Asian PKO training center to Okinawa. Japan can also promote a joint sea lane patrol program against terrorists and pirates in collaboration with ASEAN, China, India, and the United States, naturally paying due respect to the sovereignty of coastal states.

In the overall context of Asian security, WMD proliferation and terrorism are extremely important challenges. The new Japanese government will further promote the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and actively engage itself with the peaceful solution of the Kashmir conflict, which has led to the nuclear armament of India and Pakistan. In order to prevent the permeance of terrorism, it will also assist efforts to enhance governance in Asian countries, including Indonesia, Myanmar, and the Philippines.

3. Institutionalization of Dialogue with China

It is beyond doubt that economic interdependence between Japan and China will deepen further. Yet the political relationship between the two countries has remained cool for quite some time, symbolized by the fact that no state visit of the leaders has been exchanged for the past three years. Mutual understanding on the people-to-people level has not deepened, either, as demonstrated by recent incidents of massive anti-Japan demonstrations in various cities in China. Japan's relationship with China is in the greatest crisis ever since the normalization of bilateral relations in 1972. In order to realize a peaceful and prosperous Asia and to secure our own security and affluence, the new government of Japan must recognize the critical importance of developing a constructive relationship with China and act determinedly to rebuild Japan-China relations. At the same time it is important not to forget that the facilitation of peaceful coexistence between China and the United States and encouragement of active Chinese engagement in the international community is the key to East Asian stability and prosperity. The recent cooling and worsening of the Japan-China political relationship, which does not serve Japan's national interest, should be mainly attributed to the lack of a long-term vision for and a wider perspective on this bilateral relationship on the part of the current government. The reconstruction of Japan-China relations is the biggest challenge facing Japanese foreign policy and it will be one of the

most important tasks for a new DPJ government.

We will first start with the reconstruction of mutual trust between the leaders of the two countries and move on to deepen the bilateral policy dialogue on economy, finance, currency, energy, the environment, maritime development, and security. We wish to eventually institutionalize this dialogue. We will also promote Japan-China cooperation in the promotion of the East Asian Community and effective disbursement of respective ODA to third parties. In light of the special importance of the security dialogue, we will launch a Japan-China 2 plus 2 dialogue on the ministerial level in addition to institutionalization of a regular summit meeting. These kinds of regularized high-level dialogue will increase mutual transparency on policy direction and intention, offering a sense of security to Asia and the world as a whole. We wish to develop the dialogue into actions and upgrade the understanding to mutual trust, nurturing the possibility for future consultation on disarmament.

Heightened tension over Taiwan would be extremely dangerous for the stability of East Asia and therefore of no benefit to Japan, China, the United States or Taiwan. Based on the Japan-China Joint Statement of 1972, we oppose both a unilateral declaration of independence by Taiwan and military action by China.

We will solve the dispute with China over the boundary of the exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and natural resources development on the East China Sea through consultations, after we establish firm mutual trust between leaders of the two countries. It is clear to anyone with eyes to see that cooperation between Japan and China, as two of the world's large energy consumers, will be of tremendous benefit to all. In this consultation, while requesting respect of our viewpoints based on international laws and scientific evidence, we will also facilitate joint development of natural gas and oil, aiming to make the East China Sea a sea of peace. Furthermore, we will promote East Asian and North Pacific cooperation in energy with countries, including China, South Korea, and Russia.

4. Toward a Stable Korean Peninsula

Between South Korea and Japan a future-oriented and constructive relationship has gradually emerged, backed by the political reconciliation

triggered by the visit of President Kim Dae-jung to Japan in 1998, deepened economic interdependence, and the dramatic escalation of cultural exchange at the grass-roots level, notably through sports, movies, and TV programs. It is therefore all the more unfortunate that recent months witnessed the revival of anti-Japanese sentiment in South Korea. We need to revise the tendency in recent government policy to neglect Asia and return to the starting point of President Kim Dae-jung's visit. To further advance the newly emerging relationship, we will aim to promptly conclude the Japan-South Korea FTA. To further consolidate this future-oriented relationship with South Korea and to transform it into a nucleus of the East Asian Community, we must face the history issue squarely and come up with a constructive solution. The new government of Japan must strive to establish a firm relationship of mutual trust between the leaders of our two countries and promote parliamentary exchanges, especially among younger legislators. We should promptly conclude the Japan-South Korea FTA and further promote economic and cultural exchanges. In addition to intergovernmental and interparliamentary exchanges, it will be equally important to promote exchanges on the grass-roots level aimed at enhancing Japan-South Korea relations from the bottom up.

In order to ensure peace and security in Japan and East Asia as a whole, it will be essential to make Northeast Asia a nuclear-free zone. Therefore, we must successfully conclude the Six-Party Talks, preventing North Korea's nuclear development, promote a Northeast Asian Nuclear-Free Zone, and further proceed to disarmament and arms control throughout East Asia.

Abduction is a gross violation of national sovereignty and human rights and must not be tolerated under any conditions. The new government of Japan will take a firm stance against this issue in consultation and cooperation with the United States, South Korea, and China, and will diplomatically pursue vigorous efforts to achieve an early and complete solution of this issue.

III. Evolving The Japan-U.S. Relationship

Japan and the United States are in alliance. Based on the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, our two countries share fundamental values and interests and closely cooperate and collaborate in the fields of security, politics, and economy. The Japan-U.S. alliance has been vital to the stability of the Asian-Pacific region and has played an extremely important role in ensuring peace and prosperity in Japan. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the United States has become an incomparable superpower of the world, and its supremacy will likely remain unshaken for the foreseeable future. The Japan-U.S. alliance is a great asset for Japan, and the United States will undoubtedly still be an indispensable partner for Japan in ten years time. While this will remain an unshakable premise, the security environment surrounding the Japan-U.S. relationship has been changing greatly, making it imperative for us to envision the evolution of this bilateral relationship toward 2015.

The first specific example of those changes is the end of the Cold War and the erosion of clear-cut rivalry between the East and the West. This rivalry was succeeded by a much more complex world of conflicts of interests. In this complex world, Japan and the United States certainly share the common values of freedom and democracy. However, we must realize that methods of attaining these goals as well as national interests do not necessarily converge between our two countries.

Another change is that the United States has made the war on terror a priority and instances have been observed where it has resorted to unilateral action and preemptive strikes when it feels an occasion so requires. In the midst of these changes, while the United States has begun to expect Japan to play a greater security role beyond Japan and the Far East, the current Japanese government continues to take a temporizing and passive attitude. It continues to vacantly stress the importance of the "Japan-U.S. alliance in the global context," making Japan a faithful and blind follower of U.S. strategy. While this attitude may harm Japan's national interest, there is also concern that it could undermine bilateral relations in the long run. What is urgently called for today is to keenly realize that the Japan-U.S. relationship now faces a critical test. In order to

ensure sustainable and stable development of this bilateral partnership, we will need two kinds of evolution in the security field.

First, the new government of Japan will have to clarify its fundamental policy in relation to joint actions with the United States in security matters. More concretely, it should aim to achieve a common understanding with the United States that, while Japan intends to strengthen its alliance with the United States in the Asian-Pacific region in light of changing international security environments, it will basically deploy its Self-Defense Forces to deal with global issues beyond the region, such as in the Middle-East and Africa, only under the U.N. framework. Today, we are faced with various new developments such as the changing strategic balance in the Asian-Pacific region, heightened nuclear threat from North Korea, the rise of new threats including terrorism, advancement of the revolution in military affairs (RMA), and the transformation of U.S. military forces. Under the increasingly opaque international environment, it is necessary to mobilize the stabilizing force of Japan-U.S. alliance in the Asian-Pacific region. However, even within this alliance, the Japanese government will maintain its basic stance to be restrictive toward military solutions.

Blindly following the U.S. lead in global security issues could harm Japan's enlightened national interest. Japan should be more actively engaged in global issues, but it should send its Self-Defense Forces overseas, in principle, only under U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Second, the new government of Japan will try to make Japan-U.S. alliance more even-balanced, respecting the ability of both governments to make independent decisions. In the past sixty years since the end of the war, Japan's security policy has been so dependent on the United States that it has been in a state of "auto pilot." For a sovereign nation, however, one-sided dependence for one's security on the other country is nothing but the abdication of political responsibility. To evolve the Japan-U.S. partnership and make it public property for Asia and the world, the new Japanese government needs to convey the wishes of the Japanese people and the viewpoint of other Asian nations to the U.S. government and, when necessary, request self-restraint on the part of the United States. Moreover, as its good friend, the Japanese government should continue to persuade the U.S. government that action sanctioned by international and multilateral

institutions including the United Nations is the only path toward world peace. To construct Japan-U.S. alliance between two fully independent partners, Japan must try hard to fulfill its duty to defend itself more vigorously. At the same time, both the United States and Japan should review various systems, regulations, and institutions associated with Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

1. Rebuilding Defense Capability

When constructing Japan's security policy the most important responsibility of the government is to ensure the safety of the Japanese people. This should be our fundamental stance. For example, the Japanese government owes it to its citizens to build up the greatest possible capability that it can single-handedly muster for counterterrorism and territorial defense. The new government of Japan will implement all the reforms in equipment and legal arrangements for this purpose.

As far as Japan's defense system is concerned, it will be absolutely necessary to improve the capacity to counter new kinds of threats and to thoroughly review equipment and personnel deployment policies that are hangovers from the Cold War days. The new government of Japan will continue to trust Japan's own capability to make appropriate judgment. While the new government will continue to give priority to Japan's own decision, it will pursue the missile defense option after it verifies its technical feasibility. Of course, the government will pay due consideration so that this decision will not induce a renewed arms race in the region.

No country can effectively defend itself or even make a correct judgment about its defense needs without its own information and intelligence capability. Japan urgently needs to strengthen its own intelligence capability.

2. Strengthening Strategic Dialogue Capability

In the past Japan-U.S. strategic dialogue, the United States has always taken the leadership and Japan has followed. In the future dialogue, it will be necessary for Japan to offer a greater number of proposals and suggestions based on its own security perspectives. It will also be important

for politics to play a larger role in this dialogue.

In the fields of preventive diplomacy, preventive security, nation building, and peace building in the Asian-Pacific region, Japan will have to strengthen its capacity to present proposals to the United States, particularly in areas where Japan can play a complementary role. As a prerequisite, Japan must upgrade its assistance in peace building and nation building by its police, bureaucracy, private corporations, and NGOs.

As an ally and friend of the United States in Asia, Japan will constantly communicate the diverse values of Asian peoples to the United States so that U.S. foreign policy toward Asia can reflect these voices.

3. Strengthening Japan-U.S. Cooperation in the Defense of Japan and Stabilization of the Asian-Pacific Region

Since peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region is crucially important for Japan, the new government of Japan will deepen defense cooperation with the United States in emergency situations in Japan as well as matters directly affecting Japan's security. Needless to say, Japan's own initiative in defending itself will be the first priority.

The new government will also construct Japan-U.S. bilateral as well as multilateral cooperative schemes to effectively counter new threats. Concrete actions will be taken toward this goal including participation in the PSI and the strengthening of various anti-terrorism measures such as upgrading proper law enforcement capability, intelligence gathering and analysis, and financial/export control. Furthermore, the government intends to prevent terrorist organizations from taking root in society by absorbing people's dissatisfaction through the promotion of human security which will reduce individual and collective anxieties. It will also assist other Asian countries to improve their own law enforcement capabilities so that they can avoid becoming a haven to terrorists.

4. Consolidation and Reduction of U.S. Bases in Japan and Revision of the Agreement on the Status of U.S. Forces in Japan

To restore Japan's sovereignty and make Japan-U.S. relationship more sustainable and acceptable to the Japanese people, the new government will

immediately start negotiations with the United States to revise the current agreement on the status of U.S. forces in Japan, particularly in relation to interrogation of law offenders and environmental conservation.

It will be impossible to sustain the current condition of U.S. bases in Japan, particularly those in Okinawa, which are the relics of the immediate post-war days. Utilizing the movements toward military transformation in the United States, the new government will promote consolidation and reduction of the bases. At the same time, it intends to clarify and reinvigorate the prior consultation mechanism stipulated by Japan-U.S. security pact.

5. Further Deepening of Japan-U.S. Relations

The importance of Japan-U.S. relationship is not confined to the security area. The United States will also continue to be Japan's most important partner in political, economic, and social affairs. Sixty years of good relations after World War II is a success story attributable to the utmost efforts on both sides. Further developing this bilateral relationship will require maturity and humility on the part of the United States and a sense of responsibility and determination to play its own role on the part of Japan.

In the economic area, Japan should further expand its trade, investment, and human exchange with the United States with the ultimate goal of concluding a bilateral FTA. And it will be crucially important to solve such issues as trade friction before they become politicized. We will have to enlarge the coordinating capability of the office of Prime Minister for this purpose. Realizing the other party is an indispensable partner even in the economic field, both the United States and Japan will and should further deepen the bilateral economic relationship.

It will be absolutely essential to launch a full-fledged cultural and intellectual exchange with the United States in order to enjoy the fruits in ten years time. Japan should induce American and other foreign universities to open campuses in Japan, establish think tanks with the capability for advanced American studies, and promote joint endeavors with American universities, research institutions, and foundations in order to develop future actors of Japan-U.S. relationship. The networks of personal contacts with Americans accumulated heretofore are an invaluable asset for

Japan, and the Japanese government should actively utilize these networks. Inter-parliamentary exchange between the United States and Japan has been losing its presence in recent years, but the dialogue between legislators of the two countries must be reinvigorated on all levels including political party, national legislature, and local assembly.

IV. Contributing to World Peace and Stability

In this age of globalization, it is impossible to accomplish peace and prosperity in isolation. There are a number of problems that cannot be solved unless tackled by the international community as a whole. This fact is clearly understood when one recognizes the futility of Japan single-handedly tackling the problem of CO₂ emission and global warming. It would also be abortive for Japan alone to try to deal with the problem of international terrorism, when anyone in the world can be the target. It has also been proved by HIV/AIDS and SARS that infectious diseases spread regardless of national boundaries. Against this background, it would be clearly in Japan's enlightened national interest to promote international cooperation to combat these globalized issues. To accomplish this, however, Japan will have to seize every occasion to contribute to peace and stability in the world. Today, there still exist a great number of people in Africa and other corners of the world who are suffering from poverty and armed conflicts, and it would be only humane to extend a helping hand to these people. We should never hesitate to provide such assistance so that diverse cultures of the world, which are a common heritage of mankind, should not be destroyed by poverty and war. Through these kinds of activities, we wish to spread the spirit of "mutual help" throughout the world, which will make us proud of being Japanese.

In this global era threats are characterized by their diversity. Some of the major threats of today include: (1) war between nation states; (2) civil war, violation of human rights, and massacres; (3) poverty, epidemics, and environmental degradation; (4) nuclear and radio active weapons, chemical weapons, and biological weapons; (5) terrorism; (6) cross-border organized crime; and (7) deterioration of the rule of law and democracy. Another characteristic of today's global threats is that they simultaneously jeopardize the security of nation-states, societies, and individuals. For example, poverty-stricken people in developing countries are also threatened by environmental degradation and infectious diseases. When a war breaks out, financial and human resources are removed from the fight against poverty and environmental devastation, further worsening the living conditions of those people. If the rule of law and democracy are

undermined, lawless lands may provide safe havens to terrorists and international organized crime. To effectively counter these multiple and simultaneous threats, we need to grasp the situation in a global perspective and construct and apply comprehensive measures.

Here, we wish to introduce the concept of “human security” as a proactive security concept to protect human life, basic human rights, and living environments from such evils as armed conflict, poverty, environmental degradation, infectious diseases, inhumane conduct, and terrorism. What we should aim at is to enhance this human security for the maximum number of people and create global conditions that enable each and every individual to make the most of his/her potential.

In this context, the pillars of our policy can be summarized as (1) promotion of sustainable development, (2) achieving stable peace, (3) prevention of WMD proliferation and terrorism, and (4) reform of international organizations. Any one of these four pillars is indispensable for the peace and stability of the international community and happens to be the area in which Japan’s foreign policy can show its real ability. These pillars are quintessential to Japan’s foreign policy of living in harmony with the world.

1. Enhancing Sustainable Development

As the second largest economy in the world, it is only proper for Japan to play a responsible role in the sustainable growth of the world economy. The most fundamental contribution will be to maintain its stable economic growth and open its market to the world. Market opening has been a most important theme in discussions among advanced countries, and in recent years a number of developing countries have begun to demand the market opening of advanced countries to promote their economic take-off. Advanced countries should make further efforts to open their markets so that developing countries will also benefit from globalization. Japan, too, must actively promote imports from developing economies.

Nevertheless, sustainable development cannot be achieved when the market mechanism is left alone to work itself out. In developing countries, the market mechanism, left unattended, may distribute financial and human resources in such a way that hampers the efforts to reduce the gap

between the rich and the poor, promote sustainable development, and prepare social foundations for economic development. What is called for here is wise utilization of ODA to fulfill the needs exposed by the market mechanism.

Since the end of World War II, Japan has greatly contributed to the nation building and economic development of countries in Asia through economic cooperation as well as trade and investment. Its contribution has played a significant role in developing East Asia as the world's growth center. Japan's economic cooperation and corporate activity has not been free of controversy, but it is a fact that Japan has played a very significant part in the economic growth and democratic development of various Asian countries and this is a success story brought about by post-war Japan. Nevertheless, it is necessary for Japan to review its ODA from a strategic viewpoint and improve its effectiveness as a tool to facilitate sustainable development.

First, Japan should develop a strategic ODA policy to contribute to the East Asian Community building. It is a reality in East Asia, which is a world growth center, that multiple problems including poverty, disease, environmental degradation, and population explosion in urban areas are simultaneously on the rise. It will be important for Japan to consider utilizing its ODA to overcome these negative byproducts of economic development in cooperation with East Asian countries. For example, Japan's ODA can contribute to the control of Asia-originated environmental destruction by promoting an energy-efficient dispersed power resources system and an energy-saving transportation system. If used to facilitate an information-sharing system for the control of new infectious diseases and prevention of recurrence of existing diseases, Japan's ODA may be able to help curb the spread of epidemics. As East Asian countries achieve economic development, an increasing number of these countries are graduating as recipients of ODA to become providers of ODA themselves. In cooperation with these successful countries, Japan should concentrate its ODA disbursement more heavily toward pre-take-off countries.

Second, Japan should prioritize ODA disbursement to the human development areas. Development of human resources is the cornerstone of community and nation building without which sustainable development will be no more than a name. Even if schools are built to promote education,

they will not function without measures to train teachers. Even if the judicial system and related laws are introduced with the purpose of establishing a law-abiding society, its foundation will be very weak without training legal professionals. To avoid these shortcomings and make an effective contribution, Japan should fix an order of priority to assistance in human resources development. Japan should also prioritize the promotion of mutual understanding with Asian countries by improving the support system to accept more overseas students, particularly from Asian countries.

Third, Japan should emphasize humanitarian assistance to African and other countries where the lives of millions are threatened by famine, natural calamities, civil wars, and ethnic conflicts. While it may not be possible to save all of these people, Japan should respond to their expectations by consolidating a humanitarian assistance system which enables Japan to contribute what it can in the most timely fashion. Over-indebtedness on the part of developing countries forces them to pay interest at the sacrifice of education, medical care and public health, and environmental protection. Japan should extend its cooperation to mitigate this situation.

Fourth, the Japanese government should strengthen its cooperation and collaboration with NGOs concerning ODA activities as a whole. There are quite a number of NGOs that are far more knowledgeable of the local conditions and peoples' needs than the government. These organizations are true assets for the Japanese government which can help improve the effectiveness of Japan's ODA. The government should also expand and improve its grants on NGO-initiated grass-roots activities, promoting economic cooperation projects that are full of original ideas, albeit small in scale.

Fifth, to overcome inefficiency and injustice in Japan's ODA administration, the new government of Japan will review the entire ODA process. In the past few years, Japan's ODA has been cut down yearly due to financial austerity. The new government of Japan will resolutely review the entire ODA process, including the ODA Charter and the Principle of ODA Implementation. Japan must improve its ODA, both qualitatively as well as quantitatively, with the full understanding and blessing of the Japanese people. It will drastically reform the current ODA disbursement that attaches more importance to building public facilities and civil engineering

than to software development such as human resources.

Finally, we will upgrade our effort to control the global warming process, which is a critical element in realizing sustainable growth. The current Kyoto Protocol essentially imposes restrictions on advanced countries regarding the emission of carbon dioxide while it does not impose mandatory restrictions on developing countries. The United States refuses to sign the Protocol for several reasons, including the fact that China and India are not included in the restriction target countries. While negotiations for the post-Kyoto Protocol regime will be launched in earnest, Japan should also make its utmost effort to facilitate, for itself as well as future generations of the world, a climate change prevention regime involving all the countries including the United States as well as China, India, and other developing countries. At the same time, Japan will actively engage in technological innovation to overcome the environmental problems and transfer of Japan's advance environmental technologies to the developing countries.

2. Achieving Stable Peace

When a military conflict breaks out, people are simultaneously faced with a variety of threats, including violence, inhumane conduct, destruction of domiciles, forced migration, famine, and epidemics. The best prescription against these problems is to achieve stable and lasting peace. Achieving peace requires an unbroken chain of policy measures from prevention of a conflict, to early settlement of the conflict when it breaks out, to the prevention of a recurrence after the conflict is settled. This chain of policy measures is known as peace-building activities. Participation in peace-building activities in the world, particularly in Asia, is an important international contribution that Japan can make, and it will be a major pillar of Japan's foreign policy under the new government.

More concretely, first, the new government intends to mobilize the Self-Defense Forces for peace-building purposes. Japan has already sent the SDF to the U.N. PKO activities in Cambodia, the Golan Heights, and East Timor, where they played an important role in securing peace and stability as well as nation building. Taking advantage of the know-how thus obtained, Japan should play a much more active role in peace-building activities,

which are increasingly in high demand.

To expand this kind of international contribution, we need to recognize that there is room for revisions in the basic principles on dispatch of the SDF. The five conditions for participation in U.N. PKO efforts, including that of the use of arms, will have to be reviewed, taking into consideration past experiences as well as international standards. It will be extremely important to take time to explain to neighboring Asian countries that this review will by no means contradict the constitutional banning of overseas military operations based on Japan's own judgment. Humanitarian assistance is very much in accord with the concept of human security, and it will be the basic principle for Japan to send SDF overseas promptly when the need occurs.

As far as participation in multilateral forces under U.N. resolution is concerned, the new government of Japan will determine its desirable scope as Japan accumulates experiences and insights through PKO operations. Japan's recent policy toward the war in Iraq has left behind important issues that need to be solved. One is how to demarcate between operations that require use of force and those that do not. The other is what Japan should do when international public opinion is split on the interpretation of a U.N. resolution justifying use of force. "Conditions to justify the use of force" has been a current theme of debate in the international community and a few important proposals have already emerged from this debate on such controversial issues as criteria regulating use of force associated with humanitarian intervention and under what conditions the U.N. Security Council can justify a preemptive strike as conduct of the right of self-defense. Taking account of the outcomes of these debates, the new government of Japan will exercise its political leadership in taking a step-by-step approach toward participation in the U.N.-sanctioned multilateral forces, forming a national consensus on its limitation.

Second, we should effectively mobilize civilian police forces to participate in the peace-building activities. As the peace-building activities proceed, it is customary that responsibility for enforcement is passed on from a multilateral force to the U.N. peacekeepers, and then to civilian police forces. Except for the operations in East Timor, since one policeman was killed in Cambodia, Japan has not allowed its civilian police forces to participate in PKO operations. This has led to greater dependence on the

SDF for U.N. PKO activities. Japan should prepare police forces with special training for PKO activities and actively dispatch them to meet local needs in areas where order has been sufficiently restored.

Third, we should utilize ODA for peace-building activities. In peace-building activities, international cooperation by non-combatant groups, such as the peace corps, is also essential. Maintenance of peace and prevention of the recurrence of conflicts, for instance, call for fair and non-violent solutions to various conflicts among individuals and communities. The keys for this mechanism are firmly established democratic processes and the rule of law as well as economic development to mitigate societal dissatisfaction. Japan should pour its ODA into these areas to improve its skills in underpinning peace-building activities, which can be Japan's distinctive contribution.

Fourth, Japan should double its diplomatic efforts to promote peace-building activities. Small fire arms including the Karashnikov rifle and anti-personnel mines are the main weapons for massacres in many of the developing countries, so much so that such ammunitions have been christened the "weapons of mass destruction of developing countries." Japan should actively promote the international control of small fire arms including marking, by discouraging major exporters of these weapons including China and the United States. To ban the landmines, it is important for Japan to upgrade its diplomatic efforts to increase the number of signatories to the Mine Ban Treaty (Ottawa Treaty) as well as carry out its own concrete measures toward this goal and give relief to the victims. ODA can also be mobilized in this area in the form of financial assistance to NGOs active in this field and indigenous local movements. Japan should exercise leadership in calling international attention to the issue of child soldiers and in coordinating among countries concerned to promote the signing of an international agreement banning child soldiers.

3. Countering Proliferation of WMD and Terrorists

Since WMD, including nuclear arms, do not discriminate non-combatants from combatants and they are liable to lead to the total annihilation of mankind, they must not be tolerated under any pretext. As the first and only victim of nuclear attack, Japan owes it to the world to actively engage

in the prevention of WMD proliferation. However, the cold reality is that nuclear arms reduction negotiations have been stagnant, the number of nuclear nations has grown, existing nuclear countries have developed new capabilities, and the black market for nuclear arms has prospered. We are walking farther away from the ideal of a nuclear-free world. The world is at the crossroad of whether we can prevent further proliferation of nuclear arms. It is the strong leadership of non-nuclear countries, including Japan, that is urgently called for to stop and reverse these trends. Japan must utilize all of its diplomatic resources to tackle this issue.

The new government of Japan will contribute to the early conclusion of the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) and persuade the United States, China, India, Pakistan, North Korea, and other nuclear countries to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), along with the implementation of the G8 Action Plan on Nonproliferation adopted at the 2004 Group of 8 (G8) summit. It will also be necessary to reform the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. In East Asia, the new government will make Japan and the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free-zone and, at the same time, persuade China to reduce its nuclear arms. The new government of Japan will establish a world-class think tank on nonproliferation and disarmament in Japan, inviting the participation of leading world experts, in order to make Japan the world center of nonproliferation and arms reduction policy research. The new government will also reorganize the citizens' movement against nuclear arms, which in the past was divided by partisan logic, and will encourage a larger grass-roots movement for nuclear disarmament within Japan. In cooperation and collaboration with the signatories of nuclear-free-zone treaties, mainly in the southern hemisphere, and international NGO networks, Japan should endeavor to make the reduction of reliance on nuclear weapons an international norm.

Terrorism is no longer a threat to specific countries but a detestable crime threatening global security. Today there exist more than forty failed states, both actual and potential. Failed states, whose restoration is a common interest of mankind, not only pose humanitarian challenges but also nurture terrorists. In the war on terrorism, Japan should put first priority on the fight to eliminate breeding grounds of terrorists. It should strive to arrest the rise of terrorism by preventing and restoring failed

states through comprehensive and strategic economic assistance and the contribution of manpower. Japan should also play a role in having the diversified values and perspectives found in the international community reflected in the policy and programs of international organizations including the United Nations. The conflict between Israel and Palestine, said to be a cause of terrorism, has a chance for a peaceful resolution, with the support of the international community. Japan should provide more visible support, such as assistance to improve the living standards of the Palestinians, and creation of an environment in which the leaders of both Palestine and Israel can persuade their respective populations to work toward the realization of the Road Map.

Moreover, the new government of Japan will promote international cooperation against terrorism in a variety of areas including export control, proper law enforcement, intelligence gathering and analysis, and financial transactions. It also intends to use ODA to improve the police forces (internal security) and educational systems in developing countries, establishing an East Asian model for terrorism prevention. It will also endeavor to establish healthy cooperation with Islamic countries through policy dialogues with Islamic democratic parties in countries that have adopted parliamentary democracy.

4. Strengthening International Organizations

Most of the difficult problems facing the international community cannot be solved single-handedly by Japan or by certain alliances. To bring about a stable world peace, Japan should take the initiative in the enhancement of global governance. Global governance is a means by which international organizations, national governments, NGOs, and private corporations cooperatively respond to global issues. The very term “global governance” is hardly a household term yet, but the full understanding and promotion of this concept will be absolutely essential for the betterment of the international community.

This does not necessarily mean that today’s international organizations are free of problems to be overcome. To effectively address such key issues as sustainable development, stable peace, nonproliferation of WMD, and terrorism, it is imperative to take measures to enhance global

governance through international organizations, particularly the United Nations. But these international organizations including the United Nations also need to reform themselves. Bold reforms will be necessary to enable effective global governance within limited budgets. Objections to globalization are spreading mainly among developing countries, which overlap with arguments for the reform of the operations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. To be sure, all of the negative aspects of globalization are not necessarily attributable to the operations of the IMF and the World Bank. But it seems undeniable that there is room for improvement in their criteria for policy choice, including elimination of unfairness and injustice. Japan will sign the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and try to persuade the United States and others to do the same in order to strengthen its functions.

For Japan to take the leadership in these endeavors and to communicate diverse views from Asia to the United Nations, Japan must become a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council. This may not be easily achieved, but we will express our wish loud and clear and persistently aim at becoming a permanent member. As part of its preparation, the new government will train manpower that can make a contribution in international organizations and help them find employment in these organizations.

It will be Japan's basic strategy toward achieving enlightened national interest to pursue international peace and prosperity through multilayered foreign policy at all levels, starting with itself and then including Japan-U.S. cooperation, the East Asian Community, and international organizations.

V. Toward Realization of Enlightened National Interest

Until today, foreign and security policy making has been monopolized by the government and a handful of professionals. The Japanese people have not received a sufficient explanation of how foreign and security policy is directly linked to their lives. For a country's foreign policy to be implemented successfully, it must be understood, appreciated, and supported by its citizens. At the same time, we need to construct a multilayered and participatory foreign policy process to avoid the pitfall of an introverted attitude and to treat fellow Asians as our equals when planning the country's foreign and security policy.

To carry out foreign and security policy, the government needs to be equipped with both power, leadership, and diplomatic infrastructure, which we, the Democratic Party of Japan, are in the process of preparing. Upon completion of the groundwork, the new government of Japan, supported by what we call "humility based on self-confidence," will sail out to pursue its three visions of a peaceful and prosperous Asia, evolution of Japan-U.S. relationship, and contribution to world peace and stability.

1. Founding Soft Power Japan: Toward a Charismatic and Trustworthy Country

Postwar Japan has been accepted and respected by the world not only because of its democratic and economic development but also because of its history of learning from its mistakes before and during the war to rebuild itself from the rubble. This experience of Japan has provided hope and inspiration to many countries in the world that are struggling with nation building. For this and other reasons, Japan should pursue the path toward founding "Soft Power Japan."

The power that Japan will pursue is the soft power of a charismatic and trustworthy country with a rich culture, high technology, and a safe and affluent society. Japan will not pursue the foreign policy of might based on military power. Japan wishes to be charismatic and trustworthy not through its coercive power but through its diplomatic power, which represents Japan's willingness to share its economic affluence, cultural attractiveness, and people's wisdom, as well as the very stature of the nation, including its political convictions and diplomatic philosophy. At stake here is the nation's

image itself in addition to its economic and cultural attractiveness. To achieve this soft power Japan, we urgently need to carry out the plans outlined in our vision to steadily transform Japan's politics, economy, and foreign policy.

A country open to the world; a country that offers an abundance of opportunities; a country full of pride as an Asian nation that yet can connect Asia with the West; a country with a high ideal for the future of the world that actively contributes to world peace and poverty alleviation; a country that takes the initiative in nuclear nonproliferation to pursue the ideal of the total abolition of nuclear arms; a country whose NGOs, corporations, and individual citizens, on top of its government, are actively engaged in world affairs –these represent the shape Japan must find itself in 2015, and these are the attractive features of Japan that it will share with the world.

The new government of Japan will be responsible for building such a charismatic and powerful nation and pursuing its enlightened national interest in order to create a better country and world in ten years.

2. Strengthening Its Diplomatic Infrastructure

Our vision cannot be implemented without effective foreign policy infrastructure. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs alone cannot handle diplomacy in the age of globalization. The new government of Japan will construct an all-Japan diplomatic infrastructure, utilizing all the resources including universities, research institutions, business people, local governments, NGOs, and overseas Japanese on top of the national bureaucracy.

We cannot proceed without reform of the office of the Prime Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. First, a permanent post of foreign and security policy adviser reporting directly to the Prime Minister must be established and the capability of the Security Council greatly enhanced as central bodies to upgrade strategic and policy planning capability.

We will further reform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to upgrade its capability to execute foreign policy. No less than 20 percent of Japanese ambassadorial posts must be filled by non-official individuals such as scholars, NGO representatives, heads of local governments, and former legislators. Particularly in key countries such as the United States and

China, the most appropriate private citizens will be aggressively appointed as ambassadors. Through these measures, we hope to consolidate an all-Japan setup for foreign policy that is supported by the citizens.

The post of ambassador to the United Nations should be upgraded to an equivalent of a cabinet post and should be appointed by the prime minister. The Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations must be fundamentally reformed so that Japan can fulfill its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council. The prime minister must appoint his special envoys and roving ambassadors (ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary who rove around countries as official diplomatic envoys) in such important areas as history issues, culture and sports, NGO affairs, the environment, arms control, regional cooperation, and ODA. Diplomats at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are expected to professionally contribute in international organizations, promote world peace and stability, and help upgrade Japan's national interest as well as presence.

Improvement of intelligence capability, which is indispensable for policy development, is another urgent issue. We must urgently integrate and strengthen Japan's intelligence institutions and introduce a mechanism through which the cabinet can centrally grasp and evaluate information. We propose to launch a "Cabinet Information Commission" (provisional name) which reports directly to the cabinet in order to evaluate necessary information on the nation's foreign policy, defense, and security and utilize it in policy making. It would also be important to improve the quality of area studies in Japan and adopt their findings and insights into foreign policy.

3. Humility Based on Self-Confidence

Japan's foreign policy in the past has been heavily dependent on the United States and far from autonomous. This foreign policy does not have the power to promote construction of a regional order in Asia nor a vision for the reform of governance in international organizations. Only a disappointing world can be the outcome of this kind of foreign policy after ten years. Its symptoms are already apparent in the current government diplomacy, which is deadlocked. This kind of foreign policy actually harms Japan's enlightened national interest.

In contrast, the new government of Japan will nurture mutual trust with neighboring countries to promote the East Asian Community, construct a Japan-U.S. relationship in which both parties can act and interact with each other autonomously, and actively contribute to world peace and stability. It needs to be emphasized repeatedly that only by building mutual trust with Asian countries, particularly our direct neighbors, can Japan's foreign policy be more encompassing and creative. Our enlightened national interest will be accomplished when, through these policies, we succeed in realizing the desirable world scenario in ten years.

The concept of a zero-sum national interest, chauvinistic nationalism, or indifference to foreign countries is not only useless but also harmful. The new government of Japan will pursue foreign policy to achieve harmony with the world under the concept of enlightened national interest.

We should be proud and confident of the role Japan has played in the post-war economic and democratic development in East Asia. Today, a great number of Japanese citizens are making invaluable contributions in various war zones in the world, as members of NGOs, Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, and international organizations. Their presence and activities are very encouraging and inspiring when envisioning Japan's future.

The foundation of the foreign and security policy of the new government of Japan can be summarized as "humility based on self-confidence." We can be accommodative of diverse values, tolerant of others, and honest about our own errors because we have self-confidence. In other words, we can afford to be modest. The new government of Japan will exercise this "humility based on self-confidence" when fulfilling its responsibility in Asia as well as the world as a whole. To create a Japan that can live harmoniously with the peoples of the world is indeed in Japan's enlightened national interest and the responsibility that we owe to the next generation under the leadership of the new government.