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# MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„Keeping the Peace: The Field of International Peace  
Cooperation Activities of Japan and the Republic of  
Korea between 2000 and 2010“

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2014

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 066 864

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Masterstudium Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Ostasiens

Betreuer:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Rüdiger Frank

# KEEPING THE PEACE

The Field of International Peace Cooperation Activities of  
Japan and the Republic of Korea between 2000 and 2010

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A comparative analysis of the participation in and contribution to  
international peacekeeping and global peace supporting activities of Japan  
and the Republic of Korea between 2000 and 2010

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Wien, 2014

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The field of international peace cooperation is not only limited to peacekeeping operations but also comprises a broad variety of possible areas for states to participate and foremost contribute to world peace. The aim of this paper is to present a comparative analysis of Japan's and the Republic of Korea's efforts to promote and maintain regional and global peace between 2000 and 2010.

The goals of global peace and security have dominated the field of international relations for a long time. Since the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919, the theory of liberal institutionalism gained much importance and further promoted the idea of institutionalized cooperation to generate and maintain global peace and security. Following this, various theoretical approaches have been developed to discuss the basic nature of cooperation of states to achieve mutual interests as well as the role of institutions and regimes. The first part of this paper deals with the theoretical foundation of international cooperation. Influenced by liberal thinking and especially neo-liberal institutionalism, this paper examines the concept of institutionalized cooperation and its relevance for global peace and security, including the concept of collective security, international regime theory, complex interdependence and democratic peace theory. This is followed by a brief discussion of the role of interests and power in international relations and the concept of global governance. Particular emphasis is put on the United Nations Organization as the most prominent "peacemaking body" in a world that is closely growing together but facing the risks of regional conflicts and hostilities, illegal proliferation of weapons, and the rising threat of terrorism. It has become more important for states now to take collective action and to provide mutual assistance to promote overall stability and security.

In the second part of this thesis the field of international peace cooperation will be examined in more detail. Based on the case studies of Japan and the Republic of Korea, the analysis covers the following core criteria: the state's approach towards peacekeeping operations and the legal basis, internal structure of decision-making processes, participation in international peacekeeping operations (including personnel, financial or material contribution), efforts in human resource development of peacekeeping forces (including training centers, joint training exercises etc.) and engagement in the political dialogue on global peace and stability (including security declarations, multilateral programs or initiatives, conferences etc.). Due to legal restraints, Japan's peace cooperation in the field of international peacekeeping operations has primarily included participation in international election observation operations, followed by traditional peacekeeping activities (i.e. security surveillance, ceasefire observation) and reconstruction assistance. Despite its limited deployment of military forces, Japan has provided substantial personnel, financial, and material contribution to peacekeeping operations. Its efforts in the field of human resource development have been very much shaped by its growing awareness of the importance of well-trained peacekeeping forces but also of the increasing demand for its military peacekeeping personnel. Japan has also shown strong interest in security and peace related cooperative agreements and programs to further strengthen its international role as peace supporting country. Compared to Japan, South Korea's international peace cooperation was dominated by its dispatch of military and uniformed peacekeeping personnel (main focus on traditional peacekeeping activities followed by reconstruction assistance). However, the deployment of civilian peacekeeping personnel for other areas (i.e. international election observations) was very much limited. The field of human resource development has only become more important towards the end of the examination period including the establishment of a new training center and plans for close cooperation with other training centers, financial assistance, and regular exchanges of instructors. South Korea's efforts towards the establishment of new security agreements or relevant programs for

cooperation in the field of global peace and security can still be intensified, as well as its deployment of non-military peacekeeping forces in order to further promote its *Global Korea* strategy and to strengthen its role in international peace cooperation.

## 1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTION

Throughout history, the wish for peace and security has always been a relevant factor for states when engaging in cooperation with others to strengthen their common efforts towards a more stable and secure environment. In turn, this would allow for further economic, political and social development in one's own country as well as in the international context. Mutual security and peace concerns have also been determining factors for the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919, the first international, multilateral<sup>1</sup> organization with the primary objective and goal to maintain and preserve world peace and thus, generating a more stable international climate. The basic idea underlying the establishment of the League of Nations was the concept of international security and peace as concept that *'[...] implies a common interest in security transcending the particular interests of sovereign states. The recognition of that common interest carries with it the aspiration to create a communal framework to replace the need for unilateral national security measures.'* (Howard 1990:31).

Globalization has led to growing interconnectedness and interdependence<sup>2</sup> of states which further fostered and promoted international cooperation of states based on mutually shared goals and interests. There is a growing need and demand for cooperation to commonly solve regional and global problems, such as global peace and stability but also issues of environmental, economic, and financial relevance, and with a great impact on institutionalized patterns of cooperation and the institutionalized organization of international decision-making, see Weiss and Thakur (2010a). This basic concept of cooperation is deeply embedded in the field of international relations. A great variety of different considerations and theoretical approaches about the role of collaboration and interaction between states also in terms of institutionalized rules and norms as well as the role of institutions as mediators have emerged over time. To fully understand the concept of international, institutionalized cooperation including the concept of global governance – as given by the example of the United Nations - it is necessary to deal with the theoretical basics of international relations as the underlying foundation. The function of regimes and institutions and their significance in the coordination of international cooperation also play an important role. International cooperation and interaction, institutionalized collaboration, the idea of collective action and collective security and the contribution of states in matters of global importance such as peace and security, as well as the concept of global governance are the key elements for the theoretical discussion of this paper and serve as basis for the empirical analysis.

### *Research question*

The aim of this paper is to present a comparative analysis of Japan's and South Korea's actions and efforts to promote and maintain regional and global peace between 2000 and 2010. How do the peacekeeping and global peace supporting activities of Japan and the Republic of Korea compare to each other and what differences and/or similarities can be identified? What are both states' approaches towards international peace cooperation?

For this purpose, international peace cooperation is analyzed in terms of participation in

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<sup>1</sup> Multilateral and multinational: involving two or more nations or parties or including several sides.

<sup>2</sup> This can include economic, political, social as well as cultural interdependence between states.

international peacekeeping missions, such as peacekeeping operations of the United Nations and also those of multi-national force (MNF) peace missions, but also in terms of other relevant peace contributing and global peace preserving activities of states. Especially the system of the United Nations as key element in the field of global governance and global security governance is based on the idea of institutionalized international cooperation and collaboration between states towards mutually shared objectives. Global and regional peace and security are two major common concerns that require joint action of states in various areas. The field of international peace cooperation does not only include peacekeeping operations but also human resource management and the political dialog on global peace and security for example. So far, there are several analysis reports about states and their peace contribution in terms of peacekeeping operations. Unfortunately, few comparative reports can be found on the deeper issues of peace and security. In particular, concerning two major regional powers as it is the case for Japan and South Korea, it would be more relevant to have the chance to compare each state's peace cooperation and contribution rather than having each issue stand alone. The aim of this paper is to fill this gap and present a comprehensive and exclusive elaboration on the issue of international peace cooperation and peace contribution. Furthermore, the objective of this paper entails how both states are engaged in such matters, not only peacekeeping operations per se but also in other relevant fields. Peacekeeping operations have become a prominent and essential element in our everyday life; we read and hear about it every day. But peace cooperation is not only limited to such operations and missions; it comprises more fields that are as important as participation in actual peacekeeping missions and require distinct efforts from states. For this matter, this paper aims to raise awareness of the broader field of international peace cooperation by providing a comparative analysis of Japan and South Korea as two major regional powers and internationally important states.

International relations and cooperation - especially within organizations and institutions - have become important topics for researchers for a very long time, including numerous theoretical adaptations and new approaches. Especially for the purpose of this paper, both neo-realism and neo-liberalism play a relevant role in the theoretical discussion; the latter is the main theoretical approach for this paper. However, there will also be relevant realist-based elements included to give a more representative picture of the overall concept. The main focus is set on neo-liberal institutionalism, including regime theory, complex interdependence liberalism, functional theory, democratic peace and cosmopolitan theory, all dealing with the importance of cooperation, collaboration, interaction and institutional instruments. Proponents of liberal thinking are Keohane and Nye (1974 and 1977), Keohane (1982, 1984, 1988 and 1989), Nye (1994 and 2011), Krasner (1994 and 1995), Young (1982), and Mitrany (1943). Relevant information about international relations and cooperation in general can also be found in the work of Wright (1955) and in specific encyclopedia dealing with international relations and cooperation of states, such as Baylis and Smith (2004), Jackson and Sorensen (2007), and Carlsnaes et al. (2013). Especially concerning the nature of international regimes and institutions, Keohane (1982, 1984), Snidal (1985), Hasenclever et al. (1997), Stein (1982), Krasner (1994 and 1995), Koremenos, et al. (2001), and Little (2004) provide important contributions.

The concept of collective security plays an essential role for liberal institutionalism and for international peace cooperation. The most prominent proponents of this concept are Woodrow Wilson, Lasswell and Kaplan (1952), Mearsheimer (1994/5), Kupchan and Kupchan (1995), and Baylis (2004), all dealing with the idea of collective security in more detail. The paper also includes a brief discussion of the role of power and national interest in international relations and its relevance for international cooperation, primarily based on the theoretical contributions from Lasswell and Kaplan (1952), Dahl (1957), Rosenau (1968), Rummel (1976), Keohane and Nye (1977), Morgenthau (1985), Hollis and Smith (1990), Weldes (1996), Williams (2005), and Baldwin (2013).

The concept of international cooperation and collective security also raises attention to the field

of global governance, in particular global security governance. In the literature, the United Nations Organizations (UNO) is regarded as the key element in global governance. Cooperation and interaction as well as the United Nations and, moreover, its main function for maintaining global peace and stability play a significant role, as identified by Roberts and Kingsbury (1990), Karns and Mingst (2004), Weiss and Thakur (2010), Lawson (2012) and Zürn (2013).

International institutions and their relations with states make up a large percentage of the theoretical considerations and publications that are available. In many cases the main focus is set on the analysis of institution efficiency and effectiveness, as well as the role of states within institutions concerning voting shares, quota regulations, their method of participation or influence for example, see Dür (2008), Jørgensen (2009), Gutner and Thompson (2010), CIC (2011), Jørgensen et al. (2011), Olson and Prestowitz (2011), and Gnath et al. (2012). Others deal primarily with the underlying reasons for the great variety of institutions, the forces behind them as well as with regime dynamics, see Young (1982), Keohane (1982), and Koremenos et al. (2001). Much research has also been done concerning the organizational performance, see Jørgensen et al. (2011). In the reviewed literature, the overall performance of institutions is measured based on the outcomes (at some point measured in concrete numbers) or based on the decision-making process within the institution. The United States and the European Union are the two most common “state actors” in the analytical works concerning international institutions and the role of states, see Karns and Mingst (2004) and Jørgensen (2009); the United States primarily on account of their hegemonic power in institutions. Other research was conducted concerning the specific international political roles states take over when participating in institutions, as identified by Reisman (1999) for example. In this context, lots of literature and analysis can be found dealing with the relation between political, domestic and regional forces and their relevance to states’ engagement in international institutions. Relevant publications and reports were written by Yokota (1975), Haggard and Simmons (1987), Reisman (1999), Medeiros and Fravel (2003), Dür (2008), Lipsky (2008), Jørgensen (2009), Gutner and Thompson (2010), Jørgensen et al. (2011), Koremenos et al. (2001), Olson and Preostowitz (2011), Gnath et al. (2012), and Huang and Patman (2013). Concerning international peace cooperation, the aim is to analyze how Japan and the Republic of Korea are both engaged in peacekeeping and peace supporting activities including other relevant areas, rather than measuring the overall effectiveness of their participation. In the field of peacekeeping operations and peace support contribution, I took a closer look at the works of Leitenberg (1996), Bobrow and Boyer (1997), Heinrich Jr. (1999), Groves (2007), Gill and Huang (2009), Hong (2009), Hirono and Lantaigne (2011), Olbrich and Shim (2012), Hemmings (2012), Hwang (2012), and Snyder (2012). In addition, I used official UN documents on peacekeeping and relevant peace supporting activities for further information.

Apart from the reviewed literature with focus on books, research papers, and scientific articles that were accessed via online databases such as JStor, Taylor & Francis, and Sage Publications, I also relied on Internet sources and available online statistical data for the empirical analysis in order to include more up-to-date and complete information about each state’s participation in the relevant field of international peace cooperation activities. The use of Internet sources was also necessary because of the lack of recently published works dealing with the examination period between 2000 and 2010 and especially dealing with the specific criteria of this thesis. In particular, the online sources comprise official government and UN related websites, magazine articles, and research papers as well as officially published UN or governmental documents and press releases. All online sites have been saved for further use.

After defining the key concepts of international institutions, cooperation, and the idea of collective action and collective security within the field of international relations, the complexities of global



governance and the relevance of the United Nations for maintaining global peace and security will be discussed in more detail. For the comparative analysis of this paper, it is necessary to define criteria and sub-criteria for the evaluation in order to create a framework that will guide and structure the empirical analysis that is based on the reviewed literature. The established framework is also an essential tool for the final comparison and evaluation as it offers a detailed presentation of the findings and results.

#### *Relevance of the country selection*

The Republic of Korea (ROK) (referred later on either as South Korea or Korea) and Japan are the two countries used for the comparative analysis in this thesis concerning their international peace cooperation and contribution to peace supporting activities. On the one hand, both countries are very distinct from each other in terms of their development, but on the other hand, they share important similarities that make such a comparison interesting and relevant, namely concerning their peace cooperation and participation as two dominant countries in East Asia<sup>3</sup>. South Korea is an ideal example of how a country developed itself within a short period of time after being devastated and destroyed by war.<sup>4</sup> South Korea's rapid economic growth, industrialization, and modernization in many aspects of its daily life became an extraordinary example of development in Asia. Since its founding in 1945 South Korea has made impressive achievements to catch up with the development of other, internationally important states. After being almost completely destroyed during the Korean War (1950-1953) and left in devastating condition, South Korea was dependent on foreign aid and assistance for a very long time; in particular during the first years of reconstruction. However, with sufficient financial support and strong willpower, Korea was able to actualize its goal of industrialization, modernization and also democratization<sup>5</sup>. Today, South Korea is classified as a high income level country and is the 15<sup>th</sup> largest economy of the world. In 2012, its GDP growth rate was about two percent. South Korea has developed into a rising, international middle power with ambitions to become an important global player in the long run. South Korea's economy has developed into a market-oriented one after being centrally planned and with government-directed investment in its early years.. In this short period of time of about 40 to 50 years, South Korea has gone through a miracle transformation and thus, increased its global influence and significance. Especially in terms of aid assistance and global engagement, South Korea represents an ideal example of a country that has changed sides – from an aid dependent country into and aid-providing one. South Korea, as strong and continuously growing middle power, has strengthened its appearance and its economic importance within the international system. (Michigan State University 1994-2013a; WB 2013a; WB 2013b).

Japan's approach towards economic growth and political development has been slightly different than what South Korea experienced. Precluding Korea, Japan was a strong and very important player not only in the Asian region but also internationally. Especially until the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japan was at the height of its power, persisting among the five major power centers worldwide. Today, Japan is making great efforts to re-strengthen its position and status within the international system, as well as intensifying its contribution to matters in global affairs. After years of recession, economic stagnation and domestic difficulties that followed its defeat in the Second World War, Japan made a remarkable transformation in terms of political, economic, and educational reforms. It also became classified a high income level country with an industrialized, free market economy. After several years

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<sup>3</sup> For further understanding, East Asia comprises the following states and territories: PRC China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Mongolia, Japan, North Korea, and South Korea.

<sup>4</sup> The example of South Korea's development became also known as *Miracle on the Han River*.

<sup>5</sup> Democratization was realized in 1987.

of negative GDP growth rates, such as in 2008, 2009 and even 2011, Japan was able to record a positive growth rate again in 2012 at about two percent. Today, Japan is still among the top four economies in the world and shows clear signs of economic recovery; signs that might also be of beneficial impact for its global peace participation and other relevant matters of global importance. (Michigan State University 1994b; World Bank 2013c; World Bank 2013d)

Both states are currently very strong East Asian players, however in the shadow of China as the giant Asian power. From a historical perception, Japan was also involved in a very important part of South Korean development: The Japanese occupation of South Korea from 1910 to 1945 has connected the two countries in many ways and somehow intensified and shaped its relation, although not only in a favorable manner. Until today, controversies and ambiguities remain concerning this part of history and for a long time, it has also characterized South Koreans' perception of their "neighbors" and former occupying force. Despite their different developments in economic growth and power, also in terms of the historic setting, South Korea and Japan share some similarities in their recovery and reconstruction process. After being heavily affected by war (the Second World War and the Korean War) and its consequences, both countries received foreign aid (mostly from the U.S.) for rebuilding the damaged economies. Both states acknowledged the benefits of foreign direct investment in order to rebuild their country. Especially concerning the economic context, there is another essential characteristic both countries share: the existence of large, family-owned business conglomerates that are closely linked with the banking and political system of the countries. These conglomerates - called *chaebol* in Korea and *keiretsu* in Japan – are a unique component of the two Asian economies. Another very important feature of both countries is their close political and economic relationship with the United States, in being opposed to China for example. In 1953 the *Mutual Defense Treaty* was implemented between South Korea and the United States, guaranteeing mutual defense in case of armed attacks. This military cooperation and security agreement is still valid today. Apart from the mutual defense arrangement, the U.S. played a significant role in South Korea's economic growth process as most of the foreign aid was provided by American assistance and was therefore essential for South Korea's recovery and successful development after the struggles of the Korean War. Today, military cooperation as well as intensified economic and political cooperation, are characteristics of the close ties between South Korea and the United States, also referred to as U.S.–ROK alliance, see Oh (2008).

The relation between Japan and the United States was marked by hostilities during the Second World War and after Japan officially surrendered in 1945, it fell under the control of allied forces of the United States. With the financial aid and assistance of the U.S. though, and similar to the situation in South Korea, Japan was able to implement a new institution and several important economic and educational reforms which transformed Japan again into one of the (economically) strongest states in Asia. The *Treaty of San Francisco* in 1952 marked the end of the American control over Japan, but close military and economic cooperation have remained since. (Porter 2013; Xu 2013)

#### *Relevance of the selected time frame 2000 to 2010*

For the comparative analysis and evaluation of Japan and South Korea's international peace cooperation and also participation in peacekeeping missions it is necessary to determine a certain time period within actions and activities will be examined. International cooperation, contribution to and engagement in matters of global affairs, such as peacekeeping missions or other relevant peace supporting actions, became an essential element in foreign policy approach of states because it strengthens their position in the international environment. Today, to be actively engaged in global peace and security preserving missions and activities, which are of high international status, is of great

importance to almost every state. It determines its global reputation and shapes its external perception. For many smaller states, participation in joint actions towards international security, peace, and stability provides a good opportunity to demonstrate their strength and willingness to play a more active and visible role in global matters. In general, economically strong, industrialized countries, including middle and great “powers”, are often required to contribute the most to solving global problems because they are regarded as the most capable of due to their financial and material resources. In other words, national contribution to international matters in accordance with the states’ financial and resource capabilities so to say. In times of economic and political stability, states are more likely to provide adequate international assistance and support whereas in times of national, regional and/or global crisis, states are more likely to be forced to take care of their own recovery first before drawing their attention to global problems.

The Asian financial crisis of 1997-98 was such case of a crisis that forced many Asian states to exclusively focus on domestic oriented policy-making in order to launch their own rescue measures. Having started in Thailand as a currency collapse of the Thai Bhat in 1997 (and its devaluation in the following), it had severe impacts on the neighboring emerging economies as it spread over to Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, Hong Kong, and also Japan. The consequences included decreasing GDP growth rates, deficits on current accounts affecting the countries’ own currencies, decreasing export rates, high interest rates, decreasing foreign reserves, rising domestic lending without proper supervision and banks going bankrupt. The financial markets of those affected countries became weak and prone to more severe problems, which required the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to intervene and to assist with bailout programs. The Asian financial crisis also triggered financial complications worldwide and led to a worldwide slowdown of economic growth. South Korea was among the Asian countries that were affected the most due to certain weaknesses in its financial institutions, next to Indonesia and Thailand. In total, the costs for the rescue programs led by the IMF were about USD 60 billion. Japan, as the economically leading country in the Asian region at that time, was also highly affected by the Asian financial crisis. After slowly increasing economic growth in the previous years, Japan was challenged with an economic slowdown that led to an economic recession in 1997. Japan’s economic and financial system had already been challenged with an economic situation that remained stagnant for a longer period of time due to high inflation of estate and stock markets in the late 1980s. Although Japan was the leading country in the Asian region at that time, Japan was not able to stipulate regional demands for imports from other Asian states in order to boost the Asian economy. Despite its own economic and financial weaknesses, Japan still provided aid packages for the region and the affected states.

Due to efforts of implementing structural reforms, restructuring the financial system, banks, and businesses as well as due to new approaches towards fiscal and monetary policies in the respective Asian countries, the overall situation slowly started to calm down and the financial system was stabilized, which facilitated the process of economic recovery from 1999 onwards. Currencies started to again appreciate in value (especially the Korean Won and Thai Bhat), the rates of the gross domestic product (GDP) and the level of industrial production again started to increase, in particular in South Korea, Thailand and Malaysia at that time. Other affected states also showed signs of recovery and the risks of the outbreak of a worldwide economic recession were mitigated. (Moreno 1998; Corsetti et al. 1999; The Economist 2007)

It seemed that the affected Asian states had come through the worst of the crisis around the end of 1999. Although the economic situation still took a longer time to fully recover in the following process, the most difficult period of the Asian financial crisis seemed to be over. As mentioned before, in times of national crisis and severe financial and economic problems and when states are most vulnerable to

outside influences and externalities, issues such as participation in international peacekeeping mission, global peace cooperation and contribution to humanitarian assistance are often only of secondary importance. Once the overall national situation has returned to normal, governments are able to focus again on such matters of global importance and start to consider their contribution to and participation in joint actions and activities. Therefore, I chose the time period from 2000 to 2010 to be a reasonable timescale for the comparative evaluation and analysis of Japan's and South Korea's contribution to and participation in the field of international peace cooperation activities towards the mutually shared goals of global peace, security and stability.

## 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

### 2.1. Cooperation and the role of institutions in international relations

#### 2.1.1. The process of globalization and its significance for cooperation and interaction

Per our current understanding, globalization has become part of our everyday life and is commonly known as the process of opening up and extending relations with others. It is characterized by growing interconnectedness and interdependence of the global political and economic system. The term globalization itself can be defined as *'[...] international interdependence, i.e. linkages between countries'* (McGraw 2004:21), as *'[...] a process of increased interconnectivity throughout the world'* (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:34) or as *'[...] deterritorialization – or [...] the growth of "supraterritorial" relations between people'* (Scholte 2000:46). In the latter definition, deterritorialization refers to the fact that during the process of globalization, national borders become less important, while integration with other states and interdependence among the states grow. It thus describes the move from inter-state politics to global politics. International relations are characterized by different interests, conflicts, power balances, suspicion and competition. This development created a global environment that does not immediately solve such problems, but allows and even requires states<sup>6</sup> to engage in cooperative actions to foster trust and confidence among each other and to define commonly shared interests and broadly accepted political, social and/or economic values.

Foremost, it is necessary to differentiate between the terms international and global. The adjective international *'[...] refers to state-based or territory-based units'* (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:39)<sup>7</sup> whereas global basically *'[...] refers to universal and worldwide coverage'* (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:29). Problems are often regarded as global in scope as they affect many worldwide, but are not only geographically limited. However, acting global requires international cooperation in form of so-called state-based units, such as governments, to carry out multilateral and joint actions to solve global problems and to achieve the common goals.

The process of globalization is accompanied by expanding international social, political and economic actions, promoting cooperation as well as enhancing the already existing interstate actions of collaboration<sup>8</sup>. Over the years, new achievements in technology and constantly decreasing barriers for political, economic, and social cooperation have changed the perception of relations with others. Cooperation and collaboration with others is becoming progressively more important for states; globalization has shaped the contemporary world order and politics. As economic and political integration have intensified during this process, countries are now more affected by problems and struggles happening in other countries than they once were. (McGraw 2004; Lawson 2012a; Lawson 2012b)

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<sup>6</sup> The words nation and state (as well as the overall term country) are often used interchangeably, although strictly speaking, each has its own definition: Nation in that sense refers to *'a considerable group of people, united by common culture, values, [...], usually occupying a definite territory [...]'* (Wright 1955:4). A state *'[...] in the modern sense implies a population occupying a definite territory, subject to a government which other states recognize as having some legal status.'* (Wright 1955:4). The terms state and country are both used in this thesis.

<sup>7</sup> Given the example of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

<sup>8</sup> Cooperation and collaboration basically have the same meaning. Cooperation may be the broader term that refers to work together to achieve something for the mutual benefit whereas the term collaboration is more precise in terms of working alongside with someone to achieve something (again for the mutual benefit).

Global interconnectedness takes place in various areas, starting from communication and infrastructure to economic (i.e. corporations, firms, trade), cultural, and political areas. Global financial or economic institutions, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Trade Organization (WTO), are becoming more important within the international system. Growing global integration and an increased network of cooperative relations calls worldwide attention and awareness to global problems, challenges and difficulties within the international environment. This consciousness raising has increased the demand and need for certain rule-governed and regulated forms of decision-making and especially collective action towards common objectives, also based on institutionalized patterns of action and set of rules. This has led to the growth of organizations and institutions being responsible for specific issue areas<sup>9</sup>. However, a more integrated and connected world is not only a place of stability and peace but it is also prone to conflicting interests and disagreements. Globalization can be the source of tension between states but also an important source of and for increased cooperative behavior. For this matter, regulated and governed action between states via institutions and organizations is beneficial for the coordination of cooperation. Since there is no single “global governing body” responsible for all issue areas of global importance, it seems more than necessary to establish various issue-specific institutions with certain principles, determined guidelines for action and governed behavior patterns instead. Such coordination can take place on various levels - from local to global – and is handled between administrative bodies such as states, intergovernmental organizations (IGO) that are also referred to as international governmental organizations, private authorities, and non-state actors, such as non-governmental organizations (NGO) or private enterprises. Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst (2004a) define intergovernmental organizations as ‘[...] organizations whose members include at least three states, that have activities in several states, and whose members are held together by formal intergovernmental agreement.’ (Karns and Mingst 2004a:7). Thus, when referring to international organizations (IO), this basically also takes into account intergovernmental organizations (IGO), being defined as institutionalized arrangement between two or more states, handled via their governments and often including an established administrative body (with permanent staff members) for the overall coordination and management. Such organizations take over various functions from facilitating and coordinating cooperation, strengthening interaction between states via conferences or meetings, collecting, providing and analyzing information, providing services and support as well as conflict solving mechanism, and implementing collective action to solve global problems. (Gutner and Thompson 2010)

According to Koremenos et al. (2001), the internal structure of organizations can be analyzed concerning the five components of ‘membership’, ‘scope’, ‘control’, ‘flexibility’ and ‘centralization’ (Koremenos et al. 2001:763).<sup>10</sup>

The process of multilayered, multilateral organization can be referred to as global governance. Its main purpose is to implement rules and norms on an international level, to enhance cooperation and to solve commonly shared (global) problems, as well as to spread commonly shared principles and values. Global governance can be handled via institutionalized practices and organizations in order to coordinate actions and campaigns that are based on mutual agreements between states and with organizations to pursue mutual interests and goals, such as world peace and security; based on a set of

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<sup>9</sup> These issue areas comprise global peace and security, environment, economy or finance.

<sup>10</sup> More detailed and additional information about the nature of these five components and intergovernmental organizations in general can be found in the appendix, see A1.

formal regulations. Detailed information about the nature and elements of global governance is given in 2.1.4. *International cooperation and the trend towards institutionalization: The complexities of global governance*. Despite all benefits that come with the process of globalization, the increased integration and interdependence – due to “cross-border thinking” and the ‘*withering away of the state*’ (Lawson 2012a:147) – may also pose risks for the domestic politics of states. Since power is more and more regulated and organized within institutions, states run the risk of getting “lost” in the mixed, multilayered sphere of globalization. Throughout the literature, there are various approaches (such as realist, classic conservative, democratic socialist or globalist view) to the role of the state in the process of globalization. Some argue that the traditional nation-state will lose its power and status within the interconnected world, whereas others refer to the other important functions the state still performs, i.e. the distribution of services and public goods. Doubtless to say, globalization and the resulting growing and intensified interconnectedness between states does affect and change the global status, position, and power of states in the international environment, and thus influences their willingness to cooperate. (McGraw 2004; Lawson 2012a; Lawson 2012b)

In his work *Globalization and World Politics*, Anthony McGraw (2004) tries to find an answer to this precarious situation of states:

This is not to argue that the sovereign state is in decline. The sovereign power and authority of national government – the entitlement of states to rule within their own territorial space – is being transformed but by no means eroded. [...] states now assert their sovereignty less in the form of legal claim to supreme power than as a bargaining tool [...] with other agencies [...]. (McGraw 2004:33).

The development of world politics has led to a new theoretical thinking, the cosmopolitan theory, with representatives such as David Held and Darrel Moellendorf. Power relations and imbalances will remain one of the most challenging problems for the governance of world politics, not only within institutions and organizations, but also for states. Supporters of the cosmopolitan theory demand more and better democratic efforts within the system of global governance and for international cooperation. They argue that a more democratic system of governance will automatically lead to a ‘*more humane and just world order*’ (McGraw 2004:36). According to proponents, this ‘*cosmopolitan democracy*’ (McGraw 2004:36) can be realized with the implementation of short-term measures in the fields of governance, economy and security as well as measures with long-term effects and significant changes. These measures may include the formation of a Human Security Council and a Global Civil Society Forum, intensification of global accountability of actions and strengthened governance infrastructures on the regional and national level. Arm trade regulation and control should be strengthened; fair trade rules implemented and already indebted, poor countries should be prevented from further debt accumulation. In the long run, institutions and organizations should take over a more dominant role in the economic area, suggesting the creation of World Financial Authority, promoting global labor mobility and implementing mandatory global standards concerning labor and environment. The overall goals of cosmopolitan theorists are global citizenship as well as a global social charter; all based on the guiding principles and values of global social justice, security, democracy, rule of law, and universal human rights. Strong and effective multilateral institutions, actively engaged states, and constantly developed and expanded coalition and cooperation towards commonly shared goals are required. (McGraw 2004)

As already identified, the overall process of globalization and global integration and interdependence has changed the focus of attention, moving from a more state-centric approach towards a global one.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> This might also shape the states’ foreign policy approaches in the long run.

This development increases the need for international cooperation and national contribution to matters of global importance.<sup>12</sup> Contemporary global politics are also regarded as a new form of ‘*post-Westphalian world order*’<sup>13</sup> (McGraw 2004:30), in which power and authority are equally shared. State autonomy is maintained to a certain degree, but states are more or less required to establish cooperative global relations to actually give their interests a voice within the global complexities. Without global participation, states are very limited in their foreign actions and activities. The concept of territoriality is primarily used to facilitate the general administration of regions, but the “think global” approach spreads across borders. In this new order, global structures of joint actions and joint decision-making as well as mutual agreements to maintain global stability<sup>14</sup> and global security are becoming the main focus of attention. States are more or less instructed – or better, advised – to move away from the traditional image of self-help and self-interest driven behavior towards cooperation, and most importantly, promoting an increased global consciousness and awareness to global problems. According to Anthony McGraw (2004), the contemporary international system can be seen as a network between the following main actors: governments (states), society, and transnational and international organizations. The system of institutionalized, global policy coordination facilitates international cooperation and interaction among these various actors, promotes further collaboration and forces states to consider their national contribution to matters of global importance; all based on the principles of cooperation, interdependence and integration.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.1.2.Theoretical discussion on international cooperation and the role of international institutions

The discipline of international relations (IR) as part of the political science discipline gained importance after the First World War when global politics was focused on creating the necessary conditions to secure world peace and maintain overall stability. IR theory deals with the relationship between different states and their specific approach towards international cooperation as well as the role of international organizations and institutions for generating a cooperative international environment to foster mutual goals and objectives.<sup>16</sup> It also comprises relations between governments (state actors) and non-state actors. Participation and engagement in matters of global affairs (i.e. security, environment, economy etc.) require states to take up cooperation with others, and thus paving the way for the establishment of regimes, institutions, and organizations that enable and facilitate such international cooperation. The field of international relations offered a variety of theoretical perspectives and approaches to be developed in order to analyze the behavior and actions of states based on certain parameters. They also provide different meanings about the concepts of state, sovereignty, territory, and the role of institutionalized cooperation. However, the concepts of the state, sovereignty and territory play a significant role in international relations, especially for the understanding of activities, behavior patterns, and actions of states. Theories within the field of

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<sup>12</sup> Such as global peace, security, and overall stability.

<sup>13</sup> The system of modern world politics is based on the *Peace Treaties of Westphalia and Osnabruck* of 1648. The *Westphalian Constitution* determined the legal framework and core elements of the sovereign statehood; including the concept of territoriality, sovereignty and autonomy. (McGraw 2004)

<sup>14</sup> This refers to post-conflict, economic and/or political stability.

<sup>15</sup> Apart from the security and peace aspect, the work and activities of actors within the system of global governance covers a broad variety of issues areas. Additional, detailed information can be found in the appendix, see A7.

<sup>16</sup> Mutual interests could be world order, global peace, and global stability for example.



international relations include realism, liberalism, constructivism and up to Marxist theories, each offering new insights and own explanations for the process of international relations.

#### *States as central actors in international relations*

The concepts of state and sovereignty determine and complement each other as their theoretical basis' can be traced back to the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. As Thomas Biersteker (2013) explains it, states claim and maintain their sovereignty through different actions and practices, making such '*claims of sovereignty*' (Biersteker 2013:246) a striking characterization of the state itself. Over time, changes and variations in the types of states and different forms of sovereignty have occurred, which makes it difficult to present one standardized and general definition of these two concepts; the modern state and sovereignty cannot be compared with those centuries back. But, despite all historical changes and shifts in perception, the concept of territoriality is inevitably associated with state and sovereignty: Sovereignty claims over a certain geographical area (territory) of states are the most basic understanding of world politics and for any analysis of relations between states.

Especially in the study of international relations, states are regarded as '*fundamentally similar units*' (Biersteker 2013:247) and therefore, are significant actors within the international system. This perception of states can be based in various theoretical approaches dealing with international relations, neorealism as well liberal institutionalism. The status of sovereignty came along with various implications and exclusive rights for the states, including the right for nonintervention and noninterference, the right to its natural resources and the right for development. The concept of the modern state has led scholars of different schools of thought to develop their own definitions and approaches, for example the realist Weberian conception - describing the state as institution with a monopoly of power - or the conception founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (the state as being controlled by the ruling class). In general, states are characterized as being operated on an institutionalized basis, such as a governmental body. This clearly distinguishes the *state* from the concept of *nation*, usually defined according to social and cultural aspects, such as people, language, tradition or identity. The term nation-state can be described as a combination of these two distinct concepts. The form and construct of the term of nation-state gained much attention and influence during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, becoming widely used. Over time, not only did the concept of the state change but the overall perception of sovereignty as one of the three basic elements changed. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, voices were raised to draw attention to the exclusive rights and benefits of sovereignty, but also to raise awareness of the responsibilities these rights would bring along. In the process of globalization, increasing interconnectedness among states, and the existence of changing power balances, it is necessary for states to "look and think" across their borders - their own territory - and to use their sovereignty and power for the achievement of commonly shared goals and interests and to solve global problems. The changing nature of the concepts of state, sovereignty and territory are essential for the analysis of the processes and developments within the context of international relations. (Biersteker 2013 )

Doubtless to say, the state itself remains to be a central and important element in international relations and cooperative agreements. According to realist and liberal thinkers, states are a rational actor on the international stage of world politics.

#### **2.1.2.1. The importance of neo-liberal institutionalism**

The study of international relations is primarily dominated by two competing theoretical strands of realism and liberalism. Based on these two theoretical approaches, two mainstream approaches have been developed that are also regarded as '*intellectual siblings*' (Lamy 2004:205), neo-realism and neo-liberalism; the latter one being of importance for this thesis and for the discussion and analysis of

international institutions and organizations and the theoretical concept underlying international cooperation of states. However, at some point, relevant realist elements will also be included to illustrate the differences of the driving forces behind international cooperation, also in order to emphasize the key parts of liberal institutionalism.

To start with, neo-realism has its roots in the theory of realism<sup>17</sup> based on the following key concept: The sovereign state is recognized by the international system and state power is defined in terms of material resources, such as armed forces or population. Realists argue that in an anarchic world order, states have to act rationally, give more priority to relative gains than absolute gains and rely foremost on self-help for their own national security; all others are regarded with mistrust and suspicion. Concerning hegemonic power – one state as single power being in control of the world system – realists regard it as relevant for reducing the potential of conflicts and disputes in the anarchic system. Especially in the 1980s, neo-realist thinking emerged, with Kenneth Waltz's structural realism as one prominent example. Key points of neo-realists include the opinion of states acting in an anarchic international system that is determined by major powers. This system structure influences the actions and behavior of states insofar as they have to be rational, self-interested and competitive in such given conditions. Cooperative behavior is not given much attention due to a general atmosphere of distrust over other states and their intentions. (Dunne and Schmidt 2004; Lamy 2004; Lawson 2012c)

The **theory of liberalism**<sup>18</sup> became an alternative school of thought opposed to realism. In general, the idea of liberalism developed into various different ways of thinking, but all based on core liberal thoughts. Liberalists argue that the international system and world order is determined by anarchic conditions with states being the main actors and acting rationally. But alternatively to realist thought (in which states are also rational actors), liberal proponents also highlight the existence of other important (non-state) actors on the international stage, such as institutions. The question in IR of how to deal with such an anarchic system is of importance in the liberal approach, as proponents argue that tolerance and collaboration between states can mitigate the risk of conflicts and disputes. States should not only rely on self-help for national security reasons and focusing on relative gains but also turn towards collective security and especially collective action towards commonly shared objectives, interests, and foremost, absolute gains<sup>19</sup>. In such a cooperative atmosphere, established organizations and institutions are the essential component for realizing and especially coordinating successful and effective cooperation and collaboration. In this context, liberalism later influenced idealist thinking, leading to a new theoretical approach known as **liberal idealism**, which regards states as capable of cooperation. Liberalism as well as liberal idealism share the opinion about the importance of establishing international organizations to guarantee safety and peace within the international system and to achieve mutual goals. These ideas are also referred to as **liberal institutionalism** (institutional liberalism) or **liberal internationalism**, a theoretical orientation of liberalism that developed later. The basis of liberalism was highly emphasized in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when the former U.S.

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<sup>17</sup> Prominent realist proponents are for example the classical realists Machiavelli and Hans Morgenthau as well as the structural realists Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Kenneth Waltz. For that matter, Stephen Krasner is regarded as rational-choice realist. For rational-choice realists – as well as for realists in general – states use international institutions and organizations primarily for their own goals and interests; commonly shared objectives may only follow own interests.

<sup>18</sup> Prominent representatives of liberal thinking are Immanuel Kant, and later especially Robert Keohane, David Mitrany, and Oran Young.

<sup>19</sup> Relative gains also consider the loss of others compared to the (own) gains (as mistrust and suspicion prevail), whereas absolute gains primarily focus on gain maximization rather than considering the loss of others.

President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) spread the ideas of individualism, tolerance, cooperation, collective security, and national self-determination as important elements for guaranteeing a global state of peace after the First World War. Woodrow Wilson took up the idea of Immanuel Kant connecting democracy with peace and order, arguing that democratic states would not fight against each other but rather join cooperative agreements. This idea is manifested in the democratic peace theory. In 1918 Wilson expressed his idealist thinking in his “Fourteen Points” speech to the U.S. Congress, promoting the ‘[...] *formation of a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike*’ (Dunne 2004:191). His idea was realized with the founding of the League of Nations in 1920<sup>20</sup>, based on the principles of collective security and self-determination of all nations to enhance global peace and stability. The League of Nations is considered to be the first international organization to be responsible for international security and maintaining world peace.

In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by [...] the understanding of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments [...]. (UN 2000:3)

In the beginning, the League of Nations had 42 member countries and until its official end in 1946, the number rose to 57 (UN 2000). The League of Nations established its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, and was governed by the following three organs: the Assembly, the Council – including the Permanent Secretariat - and the Permanent Court of Justice (UNOG 2013). The implemented collective security arrangement determined that ‘*each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and agrees to join in a collective response to aggression*’ (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c:38). The collective security system highlighted the importance of each member state’s security as the preeminent concern of all other members. In the case of any threat to one member state, the arrangement required all members to join in a collective action in response if necessary; international cooperation and collaboration for the sake of global peace and security. If an offence had actually been committed, members of the League of Nations were obliged to stop their relations with the respective state and sanctions had to be imposed.<sup>21</sup> The general concept of collective security will be discussed in more detail further in the paper, see 2.1.2.4. *The concept of collective security and its importance in liberal institutionalism and for international (peace) cooperation.*

Woodrow Wilsons’ idea of idealism reached its peak in the aftermath of the First World War and the formation of the League of Nations became the essential idealist element during the inter-war period. However, the League did not fulfill its goal of maintaining world peace as it did not prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. Its failure is attributed to its weak system of collective security and decision-making within its system, as well as the lack of its own independently acting military power. All of this resulted in the collapse of the League with its final official dissolution in 1946. This brought a severe setback for the idealist school of thought in the discipline of international relations. (UN 2000; Dunne 2004; Lawson 2012c)

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<sup>20</sup> The proposal for the founding of the League of Nations was approved as part of the Treaty of Versailles at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

<sup>21</sup> In contrast to the collective security system, in a so-called *alliance system* or *collective defense system* states form alliances of security when responding to a specific external threat.

Despite the failure of the League of Nations, the core ideas of liberal thinking were not abolished and especially the idea of an international organization being responsible for international peacekeeping and peace-building – as proposed by Woodrow Wilson – became again the focus of attention with the establishment of the United Nations Organizations (referred to UNO or UN). Having learned from earlier mistakes, the formation of the United Nations in 1945 was based on a well-constructed decision-making and enforcement action system, and a distinct veto system that would grant every member of the Security Council veto power. The United Nations as key element in the system of global governance will be further discussed in 2.1.4.3. *United Nations as central part in the complexities behind global governance.*

In the postwar period, the discipline of international relations and especially the liberal school of thought became more and more concerned with issues of collaboration, integration and cooperation on an international level. One representative of this thinking was David Mitrany (1943). He proposed the idea of integration which implied that once transnational cooperation (involving two or more nations) has been implemented, it would constantly spread and establish a broader network of cooperation. This approach towards greater interdependence is also regarded as **interdependence liberalism**, one major liberal strand in the postwar period. As seen from a more naïve point of view, proponents claimed that cooperation and greater transnational collaboration would reduce the chance of military clash, but promote global security and peace. Despite all critics, this general assumption of the significance and relevance of cooperation and interaction became the underlying foundation for all liberal approaches that followed. (Dunne 2004; Mitrany 1943 in Dunne 2004; Jackson and Sorensen 2007a)

In the 1960s and 1970s Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye gave a new impetus to liberal thinking and focused not only on states as main actors of any international politics and relations but also on other actors, such as international non-governmental institutions and interest groups, and examined their relative importance. This approach of pluralist thinking centered more on the interconnectedness between each different actor and their interdependence. Having this as the centerpiece and acknowledging integration and interdependence as new patterns of connection, it widely challenged the realist assumption of one state's domination in the international system and thus, the hegemonic stability theory. Keohane and Nye set forth the **idea of complex interdependence**, making a clear distinction between the older forms of interdependence and the newer, post-war forms. Relating to **the integration theory**, both emphasize the decreasing significance and need of military force while institutional instruments, such as regimes, institutions and organizations, become more efficient and important for the international system. However, it is important to note that they do not completely renounce the use of military force, especially in cases of situations that might turn into '*a matter of life and death*' (Keohane and Nye 1977:29) and thus, reflecting realist thinking. As integration theorists have already proclaimed earlier, the complex interdependence theory also focuses on a harmonious and cooperative behavior among states within the international system. (Dunne 2004; Jackson and Sorensen 2007a)

#### *International cooperation and institutional instruments: From neo-liberalism up to neo-liberal institutionalism and regime theory vs. realist approaches*

With contact to neo-realists like Kenneth Waltz, proponents of pluralist thinking started to revise their approach and became attached towards **neo-liberalism** which is derived from neo-realist and liberal thinking. Proponents of neo-liberalism also acknowledged the existence of an anarchic international system, but in contrast to realist thinking, various ways of cooperation and collaboration became an essential element in their considerations. Institutional instruments such as international regimes – also

comprising institutions and organizations - were regarded as the key for successful international cooperative arrangements. Such arrangements would guarantee information sharing, interaction, and jointly shared benefits with a main focus on mutual gains, in contrast to neo-realists and their emphasis on relative gains as the driving force. In short, institutionalization facilitates international cooperation and collaboration. Regimes enable cooperative activities and actions based on rules and certain organizational and governance-like structures. It is important to note that various schools of thought within the field of international relations have dealt with regime theory in different ways: neo-realists have set their focus on the power relations within regimes; neo-liberals strongly focused on the correlation between divergent interests and the chance of cooperation. Before going into more detail about the institutional instruments and their relevance for cooperation, it is necessary to properly define the concept of regimes. The most prominent definition of regime comes from Stephen Krasner (1994) and is still used often to explain the complexities behind it. According to Krasner (1994), regimes are defined as '*sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations.*' (Krasner 1994:97).

This definition resembles the general idea and explanation of international organizations and institutions insofar as all of them are established based on certain principles, rules and a specific internal structure. For a better understanding, Hasenclever et al. (1997) identify regimes as '*[...] issue-specific institutions by definition.*' (Hasenclever et al. 1997:11), leading to the assumption that both terms refer to the same meaning<sup>22</sup>. In other words, the basic nature of regimes is expressed in its status as an institution and regimes are shaped by its four basic elements: *principles, rules, norms* and *decision-making procedures*. Principles can be seen as the core guideline of the regime and on which the whole body is operated and actions are carried out. They determine the work and action of the regime. Norms define the states' rights within the institution as well as their obligations and responsibilities and guide their behavior and participation. Furthermore, additional rules within regimes are established to guarantee a smooth implementation of its principles and norms, and to prevent any situations of conflict. Rules also define certain actions and activities of the states. Another important structural element is the process of decision-making. It is designed to be both efficient and effective by means of adequate rules, arrangements, and especially specific voting rights for the states<sup>23</sup> in order to find a common denominator to implement actions and measures. (Krasner 1994; Hasenclever et al. 1997; Little 2004)

More on the nature and function of regimes in general can be found in 2.1.2.2. *Classification of regimes: Nature and function of institutionalized structures of cooperation.*

As already mentioned, neo-liberalism proposes the idea of regimes, institutions, and organizations as "tools" for successful cooperation and interaction among states. Although the terms institutions and organizations<sup>24</sup> are very often used interchangeably, there is actually a clear distinction between them. According to Keohane (1989), international institutions are – similar to regimes – based on certain rules and regulations that '*prescribe behavioral roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations*' (Keohane 1989:3 in Reus-Smit 2001:351). International organizations on the other hand describe the '*physical entities that have staff, head offices, and letterheads. [...] Many institutions have organizational dimensions [...].*' (Reus-Smit 2004:351).

<sup>22</sup> The relation between regime, institution, and organization will be discussed in more detail further on.

<sup>23</sup> States, in that matter, refer to the previous mentioned definition of sovereign states.

<sup>24</sup> According to Quincy Wright (1955), the term organization itself refers either to '*[...] a condition involving a hierarchy of authority and procedures of action, or a process by which authority develops and acts to realize group objectives.*' (Wright 1955:199).

As interesting and complex it may seem, institutions based on a set of rules and procedures do not necessarily need an organizational structure, whereas any organization needs a certain institutionalized framework to succeed. In other words, the term organization describes the outer shell (including some form of governing, administrative body) and the term institution (as it is interchangeable with the term regime) refers to the internal, rule-guided structures and processes of decision-making and governance for example. But more often, terms are mixed up and not correctly used in their respective contexts so that today, they often lack clear precision. Arthur Stein (1982) criticizes that in present time, *'the term "regime" [...] ranges from an umbrella for all international relations to little more than a synonym for international organizations.'* (Stein 1982:299). In his work, Stein (1982) remains very critical considering the trend to regard and analyze regimes as a form of administrative body such as organizations are. In many cases, regimes or institutions refer to the international relations between states for a certain issue. It also happens often that the term institution is used when actually referring to the term organization. In the book *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and approaches* by Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen (2007), the following explanation can be found: *'What is an international institution? According to institutional liberals, it is an international organization, such as NATO or the European Union; or it is a set of rules which govern state action in particular areas, such as aviation or shipping. These sets of rules are also called "regimes".'* (Jackson and Sorensen 2007a:108).

This clearly shows the complexities and the lack of concrete definitions and how the right use may not always be clear. Another explanation of institutions can be found in *Neoliberal Institutionalism* by Stein (2008). According to Stein (2008), international institutions are established in various issue areas. For a better understanding, he defines the United Nations (UN)<sup>25</sup>, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) as international institutions. It can be noted that, despite numerous definitions, the terms regimes, institutions, and organizations often go together. To give a clearer picture of the situation, the following can be said: The World Bank and the IMF are regarded as organizations that were established under the Bretton Woods international monetary regime. However, they are also referred to as international institutions. Another example of the direct connection between regimes, institutions, and organization is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Being formulated as multilateral agreement it has led to the formation of an organization per se, the WTO. (Stein 1982; Jackson and Sorensen 2007a; Stein 2008)

For further understanding, Keohane (1988) points out that an *'institution' may refer to a general pattern of categorization of activity or to a particular human-constructed arrangement* (Keohane 1988:383). In the analytical work on *The Rational Design of International Institutions* of Barbara Koremenos et al. (2001), international institutions are defined *'as explicit arrangements, negotiated among international actors, that prescribe, proscribe, and/or authorize behavior.'* (Koremenos et al. 2001:762). For the purpose of this paper, both terms – organization and institution – will be used for the same meaning and referring to the whole “entity” of an institutionalized arrangement. To remark in conclusion on the definition of regimes, Stein (1982) proposes the following explanation: *'Regimes can be noninstitutionalized as well as institutionalized, and international organizations need not be regimes, although they certainly can be.'* (Stein 1982:317). There is a broad variety of regimes and they can be classified according to their issue areas, such as peacekeeping regimes, security regimes, trade regimes or environmental regimes. For further understanding it is important to point out that the

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<sup>25</sup> Although Stein (2008) refers to the UN as institution/ organization, it is not regarded as a regime per se since its membership does not restrict participating members in any action (due to implemented rules for example).

nature of a regime comprises guiding rules, principles, norms, regulations, and agreements as well as various actors, such as states, non-state actors, international organizations etc. In summation, one could say that whether talking about institutions, regimes or organizations, they all share the following characteristics: being established on common agreement and consensus, dealing within a specific issue-area, comprising various actors, promoting cooperation between states and implementing collective actions based on norms and rules towards commonly shared goals. (Weiss and Thakur 2010a)

To complete the theoretical picture and explanation of institutions, we must briefly deal with the different areas in which institutions differ from each other. In Koremenos et al. (2001), these areas are defined as '*membership rules (membership), scope of issues covered (scope), centralization of tasks (centralization), rules for controlling the institution (control) and flexibility of arrangements (flexibility)*' (Koremenos et al. 2001:763). Institutions are established for a variety of issue relevant reasons: they all have a specific internal structure and governing process, and they share the basic characteristic of a defined set of rules and regulations for collective action.

Especially in the post-war period of the 1970s the interest in regime formation and institutionalized international cooperation grew and it became progressively more the center of attention. In the beginning of the 1970s, raised awareness about interdependence and interconnectedness influenced states to acknowledge the importance of multilateral action and institutionalized, collective response to global problems. The idea of cooperation and interconnectedness of states within the international system, which was regulated by a set of rules and institutionalized behavior, was also manifested in the **international regime theories** embedded in both realism and liberalism, with one prominent representation in *International Regimes* by Stephen Krasner (1995). As already mentioned, neo-realists view the concept of harmonious cooperation between states with greater skepticism than neo-liberals do. Neo-realists argue that states as rational actors focus on relative gains (rather than absolute gains) and their interest in their own "profit" maximization will hinder successful and harmonious cooperation. They are not only concerned about their benefits but also how much better they have done than others. States are acting out of self-interest and driven by competitive behavior, mistrust, and suspicion. For that matter, mistrust may result in resentment, which will in turn affect any cooperation. Despite different perceptions of the basics of international cooperation, both theoretical approaches, *neo-realism* (power-based theory) and *neo-liberalism* (interest-based theory), became the most dominant theories in the field of international relations concerning international cooperation, and especially in the United States throughout the 1990s. In terms of regime formation and its analysis, both theoretical strands share some basic assumptions on the one hand, but have different views on the nature, actual role and influence of regimes (institutions) for the international system on the other. The following conditions are given by both neo-liberal and neo-realist thinkers: The international system is shaped by anarchy and states are rational actors, who create international regimes. Regimes themselves generate global order and coordinate cooperative actions. Opinions differ about the focus of states towards mutual gains (neo-liberal approach) or absolute gain (neo-realist approach) in cooperative arrangements. (Koremenos et al. 2001; Barnett 2004; Baylis 2004; Dunne 2004; Little 2004; Weiss 2010b)

As already emphasized, **neo-liberalism** as one very dominant challenge to neo-realist thinking concerning the idea of international cooperation was based on **integration theories** from the 1940s and 1950s, and was later influenced by **regime theories**. The formation of the European Union, for example, took its root in the integration studies. Shaped by these various theoretical approaches, **neo-liberalism** further developed and became known as **liberal institutionalism** or **neo-liberal**

**institutionalism (neo-liberal institutional theory)**, including international regime formation and the role of institutions. As mentioned earlier, liberal institutionalism is also associated with Woodrow Wilson and his proposal for institutionalized international cooperation that led to the formation of the League of Nations. Neo-liberal institutionalism deals with the formation, function, and role of international institutions within the international environment. It sets forth the idea that international institutions should promote collaboration and integration among states. They should strengthen their cooperative behavior and global responsibilities in joining together to generate and promote international stability and security in order to address global challenges, such as threat to international peace. Neo-liberal institutionalism redesigned the idea of international community-building and interdependence and promoted it to a new scale. With an increase in interdependence, integration, and cooperation with others, states are induced to quest for the establishment of institutions that enable and coordinate interaction and collaboration. Institutions offer mutually determined agreements with certain rules and regulations that facilitate further cooperation and help to solve problems and conflicts that might emerge. Besides Keohane and Nye, Oran Young is also regarded as an important proponent of **institutional liberalism**. Especially in the 1970s, and with the work of *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* by Keohane and Nye (1977), neo-liberal institutionalism hit new heights. Within the field of institutional liberalism, the theoretical approach of **complex interdependence** – developed by Keohane and Nye (1977) – provided a new picture of the international system with increased integration and cooperation between states and non-state actors, such as interest groups, non-governmental organizations etc. The need for the use of military force can be reduced as the areas of possible cooperation and interaction between states expand, especially due to the process of globalization and growing interdependence. This, in turn, also contributes to a more stable and peaceful international environment. Following this, the ideas of multilateralism, institutions as intermediaries to enhance international cooperation, and the system of global governance became the centerpiece of attention in the theoretical considerations.

Another theoretical liberal approach towards institutions and international cooperation emerged in the early 1980s, the **functional theory** – with David Mitrany as one prominent representative - that has influenced neo-liberal institutionalism to a great extent. Given the basic liberal assumption of possible cooperation within an anarchic international system, supporters of the functional theory were also focused their research on the impact of the external structure composition of institutions and how they shape states' foreign policy approaches and thus, international relations in general. Being influenced by Keohane (1984) and his work *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in World Political Economy*, the rational/ functional logic also regarded states as rational actors (shared with realist and liberal thinking). They establish institutions to push forward outcomes that are suitable for their own interests, but also for the interests of others, underlining again the liberal prioritization of absolute gains compared to the realist prioritization of relative gains. Again, regimes play an essential role for the cooperation between rational actors as they reduce the level of uncertainty and mistrust and provide adequate information for all. They promote common interests and therefore, increase the cooperative behavior of the states. In general, the constellation and formation of divergent and common interests are essential when analyzing institutions and their relative influence. Moreover, rational/ functionalist approaches have also been used to put research emphasis on institutional forms and structures, see Koremenos et al. (2001). According to rational/ functionalist thinking, the problems and difficulties of international collective action, such as mistrust, suspicion, and competition, can be solved with the establishment of international institutions. Functional theory attaches greater importance to the influence of regimes and institutions for motivating states to join cooperative arrangements and influencing their behavior and participation (also described as explanatory



approach). Within the field of liberal institutionalism, there are various distinct approaches and theoretical considerations about the role of institutions for international cooperation and participation in matters of global importance. (Simmons and Martin 1987; Hasenclever et al. 1997; Haggard and Simmons 2001)

Proponents of neo-liberal institutionalism regard states as well as non-state actors as significant players within the international environment and therefore relevant for international cooperation. Realists argue that states act as rational actors to maximize their gains (relative gains) through competition, opposed to liberalists who share the idea of interest maximization (not only relative but more importantly, absolute gains) through cooperation with others. The neo-liberal institutionalist approach focuses very much on mutual interests, benefits, harmony and cooperation within some kind of win-win situation. In sensitive areas such as national security, cooperation that is based primarily on mutual interests and mutual gains can turn out to be more difficult to realize than theory would suggest. (Lamy 2004)

As previously mentioned, international institutionalization is regarded as an important tool to create a cooperative behavior among international society and to strengthen a commonly shared sense of responsibility for global problems and issues. Moreover, such institutionalized cooperation also strengthens the feeling of solidarity and “community spirit” among participating states. But most importantly, supporters of the neo-liberal thinking argue that increasing international cooperation – also in form of established institutions with their own internal structures and regulations - contribute to a large extent to generate stability and security in the international environment in the long term. Although proponents of neo-liberalism do not pay as much attention to relative gains as realists do and despite their efforts to promote the real significance of mutual gains and benefits, they do not completely rule out the possibility of unequally distributed gains. In such cases, institutions can also be an important tool to reduce the overall degree of competition between the states and to diminish feelings of resentment. (Baylis 2004; Jackson and Sorensen 2007a)

The idea of institutions as important intermediaries and instruments for international cooperation already emerged in the 1920s, especially as Woodrow Wilson became a proponent of liberal thinking and support for the establishment of institutions to guarantee order, stability, global security and peace. Moreover, he promoted and further strengthened the idea of international cooperation among states. Over time though, mistakes occurred that have made institutionally liberal thinkers more realistic, but their core principles have not changed. They learned from the past and realized that institutions cannot find a “cure-all” to all global problems, nor do they have the ultimate power to prevent war from happening. However, institutions reduce the level of uncertainty and mistrust among states that hinders successful cooperation. Their importance is once again highlighted by Keohane and Nye (1974) as they claim that *‘[...] [it] will be impossible to live without [them].’* (Keohane and Nye 1974:62). Moreover, with implemented rules and regulations, the risk of cheating or non-compliance of states can also be limited. (Keohane 1989; Levy et al. 1995; Rittberger 2002; Jackson and Sorensen 2007a)

#### **2.1.2.2. Classification of regimes: Nature and function of institutionalized structures of cooperation**

As already mentioned, regime theory emerged in the 1970s and primarily dealt with the role and functioning of regulated and rule-governed action within the international system; the key idea of cooperation based on institutionalized patterns and structures. Proponents of liberal institutionalism as well as of realism acknowledge regimes as important element in the international political system. However, they have differing opinions about the actual reasons for which institutions and regimes are

established. Both acknowledge the existence of anarchy in the international system, which influences states' behavior towards cooperation or competition. As realists regard competition more likely than cooperation within the international environment (due to the rational, relative gain driven states), regimes can be an important tool to reduce the competitive attitude among the states. For liberal-institutionalist thinkers, regimes are necessary to eliminate competition but foster cooperation and interaction based on trust and confidence among states in the anarchic power system.

Moreover, the power constellation within the international environment and its influence on and within regimes is yet another point of discrepancy: Using power to force others to join a regime (institution) and engage in cooperation versus the realist view of power as a determining element in negotiating and forming the extent and content of the regime. According to Stein (1982), regimes are a necessity for states to deal with the issue and problems of different, clashing interests between states, and thus, to mitigate the risk of conflicts. The role of interests and power in international cooperation will be discussed in more detail later on. (Stein 1982; Little 2004)

There are various classifications and typology methods for determining regimes; distinguishing them as bilateral, regional or global regimes or depending on their issue area. In terms of structure, regimes and institutions can be established in forms of formal organizations (based on legal contracts), up to informal arrangements of collective action based on common agreements. However, despite all these various institutional forms, the general assumption that such "institutionalized cooperation" facilitates the regulation and handling of international relations remains. Another more detailed description and classification of regimes can be found in Richard Little's (2004) work on international regimes. He argues that due to globalization and the growing worldwide interconnectedness in the international environment, including society, needs such regimes – institutions - to somehow coordinate the increasing global activities and actions. To generate a long-term state of stability and safety as well as to guarantee mutual benefits and mutual interests, growing interaction between states need rule-governed action to function properly.

International regimes can be established in various issue areas as will be explained in the following. Given an anarchic international system in which power struggles and changing power balances are omnipresent, the quest for stability, security, and peace always plays an important role. From early on, institutions have been characterized as a tool to generate peace and safety within the international environment; therefore '*security regimes*' (Little 2004:374) are yet one way to categorize regimes. Security regimes can include various agreements on peacekeeping contribution and participation, mutual defense, arms control and disarmament. Environmental issues such as global warming, air pollution, rising sea levels etc. have become increasingly important, particularly in the last two decades. Overall global and regional efforts to protect the environment have been made, also in the course of establishing '*environmental regimes*' (Little 2004:375) to strengthen global cooperation and collaboration in order to prevent further deterioration. Such regimes often include certain agreements and protocols with which member states have to abide, setting targets within a fixed time frame.<sup>26</sup> So-called '*communication regimes*' (Little 2004:374) can be traced back when international communication was mainly handled via postal service and shipping. Today, it has developed into a network of various communication regimes, dealing with an extensive range of issue areas, including telecommunications or aviation and serving as basis for many other economic and political fields of action. Examples for such communication regimes are the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) or the International Maritime Organization (IMO). Another type of regimes are '*economic regimes*' (Little 2004:376), dealing with issues such as trade and the monetary

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<sup>26</sup> A prominent and important example of such environmental agreement is the Kyoto Protocol that was adopted in 1997.

system. Especially in the aftermath of the Second World War, the United States were a very determined and dominant actor in proposing the establishment of economic regimes in order to generate overall global economic stability and consistency. Examples of economic regimes are the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The above mentioned regimes and their examples should also demonstrate how the terms regime, institution, and organization are closely linked together. (Snidal 1985; Little 2004)

In his work *Regime Dynamics: The Rise and Fall of International Regimes*, Oran Young (1982) defines regimes as ‘*social institutions governing the actions of those interested in specifiable activities*’ (Young 1982:277). Apart from the issue-related categorization of regimes, Young (1982) distinguishes between three other different types of regimes: spontaneous, negotiated, and imposed. Spontaneous regimes are defined as those without structured organization and coordination whereas negotiated regimes as those established with mutually confirmed agreements and rules. Imposed regimes refer to those dominated by major powers and forced upon others. This is yet another reference to the significant element of power within international relations as well as its significance within the structure and function of regimes. As Keohane (1982) points out, ‘*Relationships of power and dependence in world politics will therefore be important determinants of the characteristics of international regimes.*’ (Keohane 1982:330).

But what are these characteristics and more generally, the nature of international regimes? Although institutionalization plays an important role for international cooperation in the long run, regimes are more a type of contract between participating states. They determine a certain set of rules, regulations, and organized processes states must follow while behaving according to these rules. According to this view, regimes can therefore be used as important tool to solve difficulties concerning different interests when actually pursuing cooperation and collaboration; Stein (1982) terms it the ‘*dilemma of common interests*’ (Stein 1982:304). Furthermore, coordinated participation in regimes can also be used by states to avoid a certain negative outcome, in particular when member states can agree on at least one result that should not be achieved due to their joint actions. This refers to the ‘*dilemma of common aversion*’ (Stein 1982:309). In their basic function, institutions or “formal association” of states act as a mediator and tool for generating stability, trust and peace as well as promoting and strengthening further cooperation. According to neo-liberal institutionalism, mutual trust and confidence are the key elements behind any cooperation and collaboration, and thus, also important for the formation of regimes. Only when states can assume the behavior and estimate the intentions and preferences of other states – and knowing that each regime participating member is actually committed to the rules – successful collaboration and cooperative participation can take place; or as Keohane (1982) points out, ‘*[...] governments contemplating international cooperation need to know their partners, not merely know about them*’ (Keohane 1982:347). Based on a good foundation of mutual trust, cooperative relations can strengthen, develop and extend over time and thus, contribute to the main purpose of institutions. Prior to the decision to join an institution states may make relevant considerations including cost-benefit calculations, defining the internal power structures as well as balancing their own interests vs. commonly shared interests. Regimes must offer sufficient benefits or gains (or at least not a worse condition than the present one) for states to participate. But this does not automatically mean they solely focus on relative gains, because even when pursuing absolute gains, states do not neglect their own interests and benefits; prioritization (of relative or absolute gains) makes the difference.

The guiding concepts of collective action and cooperation within regimes also bring up two

problems: the problems of coordination and assistance. The latter one is also known as *Prisoner's Dilemma* (PD), taken from game theory. In PD, it is assumed that there are only two options for the two respective actors, pursuing a competitive or cooperative strategy for interaction, but each one would have a negative effect and be costly for the other actor, regardless of the chosen strategy. Two actors are therefore in a dilemma and can only solve the problem by turning towards collaboration (providing mutual assistance so to say) and reaching the so-called Pareto optimum. The coordination problem of cooperation refers to the already mentioned challenge for regimes to join states in their interests and to unite them on commonly shared values and agreements. The impact of each state's intentions and preferences must be well coordinated to guarantee a smooth implementation of interdependent and collective action. Other problems that can occur in the field of cooperation are *distributional problems* and *problems of enforcement*. Here, distribution refers to the variety of possible alternatives and outcomes of cooperative actions. States may consider the actual benefit/outcome ratio according to their own preferred alternatives and whether they did better or worse than others. Problems concerning the enforcement of agreements basically reflect the behavior and participation attitude of states regarding their compliance with agreements and rules. When non-compliance with agreements offers better, more promising incentives (or also result) than the actual cooperation, states might be more tempted to choose non-cooperation in a certain issue area. (Keohane 1982; Snidal 1985; Koremenos et al. 2001; Little 2004)

Keohane (1982) points out two very dominant reasons for the formation of regimes in the first place. Since there is no "world government" that is controlling and regulating the international financial, economic and political system, the establishment of regimes offers an alternative for rule-governed behavior and action within the field of international relations. Moreover, it is assumed that an "unregulated" international environment is more likely characterized by uncertainty, mistrust, and competition among states. Due to this possible condition regimes can function as mediator and "peacemaker", as well as an important tool for generating stability and increasing trust and confidence among states to foster international cooperation and multilateral participation. In short, regimes restore the lack of structural guidance within the international environment. They should offer certain institutionalized patterns of action and activity, as well as a guiding internal structure whilst reducing fear and competitive behavior. In addition, regimes offer another important function within international relations. With the help of regimes, it will be easier for states to reach other agreements based on mutual benefits and interests since they guarantee better and more efficient means of coordination and communication among member states. This is also very important since agreements made on one issue may often require further agreements on a related topic in order to avoid losses or prevent damages for states. Regimes facilitate future agreements on various issues based on the condition of common interests within the regime and among participating states. The increased '*issue density*' (Keohane 1982:341) due to the steadily growing interconnectedness and interaction also increases a demand for regimes to be established. Changes in regimes can take place due to various reasons: contradictions and struggles within its structure, shifts in power balances or external forces. (Keohane 1982; Young 1982)

Besides the lack of one global authority controlling the international activities and cooperation, what other reasons are there for regimes to be efficient? What are the motivators for states to join? Regimes are regarded to have sets of rules, norms, and specific internal structures. Thus, they create a certain framework of rules and obligations, under which liability and compliance of rule can be controlled and called to account if necessary. This increases the confidence and trust of states towards the regime as well as to other members. Moreover, regimes are valuable information suppliers. Member states can

be assured to obtain the right and especially the same information as other participants; in turn, this also reduces mistrust and suspicion. (Keohane 1982)

When states do decide to join certain regimes or institutions, they also agree to a '*generalized commitment*' (Keohane 1982:342), which refers to what is also known as reciprocity: When states do not abide by rules, they will be negatively affected by their misbehavior at some point of time. This commitment focuses on regime supporting behavior as well as moving the focus of states toward more commonly shared goals, interests, and benefits rather than self-interested behavior: In other words, the realist view of self-help (due to competition) versus the neo-liberal thinking of cooperation in the anarchic system.

Such '*generalized commitment*' (Keohane 1982:342) also reduces the prevailing feeling of mistrust and suspicion among the actors, and increases mutual trust and confidence. With the help of the implemented rules and regulations as well as internal decision-making processes, regimes can generate some sort of equilibrium between the various centers of power and the members' different interests and their (previous) competitive-driven behavior and thinking. Institutionalized cooperation can only work properly when open communication and mutual trust are given and maintained by the member states; this also reduces possible risk calculations and the feeling of uncertainty among states. As Keohane (1982) has identified, not only commonly shared interests and power conditions but also the sharing of '*[...] information [...] and their [the states'] openness to one another [...]*' (Keohane 1982:347) are of relevance. A network of expanded and "open" relationships are regulated structures within the institution and are seen as key to the success of the proper functioning of regimes. Since regimes are usually established due to the "basic" interest in the agreement itself (and of course also in regard to own interests and common interests), but not just as a result of spontaneously made decisions driven solely by self-interested behavior, regimes – and institutions for that matter - are more likely to be maintained and not subject to big changes or transformations. Especially in the long run, states will be aware of the benefits and gains of such cooperative agreements and interaction, as Stein (1982) concludes that '*Once nations begin to coordinate [...] and, [...] once they have collaborated, they may become joint-maximizers rather than self-maximizers.*' (Stein 1982:232).

### **2.1.2.3. Cooperation between harmony and discord**

Modern global politics are characterized by the existence of numerous international organizations and their institutionalized structures as well as increasing cooperation and interconnectedness between states. Moreover, institutions and organizations are also used by states to implement foreign policy missions or intentions, such as humanitarian or development assistance. This means that institutions are not only intermediary tools that promote and facilitate cooperation but also channels for foreign policy related actions of states. The growing importance of networks and interaction of states working towards commonly shared goals and enforcing mutual interests has led to the present, interdependent world order. As already identified, the establishment of international regimes has contributed a lot to enhancing and further promoting global cooperation. Regimes and institutions as a basic foundation for organizational bodies have proven to be important tools for bringing together states, for determining a common denominator linking various national interests and goals and promoting further cooperation. Assuming an international environment of solely self-focused states and their primarily self-interested behavior and action without any impact on others, institutional instruments and international cooperation would not be necessary; but the present, globalized international environment presents a different picture. Cooperation may also not be relevant when all states can achieve their most preferred outcomes and objectives without mutual agreements or (harmonic) interaction with other states. But reality looks different as different interests and objectives are

omnipresent and interdependence and interaction are constantly increasing.<sup>27</sup> (Stein 1982; Barston 2006b)

In his work *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Keohane (1984) argues that shared interests are the essential element insofar as they can also guarantee cooperation without a hegemonic power on top. Proponents of liberal institutionalism explain this as follows: In an anarchic system, states are assumed to be competitive rather than cooperative. However, as soon as no optimal results can be achieved through the solitary, competitive approach, states basically have no other choice as to turn to cooperation and collaboration to implement joint actions to realize their own and mutually shared goals and objectives. Cooperation does not rely on one hegemonic power taking the lead. (Little 2004)

As it was mentioned in the work of Stein (1982), cooperation can also be induced by common interests and goals on the one hand, but on the other hand, also by commonly shared antipathies towards certain outcomes. This shows that mutual agreements can be achieved on various levels. In this context, Stein (1982) makes a clear distinction between cooperation and collaboration within regimes. Cooperation is based on mutual interests whereas collaboration is primarily based on the condition of “common antipathies” towards specific results; states want to avoid the same outcomes. In general, cooperation between states does not only facilitate the achievement of mutually agreed goals and promotes harmony among states but it also shapes and determines the interests and intentions of the participating states. Keohane (1984) described this phenomenon as follows: ‘[...] *intergovernmental cooperation takes place when the policies actually followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating realization of their own objectives* [...].’ (Keohane 1984:52). Therefore, the motivating factors for the participation of states in institutions are multifaceted, but one thing can be said for sure: cooperation is especially desirable when it brings benefits to the states; these may include material, power or reputational benefits for example.

The nature of cooperation is also determined by harmony or discord. Since cooperation can evolve for different reasons, it does not always imply a harmonious (pre-) condition. In contrast, ‘[...] *cooperation can only take place in situations that contain a mixture of conflicting and complementary interest*.’ (Hasenclever et al. 1997:32). This leads to the conclusion that overall harmony would actually require all states to have the same interests, but according to Hasenclever et al. (1997), this would not induce any cooperative behavior.

It is assumed that cooperation more often results out of conflicts between different interests of states, see Hasenclever et al. (1997). However, with the help of proper policy coordination, cooperative agreements can be achieved with the intention of solving such situations of discord as well as to coordinate the state’s interests and preferences over actions. Cooperation itself is based on mutual adjustments made by states and finds itself in a constant condition of clashing interests and common values of interaction, such as global stability. Harmony and discord can be described as two static conditions in which cooperation takes place; it implies and especially requires actions of states and certain patterns of behavior. The relation between cooperation and discord has been the subject of research of Keohane (1984), as he claims that cooperation happens ‘[...] *as a reaction to conflict or potential conflict*.’ (Keohane 1984:54). His basic assumption that cooperation only exists because of conflicts can be questioned, but it correlates to a certain extent with what Hasenclever et al. (1997) proposed. Even supposing that this is true, it would be of more interest to consider the contemporary world of politics including all cooperative agreements and analyzing them according to the actual

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<sup>27</sup> However, it is important to note that different interests do not exclude commonly shared, mutual interests in the first place.

determining events or reasons for their establishment. From another, more realistic - and also realist - point of view, the decision to take up cooperation and intensify relations with another state must not only be explained by the existence of discrepancies and a higher likelihood of conflicts but also out of pursuit of achieving self-interests and focusing on the benefits cooperation might offer. In other cases, it might be possible that states join institutional agreements in order to avoid the risk of conflicts between them and other states. Cooperation within international regimes does not exclude the existence of self-interested behavior or attitude, but it is supposed to change the focus and priorities of states towards mutually shared interests and objectives, as well as raise their awareness of global problems.

Cooperation is embedded in the context of actions, interests, and assumptions of behavior and desired outcomes. The actual foundation of international regimes concentrates on cooperation, integration, and harmonic collaboration to enforce commonly shared interests and to achieve determined goals. As Ronald P. Barston (2006a) argues, cooperation may also be of higher importance to states due to the growing internationalization of domestic issues; boundaries become blurred and domestic as well as foreign policy seem to be slowly mixed together, also as results from the globalization process including increased global awareness and global participation of states. As already mentioned, regimes are also regarded as essential for promoting further cooperation and intensified relations. Their success is dependent on the ability to even persuade self-interested and self-centered states to join cooperative agreements and actions. Of course one can also argue that cooperation might be even more challenging and prone to fail when many states are working together, since proper communication and equal information sharing between all of them is more difficult to coordinate. But what has to be noted is that with more states participating, there are many more levels and variations opening up for cooperative action and further agreements. An increased number of member states will have a mutual beneficial impact as it also strengthens cooperative actions as well as reduces the risk of a complete standstill of interaction due to its broader variety of possible interaction. Within the structures of international regimes and any institutionalized form of cooperation, hierarchy and assigned roles for participating states are not regarded as desirable for promoting and intensifying cooperation and interconnectedness. On the contrary, states should be equally involved in the process of decision-making and collective action: joint decision-making rather than independent decision-making. This “collective” idea may also reduce the level of uncertainty<sup>28</sup>, suspicion, and mistrust towards others in the long run. (Stein 1982; Keohane 1984; Snidal 1985; Hasenclever et al. 1997)

Based on this assumption, Keohane (1984) explains the increasing interest and need of states to join institutionalized arrangements as *‘[they] become increasingly useful for governments that wish to solve common problems and pursue complementary purposes without subordinating themselves to hierarchical systems of control.’* (Keohane 1984:63). Within the field of global politics, harmony and unanimity compete and alternate between conditions of discord and conflict. In this constant state of balancing various interests and differing intentions while redirecting the actions of states and their preferences towards common goals and objectives, it is the responsibility of regimes – or in other

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<sup>28</sup> On the one hand, uncertainty about other states’ behavior and preferences or about the actual state of a situation (what is actually going on or what consequences would follow if no action is taken) can make cooperation and collaboration more difficult as it makes states more careful what to do. But on the other hand, uncertainty may also facilitate cooperative behavior as states might want to mitigate the risk of unexpected things to happen and are becoming more aware of the benefits and positive effects cooperation with others might bring, especially for the stabilization of a situation for example. If the uncertainty about the world order is high, it is more likely that states benefit from collective action and information sharing than from any solitary behavior. (Koremenos et al. 2001)

words, institutionalized arrangements - to implement good and effective coordination mechanism. Given an international surrounding of growing interaction and interdependence, such arrangements based on common agreements and the will to cooperate – regardless if they are called regimes, institutions or organizations for that matter – can basically be regarded as ‘[...] *rational, negotiated responses to the problems international actors face.*’ (Koremenos et al. 2001:768).

#### **2.1.2.4. The concept of collective security and its importance in liberal institutionalism and for international (peace) cooperation**

Since institutionalized cooperation plays an important role for generating peace and stability within the international environment, the idea of collective security is an essential element in international relations. In its basics, collective security deals with the issue how to generate and maintain global and regional peace and to enhance overall stability, also in terms of political world order. With the formation of the League of Nations, the concept of collective security was introduced as the League implemented a collective security arrangement. During the process, the concept became increasingly important and played a significant role in a cooperative, institutionalized international surrounding; also because military force and the use of it cannot be completely eliminated within an international environment of increasing interaction and interdependence of states – a view liberal thinkers share with realist ones. But military force should not be predominant. In this context, the concept of collective security can be seen as another approach of liberal institutional thinking as it requires states to follow certain rules in order to generate stability and peace. In case of any aggressive behavior, states are committed to cooperate and work together and respond to these threats. Given the nature of the international system, there are various important but ambivalent processes going on. On the one hand, integration and cooperation are an integral part of globalization, with all its positive impacts on world politics and global governance. On the other hand, the “cross-border thinking” and intensified interaction between states have led to a situation of “fragmented” states as actors in international life. As it was discussed in the beginning, the traditional order of nation-states has been transformed and interdependence has expanded, in the economic, as well as in social and political spheres. This development also bears the risk of possible instability due to clashing national interests, initial mistrust and suspicion among the states due to earlier hostilities for example. In this context, the idea of international cooperation based on global security arrangements and collectively shared security concerns seems more than ever promising and desirable. (Mearsheimer 1994/5; Kupchan and Kupchan 1995; Baylis 2004)

The concept of collective security includes three main principles states agree to:

First, they must renounce the use of military force to alter the status quo and agree instead to settle all of their disputes peacefully. [...] Second, they must broaden their conception of national interest to take in the interests of the international community as a whole. [...] when a troublemaker appears in the system, all of the responsible states automatically and collectively confront the aggressor with overwhelming military power Third, and most importantly, states must overcome the fear which dominates world politics and learn to trust each other. (Baylis 2004:310)

With these principles in mind, the concept of collective security emphasizes neo-liberal elements and sets concentration on cooperation, integration, and negotiation rather than the use of military force, mutual interests rather than only own national interests as driving engine, as well as trust, loyalty, and respect for all other states. Opposed to the realist view the theory of collective security defines mutual trust and support as a basic condition for the concept to work: Trust that all other states will act in accordance with the agreed rules and principles and with focus on the common goals. But what the theory lacks to properly deal with are adequate explanations on how states can learn to trust others in



the anarchic surrounding of international relations.

In the post-cold war period, the liberal idea of **democratic peace theory** emerged in the 1980s and was another theoretical contribution to the concept of international security. Within the theoretical movement of liberalism as well as liberal institutionalism, democracy per se was regarded as an important tool for generating peace and stability. Main proponents of this theory included Michael Doyle and Bruce Russett. Both argue that democracies are less likely to use military force (or wars in the worst case) to settle conflicts, therefore contributing to peace and security. Based on determined and mutually agreed rules, such states would effectively use diplomatic tools and methods to prevent war and conflicts from happening. With the idea of security in mind, the theory regards international interdependence, states' commitment to and compliance with human rights as well as democratic representation as key elements for any form of security-related cooperation and collaboration. Proponents of the democratic peace theory also focus very much on the impact of institutionalized patterns and structures, as well as determined norms on the cooperative behavior. (Baylis 2004)

Despite the fact that cooperative international arrangements do exist in the anarchic international system, the concept of collective security cannot – by no means at all – be regarded as an assured recipe for success of long-term peace and stability. But again, the basic idea behind it and the efforts towards such a condition of global security and stability are worth much more. To implement the collective security idea and to institutionalize such an arrangement with rules can also strengthen the trust and assurance of states in institutions. In case of a possible response to aggressive behavior of one actor, the states do not blindly turn away and take over a self-focused, solitary attitude, but act in accordance with the rules and they can rely on the help and support of the participating members. Although the concept of collective security has many proponents, there are also some critical voices surfacing. According to Mearsheimer (1994/5), the basic position and general attitude towards the use of military force remains ambivalent and questionable. On the one hand military force is denounced but in case of a threat, states must form an alliance and use their military power to take action against the respective actor. This draws a somehow conflicting picture about the use of military force within international relations. However, it can be associated with realist and liberal thinking in which military force is regarded as an essential part and force in international relations. A collective security system can also be challenged by past hostilities between states which might make cooperation between those respective states more difficult. Having said that, Mearsheimer (1994/5) also points out that it might not be as easy as it seems for some countries to form alliances against aggressors to whom they might be linked due to ideological sympathies or historical events. Moreover, it may sometimes be more difficult to distinguish between the aggressor and the victim. In other cases, “global” interference in local conflicts may do more damage to the situation and states are afraid that chances are high that such local confrontations are transformed into international ones.

Despite some critics, proponents of collective security emphasize the advantages of a global, institutionalized security system that will bring peace- and stability-related benefits; it may also strengthen and intensify communication and interaction between participating states. Being aware of historical failures of the concept, supporters still see chances of success for the system, especially in the process of globalization and further increasing interconnectedness and interdependence. (Mearsheimer 1994/5; Baylis 2004)

### 2.1.3. The role of power and national interests in international relations

Power has always been an essential element in world politics. States may use cooperative agreements or institutions to strengthen their position and institutional role in order to use their influence and power to achieve not only the common interests but also their own ones. Despite the available amount

of research and analysis on the concept of power, it is still difficult to fully grasp the whole concept of the nature of power. Opinions differ even among researchers and power measurement remains to be a challenging task as well.

Global politics is shaped by the struggle for power and by changing power balances while at the same time, actors behave in accordance with their national interests. The concept of power and the various ways of its use in international relations is more than complex. According to Keohane and Nye (1977), power does not only mean to force someone to do something but also to be able to influence and affect outcomes of cooperation for example. In this case the two relevant concepts are soft power and hard power. (Keohane and Nye 1977; Baldwin 2013)

In order to illustrate the complex relationship between power and interests within international relations, which also influences international cooperation, Stein (1982) argues that *'[...] a state's degree of power in the international system is one of the things that explains its preferences, and the distribution of power between states determines the context of interaction [...].'* (Stein 1982:319).

#### **2.1.3.1. National interests and their role in international cooperation**

The existence of different power balances and power relations shape international relations and the cooperation between states. Larger and more powerful states – in terms of economic, political or military power for example - may be less dependent on other states and therefore, less willing to join cooperative agreements, also, for example, because they can't agree on common interests and objectives that are suitable for both sides. Doubtless to say pursuing own national interests but also commonly shared ones goes hand in hand with power relations and power balances. The term *national interest* has often been used by states as guideline of their foreign policy approach and to justify their actions or their participation in bilateral or multilateral agreements. By defining the strategies of their foreign policy orientation based on their interests, states also pave the way for their future global role and position as well as it influences their approach towards international participation and global engagement. Proponents of realism in particular favor the idea of using national interests to explain the behavior and actions of states. There are various definitions of the term *interest*. One way to look at it is to regard interests as behavior-oriented goals, objectives, and concerns. James N. Rosenau (1968) argues that national interests can be used as both as an *'analytical tool'* (Rosenau 1968)<sup>29</sup> to define elements of a state's foreign policy approach as well as *'an instrument of political action'* (Rosenau 1968)<sup>30</sup>, used to legitimate certain policies or actions. Rosenau's thinking is similar to the considerations of the realist Hans Morgenthau (1985), who also associates national interests with the foreign policy strategy of a state. (Morgenthau 1985; Snidal 1985)

Jutta Weldes (1996) also uses the term of interests to explain the action of a state. Another definition can be found in the work of Martin Hollis and Steve Smith (1990) as they argue that *'the internal language of decision is the language of national interest'* (Hollis and Smith 1990:166 in Weldes 1996:276). In general one can say that interests primarily aim at own benefits and positive results concerning the economy, society, as well as domestic and foreign policy. This again emphasizes the realist assumption that interests play a significant role in defining a state's action and behavior within international relations and within any collaboration with others.

In his book *What is the National Interest? The Neoconservative Challenge in IR Theory*, Michael C. Williams (2005) deals with the broad and complex issue of a country's national interests and the difficulties to grasp its full range. He points out that national interests may not only be clearly

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<sup>29</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>30</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

defined materialistic interests. However, they can also be understood as a political concept with a defined and shared understanding towards the country's actual interests and relevant issues. Moreover, Williams argues that both the concept of national interests and the concept of public interests are inseparable. They interact and mutually influence each other. Precisely defined public interests of the society can shape and influence national interests. According to Williams, national interests can be expressed concerning social, economic, and political affairs (domestic and foreign), as well as in the field of security and defense policy. Interests are shaped by various elements, such as knowledge, understanding, technology, and other relevant specific national characteristics. (Stein 1982; Williams 2005)

On the microlevel Rudolph J. Rummel (1976) distinguishes between intentions, interests, and attitudes in the general but also in the political context. According to Rummel (1976), an *intention* is regarded as '*the active desire to achieve some future goal through some specific behaviour in a particular circumstance*'. (Rummel 1976)<sup>31</sup>. This means that behind every action of a person or a state there are intentions of achieving something that motivate and influence the behavior. In contrast to that, Rummel (1976) defines *attitudes* as desires, aims, and goals that are not actively realized. Attitudes can be understood as the theoretical approach of achieving a defined goal without the actual implementation of a certain action. *Interest* is defined as the power and force of an attitude, which will then be used to determine the behavior and action of a person/state to achieve the goals. Therefore, interests are behavior-influencing power factors. (Rummel 1976)

Especially in the context of international relations and international cooperation, the concept of national interests, understood as clearly defined objectives and goals, play an essential role. It helps policy makers, political experts, and governmental advisers to understand the behavior and the goals of other states concerning their strategies and intentions of their foreign policy approach. This is relevant for any form of international cooperation. Stein (1982) argues that '*[...] there are times when rational self-interested calculation leads actors to abandon independent decision making in favor of joint decision making.*' (Stein 1982:316). This again underlines the previously made assumption that self-interests of actors are a decisive factor when it comes to establishing cooperative agreements and joining collective actions to realize mutually shared interests and objectives. Self-interest driven behavior does not automatically restrict or exclude any cooperation, however, it is the foundation and common ground of it. Proponents of liberal institutionalism don't neglect self-interests per se but they argue that in the process of collaboration and intensified cooperation, states will shift their focus from self-interests towards common ones. (Stein 1982; Rosenau 1986; Welles 1996)

Mutually shared goals and objectives are relevant in cooperative agreements and in international institutions. In his work *The United States and International Institutions*, W. Michael Reisman (1999) addresses the issue of pursuing national interests within multilateral institutions. He also deals with the cost and benefit ratio of states when engaging in international organisations, all in accordance with their interests. Reisman (1999) takes a very critical look at the real interests of the member states and whose interests the representatives are actually obliged to enforce. He refers to this ambivalent situation as '*[...] the constant celebration of the supposedly preeminent authority of the institutions notwithstanding.*' (Reisman 1999:68). He argues that at the same time though, member states support the common interests of the organization only so far as they are also beneficial for the states' national interests. This implies that states are very aware of the advantages and benefits that come along with such forms of cooperation because '*[...] a multilateral institution is an instrument of policy to be*

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<sup>31</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

*wielded, like other instruments, in the pursuit of national interest.*’ (Reisman 1999:67).

In his research on the relation between the United States and international organizations, Reisman (1999) summarizes that pursuing the common goals of the organization is not the only driving force for states to participate because *‘international institutions are created by the states [...] to participate in them for the purpose of achieving their common and particular objectives.’* (Reisman 1999:71). Therefore, international cooperation is shaped and defined by the constant challenge between national interests and common interests of states.

### **2.1.3.2. The concept of power and its relevance for international cooperation**

The concept of power and changing power balances play a significant role in the field of international relations. They influence any form of cooperation to a certain extent, even within an institutionalized framework. According to Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan (1952), *‘The concept of power is perhaps the most fundamental in the whole of political science: the political process is the shaping, distribution, and exercise of power (in a wider sense, of all the deference values, or of influence in general).’* (Lasswell and Kaplan 1952: 75). Hans Morgenthau (1985) argues that *‘International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power.’* (Morgenthau 1985:31) and that *‘[...] power is always the immediate aim.’* (Morgenthau 1985:31) of all actions of states. But despite all the amount of research that has been done so far, the nature of power and power measurement still raise many questions and remain to be complex concepts in political science.

The two most prominent forms of power are soft power and hard power. The concept of soft power was introduced by Joseph Nye (1994). It describes the ability to attract cooperation and to influence others in their interests in order to persuade them of your own goals and desired outcomes. Therefore, soft power focuses on the ability to influence others and to affect outcomes but without using force or any military means: *‘Fully defined, soft power is the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes.’* (Nye 2011 in Baldwin 2013: 289).

According to David A. Baldwin (2013), soft power includes not only the ability to persuade and influence but also power resources such as culture, institutions, and ideology. Opposed to soft power, hard power refers to means of coercion, pressure, economic incentives, and also the use of military force to “persuade” others. In this context, Hans Morgenthau (1985) differentiates between political power (as related to soft power) and military power that includes force and *‘physical violence’* (Morgenthau 1985:33). In addition, Morgenthau (1985) emphasizes characteristics of power and defines power itself as *‘[...] man’s control over the minds and actions of other men.’* (Morgenthau 1985:32), whereas the term of political power *‘[...] [refers] to the mutual relation of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large.’* (Morgenthau 1985:32). The concept of power offers a broad variety of different interpretations and definitions. Understanding the concept of power and its various forms within international relations will facilitate further analysis of behavior patterns and actions of states in international organizations as well as in the field of global governance. Morgenthau (1985) argues that even the formation of cooperative agreements or institutions as *‘nonpolitical means’* (Morgenthau 1985:31) in international politics can be interpreted as the actors’ strive for power because they want to achieve their goals and interests based on cooperation, for example. In this context, he also refers to Woodrow Wilson and his idea of the formation of the League of Nations that was driven by the goal and interest *‘[...] to make the world safe [...].’* (Morgenthau 1985:31). Participation in international institutions and in actions of cooperation may also be used by states to strengthen their international “power position”.

Power is an important factor in international relations and characterized as *'key concept in realist theories of international politics.'* (Baldwin 2013:273). In fact, the field of international relations is more or less shaped and formed by power relations and changing power balances, which also influence any interaction and interdependence between states. The wish to enforce own national interests in cooperative arrangements also implies a certain strive for power of states. Such power can be used for the achievement of the collective good or for the state's own benefits in terms of material gain or to enhance its international reputation. Keohane (1982), as important proponent of the liberal institutional approach, defines the relation between power and regimes/ institutions as follows: *'Relationships of power and dependence in world politics will therefore be important determinants of the characteristics of international regimes. Actor choices will be constrained in such a way that the preferences of more powerful actors will be accorded greater weight.'* (Keohane 1982:330).

The concept of power also includes various other relevant elements. Baldwin (2013) argues that it is also necessary to consider so-called *'power terms such as power, influence, control, coercion, force, persuasion [....].'* (Baldwin 2013:273). With reference to Robert Dahl (1957) and his theoretical considerations about the role of power, the common ground of all these power terms is the use of power to cause someone else to do something he/she would not have done otherwise and therefore, exercising a certain kind of influence. In his work, Dahl (1957) considers that international relations resemble a play between actor A and actor B: Actor A being influential and causing actor B to do something that B wouldn't have done otherwise. Therefore, actor A is more powerful whereas actor B is the one being influenced and affected and who may also be restricted in his/her behavior and action. Another similar approach concerning the concept of power is given by Lasswell and Kaplan (1952), describing power as *'triadic relation'* (Lasswell and Kaplan 1952:76). Power is not only defined by its means and elements, such as coercion or influence, but also regarded as some form of relationship between three actors. The power of actor A and actor B may shape and even change the behavior of actor C, but maybe in two different areas for example. This approach describes power in a more relational way and includes the question of the power scope of each actor. They also argue that power itself and the exercise of power do not automatically imply violence and force. Instead they focus on power as a characterizing element in the interaction between two or more actors. (Lasswell and Kaplan 1952)

Interdependence and power influence each other as Keohane and Nye (1977) have identified. The concept of power itself and the existence of power balances and changing power conditions within the complexities of international relations also determine the degree of interdependence between states and shape their interaction, also in international institutions. Unbalanced power conditions are more likely to affect cooperation insofar as *'asymmetrical'* (Keohane and Nye 1977:18) interdependence may lead to negative results and outcomes. Power plays a role in liberal institutional thinking, which regards power as crucial and decisive element in the international environment. Power can be used by a hegemonic actor to "force" other states to collaborate for example. But according to liberal institution thinking, cooperation and interaction between states in general and in international institutions can also take place without one hegemonic "superpower". (Little 2001)

Especially in the field of international politics and international relations, the *balance of power theory* remains to be a key concept that shapes and influences international cooperation. Furthermore, it can also be understood as some form of guidance and structural explanation of how the system of international relations works.

The British scholar Martin Wright (1955) points out that international politics is characterized by influencing *'major groups in the world so as to advance the purposes of some against the*

*opposition of others.*' (Wright 1955:130). It becomes obvious how relevant and determining the balance of power in international relations actually is. Baldwin (2013) agrees on many points with Wright when describing the balance of power theory as a concept that expects changes and shifts of political power depending on the most influential group of states/ actors at that time. Power balances increase the degree of vulnerability of other states in the international system and can endanger global security and therefore, lead to system instability. However, power relations can be balanced when states form alliances and cooperative arrangements, also in form of institutions for example. (Pandey 2009)

States are likely to behave and act in accordance with their interests, concerns, their regional and international influence and scope of power. It is safe to say that states are very aware of their power position and own capabilities when participating in the system of global politics and economy, and in particular, when joining international institutions. They balance the pros and cons of participation and intend to define a certain power position and status within the institutions.<sup>32</sup>

According to Reisman (1999), *'[...] the life of every political institution is marked by a constant testing and stressing of legal and other power arrangements, by those [...] in search of changes they believe will benefit them.'* (Reisman 1999:68). He also points out that international institutions establish their own *'internal power process'* (Reisman 1999:69). Within international organizations the following conditions prevail: states striving for power, changing power balances, internal power structures, and diverse interests that have to be brought together to some point of common goals as basis for further collective action. Therefore, the concept of power plays not only a significant role in international relations and for cooperation but also for the analysis of the role of states within international organizations. Their power role may influence their participation approach and in turn, influence the institutional arrangement itself. Given that context, Keohane and Nye (1974) argue that *'Like other political institutions, international organizations reflect the interests as well as the attitudes of actors that are powerful in them.'* (Keohane and Nye 1974:60). This raises the question if international institutions do in fact limit the power of some states but at the same time, strengthen the power of others? This may be another interesting field to conduct further research.

In conclusion, it can be said that the international environment is characterized and shaped by different, sometimes conflicting, national interests, objectives, and claims to power of states that wish to enhance their international reputation and position. But despite these challenges, international cooperation can be successfully realized towards mutually established goals by taking joint action in order to solve global problems. Increased interaction and growing interdependence among states makes it easier to "persuade" self-interested states to cooperate and collaborate, especially within institutionalized structures, such as institutions. Doubtless to say, institutionalized cooperation may also be used by states to define and strengthen their own power status and position. However, according to liberal institutionalist thinking, collective action and common objectives become the focus of attention in contrast to power maximization and solely achieving own interests, as argued by proponents of realist thinking. Of course this does not automatically imply that states completely abolish their own interests in cooperative agreements and actions, but their prioritization and understanding change.

According to Rosenau (1968), the concept of predominant national interests may become less important and relevant for states because of increased interdependence and interaction between states,

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<sup>32</sup> A difference concerning the role and power within an organization can be found in the example of the Security Council of the United Nations with its only five permanent members from a total of 193 officially recognized member states.

also due to globalization and the spread of the “cross-border” thinking. States will increasingly acknowledge the need to cooperate and to make compromises, even at the risk of setting aside their self-interests for the sake of global security and stability. Nowadays, states that refuse to cooperate and to work together with others – in a formal or informal arrangement - will face the risk of being left out and excluded. Since the negative consequences of such a move would outweigh the advantages in the long run, states are better advised to join cooperative agreements and participate in collective action, not only for their own good but also for the overall international good.

More information about the different dimensions and other forms of power identified by Baldwin (2013) can be found in the appendix, see A2.

#### 2.1.4. International cooperation and the trend towards institutionalization: The complexities of global governance

##### 2.1.4.1. The concept behind global governance

As already identified, the process of globalization has brought changes within the international environment, such as increased interdependence and interaction, strengthened cooperation between states and raised awareness of global responsibility concerning global problems. Modern world politics is now shaped by various formal or informal, bilateral and multilateral agreements and arrangements, with rule-governed structures and based on commonly shared interests, objectives, and goals. The term globalization can be defined as a *‘[...] process in which the world moves toward an integrated global society and the significance of national borders decreases.’* (Zürn 2013:402).

The “cross-border” thinking and strengthening of cooperative actions between states are the underlying principles of the whole process. The growing interconnectedness and interaction but also the need to take collective action against global problems has led researchers to think about the nature and functioning of cooperation within an anarchic system of rational actors - as supposed by realist as well as liberal thinkers. As already explained in detail, this has raised the overall awareness of the need of institutionalized arrangements to coordinate, guide, and strengthen cooperative activities based on mutually shared interests and objectives, such as global peace and stability. Moreover, states became responsible and acknowledged the need to establish institutions, which would enable and facilitate collaboration, also on the background of divergent national interests and power balances. Since there is no single central global government that is responsible, institutions were assigned the role of intermediaries between states that are joining cooperative action and agreements in various issue-related areas. During this development, the term and concept of global governance has emerged and can be defined as follows:

[...] the sum of laws, norms [as patterns of behavior], policies, and institutions that define, constitute, and mediate relations among citizens, society, markets, and the state in the international arena - the wielders and objects of international public power. Even in the absence of an overarching central authority, existing collective arrangements [in form of institutions and organizations] bring more predictability, stability, and order to transboundary problems than we might expect. (Weiss and Thakur 2010a:6)

Therefore, collective arrangements are established to generate and maintain peace, security, and stability within the international surrounding. One prominent example of such a collective arrangement is the League of Nations that is regarded as one of the first formal associations between states in modern world politics. The concept behind global governance can be understood as an instrument to regulate and coordinate international relations as well as to facilitate the communication and actions between various actors of international world politics based on laws, principles, and



policies. This can again be linked to the concept and theoretical considerations of institutions and regimes. Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur (2010a) argue that the term governance should not be misunderstood in this context because it does not refer to a specific political institution that is authorized to “govern”, but it should rather be understood as formal (laws, norms and regulations) and informal (guidelines) elements, institutionalized behavior, and actions that include a broad range of actors (i.e. IGOs, state governments, non-state actors such as NGOs and others). Weiss and Thakur (2010b) explain that *‘Global governance [can be seen] as a new international relations paradigm to replace the existing paradigm of state sovereignty.’* (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:38). The idea of collective action towards mutually established objectives and policy goals concerning global peace and security, economy, finance or environment for example requires such institutionalization and rule-governed, collective arrangements to “govern” global activities and to solve global problems. The establishment of organizations (including various forms and types or agencies that are operated under one main organization) increases the level of interdependence of states insofar as activities of one state might influence other states or vice versa. Intensified interaction also increases the degree of dependence upon actions between states. This interdependence can also be understood in terms of developing important networks. In this context, the term global governance *‘[...] refers to the formal and informal systems and networks that with all their imperfections and limitations provide some measure of international order in the absence of a world government.’* (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:36). The idea of interdependence and interconnectedness is also emphasized in the following definition of global governance that can be understood as the *‘[...] entirety of regulations put forward with reference to solving specific denationalized problems or providing transnational common goods.’* (Zürn 2013:408).

Without one central government as the responsible authority, global governance is implemented through rules, norms, and regulations concerning the behavior and action of the states. As Michael Zürn (2013) points out, global governance requires at least some common interests between the states, which, in turn, mitigate the risk of disagreements and conflicts between them. According to Weiss and Thakur (2010b), *‘Actors form institutions to mitigate collective action problems by sharing information, reducing transaction costs, providing incentives for concessions, providing mechanism for dispute resolution, and establishing process for making decisions.’* (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:45-46).

In the beginning, it was already identified that states remain the central actors in the field of international relations. For most of the part, states’ representatives are responsible for engaging in cooperation, establishing institutions and organizations, defining common interests, and determining fields of action. It may seem obvious that more powerful states (in terms of their political and economic power but also concerning their reputational status) are more likely to play a larger role in the institutional system than less powerful ones. At some point in history, this was true. Especially after the Second World War, the United States played a very dominant role in world politics as well as in international institutions. But since the circumstances change and due to increasing interdependence and interconnectedness, *‘[...] even a hegemonic state has to act in coordination with others’* (Karns and Mingst 2004a:16).

Within the field of global governance, there are also other relevant non-state actors that are “linked together” through institutionalized arrangements. The broad variety includes intergovernmental organizations (IGO)<sup>33</sup> as well as non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGO), issue-specific specialized professionals and experts, international political

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<sup>33</sup> More information about intergovernmental organizations (IGO) can be found in the appendix.



networks, and especially multinational corporations (MNC)<sup>34</sup>. All of the above mentioned actors play a significant role in the international environment. They have their own structural characteristics and issue-specific fields of activities and responsibilities. The concept of global governance has very much been shaped by the growing awareness of global problems and the need to take collective action, which requires states to engage in cooperation with others to achieve mutual goals, such as global security and stability. (Karns and Mingst 2004; Lawson 2012d; Zürn 2013)

In his analysis about the relation between the United States and international institutions, Michael W. Reisman (1999) demonstrates the importance of states as key actors in global governance by using the example of the United States. He identifies four diverse international roles states can take over in the complexities of global politics<sup>35</sup>: ‘*A prophetic and reformist role*’ (Reisman 1999:63) in which the state sees itself as a missionary, who is responsible to reform global politics and the international surrounding. The state is linked together with world politics and thus, international institutions must be established and cooperation further promoted. When assigned an ‘*infra-organisational role*’ (Reisman 1999:63), states may be prone to take over a leading role due to their perceived power and pursuit of own interests, which may interfere with its possible missionary intentions. The ‘*custodial role*’ (Reisman 1999:63) refers to states that see themselves as the only actors responsible for maintaining global order and stability. They feel responsible and obliged to make the final decisions in matters of international importance and interest. This may lead to conflicts and disagreements with other states within the institutions, especially when there is no determined hierarchical internal structure. The last one of these four international roles of states within an institutionalized system is the ‘*domestic-pressure reactive role*’ (Reisman 1999:64). As Reisman (1999) points out, this refers to situations in which the foreign policy agenda of states seems to get mixed with their domestic politics. Matters of domestic interest and relevance are (automatically) transferred and added to the international agenda of organizations which might lead to diplomatic conflicts, discrepancies, and power struggles with others.

#### **2.1.4.2. Elements of global governance**

As already identified, global governance should not be understood as one single governmental body that is responsible for coordinating all areas of international politics and cooperation among states. It is also not a hierarchical structure that regulates and governs global activities. More than all of that, the system of global governance consists of various arrangements and institutions, global activities, and actions between states that are all based on rules, structures, regulations, and principles. It is possible to identify these elements and assign them to four fundamental pieces of global governance. All of them are essential and important for global governance to be effective and efficient in terms of cooperative problem-solving, joint decision-making, and collective action to solve global problems. It is important to adjust divergent interests to commonly shared interests and objectives, to provide information to all members equitably, and to strengthen and improve the states’ capacities and resources to take operational actions, such as in the fields of peace cooperation, security maintenance, development assistance, humanitarian assistance, human rights, economic development, and environmental protection. In the following, the four core pieces will be briefly discussed. (Karns and Mingst 2004a)

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<sup>34</sup> Corporations that are conducting business in more than one state. MNCs become more important as national markets are more globalized and interlinked now. With their established oversea branches, they contribute to a large extent to strengthen international economic relations while investing money and creating jobs within the global system.

<sup>35</sup> According to Reisman (1999) the United States perform these four roles within the international system simultaneously.

1. *International laws and rules* including treaties, issue-specific conventions (i.e. about environment protection or climate change), multilateral agreements (on arms control or disarmament for example), legal decisions or implemented legal systems (i.e. human rights law, trade law etc.). In general, public international law can only be applied to states, which are the main actors within the international system. However, in cases of attacks against peace and security, other relevant actors can also be held responsible. International cooperative agreements usually aim at states. Therefore, non-state actors, such as companies, individual actors etc., are not bound by these rules and thus cannot be held accountable. In such cases, additional norms and rule-governed patterns of behavior can be installed to take legal actions against them. Often though, international law fails to implement fixed international mechanisms for the enforcement of rules and activities as well as for guaranteeing the states' compliance with these international rules. (Karns and Mingst 2004a)

2. *International norms and behavior patterns* have already been mentioned. These are not legally binding duties but provide regulations and principles states have to follow. In contrast to international laws, norms can also be applied to non-state actors, making them liable for non-compliance or offenses. International norms are also valuable and necessary for providing a possible framework for future agreements and arrangements. (Karns and Mingst 2004a)

3. *Formal and informal structures and forms*: This element of global governance refers to institutionalized arrangements and includes intergovernmental organizations (IGO) and non-governmental organizations (NGO) on various levels, from sub-regional, to regional and global level, and other formal associations of states (i.e. G8 or G10). Non-governmental organizations are regarded as non-state actors, including individuals acting in private organizations independent from the government. They are active on all levels of governance, such as local organizations up to national and also international organizations. NGOs usually offer services and support in distinct areas based on certain values and core principles. Concerning their function, NGOs are often very similar to IGOs in providing and sharing information and know-how, promoting active participation, addressing global problems, and calling for joint action. Prominent NGOs are for example Médecins Sans Frontières, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, World Wildlife Fund (WWF), Amnesty International or Greenpeace. (Karns and Mingst 2004a)

4. *International regimes* are another essential element in the complex system of global governance. According to Stephen Krasner (1994), regimes are defined as '*sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations.*' (Krasner 1994:97). Regimes can be understood as the underlying foundation and concept of collective arrangements. They provide the foundation for international institutions, which are established to promote and to facilitate cooperation and interaction between actors as well as to maintain global stability. The institutionalization of rules, regulations, and certain patterns of behavior clearly define the obligations and responsibilities of states in terms of actions and their compliance with the rules as well as the fields of cooperation and interaction. (Karns and Mingst 2004a)

#### *The concept of diplomacy and its significance for global governance*

When talking about the concept of global governance, interaction between states, and cooperative agreements, it is also necessary to consider the basic concept behind any cooperation: the practice of diplomacy as being '*[...] the management of relations between states and between states and other actors.*' (Barston 2006a:1). Another definition describes diplomacy as '*[...] communications process between international actors [...]. This process has been refined, institutionalized, and professionalized [...].*' (White 2004:388). There are various methods and means to conduct diplomacy in order to determine mutually shared interests and objectives and to take actions. Especially in the

field of foreign policy and international relations, diplomacy is an essential and decisive tool of communication. Due to changes in modern world order, the growing interdependence and increased interaction between states, diplomacy has become an important instrument to maintain overall stability: *'[...] an important function of diplomacy is the creation, drafting and amendment of a wide variety of international rules of a normative and regulatory kind that provide structure in the international system.'* (Barston 2006a:4).

Since there is usually a larger number of states participating in international institutions, diplomacy is a significant “instrument of communication” within international relations to coordinate bilateral and multilateral actions, for example in form of private talks, conferences or consultative meetings of the member states. Over time, the term *‘institutional diplomatic style’* (Barston 2006c:73) has emerged and refers to a certain way of conducting diplomacy in negotiations, consultations, and also in the decision-making processes within institutional structures that is shaped by underlying regime formalities of the institution. Another, more specific type of diplomacy is peace diplomacy. The international environment has become progressively more connected, which requires the use of diplomatic methods to strengthen international relations and cooperation between states. Diplomacy plays a significant role in international arrangements and agreements. Multilateral diplomacy has become a key characteristic of modern world politics that is carried out especially in bilateral and multilateral arrangements and through international institutions. (White 2004; Barston 2006a; Barston 2006b)

More information about the concept of diplomacy can be found in the appendix, see A3.

#### **2.1.4.3. The United Nations as central part in the complexities behind global governance**

Throughout the reviewed literature, the United Nations Organization (UNO, also referred to as UN) is identified as the core part in the complex system of global governance. After the collapse of the League of Nations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the UN emerged as its successor and is now one of the most prominent, powerful, and highly regarded international institutions. The UN deals with various issues of global importance and promotes cooperation among its member states, mostly through its numerous subsidiaries, sub-organizations, and agencies. Especially concerning global peace and stability, the UN has provided much assistance and support since its inception in the 1940s and continues to do so as its main goal is to maintain world peace and order. Although the relation between the theoretical concepts of regime, institutions, and organization has already been discussed, researchers may argue that the UN may not necessarily be associated with an underlying “regime structure” so to say, as its membership does not ultimately restrict member states in their actions and national decision-making process. Or in the words of Stein (1982), *‘[...] mere membership in no way constrains independent decision making.’* (Stein 1982:317).

The United Nations Organizations was primarily founded to stabilize the after-war world order and to maintain global peace and enhance security. It was believed that such an organization as a key component in international politics would be able to mitigate the risk of future international conflicts based on its peacekeeping and peace-building policies<sup>36</sup>. However, it was not only the aim to guarantee stability, security, and peace but also the wish to enhance and to intensify cooperation, interaction, and collaboration between the states towards mutual goals, based on the liberal thinking of the importance of *‘[...] international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human*

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<sup>36</sup> Peacebuilding measures are regarded as important and essential to mitigate political, economic or social tension between states that might lead to conflicts or disputes that pose a threat to global peace.

rights [...]’ (Howard 1990:32).

By joining the UN, member states should be made aware of their global responsibility to solve global problems, commit to mutual interests and values, demonstrate participation and contribution to the work of the UN, and work together with others to achieve commonly shared goals. In order to mitigate the risk and avoid potential disagreements and disputes, the UN is now also regarded as an important “system tool” to reconcile individual member states’ interests and intentions and promote cooperation in an environment of growing interdependence in political, economic or social areas.

In 1941 the *Atlantic Charter of August 14* between the United States (represented by President Franklin Roosevelt) and Great Britain (represented Prime Minister Winston Churchill) was implemented. It covered issues such as the need for international economic collaboration and cooperation as well as the need of constant security controlling. This declaration became the foundation for the establishment of the United Nations on 24 October 1945 with a total of 51 members. The main idea was to assure peace between the states after the troublesome years of the Second World War, to succeed the League of Nations and to correct the made mistakes. Today, the United Nations has 193 officially recognized member states.<sup>3738</sup> The UN Charter is the legal foundation document of the UN and was created in 1944, ratified and signed on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco. The Charter determined the basic purpose of the United Nations and its work including its legal legitimacy. It also defined principles of international relations that shaped and influenced modern world politics. According to the Charter, the UN is primarily assigned the functions of peacemaking, peacekeeping, post-conflict peace-building, and preventive diplomacy within modern world politics. (Coate and Puchala 1994; UN 2000; Karns and Mingst 2004b; Taylor and Curtis 2004; UNDPKO 2008; UNOV 2013)

Concerning the internal structure of membership of the UN as a universal organization, the following considerations were made:

The participants agreed that the organization would be based on the principle of the sovereign equality of members, with all “peace-loving” states eligible for membership, thereby excluding the Axis powers – Germany, Italy, Japan and Spain. It was also agreed that decisions on security issues would require unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council, the great powers.<sup>39</sup> (Karns and Mingst 2004b:98)

The main idea and function of the United Nations is determined in the Article 1 of the UN Charter:

To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to make effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. [...] [Based on] international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights [...]. (Howard 1990:32)

The UN Charter does not explicitly refer to the concept of collective security that has failed in the League of Nations. However, its main focus is set on combining forces and carrying out joint actions to promote and ensure international peace and security. Membership in the United Nations is basically

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<sup>37</sup> A complete list of all members can be found in the appendix, see A4.

<sup>38</sup> Membership decisions are generally made by the General Assembly following a recommendation of the Security Council. Detailed information about these main organs of the UN will be given in this chapter.

<sup>39</sup> The Security Council includes the United States, Russia, China, Great Britain and France.

open for *‘[...] all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and [...] are able and willing to carry out these obligations.’* (Howard 1990:233)<sup>40</sup>. As it is determined in Article 2 of the Charter, the UN acknowledges the *‘[...] sovereign equality of all its Members’* (Howard 1990:232), which assigns each member one vote in the General Assembly. Possible new member states must be recommended by the Security Council, but the final decision is made by the General Assembly. Nowadays, being a member of the United Nations is beneficial for many – especially smaller – states insofar as they can use the UN as a global platform to present and represent their national interests as well as to increase their level of international participation, which, in turn, also increases their global responsibility<sup>41</sup> and strengthens their perception by others

Member states are also required to *‘[...] give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.’* (Howard 1990:233)<sup>42</sup>. In this context, the term assistance emphasizes again the importance of cooperation between all member states. Within the United Nations there are two kinds of membership: the “standard” membership in the General Assembly and the status of being permanent member in the Security Council (limited to five states), including veto power. Due to this major difference in the status of members, many other, especially small and middle-sized, states call for reforms of the Charter to be adapted to the contemporary world order and to allow more states to become permanent members, including greater involvement and responsibility. Today, modern world politics is not only shaped by the former great power of the U.S., China, Russia, France, and Great Britain but also by other economic powers.<sup>43</sup>

The United Nations can be understood as a large international organization for maintaining global economic, political, and social stability and peace, which guarantees a safe and stable international environment. But the UN is more than that. It has developed into a multilateral network of international cooperation and collaboration among the member states, including subsidiary bodies, numerous related issue-specific organizations (i.e. World Trade Organization WTO, Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons OPCW, International Atomic Energy Agency IAEA etc.), commissions, programs and funds<sup>44</sup> (i.e. United Nations Development Programme UNDP, United Nations Environment Programme UNEP, United Nations Children Fund UNICEF etc.), and specialized agencies<sup>45</sup> (i.e. International Labor Organization ILO, International Monetary Fund IMF, World Health Organization WHO, World Bank Group etc.) that are operated under the auspices of the United Nations<sup>46</sup>. Weiss and Thakur (2010b) describe the UN system as a dense network of other organizations that *‘[...] facilitates the world organization’s efforts to make a difference in international and global problem-solving.’* (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:39). A detailed graph that illustrates the organizational structure of the United Nations with its major organs on top and including all relevant organizations, programs, agencies, commissions, and offices can be found in the appendix,

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<sup>40</sup> This can be found in Article 4 of the UN Charter.

<sup>41</sup> One can argue that it has already become somehow a “moral obligation and duty” for states to be part of the United Nations for their participation on the international stage.

<sup>42</sup> This is defined in Article 2 of the UN Charter.

<sup>43</sup> Japan is one of the member states seeking to become a permanent member in the Security Council for a long time already.

<sup>44</sup> Programs and funds are defined as *‘Institutions which are subject to the supervision of the General Assembly and which depend upon voluntary funding by states and other donors.’* (Taylor and Curtis 2004:420).

<sup>45</sup> Specialized agencies are *‘international institutions which have a special relationship with the central system of the United Nations but which are constitutionally independent [...]’* (Taylor and Curtis 2004:420). They have their own budget as well as own internal governance structure.

<sup>46</sup> Many of them, for example, have been established after specific global conferences.

see A5.

The UN network covers a broad range of topics and areas of international politics, such as humanitarian assistance, development assistance, industrial development, monetary and economic issues or the fight against poverty. Over time, the UN became an important and significant “institutionalized system” for maintaining global stability and for international relations in general. Weiss and Thakur (2010b) regard the United Nations as the key element for ‘[...] *multilateral diplomacy and collective action to solve problems shared in common by many countries.*’ (Weiss and Thakur 2010b:38).

Today, the UN has 193 member states and six official languages, including Arabic, English, French, Mandarin, Russian, and Spanish. The UN is responsible for generating stability and maintaining order in modern world politics by creating international rules, norms, law, and principles with global applicability. The overall coordination of work between the numerous organizations, agencies, and programs is often very complicated and may lack efficiency. Being the engine of, as well as the platform for multilateral actions and especially multilateral diplomacy, the UN promotes cooperation and interaction through organizing international conferences and meetings, and directing states’ interests towards commonly shared values. The United Nations provides assistance to states in conflict-solving processes, keeps track of the economic, social, and political conditions of states and also endeavors to mitigate the risk of any international, regional or national disputes and conflicts to happen at all. The UN has installed formal procedures concerning its involvement or intervention in situations of conflicts or war, which is foremost dependent on the approval of the Security Council. Primarily, it justifies its action of involvement by referring to potential threats to regional and global security. Besides the moral responsibility and their national interests, it is also of high importance for states to participate in the United Nations as they are then regarded as ‘[...] *legitimizing state autonomy* [...].’ (Taylor and Curtis 2004:422) in the international system. The General Assembly of the UN is regarded as an important platform for representatives of all member states to play a role on the international stage and to work together with other states to achieve mutual goals and objectives. The Security Council and the General Assembly are the two most important organs of the United Nations. Membership in the United Nations also requires states to pay a financial contribution to the United Nations in order to support its work and efforts. There are three different ways for states to financially contribute to the organization of the United Nations: Firstly, compulsory contributions of states based on their payment capacity assessed on gross and per capita national incomes. Secondly, obligatory financial contributions to peacekeeping operations that are also assessed on the basis of their regular UN budget contribution and thirdly, voluntary financial donations that are mainly used for peacekeeping missions and development and humanitarian assistance programs. Although there are determined financial contributions for each member state, the UN often has to deal with the fact that states are not paying their full shares, which in turn can also hamper the efficient management and coordination of the activities. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1990; Roberts and Kingsbury 1994a; Karns and Mingst 2004b; Taylor and Curtis 2004)

The six major organs of the United Nations are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and the Secretariat.

#### *General Assembly*

The General Assembly is the center stage for all UN member states as it is regarded as ‘[...] *the place to set agendas of world politics, to get ideas endorsed or condemned, actions taken or rejected.*’ (Karns and Mingst 2004b:109).

Their legal status as members provides states with the right of one vote for decisions made in the General Assembly. The Assembly controls and monitors all related activities of the UN including its agencies, organizations, programs etc. Its main functions are the nomination of future members (based on recommendations of the Security Council) and the election of non-permanent members to the Security Council, the ECOSCOC, and the Trusteeship Council. Members of the General Assembly are also responsible for nominating the judges in the International Court of Justice as well as the UN Secretary-General (again only based on the recommendation of the Security Council). Decisions made in the Assembly are primarily based on consensus voting. The agenda of the General Assembly covers a broad range of issues, such as human rights, development, environment, arms control and disarmament. The Assembly is responsible for budget planning, organizing conferences, and making recommendations about operational actions to the Security Council as well as for overlooking the activities of subsidiary bodies. The Assembly can also conduct studies when necessary due to the potential outbreak of conflicts or wars. For that matter, the Assembly can also call the attention of the Security Council towards peace and security related issues as the Council is primarily responsible for decisions concerning security and global peace. However, the Security Council as well as the UN Secretary-General have to provide relevant, up-to date information to all members of the Assembly in such matters.<sup>47</sup> For example, when the Korean War erupted in 1950, the General Assembly initiated a resolution – known as the *Uniting for Peace Resolution*<sup>48</sup> – that should provide the Assembly with the right to take collective action in global safety and peace endangering situations in case of a veto in the Security Council which would prevent any intervention. Resolutions and decisions made in the General Assembly play a central role for future conventions and may also be used as foundation for new legal decisions concerning the international law, as it is determined in the Article 13 of the Charter. Together with the Security Council, the Assembly is also responsible for reviewing the UN Charter on a regular basis.<sup>49</sup> (Howard 1990; Roberts and Kingsbury 1994b; Karns and Mingst 2004b)

The Assembly holds annual meetings for at least three months during which general and issue-specific topics are discussed as well as one president and seventeen vice presidents are elected for a period of one year. Due to the large number of member states and the broad range of issues that are within the remit of the Assembly, there are six committees responsible for a variety of the Assembly's work: disarmament and international security, economic and finance, social, humanitarian and cultural issues, special politics and decolonization, administration and budget, and legal matters. A special national delegation represents each respective member state in the Assembly.<sup>50</sup> The assigned representatives of states take part in meetings, negotiations, and conferences of the Assembly and in several conferences of its committees. On behalf of the member states, they promote national interests as well as commonly shared interests and objectives. In addition, it became very common for states to establish fixed UN headquarters and missions to be “available and present any time”. Within the Assembly, coalition and group building has become relevant insofar as states use such “block-building” measures to shape outcomes or to use the “accumulated power” to bring forward resolutions or certain decisions. These groups vary from regional groups (i.e. African states, Asian states etc.) to multilateral groups (i.e. ASEAN members, Islamic Conference etc.). Especially in the agenda of the UN, multilateral

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<sup>47</sup> This is determined in the Articles 10, 11, and 12 of the UN Charter.

<sup>48</sup> The exact wording of the *Uniting for Peace Resolution* can be found in the appendix, see A6.

<sup>49</sup> With a two-third majority in the Assembly, the Assembly can suggest adjustments or additions to the Articles in the UN Charter.

<sup>50</sup> Each state can have a maximum of five representatives in the Assembly as it is determined in Article 9 of the Charter.

diplomacy is carried out every day in all aspects. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994b; Karns and Mingst 2004b)

#### *The Security Council*

The Security Council is the principal executive organ within the UN System and is primarily responsible for international peace and security. It consists of the following five permanent members (P5) – also referred to as the *Great Powers* - the United States, Great Britain, France, PRC China, and Russia. Each of them has veto power that allows them to object to any drafted resolution. Apart from the five permanent members, the Security Council also consists of ten non-permanent members. When the UN was established it was decided that the number of permanent members in the Security Council was to be kept to a limit as a smaller group would guarantee a more efficient and effective (and, if necessary, quick) decision-making process in cases of security-endangering situations. The power of decision-making and calling for actions is only assigned to the Security Council, as it is determined in the Article 39 of the UN Charter:

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken [...] to maintain or restore international peace and security. (Howard 1990:33)

For a period of two years, ten states are elected as non-permanent members to assist the Security Council in its work. Issues can be brought up to the Security Council by all UN member states as well as by the Secretary-General. Decisions in the Security Council must be made by a majority of nine out of the total 15 members, including the five permanent members. These decisions must be accepted as binding by all UN members. Among the functions of the Council are observing armed conflicts, conducting peacekeeping operations, imposing sanctions, and resolving conflicts or disputes if necessary. As already mentioned, the UN abides by the principle of non-intervention as long as international peace is not threatened. According to Chapter VI of the UN Charter on '*Pacific Settlement of Disputes*' (Taylor and Curtis 2004:407), the Security Council is required to find solutions for a peaceful settlement, to provide mediation between the two conflicting sides or to establish a peacekeeping operation by delegating specific peacekeeping missions in the area of conflict. Acting in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter, '*Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression*' (Curtis and Taylor 2004:407), the Security Council can also take stronger actions in terms of economic sanctions or imposing arms embargo based on joint resolution. The Council itself has very strong formal power but as it is limited in number of members, it is dependent on the collaboration with and cooperation of other UN member states and their contributions to really make use of that power. This is particularly the case for implementing peacekeeping operations as it requires additional personnel contribution of the member states, imposing sanctions or other actions of enforcement. The Security Council's symbolic power and its perception by others also determine and influence the willingness of other states to participate and to work together. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994b; Karns and Mingst 2004b; Taylor and Curtis 2004)

#### *The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)*

This Council is regarded to be the most complex part within the UN system because it is responsible for the greatest number of issue-areas, most of the UN expenditures, and the largest number of various programs and activities. In its basics, the ECOSOC is responsible for the coordination of the work of the specialized agencies, such as ILO, WHO or World Bank, as well as for conducting research on economic and social issues or for organizing conferences for example. It can also make



recommendations to the General Assembly. But the ECOSOC has no legal power over the budget or administrative matters of the agencies and institutions, which makes proper coordination more than difficult. Every three years, the General Assembly elects 54 members in compliance with a specific quota of geographical representation.<sup>51</sup> Decisions are made by majority or consensus voting. The range of the council's authority includes seventeen specialized agencies, functional and regional commissions, and other administrative bodies. There are ten functional commissions dealing with the issues of human rights, social development, the status of women, development and population, crime prevention and justice, sustainability and development, science and technology, narcotic drugs, forests, statistics etc. Regional commissions (i.e. Economic Commission for Europe or Economic Commission for Western Asia) have been established to promote and intensify regional development including certain projects and extensive research. However, the ECOSOC is also responsible for several institutions and programs of the General Assembly, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) or the World Food Programme (WFP). (Karns and Mingst 2004b; ECOSOC 2013)

#### *The Secretariat and the UN Secretary-General*

The Secretariat of the United Nations includes a number of over 7000 staff members in the UN headquarters in New York, Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi as well as in other UN bureaus all over the world. The members of the Secretariat are expected to be representatives of the international community and society. Therefore, they are required to give priority to international interests rather than own national ones. Many of the members are involved in field studies and conducting programs of the agencies and subsidiary organizations. Other functions include information gathering, providing statistical data and reports as well as providing translations of conferences, meetings, and documents. The Secretary-General is leading the Secretariat. He/she is responsible for the overall organization and the budget as well as for the conducted research programs and studies proposed by other UN organs. Besides the obligatory annual report to the General Assembly, he/she has the personal right to bring forward issues to the Security Council for consideration and discussion that he/she regards as *"[...] [threat to] the maintenance of international peace and security"*.<sup>52</sup> (Karns and Mingst 2004b:118)<sup>53</sup>. The Secretary-General is responsible for the demands and claims of the Secretariat as well as the UN member states. The election of the Secretary-General takes place every five years with the possibility of renewal based on the recommendations of the Security Council and a two-third majority in the General Assembly. The nomination of possible candidates is strongly influenced by the five permanent members of the Security Council. The Secretary-General has gained much importance and international reputation as he/she is regarded as a neutral intermediary and personal representation of the UN. Personality and management and financial skills are relevant for the success and effectiveness of a Secretary-General's work. The current eighth Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, took over the office of former Secretary-General Kofi Annan in January 2007 and was reelected in 2011. His second period as Secretary-General ends on 31 December 2016. Ban Ki-moon formerly was the foreign minister of South Korea.<sup>54</sup> (Karns and Mingst 2004b; UN 2012)

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<sup>51</sup> Fourteen members must be from African States, eleven from Asia, six from Eastern Europe, ten from Latin American and Caribbean States and thirteen from Western Europe and other states. So-called *Western European and Other States* also *'[...] includes the United States, Canada, and, as of 2000, Israel under certain circumstances.'* (Karns and Mingst 2004b:106).

<sup>52</sup> Since January 2013, the current, 69th President of the ECOSOC is the Colombian Ambassador Néstor Osorio.

<sup>53</sup> As it is determined in Article 99 of the UN Charter.

<sup>54</sup> According to official UN documents, his priorities and main focus for collective action and international cooperation are climate change, pandemics, food, water, energy as well as the fight against poverty (UN 2012).

#### *Other relevant organs*

**The International Court of Justice (ICJ)** is the judicial organ and legal advisory of the United Nations. It is responsible for peaceful conflict settling in accordance with international law and norms. The General Assembly and the Security Council elect together fifteen judges for a nine-year period and five for a three-year period.

**The Trusteeship Council** was originally responsible for the administration of the trust territories from the former League of Nations (referring to German colonies situated mostly in Africa) in order to support them in their development towards self-government or independence status (in form of separate, sovereign states or becoming part of other countries). The members of the Security Council are also part of the Trusteeship Council. In 1994 the last trust territory, Palau, gained independence. This marked the end of the operational activities of the Trusteeship Council and annual meetings were called off, but are held when necessary or requested by the majority of its members or other UN organs. (Karns and Mingst 2004b; UN 2013a)

Neutrality is an important element in the United Nations insofar that it plays an important role for the actions of the UN. Based on the Charter, the UN and its members abide by the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs and ongoings of a sovereign state as long as it does not pose any threat to the global security and peace. In cases of potential risks for the overall security situation, the UN can intervene with the necessary approval of the Security Council. According to the legal foundation, member states are instructed to refrain from the use of force *‘[...] against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state [...]’* (Karns and Mingst 2004b:99) and to peacefully solve international conflicts. Many times though, member states did not act in accordance with these principles which required the UN to take enforcement actions, such as economic sanctions. Member states are obliged to support these actions and are responsible to “monitor” nonmember states in order to maintain international stability, security, and peace. As already mentioned, member states are obliged to pay a certain financial contribution to the regular UN budget. In addition, they also have to pay shares to the UN peacekeeping budget, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

The principle of self-defense against military attacks – determined in Article 51 of the UN Charter as the *‘[...] “right of individual or collective self-defence” against armed attack.’* (Karns and Mingst 2004b:100) – remains to be an ambivalent and conflicting point of interest. It allows member states to react to armed attacks against their own country, but they have to take responsibility for their actions, report them and they must create peaceful arrangements to solve the conflict. In many cases, though, disagreements about the actual roles of the perpetrator and victim as well as mutual recriminations have been the consequence. (Karns and Mingst 2004b; Taylor and Curtis 2004)

#### **2.1.4.4. The strive for security and peace in international relations and its relevance for international cooperation**

As examined earlier, the agenda of world politics is very much shaped by the issues of cooperation and the maintenance of security, stability, and peace. In addition, wealth, poverty reduction, and conflicts are also among the traditional topics in the field of international relations. (Jackson and Sorensen 2007b)

However, today’s world politics is not only limited to these issues. Within the international system many more issues are handled and dealt with in cooperative arrangements and organizations. Among these issues are, for example, international trade, international finance, international environmental politics and environment protection, human rights, refugees, (industrial) development and aid assistance, terrorism, international health programs and protection, international peace and stability, industrial and agricultural development, fight against poverty, international security, and conflict

resolution. In this thesis the focus is set on the importance of global peace, security and international peace cooperation as well as the participation of states in peacekeeping operations, especially UN Peacekeeping Operations and operations conducted by multinational forces that are referred to as MNF peace operations. Additional detailed information about relevant issues and topics in international relations and cooperation, such as environment, international trade and finance, economy, development and aid assistance can be found in the appendix, see A7.

### *International peace cooperation and global peace support: The central tenets of global security governance*

In the field of international relations war has always been a decisive factor in world politics and has shaped many relationships between states. The goals of global security and peace are regarded as the foundation for the establishment of the League of Nations and later the United Nations, which both foster the idea of the concept of global governance. Within the international system, divergent interests and objectives inevitably lead to conflicts. Increased cooperation between states may not be able to completely eliminate situations of disagreements, but it may mitigate the risk of serious conflicts breaking out. Working together towards commonly shared values and objectives strengthens the “community and global security thinking” and further promotes international stability and peace. As explained earlier, the concept of global governance is made up of different pieces and elements, such as international law, international norms, and rules that are relevant especially in times of growing interaction, interdependence, and interconnectedness. One has to comply with the “rules of the game” in order to strengthen its international role and foremost, to make such a system work.

Since the world order has significantly changed over time due to new state formations or collapses of states, interstate<sup>55</sup> and especially intrastate<sup>56</sup> conflicts have increased. With the intensified interaction and growing global sense of responsibility, intrastate conflicts also became more and more a matter of international attention. This development, on the other hand, may also be questioned concerning whether global interference is appropriate and or whether it may cause more damage. The more people - in this case states - participate, the easier it can be to solve the situation or, on the other hand, the more complex and difficult it can get. This leaves room for further and deeper analysis and evaluation of international interference in intrastate conflicts.

International peace is not only jeopardized by interstate or intrastate conflicts and disputes that are endangering global stability and security but also by humanitarian disasters and problems that are often results of such conflicts. Poor living conditions or environmental catastrophes often lead to situations of humanitarian emergencies. In such cases, intervention for humanitarian protection is of relevance. Due to the increased awareness of global problems and the responsibility of states, such issues have become matters of international interest and therefore, call for collective action. Apart from the possibility of war, conflicts or humanitarian disasters, global stability is also challenged by the growing number of terrorist attacks and the ever-present danger of weapons of mass destruction. Counterterrorism actions have become very important within the global multifaceted security governance in the past years. The brutality and violence of war, armed conflicts, and terrorist attacks pose a threat to international security. Ethan de Mesquita (2013) emphasizes the difference between these threats: ‘*Terrorism is a tactic [...] to try to leverage relatively low levels of violence into larger influence. It is different from war fighting in ways that are of considerable analytic and empirical interest.*’ (De Mesquita 2013:635-636).

Despite the fact that the interaction and cooperation between states have significantly increased over time – many might argue that the world has never been as interconnected as it is now –

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<sup>55</sup> *Interstate* meaning between two or more states.

<sup>56</sup> *Intrastate* meaning within one state.

international security, peace, and world order still seem to be challenged more than ever. Global security and peace play a significant role for international politics and shape international cooperation. (Karns and Mingst 2004c; Wheeler and Bellamy 2004; De Mesquita 2013)

Global security governance with the aim of maintaining peace and stability is very much dependent on the participation and contribution of states, as well as the work of relevant organizations. The core elements are peace-building and peacekeeping operations, disarmament efforts, and humanitarian assistance. The UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO), implemented by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), have gained importance all over the world. Economic sanctions, third party intervention, and mediation efforts are among the most prominent tools of global security governance to respond to conditions that are endangering the global security. As Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst (2004c) have identified, the system of global security is formed by global active IGOs with specific topics, such as security, peace, and humanitarian relief, as main focus of their work. For that matter, international norms concerning the use of military force, international conventions on security, conflict, and war as well as regional and international collective defense treaties and security agreements are important. Within the system of the United Nations, there are numerous organizations, agencies etc. that are actively engaged in actions concerning security, peace, humanitarian assistance, and maintaining global stability whereas there is also a broad variety of non-governmental organizations that play a significant role.<sup>57</sup>

The need for regional and global security arrangements and organizations was very much influenced by the consequences of the war periods during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The concept of collective security, as proposed by former U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, became the central idea of international peace and security cooperation and for further efforts towards constructing a framework and network of relations to assure stability of the world order and within world politics. The League of Nations and later the United Nations are the central pieces of the concept of security governance.

The use of force for security reasons is very ambivalent especially in modern world politics. Although the UN requires peaceful conflict-solving, the use of force per se is not prohibited insofar as it is accepted in cases of self-defense against armed attacks. Peaceful settlement of disputes does not automatically mean that force cannot be used at all. However, there are various regulations and principles within the UN concerning the use of force for conflict-solving. As already mentioned, any responses of states must be reported to the UN and the use of force must be appropriate to the extent of the actual attack. This “self-defense” principle may also lead to disagreements and controversies concerning its interpretation and makes the whole topic more complex. But global security may not only be threatened by armed attacks, but also challenged by humanitarian catastrophes and also

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<sup>57</sup> Examples within the UN system are the Security Council, the General Assembly, the UN Secretary-General and the International Court of Justice (ICJ); other UN specialized agencies, offices or commissions are for example the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) or the Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Regional groups concerning security and humanitarian affairs are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) or the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). There is also a broad range of peace and security related NGOs. Examples are the International Peace Academy, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF or Doctors without Borders), Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE) or World Vision. (Karns and Mingst 2004c)

because of so-called crimes against humanity.<sup>58</sup> The implementation of international humanitarian norms has emphasized the need for protection of human rights, also concerning the use of force for humanitarian protection and assistance. (Karns and Mingst 2004c)

#### **2.1.4.5. United Nations peacekeeping operations**

Peacekeeping has become a complex, multilayered concept that requires international cooperation and collaboration of member states to maintain regional and global peace and stability. Within the UN system, the Security Council was designed as the primary body responsible for international security. It is authorized to call for peacekeeping operations (i.e. field operations for the management and resolution of conflicts) as well as to demand the use military force and the enforcement of (political or economic) sanctions if necessary – especially in situations that are posing a threat to global stability and peace. The Security Council is the only UN organ that can authorize missions and operations that are officially led by the Secretary-General and managed by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (UNDPKO) and the Department of Field Support (DFS). UN peacekeeping operations are implemented by the respective United Nations Country Team and headed by a Representative of the Secretary-General, who is assisted by a Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General, a resident coordinator, and a humanitarian coordinator. The operational function of such operations is assigned to specific mission headquarters and various leadership teams and is carried out by civilian, military and police units as part of the UN Country Team, which is made up of voluntary national contributions by UN member states. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c; UNDPKO 2008)

#### *The importance of peace-building and peacekeeping activities: peacekeeping regime*

The idea of collective action and the concept of collective security have been the driving force for increased cooperation and interaction between states for a long time, as evidenced by, for example, the League of Nations. But due to past mistakes and previous experiences, the UN did not implement a system of collective security in its Charter nor uses the precise term of collective security because it would be a reminder of the failure of the League of Nations. The main function of the UN is to establish a safe and stable international environment, which requires joint action and cooperation between states. In general, this includes peacekeeping operations, economic sanctions, the use of force based on the self-defense principle<sup>59</sup> against a possible security threat, and intervening actions for humanitarian reasons.<sup>60</sup> UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO) are an essential element and important characteristic of the work of the UN<sup>61</sup>, implemented on an ad hoc basis in cases of armed conflicts or to mitigate the risk of a dispute turning into a more severe situation. As emphasized, the field of peace-building and peacekeeping *‘[...] is not only limited to conflict resolution but comprises a broad range of activities designed to establish a solid social foundation for durable peace.’* (HPC 2009:2).

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<sup>58</sup> In the Article 8 of the International Criminal Court Statute, *crimes against humanity* are determined and refer to (violent and armed) attacks against the civilian population, the persecution of a specific group of people, torture, rape and others, see Karns and Mingst 2004c.

<sup>59</sup> Determined in Article 51 of the UN Charter as *‘the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations.’* (Howard 1990:37).

<sup>60</sup> The first official peacekeeping operation under UN command was the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) that was sent to the Sinai peninsula (Egypt) after the Suez Crisis of 1956 (Durch 1993).

<sup>61</sup> Blue helmets became a synonym for UN peacekeeping missions worldwide.

Within the UN Charter, Chapter VI (“Pacific Settlement of Disputes”) and Chapter VII (“Action with Respect to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace and Acts of Aggression”) have been designed to regulate such missions and to determine their legal basis. Within the framework of peacekeeping operations under UN command, the compliance with human rights and international humanitarian law<sup>62</sup> in peacekeeping and peace-building activities are of utmost importance.

In general, peacekeeping operations basically result in the output of joint public goods insofar as their objectives and results are of global importance and not specifically for individual use and benefit. According to Davis B. Bobrow and Mark A. Boyer (1997), there are two main purposes of such peacekeeping operations: Firstly, to stop armed conflicts and to prevent them from turning into bigger clashes and secondly, to generate an international environment that allows for peaceful talks and negotiations between different parties. In their elaboration on the public and private goods discussion in peacekeeping activities, the authors also refer to the example of Todd Sandler (1977) who has emphasized the ‘*joint product model of public good provision*’ (Todd 1977 in Bobrow and Boyer 1997:726) in which individual interests of states are combined with collective interests and objectives, thus motivating states to join activities and operations of international security for the pursuit of public goods. This is yet another characteristic of the liberal approach towards cooperation between states on matters of global importance, combining national and collective interests for the common goal.

The complexities of peacekeeping measures and security maintenance of the United Nations involve a broad variety of activities and actions, such as *conflict prevention*, *peacemaking*, *peacekeeping*, *peace enforcement* and *peace-building*. Conflict prevention includes preventive diplomatic measures, such as mutually negotiated agreements, to mitigate the risk of any further escalation of conflicts between states. Peacemaking activities usually aim at conflict resolution between two hostile parties in order to establish a peace agreement that ends the conflict, also via diplomatic means and with the support of various actors (i.e. governments of states, regional or non-governmental organizations). The concept of traditional peacekeeping involves actions of security and peace maintenance and includes ceasefire observation and positioning military ground forces between two conflict parties in order to assist them coming to an agreement. Peace enforcement – also referred to as non-traditional peacekeeping as discussed later on – comprises coercive measures (i.e. use of military force) that are authorized by the Security Council based on Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Actions of peace enforcement are implemented in situations that pose a possible threat to international security and in particular, when other measures have shown no success. Peace-building on the other hand is a long-term process of securing the post-conflict situation and generating the necessary conditions for peace and development within the affected state. Peace-building measures should strengthen the overall national capacity in order to ensure its functioning after the conflict has been resolved. Although all these activities differ in their basic nature and orientation, UN peacekeeping operations can often not be clearly assigned to one specific category as they may involve peacemaking as well as peace-building elements within their implementation. What they all have in common is the cooperation of various distinct peacekeeping actors working towards the same goals of international peace and security.

In general, the activities in the field of peacekeeping and peace-building can be summarized as conflict resolution, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), control of weapons, restoration of social order, maintenance of stability and security, electoral observation, humanitarian assistance, and reconstruction of infrastructure and social infrastructure for example. Within the UN system the Security Council is responsible for issuing mandates to deploy peacekeeping forces for

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<sup>62</sup> This is determined in the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and also known as *law of armed conflict*. It prohibits the use of any methods of armed conflict and stipulates the protection and support for civilians (non-armed and uninvolved persons) in conflicts. (UNDPKO 2008)

operations that vary between smaller observer missions up to larger operations, including the dispatch of military ground forces or even military intervention (Chapter VII operations). The contingent of peacekeeping forces is usually made up of different national personnel contributions. However, they are working together under UN command and for the common goal. Although such peacekeeping forces have actually not been precisely determined in the UN Charter, they have become a common “peace instrument” for local conflicts delegated to mediate between the parties and to mitigate the risk of greater struggles. To enhance the effectiveness of their work, the cooperation of the conflict-involved parties is necessary. Peacekeeping operations of the United Nations can be implemented to solve international conflicts and regional conflicts that may endanger global security. The UN peacekeeping forces in the Golan Heights at the Israel-Syria border are a commonly known example<sup>63</sup> UN peacekeeping operations have become the most prominent and most significant characteristic of the work of the United Nations. Although in many cases delegations of peacekeeping forces were not able to prevent wars from happening, the involvement of UN forces alone in such conflict situations between states has often mitigated the risk of greater conflicts and calmed rival disputes. In general, UN peacekeeping operations are implemented in accordance with the following three principles: the consent of the parties is required, peacekeeping forces operate under the neutrality principle and the use of force is restricted to actions of self-defense. When acting as a mediator between two hostile parties, impartiality is very important for any peacekeeping operation under UN command because it requires effective transparency and open communication to gain the approval of the respective parties. Besides these guiding principles, UN authorized collective action towards international peace, stability, and security is also dependent on the factors of legitimacy and credibility. The reputation of UN operations is closely linked with the quality and effectiveness of the implementation and the deployed peacekeeping personnel. The better trained the personnel, the better the results that can be achieved. The competence of UN-led missions and the responsible administrative bodies are very much determined by the process of implementation, its transparency, and overall structure. Respect of human rights and national sovereignty as well as the efforts to strengthen national cooperation are relevant elements for the credibility of peacekeeping operations. Apart from the UN peacekeeping operations, peace missions can also be implemented and financed by multinational forces (MNF). They are operated under the command of one major state (or more states) that is (are) responsible for the overall coordination and implementation. However, MNF peace operations must be also approved by the United Nations.

As already mentioned, peacekeeping forces conduct various tasks that are labeled as *traditional peacekeeping*: securing and controlling borders, monitoring ceasefires, and intervening and positioning between two parties as so-called ‘*buffer forces*’ (Howard 1990:43) as a precautionary measure. Sometimes, they are also required to assist with election observations. International election observation operations are implemented in order to guarantee a fair process of election or other forms of voting in areas of political unrest. They are carried out by UN organizations and in cooperation with the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) or other regional organizations. Although these monitoring operations are not actually included in the guiding framework of UN peacekeeping activities, they play an essential part in the field of international peace cooperation and in peacekeeping operations. During major conflicts, UN peacekeeping forces also provide humanitarian assistance to the affected population in terms of materials and relief supplies. As mentioned earlier, peacekeeping operations can only be successful if the involved parties agree to its implementation, but there are also cases in which national demands or

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<sup>63</sup> Tensions have emerged due to conflicting territorial claims of both parties involved.

refusals may restrict UN peacekeeping forces in their action. (Howard 1990; Roberts and Kingsbury 1994b; Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c; UNDPKO 2008; HPC 2009)

To achieve its ultimate goal of international security, the UN Security Council can “choose” between a variety of conflict-resolving tools, as already mentioned. Besides peacekeeping operations, economic or political sanctions are another important instrument of enforcement to respond to aggression or acts of violence by one party.<sup>64</sup> From the 1990s onwards, the use of sanctions became a common instrument of the Security Council. Sanctions are also regarded as ‘[...] a [symbolic] form of communication of international values.’ (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c:45) and an important sign of warning, which would also underline the seriousness of the UN action and the response. When it comes to the use of force and military action in conflicts, the UN is very careful to really command military intervention because it also has a strong impact on the legitimacy and credibility of the United Nations. As mentioned before, one guiding principle of peacekeeping work is that armed peacekeeping forces are only allowed to use force for self-defense. Since 1973 the use of force has been justified as follows: ‘[...] the use of force against armed persons preventing fulfillment of the mandate [...]’ (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c:41). Until now, this has not been the case very often. Military intervention of UN peacekeeping forces is also viewed critically due to the lack of political support, high costs of such “force” operations and especially because troops were often not sufficiently armed to successfully carry out such military operations. Only in severe cases air strikes can be used as a peacekeeping instrument. However, serious concerns about the actual use of air power and its consequences remain. This form of *non-traditional peacekeeping* is determined in Chapter VII of the UN Charter and authorizes the use of force (i.e. blockades, demonstrations and other) of the UN and its members when international security is threatened and no other measures, such as traditional peacekeeping measures, economic sanction, halt of diplomatic relations etc., have proven to be successful. Actions of peace enforcement can be implemented by land, air, and sea forces and aim at protecting civilians and stopping possible peace opponents in their actions. Peace enforcement should not be used to fight against opponents with military means towards their defeat. In contrast to traditional peacekeeping activities, actions of peace enforcement do not need the approval of the respective parties. Even in actions of peace enforcement, peacekeeping troops have to comply with the ‘*principle of the minimum force necessary*’ (UNDPKO 2008:35) to avoid any further escalation and spreading of military force. Every peace operation has its own rules that also determine the level of force that should be used for specific situations. When the Security Council has decided on a so-called Chapter VII operation, member states are required to cooperate and obliged to provide armed forces as well as facilities for the operation. In such cases, member states also have to allow the transfer and crossing via their territories of UN forces, as determined in Article 43. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c; UNDPKO 2008)

For more severe cases, Article 45 of the Charter regulates the deployment of combined air forces:

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, [...], by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1990:243)

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<sup>64</sup> The use of sanctions is determined in the Article 41 of the UN Charter – as opposed to peacekeeping operations that have not been explicitly determined - and again based on the basics ideas of collective security action against one aggressor.



The United Nations Military Staff Committee (MSC) was established under Article 47 of the Charter and is assigned to the Security Council. It consists of military representatives of the five permanent members of the Council. Its function is to provide assistance to the Security Council in terms of non-traditional peacekeeping missions (i.e. military actions and the use of force) as well as to plan such operations in terms of the personnel contingent and a possible armament of the troops.

In principle, all military forces are under the formal command of the Security Council, but they act according to their states' commands. In cases of actions of peace enforcement, not all member states may equally approve military enforcement actions. This may limit the effectiveness of such operations when peacekeeping forces are not acting as one cohesive unit. The structure of the UN command system is not as coherent as it would need to be to guarantee an efficient process of decision-making and implementation of military intervention actions. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c)

Humanitarian assistance is another important element in the field of international security maintenance and peace cooperation and especially its delivery in conflict areas. Humanitarian relief is carried out by various UN related organizations, such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or the World Health Organization (WHO). Humanitarian intervention of UN forces *'[...] with the purpose of preventing widespread suffering or death among the inhabitants'* (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c:47) may also be carried out by using military means without the consent of the parties involved.<sup>65</sup> The resolutions of the Security Council on the delivery of humanitarian assistance are also made on the premise of a possible threat to international peace and stability. Humanitarian involvement versus military intervention still remains to be a sensitive topic within the UN system because it also intervenes with the UN principle of non-intervention in many cases. It is more than challenging for the United Nations to draw a line between necessary intervention and indirect involvement based on consultations and mediation. UN operations on security and stability are very much dependent on international agreement and consent, which may often limit the work of UN forces in the implementation of their actions. (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c; Secretariat of IPCH 2010)

Besides traditional and non-traditional peacekeeping, the United Nations not only deploys peacekeeping contingents for conflict resolution but also for supporting the process of long-term development and conflict recovery of affected states after stabilization and after a peace agreement has been reached (in the ideal case). UN peacekeeping involves activities on various levels, but towards the common goal of international security and peace maintenance. Especially in post-conflict situations, UN peacekeeping operations are implemented to create the necessary safe and stable conditions for the state's political and legal "re-functioning" process in terms of support for the establishment of government institutions and the state's political, social, and economic recovery. Sustainable peace development is dependent on various factors that have to be accomplished by UN operations: strengthening the state's own capacity and ability to restore peace and security in compliance with human rights and the rule of law, enhancing the state's authority, generating the legitimacy for the establishment of governance institutions, promoting overall national recovery, and providing electoral assistance. For a limited period of time, the Security Council can also install a transitional administration for support and assistance during a government change in an area of conflict or in times of post-conflict national reconstruction. Another important part of peace contribution includes activities concerning disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of

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<sup>65</sup> Cases of such interventions were the Kurds conflict in Iraq in 1991 and the crises in Somalia and former Yugoslavia from 1992 onwards (Roberts and Kingsbury 1994c).

combatants (DDR). This refers to the elimination of weapons and the achievement of disarmament to promote and support a secure and peaceful national reconstruction. (UNDPKO 2008)

### *Financing UN peacekeeping*

The activities of the United Nations in the field of peace-building and peacekeeping are financed by its member states. They are required to pay a financial share to the regular UN budget, but also the PKO budget of the United Nations. This mandatory financial contribution is determined in Article 17 of the UN Charter: ‘*The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization*’ (UN 2013c)<sup>66</sup> and ‘*The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as appointed by the General Assembly.*’ (UN 2013c)<sup>67,68</sup>.

Each member state’s mandatory financial share in UN peacekeeping operations (PKO budget) is calculated based on a fixed formula including various parameters. It assesses the states’ relative economic power<sup>69</sup> and also takes into account their contribution to the regular UN budget, determined as follows: ‘[...] *the rates of assessment for peacekeeping operations should be based on the scale of assessments for the regular budget of the United Nations with an appropriate and transparent system of adjustments based on levels of Member States.*’ (Committee on Contributions 2013a)<sup>70</sup>.

In general, the five permanent members of the Security Council are assigned a larger share due to their responsibility and power of being the highest decision-making body within the UN system whereas poorer countries have to pay a reduced financial contribution. The incurring costs are paid by the permanent five members of the Security Council as they are surcharged on their regular assessed share. This assessment system categorizes ten different levels of financial share<sup>71</sup>, starting from Level A, comprising the permanent members of the Security Council, to Level J, consisting of the least developed countries (with an approved discount of about 90 percent). Member states of level B are assessed based on the same factors as for the regular UN budget whereas discounts are possible for categories C to J. The budget of each state is assessed for a three-year period, the most current one from 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2015. Although this financial share is mandatory, it is not uncommon that states do not provide the full payment and therefore, are in debt to the United Nations concerning past and current peacekeeping shares. In official UN figures and tables, this is categorized as *current debts* and *prior debts* of states. As of October 2013, the total amount of debt of member states was about USD 3.26 billion. Apart from their compulsory financial contribution, states can also provide additional voluntary aid in form of material, personnel, financial, transportation, and logistics contribution. The budget for each UN peacekeeping operation is determined on the basis of the requirements to achieve the objectives of the mandate, including personnel cost (i.e. payment of peacekeeping forces), and operational costs (i.e. transport and logistics). In contrast to the states’ financial share to the peacekeeping activities, the budgets of operations are assessed on an annual basis. The regular budget period starts from 1 July until 30 June. It requires performance and action reports of each operation at the end of each assessment period. The UN Secretary-General provides a provisional budget plan to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), which forwards a revised version to the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly that is responsible for budgetary affairs. Afterwards, the overall budget has to be approved by the General Assembly. Concerning the states’ voluntary contribution in the form of personnel deployment

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<sup>66</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page number.

<sup>67</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page number.

<sup>68</sup> This commitment was reaffirmed by the member states based on the Resolution 55/325 passed by the General Assembly in 2000.

<sup>69</sup> Measured by the per capita gross national product for example.

<sup>70</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>71</sup> A detailed list can be found at [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/55/235](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/55/235).

(military, police and civilian), the states themselves are responsible for their payment according to their national salary scale. In contrast to additional financial contributions, personnel contributions are refunded by the UN based on a standard rate of about USD 1028 (as of 2013) per dispatched soldier per month. Police and civilian personnel are paid out of the determined operation's budget because they are included in the personnel cost. Other contributions in the form of materials or equipment for UN uniformed contingents for example are also refunded. (Committee on Contribution 2013b; UN 2013d; UN 2013e)

In terms of international security and peace, the United Nations is responsible for a great variety of tasks, such as peacekeeping operations or other actions of enforcement. But despite all great efforts, critical voices have been raised claiming that the UN and especially the Security Council may not have been very successful in resolving conflicts, but rather in mitigating the risk of the outbreak of greater disputes. However, the United Nations has clearly contributed a lot to the current condition of global stability and peace and its members enjoy a high status of representation and acceptance within the international environment. Moreover, the UN has promoted and enhanced international cooperation and further strengthened the participation of member states in peace and security related areas. It also raised their awareness of global problems as well as of their responsibility to take collective action to respond properly to such challenges.

## **2.2. Methodology for defining criteria for evaluation: Relevant components of international peace cooperation**

The aim of this thesis is to make a comparative analysis of Japan and South Korea concerning their activities in the field of international peace cooperation between 2000 and 2010. This includes participation in international peacekeeping operations, in particular UN peacekeeping missions but also relevant MNF peace missions, as well as other possible areas of activities to contribute to global peace and to promote overall stability.

### **2.2.1. Methodological approach**

As I started to define my topic and tried to structure my empirical analysis in more detail I came across a lot of literature dealing with the issue of international organizations and institutions and their overall efficiency and effectiveness. Much research had been done concerning the relationship between states and international institutions and the role of states in terms of voting shares or quota regulation for example. The United States, especially because of its hegemonic power after the Second World War, and the European Union are the two most common case studies of the reviewed literature. There is a lot of literature about regime effectiveness and performance effectiveness of organizations, but also about the participation and performance of states. In such cases the performance is measured either based on outcomes or based on the process of decision-making. Outcome based performance refers to concrete outcomes and results that are counted in more or less precisely defined numbers, such as how many conflicts had been solved or how many decisions and agreements had been established. The process-based analysis covers the broader field of decision-making and the role of states in these processes.

However, the focus of analysis in this thesis is set on the participation and contribution of Japan and South Korea in the field of international peace cooperation, including their efforts and measures to maintain and promote global peace and stability. I don't want to analyze the effectiveness of their participation, but more precisely *how* they contribute to international peacekeeping activities and other

relevant areas and what their participation looks like. For the comparative analysis and to further underline the purpose of this thesis I tried to define an in-between approach between the microlevel (i.e. functions of an organization and basic tasks) and the macrolevel (i.e. actual outcomes and results of cooperation), see Gutner and Thompson (2010).

Especially in the field of UN peacekeeping operations, I examined the works of Bobrow and Bayer (1997), Hirono and Lanteigne (2011), and Gill and Huang (2009). I also looked at official UN documents dealing with peacekeeping and other relevant peace supporting activities. Based on this “intermediate level” - between microlevel and macrolevel - I want to analyze the basic components of their contribution to peacekeeping activities and their efforts of cooperation in order to assure global peace and security. Moreover, I want to analyze each country’s peacekeeping policy, its practices, and its overall efforts to support the activities of international peace cooperation. After going through the works of Yokota (1975), Haggard and Simmons (1978), Reisman (1999), Medeiros and Frave (2003), Dür (2008), Lipsy (2008), Jørgensen (2009), Jørgensen et al. (2011), Koremenos et al. (2001), Olson and Prestowitz (2011), Gnath et al. (2012), and especially Huang and Patman (2013), I was able to determine certain categories that will be used as the guideline and basis for my comparative analysis of Japan and South Korea concerning their participation and performance in international peace cooperation activities. To some extent, I was also able to include and adapt some elements of what Yozo Yokota (1975) has defined as ‘*official participation*’ (Yokota 1975:69) of states:

[...] “official” participation” [of a state means] its membership in various organization, its role and status therein, its participation in the policymaking of organizations, its contribution (financial or otherwise) to the activities of the organizations, and implementation [...] of policies and decisions laid down by them. (Yokota 1975:69)

In the following course of planning and structuring, I wanted to create a coherent concept of the field of international peace cooperation activities and to provide a framework of certain criteria that is used as basis for the comparative analysis and evaluation. The framework is based on the findings of the theoretical part of this paper and on the reviewed literature, including articles and analyses of case studies of the above mentioned authors. In sum, the following criteria should provide an essential insight into the broad field of international peace cooperation. Moreover, it should give the reader an idea of the different approaches of both states’ peace cooperation activities.

## 2.2.2. Framework of analysis

### 2.2.2.1. The evolution and nature of international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities

Before analyzing the participation of states in international peacekeeping operations and other peace related activities, it is necessary to establish a basic understanding of the nature of peace support cooperation of the states and to provide the necessary general information about the main elements of their political approach towards such actions for promoting and maintaining international peace and security, see Hwang (2012). This criterion should answer all questions about the evolvement of the states’ peacekeeping cooperation activities and their peace support contribution, also referred to as ‘*evolution of [...] [the state’s] approach to peacekeeping*’ (Gill and Huang 2009:2). When did the state participate in an official international peacekeeping operation for the first time? How did the state participate? It is also necessary to examine the legal framework concerning the states’ contribution to and participation in international peacekeeping operations in order to present a clearer picture of their peacekeeping and peace cooperation approach. What is the respective law that deals with the states’ participation in peacekeeping operations and when was it signed? Furthermore, it is important to take a

closer look at the main components of the legal act concerning the states' efforts to assure global peace and stability. The legal framework is a very important element because it significantly shapes the nature of the states' cooperation in peacekeeping activities and it regulates the overall performance of states in the field of peace cooperation. In this context it is also important to examine if there are any legal restrictions concerning the states' participation in peacekeeping activities that may hamper their peacekeeping efforts. If there are, is it possible to identify that these restrictions actually influence and shape the states' involvement in international peacekeeping missions and if yes, to what extent?

As mentioned previously, member states of the United Nations are required to pay a financial share to the UN peacekeeping budget. Therefore, it is also relevant to take a closer look at the mandatory financial contribution of Japan and the Republic of Korea to the official UN peacekeeping budget. Although this will be counted as criterion of financial contribution in the final evaluation, in this context it is regarded as an important element of the general approach of states towards international peacekeeping operations. How much is the mandatory financial share of both states to the peacekeeping budget of the United Nations and how did it change over the years? Are there any significant differences between the two states?

Since we have already emphasized the financial linkage between the United Nations and the respective states in terms of their mandatory financial contribution to the peacekeeping budget, it is also relevant to consider another basic element in their relationship, the direct institutional linkage between the state and the United Nations in terms of established permanent missions to the UN. Are they, for example, somehow relevant for the coordination of the states' peace cooperation activities with the United Nations?

After having examined all the basic elements of the nature of the states' approaches towards peacekeeping activities, including the relevant peacekeeping law and the financial and institutional linkages, it should give a more comprehensive picture of the overall situation.

#### **2.2.2.2. Internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes**

Apart from the direct institutional linkage between the state and the United Nations in form of the establishment of a permanent mission to the UN, this criterion deals with the internal decision-making structure and the internal coordination of the states' participation in peacekeeping operations. More precisely, to whom are official requests for participation directed and how are these requests handled within the state? By taking a closer look at the communication channel and the internal structure of coordination and decision-making, I want to examine the basic components of the "working relation" between the states and the respective institutions, but also within the states concerning the coordination of their peace contribution, see Hwang (2012). In other words, what are the relevant contact points within the government that are responsible for the coordination of the states' contribution to international peacekeeping activities? What are the responsible government departments? Who has to report to whom and who makes the final decision? This criterion also includes the decision-making processes within the states about the implementation of their peace cooperation, also concerning their personnel, material or financial contribution. Is there a specific department, ministry or a special agency responsible for the coordination of their peace cooperation activities and of their participation in international peacekeeping operations? Are there other relevant national actors, specific governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations or even non-state actors included in the decision-making processes? Analyzing the overall internal structure of coordination and decision-making will provide a valuable insight into the different approaches of the states towards their contribution to peacekeeping activities and what emphasis is laid on international

peace cooperation in general. Are the processes of decision-making within the states complex and require much time and effort? Who is responsible for the overall coordination of the states' contribution to international peacekeeping operations? Is it a joint decision-making process? What requirements must be met before decisions can be made? Is there a difference in the decision-making processes and the implementation of the peace assignment between UN peacekeeping operations and MNF peace operations?

This criterion should give an overview about the relevant responsible departments, agencies or ministries concerning the states' participation in and contribution to international peacekeeping operations and foremost, how official requests are handled and dealt with.

#### **2.2.2.3. Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations**

As already discussed in the theoretical part about the nature of peacekeeping operations, the participation of states in such operations can take place in various forms. Apart from personnel, financial or material contribution, it is very important to determine the fields of action for national peacekeeping forces. Peacekeeping operations comprise a great variety of possible areas of contribution and chances for states to cooperate in order to work towards the common goals of global peace and stability. These areas include traditional peacekeeping activities, such as ceasefire observation, security surveillance, border controls or public order management. Moreover, peacekeeping forces can also be assigned to monitor the parties' compliance with the rules of the established peace agreement. Other possible areas of contribution are reconstruction and rebuilding assistance in order to repair war damages, and also humanitarian relief assistance that has become an essential part of peacekeeping operations. Humanitarian assistance includes the provision of materials and supplies but also medical care to help the affected population. Moreover, another important part of peacekeeping activities are international election observation operations that are often conducted between the UN and relevant organizations. National peacekeeping forces are dispatched to help with the necessary preparations and to monitor the election processes and the ballot counting afterwards. This criterion of contribution covers a broad range of possible areas of cooperation in and contribution to UN peacekeeping operations and MNF peace operations. The main question is in what kind of activities both Japan and South Korea participated in the period between 2000 and 2010. Is it possible to identify a certain prioritization of the states concerning the above mentioned fields of action within peacekeeping operations?

The general indicator of cooperation and participation basically deals with the activities, programs, and actions that are coordinated between the state and the relevant organization, the agenda of their cooperation and its actual implementation. According to Gutner and Thompson (2010) and CIC (2011), the performance of participation can also comprise issue-related decisions made by the government for example as well as proposals for the implementation of actions, from the state as well as from relevant agencies. Yokota (1975) argues that participation in organizations also refers to the contribution of states to joint activities and for example, their adoption of decisions as part of the cooperative agreement. In the field of international peace cooperation in particular, it is possible to differentiate between areas of contribution and participation in such joint activities, such as ceasefire observation, security surveillance, humanitarian assistance, reconstruction assistance etc. In the case of humanitarian assistance for example, there is again another broad range of possible contribution. States can send peacekeeping forces to provide medical assistance or they can solely provide relief supplies. Is it possible to identify a certain tendency of states towards specific fields of participation in peacekeeping activities? In other words, what are their common actions and methods of cooperation and contribution to peacekeeping operations? In this context, it is also possible to compare the states' actual commitment to peacekeeping activities, as determined in the respective peacekeeping law, with



their actual participation in terms of the deployment of peacekeeping personnel or the provision of assistance in form of materials and supplies. Participation in international peace cooperation activities and peacekeeping operations offers a great variety of areas and methods for contribution. This should make it easier to identify certain trends of participation or certain preferences of the deployment of peacekeeping forces of both states concerning their activities in the field of peacekeeping cooperation. The aim of this analysis is to examine the participation of Japan and South Korea in international peacekeeping operations between 2000 and 2010 based on the above mentioned areas of contribution.

#### **2.2.2.4. Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations**

Throughout the literature personnel contribution of states in international organizations and their participation in activities of the organization are regarded as one of the most important indicators and criteria for the analysis of the involvement and engagement of states in organizations, next to the financial contribution. Personnel contribution can refer to the actual national composition in the governing and administrative bodies of organizations or the official appointment to take over important leading positions. Moreover, it may also refer to the personnel contingent of states and their role in the decision-making processes of organizations, see Jørgensen et al. (2011), CIC (2011), Koremenos et al. (2001), and Huang and Patman (2013). In the reviewed literature the actual personnel position within the governing bodies of organizations and institutions is regarded as the key indicator of involvement, participation, and influence of states within the work and activities or international organizations. However, especially in the field of international peacekeeping, peace-building and peace supporting activities towards the goal of assuring a stable and secure regional and global environment, personnel contribution is a very essential and important criterion. Peacekeeping forces are relevant and necessary for the overall successful implementation of peacekeeping operations and missions. In the works of Bobrow and Boyer (1997), Gill and Huang (2009), Hirono and Lanteigne (2011), Hwang (2012), and Huang and Patman (2013), it is highly emphasized that peacekeeping operations are very much dependent on the deployment of high-qualified personnel and experts in numerous fields. There are various ways for states to dispatch peacekeeping forces to international peacekeeping operations as part of their voluntary contribution.

In general, one can differentiate between military, uniformed and civilian personnel. Another definition can be found in Hirono and Lanteigne (1997), where they talk about '*combat force contribution*' (Hirono and Lanteigne 1997:245), and '*force enablers*' (Hirono and Lanteigne 1997:245). The first category comprises military peacekeeping forces, such as military ground forces, and the second category includes all relevant personnel responsible for logistic, medical, transport, and engineering assistance that is also regarded necessary for the implementation of operations. The UN military peacekeeping contingent is primarily responsible for maintaining peace and security via border controls, security surveillance, and public order management. Moreover, military peacekeeping forces are also assigned to monitor the peace development after conflict resolution, to monitor the parties' compliance with the rules of the peace agreement, to provide assistance and training to national military forces or police personnel and foremost, to protect the civilian population. The military peacekeeping contingent consists of troops, such as infantry soldiers or ground forces, or military observers, who often also work as staff officers. Military personnel are deployed as part of the own national army but under the lead of the relevant responsible organization or states. Ground forces are also assigned to other peacekeeping activities, such as ceasefire observations and border controls. It is also possible to deploy a military engineering unit for reconstruction assistance. Military observers are deployed to monitor the overall regional situation and the parties' compliance with peace and reconciliation related agreements, to mediate between the parties, and to provide assistance for local social or economic problems that may have emerged as consequences of the conflict. In case of

allegations of ceasefire violations, military observers are responsible to carry out investigations on behalf of the Security Council and they have to provide regular reports to the Security Council about the mission. In addition, military observers can also support UN troop members in ceasefire observations or border controls. Police personnel are classified as part of the uniformed peacekeeping forces. Police forces are primarily responsible for security surveillance, public order management or the training of the national police personnel. Apart from military and uniformed peacekeeping personnel, the civilian contingent of peacekeeping forces is another essential element in peacekeeping operations. The civilian contingent includes, for example, administrative personnel and senior officers for the management and coordination of the peacekeeping activities, but also electoral observers or civilians, who are dispatched to deliver humanitarian relief supplies.

In the empirical analysis of this paper, it will be relevant to examine the type of personnel Japan and South Korea dispatched to peacekeeping operations and the duration of their dispatch, as part of the states' contribution to peacekeeping missions. Is it possible to identify certain trends of deployment or prioritization of specific peacekeeping personnel in the period from 2000 to 2010? Does one country focus more on the deployment of military or civilian peacekeeping forces than the other one? It is of great interest to analyze if Japan and South Korea share certain similarities in the field of personnel contribution or if there are striking differences concerning their participation in international peacekeeping operations.

#### **2.2.2.5. Financial contribution to peacekeeping operations**

Much of the reviewed literature determines financial contribution as a very important criterion for the discussion and analysis of the participation and engagement of states in international organizations. Concerning peacekeeping operations in particular, funding is an essential part for the success of such operations, see for example Hirono and Lanteigne (2011), Bobrow and Boyer (1997), Gill and Huang (2009), and Hwang (2012). In Jørgensen et al. (2011) it is argued that the efficiency of international organizations and institutions is very much dependent on its '*financial [and] resource viability*' (Jørgensen et al. 2011:605). In many cases, financial contributions from the member states are most relevant for this '*viability*' (Jørgensen et al. 2011:605), and they are necessary to carry out activities and programs on behalf of the respective organization. According to Hirono and Lanteigne (2011), the performance of states within institutions can be analyzed according to their role as '*supplier of peacekeeping funding*' (Hirono and Lanteigne 2011:243). In this context it also necessary to consider that financial contribution can be used not only for specific programs or actions but also for special courses or training seminars for staff members for example. In other words, financial contribution can be used to foster the development of human resources. There is a broad range of possibilities for states to provide financial contribution. This includes mandatory shares to the regular budget of the organization, but also voluntary contributions to special programs or relevant peace missions. The financial aspect of the criterion of participation also provides useful information about the state's role and status within the organization, see Jørgensen (2009). Does the state participate just for the sake of its "good reputation" and the benefits of its membership or is it an active, responsible and reliable partner for collaboration and joint activities based on commonly shared values and goals? One can argue that growing interaction and increased cooperation within the organization and its members might also lead to an increase in the voluntary financial contribution of states.

The criterion of financial contribution is an essential element for the analysis of international peace cooperation. Therefore, it will be applied in several ways throughout the empirical analysis of each state. First of all, I am going to take a closer look at the mandatory financial shares of Japan and South Korea to the official UN peacekeeping budget and their overall development and change during the period from 2000 to 2010. How are both states positioned in the official ranking? And foremost,



how large is the difference between the shares of Japan and South Korea? Apart from the mandatory financial contribution, it is also possible for states to contribute to international peacekeeping operations or other relevant peace supporting activities by providing not only voluntary personnel contribution but also financial contribution. Financial contribution can take place in form of materials and supplies or in form of cash payment. When examining the states' cooperation and participation in various international peacekeeping operations, it is interesting to take a closer look if any additional voluntary payments were made for peacekeeping activities, such as DDR, mine-clearing operations, reconstruction and humanitarian assistance or for the political recovery process including financial support for elections or administrative matters. The field of international peace cooperation also comprises other areas for financial contributions of states, such as assistance and financial support to other peacekeeping training centers or relevant programs concerning peacekeeping and peace-building activities.

For the empirical part of this thesis, the contribution of states to peacekeeping operation and their efforts in other areas of peace cooperation will be analyzed also in terms of personnel, financial or material contribution in order to provide a detailed and more comprehensive analysis of the participation of Japan and South Korea in the field of international peace cooperation activities.

#### **2.2.2.6. Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping**

The commitment of states to work together towards mutually shared objectives and goals can also be realized in terms of its so-called intellectual contribution. In this case, intellectual contribution refers to actions concerning the human resource development in the field of peacekeeping and peace-building. In other words, the field of human resource development includes the establishment of training centers, as it is argued in Hirono and Lanteigne (2011), in Gill and Huang (2009), and Hwang (2012). Especially in terms of peacekeeping operations and missions, training facilities for peacekeeping forces – military, uniformed and civilian personnel – are an essential catalyst to further expand their skills and to enhance the effectiveness of their operational activities. Moreover, with the establishment of such centers and institutions, states can provide a platform of cooperation and for exchanges with other states and their peacekeeping personnel in order to get appropriate training and to increase the cooperative skills of their peacekeeping forces. Such training centers may not only be established for the state's own peacekeeping personnel but it can also be used for "intellectual exchanges" with other states. In terms of exchanges and cooperation, it is also of interest to examine if national peacekeeping instructors were dispatched to other international PKO training centers between 2000 and 2010 in order to hold lectures or specific courses on peacekeeping. As already mentioned, cooperation and assistance in the field of human resource development also includes financial or material contribution to other training centers.

The training and education of peacekeeping forces is an essential part of human resource development. It includes joint training exercises of peacekeeping forces and other forms of exercises to strengthen and intensify cooperation with others, also in order to increase the effectiveness of future peacekeeping operations. Efforts in the development of human resources are also an essential part for the UN peacekeeping operations to increase their overall credibility. Doubtless to say, well-trained personnel can contribute to a large extent to the effective and efficient implementation of operations and the realization of the objectives of global peace and stability. The quality of peacekeeping operations is closely linked with the skills and capabilities of the peacekeeping forces, including civilian, military or police units. Intellectual contribution also comprises special programs in terms of human resource development in the field of peace-building and peacekeeping, but also special courses for the training of UN mission leaders for example. By taking into account factors like these, it is

possible to analyze the level of participation and contribution of states towards the achievements and success of international peacekeeping operations. What are the efforts of states in the field of human resource development? Relevant factors for this analysis are the establishment of own training centers, the implementation of peacekeeping research programs and studies, the financial assistance to other peacekeeping training centers, and the exchange of training personnel. All these efforts are signs of strong willingness, increased responsibility, and awareness of the necessity and importance of joint actions to assure an international environment of stability and peace. To increase the overall level of interdependence, cooperation, and shared responsibility, also via such intellectual exchanges and joint actions, may mitigate the risk of further conflicts or hostilities between states because it further strengthens the relationship between them.

Nowadays, activities in the field of international peace cooperation and peace support comprise a great variety of possible methods for states to contribute, including personnel, financial, material or intellectual contribution. The efforts and actions of states concerning the development of human resources are important determining factors for the analysis of the role of states as peace supporting countries and reliable actors in the field of international peace cooperation. It can be said that an increased level of participation in international peacekeeping activities demonstrates a state's power, strength, and determination in its efforts and actions towards regional and global peace and stability.

#### **2.2.2.7. Peace and security related cooperative agreements: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation**

As already identified, the participation of states in the field of international peace cooperation activities can take place via international peacekeeping operations and human resource development. Peacekeeping operations are the most common form of peace cooperation in order to assure global peace and stability. But there are also others ways for states to strengthen and broaden their engagement in peacekeeping and peace-building activities, but also to intensify their security relationships with other states. This includes the political dialog between states concerning global peace and security issues, military cooperation, military educational exchanges, joint training activities and exercises for the peacekeeping force, and intensifying the military diplomacy for example, see Gill and Huang (2009) and Hwang (2012). Many of these factors are also regarded as an essential part of the development of human resources.

Within the field of regional and global security and peace cooperation, the conduct of the political dialog with others on peace and stability maintenance has become an integral part of a state's foreign policy approach, and also part of its peace contribution. Over time, various initiatives and campaigns to promote international security and peace have been established in order to improve the skills and capacities of peacekeeping forces and to prepare them as best as possible for the actual deployment to international peacekeeping operations. Moreover, such initiatives also aim at strengthening and intensifying the security relationships between states. The focus of this criterion is set on initiatives, cooperative agreements, and joint security declarations of both states in the fields of global peace and security contribution, including the goals of closer cooperation in peacekeeping operations and other relevant peace missions. Apart from mutual defense strategies and plans of mutual security assurance, many security agreements also deal with deepened cooperation between states concerning their efforts in peace-building and peacekeeping activities. Joint efforts towards nonproliferation and arms control are other important elements to promote global peace and stability. The Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) is an example of such a security initiative. GPOI is a joint security program, funded by the U.S. government, which was established in 2004. The goal was to train peacekeeping and national security forces to enhance the effectiveness of their work in international peacekeeping operations. This initiative between the United States and other states was

designed in response to the growing demand of peacekeeping forces due to declining numbers of available and capable troops and forces, primarily military and uniformed personnel. Moreover, GPOI aims at strengthening national peacekeeping capabilities for future deployments. (Serafino 2009)

Doubtless to say, such security and peace related initiatives y are primarily the results of multilateral agreements and arrangements between states in order to achieve the common goals of global peace and stability. Another form of such bilateral and multilateral security related cooperation is the establishment of various governmental forums between states to negotiate and discuss possible cooperation and joint peace and security initiatives, apart from UN peacekeeping missions. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is such an example. It was established in 2000 and deals with the assistance and cooperation between China and Africa in the fields of security, peace, and social and economic development. (Gill and Huang 2009)

In contrast to the actual participation of states in peacekeeping operations or their efforts in the development of human resources, this criterion concerning the political dialog on global peace and cooperation focuses more on the diplomatic means in order to strengthen the cooperation between states in form of bilateral and multilateral agreements and initiatives. It promotes international peace cooperation apart from the “traditional” participation in peacekeeping operations. The question that remains is how both Japan and South Korea are actually engaged in the political dialog on global peace and security maintenance. Did they establish bilateral security declarations between 2000 and 2010? Did they support the establishment of security initiatives or even initiate specific programs on their own? In other words, I want to examine if their participation in activities of international peace cooperation is limited to peacekeeping operations or if they are aware of the importance of their contribution in other fields of peace cooperation, such as human resource development and cooperative agreements with the main focus on global peace and security.

The following table summarizes the relevant criteria and sub-criteria. It provides an important framework for the empirical analysis of the field of international peace cooperation activities of Japan and the Republic of Korea between 2000 and 2010:

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>A.) The evolution and nature of international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities</b></p> <p>A.1. First participation in PKO: date, place and area of contribution</p> <p>A.2. Legal framework for peace supporting activities and contribution to UN peacekeeping operations</p> <p>A.3. Legal restraints on peacekeeping activities</p> <p>A.4. Direct institutional linkage between the state and the United Nations</p> |
| <p><b>B.) The internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes</b></p> <p>B.1. Who is responsible within the state? Institution or person?</p> <p>B.2. State or non-state institution? Extra established institution?</p>  |

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|--|
| <p>B.3. Who is the contact person/institution for official requests concerning the participation in peacekeeping operations?</p> <p>B.4. Joint decision-making process?</p> <p>B.5. Who makes the final decision?</p>  |
| <p><b>C.) Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations</b></p> <p>C.1. <i>Traditional peacekeeping activities:</i> e.g. ceasefire observation, public order surveillance, border controlling, monitoring compliance with peace and reconciliation related agreements</p> <p>C.2. <i>Humanitarian relief assistance:</i> e.g. material, medical and logistic aid</p> <p>C.3. <i>Reconstruction assistance:</i> e.g. rebuilding of damaged facilities, infrastructure</p> <p>C.4. <i>International election observation</i></p>  |
| <p><b>D.) Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations</b></p> <p><i>Uniformed contingent:</i></p> <p>D.1. Military troops (ground forces)</p> <p>D.2. Military observers</p> <p>D.3. Police personnel</p> <p><i>Civilian contingent (i.e. logistic, medical, transport, engineering personnel etc.)</i></p> <p>D.4. Election observers</p> <p>D.5. Coordination personnel (e.g. communication, transport, logistic, engineering or medical support)</p> <p>D.6. Humanitarian assistance and delivery of relief supplies</p> <p>D.7. Civilian experts and working personnel</p> |
| <p><b>E.) Financial contribution to peacekeeping operations</b></p> <p>E.1. Mandatory financial share to UN peacekeeping budget</p> <p>E.2. Voluntary financial contribution to peacekeeping operations</p>  |
| <p><b>F.) Human resource development</b></p>   |

|  |
|--|
| <p>F.1. Establishment of PKO training centers and training programs</p> <p>F.2. Joint military exercises for peacekeeping operations</p> <p>F.3. Exchange of peacekeeping instructors to other PKO training centers</p> <p>F.4. Financial contribution to peacekeeping training centers</p>  |
| <p><b>G.) Peace and security related cooperative agreements: Political dialog on global security and peace cooperation</b></p> <p>G.1. Joint security and peace related bilateral declarations</p> <p>G.2. Security and peace related multilateral initiatives</p> <p>G.3. Establishment of institutionalized forms of peace and security related cooperation; initiated by the state itself: i.e. conferences or symposiums</p> |

**Table 1: Relevant criteria and sub-criteria for empirical examination.**

### 3. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

#### 3.1. The field of international peace cooperation activities of Japan between 2000 and 2010

##### 3.1.1. The evolution and nature of Japan's international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities

In 2012 Japan celebrated its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of participation in UN peacekeeping missions. In 1992 the Japanese government adopted the *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Cooperation Law*<sup>72</sup>, also referred to as PKO Act<sup>73</sup>. This act is a highly constructive contribution to Japan's international peace cooperation and has allowed Japan to play a more active role in matters of international peace and security importance, engaging in international peacekeeping activities under UN command and becoming a responsible member of the international community. Japan's international peace cooperation is categorized into three different areas: participation in traditional peacekeeping operations including development assistance, contribution to international humanitarian relief operations, and contribution to international election observation operations. However, the implementation of Japan's participation in global peace maintenance is influenced by constitutional constraints, which will be discussed in more detail. (Mulgan 1995; IPCH 2013a)

The PKO Act, passed in 1992, established a framework for cooperation for Japan and determined five principles on which Japan's contribution to and participation in peacekeeping operations are primarily based – determined in Article 6 of the PKO Act:

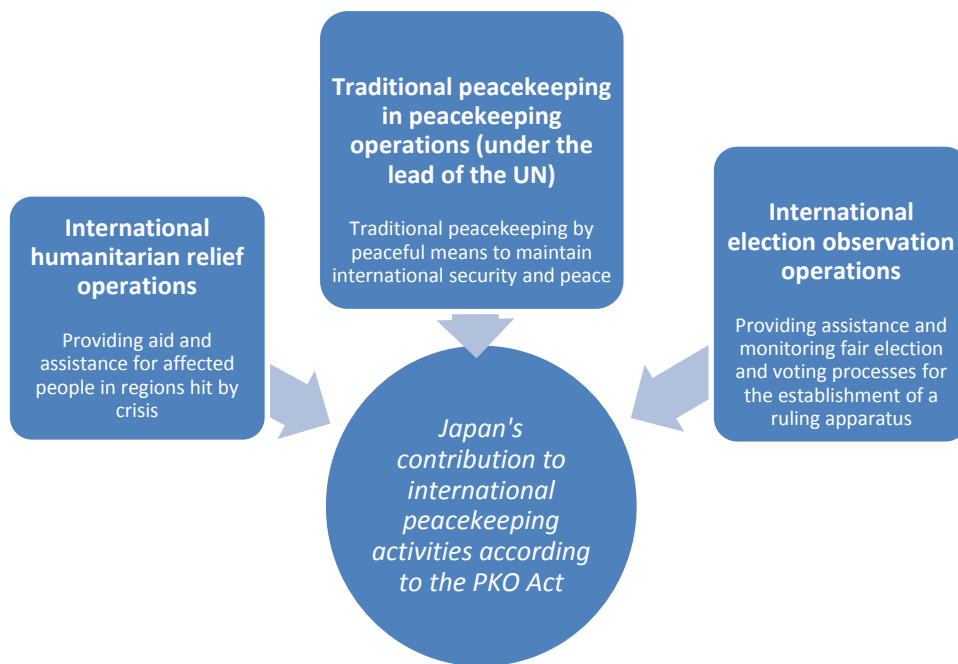
- 1.) Agreement on a cease-fire shall have been reached among the parties to armed conflict.
  - 2.) Consent for the undertaking of UN peacekeeping operations as well as Japan's participation in such operations shall have been obtained from the host countries as well as the parties to armed conflict.
  - 3.) The operations shall strictly maintain impartiality, not favoring any of the parties to armed conflicts.
  - 4.) Should any of the requirements in the above-mentioned guideline cease to be satisfied, the International Peace Cooperation Corps may suspend International Peace Cooperation Assignment. Unless the requirements be satisfied again in a short time, the Government of Japan may terminate the dispatch of the personnel engaged in International Peace Cooperation Assignment.
  - 5.) The use of weapons shall be limited to the minimum necessary to protect the lives of personnel, etc.
- (Secretariat of IPCH 2010:1)

The following graph should illustrate the legally determined areas of contribution and participation for Japan in UN activities concerning peacekeeping, peace-building and preserving international security:

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<sup>72</sup> The official title is *Law Concerning Cooperation for United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations and Other Operations*. The Japanese title is *Kokusai Heiwa Kyoryokuho* (meaning international peace cooperation law), see Mulgan 1995.

<sup>73</sup> The act is available at [http://www.pko.go.jp/PKO\\_J/data/law/pdf/law\\_e.pdf](http://www.pko.go.jp/PKO_J/data/law/pdf/law_e.pdf).



**Figure 1: Operational areas of Japan's peacekeeping contribution.**

Source: Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013a

The first deployment of Japanese personnel under UN command took place in 1992. The Japanese peacekeeping forces were assigned to observe the presidential and legislative elections in Angola as part of the *United Nations Angola Verification Mission II* (UNAVEM II), which was followed by the Japanese participation in the *United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia* (UNAMC), where peacekeeping forces were deployed to assist in peacekeeping activities, including ceasefire monitoring, construction of infrastructure, and for local police assistance.

Japan played a significant role to the UN adoption of the *Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel*, which Japan signed in 1994, being the second state to sign. The convention includes 29 Articles<sup>74</sup> and determines the protection and safety of personnel in operations and missions in the field of peacekeeping and peace-building. However, Japan's contribution and participation in peacekeeping missions is, to a certain extent, limited to the deployment of non-armed military personnel in traditional peacekeeping missions due to the Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. The Japanese Constitution came into force in 1947 after Japan's defeat in the Second World War. It is legally determined that '[...] the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.' (Leitenberg 1996:2). The constitution actually prohibits Japan from maintaining armed forces as it would bear the potential risk of war<sup>75</sup>. This means, that in a strict sense, Japanese forces are legally restricted from their participation in international military affairs and especially UN missions with military character, which basically refers to nontraditional peacekeeping activities. Japanese personnel are not allowed to use any means of force, not even for the sake of regional and global peace and security. (Mulgan 1995; MoFA Japan 2000a; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; Prime Ministerial Office Japan 2013a)

<sup>74</sup> A precise description of the convention and the 29 Articles can be found at: <http://www.un.org/law/cod/safety.htm>.

<sup>75</sup> The official formulation of Article 9 can be found in the appendix, see A9.

Despite its official renouncement of military forces Japan established its Self-Defense Forces (SDF) in 1954, maintained under the claims of self-defense and international security. During the Korean War (1950-1954) a contingent of a national police reserve was formed when U.S. military forces left Japan to support South Korea. Shortly after, the national police reserve was transformed into Japan's SDF primarily for the sake of national protection and for national security reasons. Japan has "successfully" chosen another approach towards the interpretation of Article 9 of its Constitution, and thus enabled the formation of an army of its kind. Japan's participation in peacekeeping missions, on the background of its national constitution, has become an ongoing issue within the country since Japan's official membership in the United Nations started in 1956.

In the beginning, Japan provided foremost financial contribution to peacekeeping missions, but showed limited participation concerning its personnel contribution. This has led to much discussion about Japan's peace participation and raised the question of whether Japan should provide unarmed personnel from its SDF with the function of non-combat supporters in missions and other relevant peacekeeping personnel for missions, and also of whether constitutional changes have to be made. This topic was also very much discussed within the Japanese government. In addition, the issue of Japan being a possible candidate for a permanent membership in the Security Council was closely linked with the issue of Japan's deepened participation in all kinds of peacekeeping operations as a necessary and required precondition. In December 1991 a new legislation – referred to as peacekeeping bill - was passed, that would enable a maximum of 2000 SDF personnel being sent to official United Nations authorized peacekeeping missions as non-combat forces and primarily for certain operational activities, such as refugee assistance, medical care, transport assistance, ocean and land mine clearance etc., and only when ceasefire was maintained. But fierce debates still continued and dominated Japan politics due to obvious disagreement among Japan's political parties. The democratic wing was in favor of SDF deployment in contrast to the socialist one. All this discrepancy even led to a halt of Japanese participation in peacekeeping missions and Japanese assistance in actions of ceasefire monitoring and confiscating weapons. The general opinion among the population was also split; about 42 percent of the Japanese people supported SDF participation whereas about 37 percent were against it at that time. But despite ongoing struggles and disagreement about Japan's international peace cooperation and strong opposition from the Socialist party, the government was able to finally pass the PKO Act in 1992, which included the deployment of SDF personnel as members of the so-called Japanese overseas relief force to provide peacekeeping and peace-building assistance and support when requested for international peacekeeping operations.<sup>76</sup>

Areas of participation for SDF personnel were determined. They include, for example, medical care, support for logistic and transport, assistance for the return of refugees, reconstruction of (damaged or destroyed) infrastructure, and election observation. The decision for the passing of the PKO Act gained wide approval among the population and brought the majority of votes for the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in the parliamentary elections that followed afterwards. With the enactment of the PKO Act in 1992 Japan took a clear stand towards a full Japanese commitment to regional and global peace and security related matters, in particular including UN peacekeeping operations and the deployment of SDF especially for international disaster relief operations, but with the exception of Japanese contribution in so-called Chapter VII operations<sup>77</sup>. In the following years, the Japanese government agreed on the expansion of the field of action for SDF not only for national defense reasons in the above mentioned areas but also allowed their deployment to other situations, such as providing assistance after natural disasters or in the fight against terrorism to maintain regional and

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<sup>76</sup> Requested by the United Nations or other states for MNF peace operations for that matter.

<sup>77</sup> Referring to non-traditional peacekeeping operations.



global peace. Today, the deployment of Japan's SDF for peacekeeping operations and peace supporting activities is still handled within a grey area of its Constitution. But despite all amendments, the Japanese military peacekeeping forces, being installed as non-combat forces, are restricted in the use of force and their weapons, which can only be used for self-defense reasons. Concerning all peacekeeping missions, states can terminate their engagement in any peacekeeping operation for reasons of their own (i.e. security risks or domestic demand for forces), as long as they inform the responsible organization or the authorized state in MNF peace missions in time.

After Japan's commitment to the *United Nations Stand-by Arrangement System (UNSAS)*<sup>78</sup> in 2009, Japanese SDF contribution in peacekeeping activities now also comprises, for example, personnel and logistic support in the fields of military observation of ceasefire, surveillance of headquarters, communication, medical care, humanitarian assistance, infrastructure reconstruction, transportation of relief supplies and technical equipment, repair work and equipment maintenance etc. (Leitenberg 1996; Shibata and Soeya 1999; Ministry of Defense 2012a)

Within the three defined areas of Japan's contribution to international peacekeeping cooperation the *International Peace Coordination Law* (Article 3 (3)) determines certain assignments and tasks for Japan when participating in such peace cooperation activities for maintaining regional and global peace and security. These assignments should be implemented within the main three areas of contribution: traditional peacekeeping operations, humanitarian assistance, and election observation. The specific assignments on which Japan's international peace cooperation and peace supporting participation are based are listed below. (Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013d)

- Monitoring the observance of cessation of armed conflicts and demobilization of armed forces
- Stationing and patrol in areas demarcated for preventing the occurrence of armed conflicts
- Inspection or identification of the carrying in or out of weapons
- Collection, storage, or disposal of abandoned weapons
- Assistance for the designation of cease-fire lines and other boundaries
- Assistance for the exchange of prisoners-of-war
- Observation or management of fair execution of elections or plebiscites
- Advice or guidance for and supervision of police administrative matters
- Advice or guidance for administrative matters
- Medical care, including sanitary measures
- Search or rescue of afflicted people or assistance for their repatriation
- Distribution of food, clothing, medical supplies, and other commodities to afflicted people
- Installation of facilities or equipment damaged by conflicts that are necessary for the daily life of afflicted people
- Restoration of natural environment subjected to pollution and other damage by conflicts
- Transportation, storage, communication, construction, and installation of machines and apparatus

(Secretariat of IPCH 2010:5)

In terms of humanitarian relief assistance, Japan can also participate in activities that are not under UN command, but led by other international organizations or even states themselves, however, only when the "host parties" in the respective state allow such operations and foremost, ceasefire is maintained to

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<sup>78</sup> The UNSAS was established in 1994 by the United Nations and manages the personnel deployment for UN peacekeeping operations. Member nations have to register their possible, available personnel and troop numbers and the respective fields of deployment in advance. The United Nations can therefore request national contribution after having examined the registered national information, but the final decision about the deployment of peacekeeping personnel rests with the state itself. (UN 2003; Ministry of Defense 2012a)

avoid any potential risk for Japanese peacekeeping personnel. In terms of traditional peacekeeping activities, such as ceasefire monitoring or security surveillance, Japan does not only participate in UN led operations but it may also participate in MNF peace operations when approved by the government. MNF peace missions, led by one or more states or organizations, must be authorized by the United Nations as well. Japan does not only provide personnel and financial contribution but also utensils and supplies, so-called contributions in kind<sup>79</sup>. These supplies are especially for refugees or people, who are affected from war or natural disasters. In the early beginning of Japan's membership in the UN, its peace participation was very much dominated by such "material assistance" as personnel deployment was very limited. In 1997 Japan established the Humanitarian Relief Supply Stockpile System to guarantee a quick and efficient execution of the planning, transportation, and distribution of such equipment. With two own depots for storage – one in Yokohama and one in the Emirate of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates – Japan is now able to quickly react to international requests for material as the two locations can cover a broad geographical area. Japan is responsible for the planning, composition, and transportation of the supplies into the crisis area. With the help of specialized organizations – such as UNHCR - and other relevant agencies for humanitarian assistance, the equipment and utensils are then distributed. As in the case for all other states and their national stickers, supplies delivered from Japan are marked with a sticker of the Japanese national flag, primarily to make national aid and assistance visible for the people.<sup>80</sup> (Shibata and Soeya 1999; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013e)

#### *Mandatory financial share to UN peacekeeping budget between 2000 and 2010*

Although Japan is not a permanent member of the Security Council, it plays an essential role in financing United Nations peacekeeping operations, being classified as a level B country. Based on the official United Nations' assessment formula for determining the mandatory PKO budget share Japan ranked second throughout the period from 2000 to 2010.<sup>81</sup>

In 2008 for example, its mandatory budget was about 17 percent of the total PKO budget. According to official UN figures that were published in 2009, Japan was the second largest financial contributor to UN peacekeeping operations with about 12.53 percent, only succeeded by the United States with about 27.17 percent. In 2007 Japan's financial peacekeeping contribution was approximately USD 1.16 billion. The approved total PKO budget for the period from 1 July 2008 to 30 June 2009 was approximately USD 7.1 billion (with Japan paying about 17 percent) and USD 7.75 billion for the following period (with Japan paying almost 13 percent). This is interesting insofar, as all permanent five members of the Security Council are actually obliged to pay a higher share than all other UN members, assuming that those five states are among the top five contributors to the UN peacekeeping budget. But with Japan in second position, this is not the case. The other four permanent members are the United Kingdom in third position with a share of about 8.16 percent, France in fifth position with about 7.56 percent (followed by Germany with about 8.02 percent), PRC China in seventh position with about 3.94 percent and Russia not even among the ten largest financial providers. Official specific reasons for that weren't available anywhere but it may be based on various parameters of the assessment method in general. For the period 2010-2012, Japan's financial contribution to UN peacekeeping operations is assessed at about 12.53 percent, again second position

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<sup>79</sup> Contributions in kind include basic equipment necessary for survival, such as blankets, plastic sheets, sleeping mats, tents (each for a maximum of 10 persons), 10-liter plastic water containers, mosquito nets and water purifiers (generating two liters of clean water in about five minutes) (IPCH 2013e).

<sup>80</sup> An example of a sticker for Japanese contributions in kind can be found in the appendix, see A10.

<sup>81</sup> Especially for the first half of the time period of examination, concrete percentage rates were not available.

after the United States, who are paying about 27.17 percent of the total budget of about USD 7.26 billion from 1 July 2010 onwards. (GPF 2005-2013; UN 2010; UN 2011)

#### *Institutional linkage within the system of the United Nations Organization*

When Japan became an official member of the United Nations in 1956, it established a Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations, located in the UN headquarters in New York. Since 1956 until 2014, Japan also participated as non-permanent member in the Security Council ten times. The primary goal of Japanese mission to the UN is to represent the Japanese government in terms of its foreign policy goals and national interests as well as the common efforts to promote and maintain peace and stability. The Mission is the official institutional linkage abroad between the UN and Japan, although UN requests for assistance and cooperation in peacekeeping operations are directed to the Japan based department responsible for the coordination of Japan's contribution to peacekeeping missions, the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters Japan (IPCH). In New York though, Japan is officially represented by the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations<sup>82</sup>. The Japanese Mission is structured into five different departments: The Political Section is responsible for regional issues, peacekeeping operations, disarmament, arms control and nonproliferation as well as dealing with international justice affairs. The Economic Section closely works together with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and other related UN institutions. Development and environmental issues as well as reconstruction assistance also fall within the remit of the Economic Section of the Mission. The third department, the Social Section, deals with issues concerning human rights, security issues, and humanitarian assistance and relief operations. The Administrative, Budgetary and Recruitment Section is responsible for budgetary negotiations, financial assessments, and the deployment of Japanese nationals within the United Nations and its organizations and offices. As fifth section, the Coordination Section handles the overall management and administration of the Japanese Permanent Mission, including public relations and the coordination of the direct communication with the Secretary-General and the president of the office of the UN National Assembly. Apart from the official national representation, the Permanent Mission of Japan is also required to represent Japan's foreign policy goals, such as the maintenance of international security and peace through the work of the United Nations and its direct collaboration with Japan, peaceful dissolving of conflicts, and the promotion of peace and disarmament. In addition, enforcing the UN regulations and approaches for the environmental protection and promoting and protecting human rights and security belong to these goals.<sup>83</sup> (Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations 2012a; Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations 2012b)

#### 3.1.2. The internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes

Based on the international peace cooperation law from 1992 and for the overall coordination of its peace cooperation activities, Japan established the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters Japan (IPCH) within the cabinet of the prime minister of Japan. Its primary purpose is to manage and coordinate Japan's participation and contribution to international peacekeeping missions that are comprised in the PKO Act (traditional peacekeeping, humanitarian relief, and election observation). The International Peace Cooperation Headquarters Japan is officially under the leadership of the

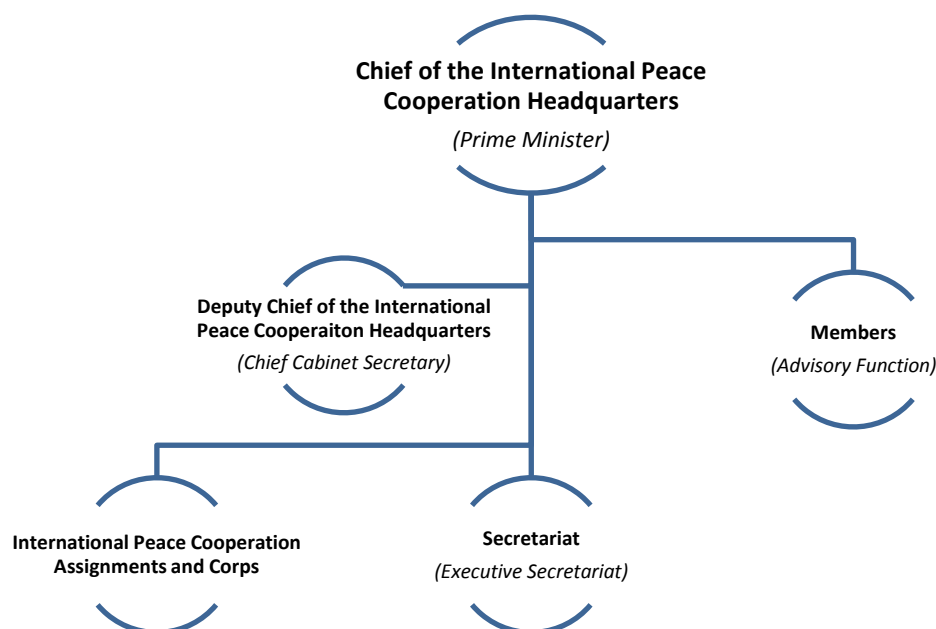
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<sup>82</sup> Since September 2013 the Japanese Permanent Representative is Ambassador Motohide Yoshikawa and the Deputy Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations, Ambassador Kazuyoshi Umemoto.

<sup>83</sup> All activities must be in compliance with the determined financial scope of the United Nations.

Japanese prime minister – the current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe took the office as the 96<sup>th</sup> prime minister of Japan in December 2012.<sup>84</sup> Within the IPCH the administrative body is governed by a deputy chief, its members (including heads of other relevant, involved government bodies and administrative agencies) and the secretariat. The deputy chief – the Chief Cabinet Secretary – provides assistance to the prime minister, who oversees the work and staff of the office. The secretariat is primarily responsible for administrative affairs. The other members of the IPCH are assigned to provide consultancy services to the chief. All together, the IPCH office is responsible for the realization and implementation of Japan's contribution to peace assignments and peacekeeping operations, including the formation and deployment of the approved contingent of Japanese peacekeeping forces, also referred to as International Peace Cooperation Corps. Decisions about personnel and financial peace contribution, as well as the actual method of contribution fall within the remit of this office. (Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013b; IPCH 2013c)

The following graph illustrates the internal structure of the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters Japan:



**Figure 2: Internal structure and organization of the IPCH.**

Source: Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013b

In 2005 the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters launched a special project within the office of the Cabinet that focuses on the development of human resources - especially the civilian peacekeeping contingent - in the field of international peace activities: the system of the International Peace Cooperation Program Advisors. Apart from other official national efforts in the field of human peacekeeping resources via peacekeeping training facilities, exchanges etc. – as discussed in 3.1.4. *Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping* – this is an important contribution to the education of future civilian peacekeeping forces. For a maximum time period of two years, this project

<sup>84</sup> For the respective time period between 2000-2010, the following prime ministers were in office: Keizo Obuchi (July 1998-April 2000), Yoshiro Mori (April 2000-April 2001), Junichiro Koizumi (April 2001-September 2006), Shinzo Abe (September 2006-September 2007), Yasuo Fukuda (September 2007-September 2008), Taro Aso (September 2008-September 2009), Yukio Hatoyama (September 2009-June 2010), Naoto Kan (June 2010-September 2011). (Prime Ministerial Office Japan 2013b)

enables participants to engage in joint activities and operations of international peace and security related matters (i.e. peacekeeping missions or election observations). They work under governmental protection and are employed as national government employees. Besides active engagement, the participants are also required to do specific research within the field of international peace cooperation. This program of the IPCH offers great possibilities for the participation as well as strengthening cooperation and collaboration between the participants. In many cases, it also paves the way for careers within the area of international peacekeeping. (IPCH 2013c)

Concerning the organizational structure of coordinating Japan's peace cooperation and actions towards international security, stability, and peace, the question remains how official international requests are dealt with within the IPCH and how the overall management of personnel, financial or material contribution is handled. Within the three areas of contribution, there are several ways for Japan to get involved. In the field of UN peacekeeping operations, an official UN resolution passed by the Security Council – or other UN bodies, as explained further on- is necessary. The UN Secretary-General requests Japan's contribution via the Japanese prime minister being the chief of the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters, see graph above. In cases of UN peace intervention limited to humanitarian assistance and relief operations, the General Assembly, Security Council or the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) can pass the necessary UN resolution. Such requests are then usually made by international humanitarian organizations (i.e. UNHCR, WHO). For international election observation missions though, a resolution of the Security Council or the General Assembly is required. Since this field of operational activities is actually not determined in the UN Charter as peacekeeping operations, international or regional specialized organizations – though under UN command - usually contact the Japanese prime minister for support. Requests for participation in MNF peace operations are also directed to the prime minister. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) also plays an essential role in sending forces abroad for peacekeeping missions, because the minister of foreign affairs is also entitled to propose Japan's participation in peacekeeping operations to the prime minister, based on the peacekeeping law from 1992. Apart from officials from Japan's Ministry of Defense, officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are usually also employed in the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters for consultancy reasons and to oversee the national decision-making processes.

After official requests have been made, the following process is applicable to all peace operations within the three assigned fields of possible contribution. Being informed about the actual assignment and task, the prime minister has to call a meeting with the cabinet (the executive branch of the Japanese government) to inform about the request and subsequently, discuss the planning and implementation of Japan's contribution to the peace assignment. The prime minister also has to report the meeting and its content to the National Diet, the Japanese parliament. For certain assignments, including a possible deployment of Japan's SDF, the National Diet is included in the decision-making process and its final approval is necessary for further action. In terms of SDF participation in peace operations, it is important for the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters to convince of the necessity of the deployment abroad, as military participation remains to be a sensitive topic among the public. After Japan's contribution is approved, the next step of the planning process comprises the formation of the relevant personnel for the peacekeeping contingent, the International Peace Cooperation Corps. This includes the necessary peacekeeping staff made up of medical, logistic or technical personnel as well as approved military personnel from the SDF. The IPCH is responsible for developing the implementation and detailed procedure plan of Japan's cooperation in the peacekeeping operation, which will then be put into action in order to carry out the requested assignment. After its (successful) completion, the prime minister is required to make a report about Japan's contribution to the peace mission and its results to the National Diet. Requests for

contributions in kind are also directed to the prime minister and after the necessary cabinet meeting and the cabinet decision, equipment and material are provided. Sometimes they are directly delivered by Japanese peacekeeping forces themselves in the respective areas of crisis, either for free or at special price that is lower than the actual market price.

In terms of governing Japan's financial contribution for its peace, security, and humanitarian related assistance, there are three main sources that are responsible: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) that is responsible for grants-in-aid and technical assistance, and the Japan Bank of International Cooperation (JBIC) for the granting of loans; the latter two working under the authority of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Heinrich Jr. 1999; Watanabe 2004; Secretariat of IPCH 2010)

Especially for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Japan has devoted itself to play a more active role in international peace cooperation and peace supporting activities also based on comprehensive policy measures. This is also referred to as Japan's '[...] commitment to "Proactive Contribution to Peace" [...]' (Kantei 2013)<sup>85</sup>.

### 3.1.3. Cooperation in international peacekeeping operations including voluntary personnel, material, and financial contribution

In the following Japan's participation in international peace cooperation activities between 2000 and 2010 will be analyzed in more detail. By deploying peacekeeping forces to international peacekeeping operations – referring to UN or MNF peace operations - Japan strengthens its cooperativeness and improves its capabilities in peacekeeping as well as in other forms of peace related support activities, such as in form of humanitarian relief assistance, economic and/or political assistance, and cooperation and support for the process of recovery, stabilization, and overall peace maintenance (i.e. election observations or providing assistance to established transitional administrations).

For the period of 2000 to 2010, Japan's engagement in traditional peacekeeping activities will be examined in terms of the three determined areas of possible participation – as stated in the PKO Act – and defined as peacekeeping operations, humanitarian assistance, and election observation. Japan's engagement will also be analyzed concerning its voluntary personnel, financial and/or material contribution to give a better and more coherent picture of Japan's peace assignment. Is it possible to identify a certain trend or prioritization in the method of Japan's peace participation concerning a specific field of action or the deployment of a majority of specific peacekeeping personnel? For this part of the thesis, it is foremost important to examine how Japan has actually implemented and realized its commitment to '[...] "Proactive Contribution to Peace" [...]' (Kantei 2013)<sup>86</sup> between 2000 and 2010.

#### 3.1.3.1. International peace cooperation in Bosnia and Herzegovina: UNMIBH

Due to political turbulences and following the breakdown of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991, an armed, territorial conflict – known as the Bosnian War – erupted in 1992 between Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a very multi-ethnic state comprising of Muslim Bosnians (mainly represented in the conflict), Orthodox Serbs, and Catholic Croats. With the announcement of proclaiming independence, territorial claims of the three above mentioned states emerged, leading to armed hostilities between the different forces

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<sup>85</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>86</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

that were trying to secure their “own” territory. The fighting continued until a ceasefire agreement was established in October 1995, followed by a peace agreement between the three states based on the *General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (also known as the *Dayton Agreement*). With the signing of this agreement the former fighting forces committed to respect each state’s sovereignty, to withhold from any armed attacks against each other and to solve conflicts with peaceful means in order to guarantee regional stability and security. During that time, the United Nations established the *United Nations Protection Force* (UNPROFOR) to monitor these developments. In December 1995, the Security Council passed the Resolution 1035 concerning its peace mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina, resulting in the formation of the *United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (UNMIBH) including a UN International Police Task force. Its main tasks were to monitor public order and security, to assist with the re-enforcement of the rule of law, and to reform the local police in order to guarantee the region’s stability.

On 8 April 2000, Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted municipal assembly elections in 145 municipalities, under the auspices of the United Nations and the supervision of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Due to the still unstable, overall national condition that resulted from the former conflicts and armed hostilities, national peace and security could not be fully maintained. International peace cooperation and especially election assistance was necessary to mitigate the risk of further conflicts and to generate a stable environment, thus leading to the establishment of the *OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina* responsible for the supervision of necessary electoral preparations and the actual election process observation, under the auspices of the United Nations. At the request of both the OSCE and United Nations for personnel contribution from Japan, the Japanese government decided in March 2000 to dispatch a team of eleven electoral observers and polling station supervisors to assist the OSCE in carrying out international electoral monitoring operations – after having carefully examined the current national political situation in order to guarantee the protection for its personnel. The team included three governmental officials and eight people from the private sector and their assignment period was determined from 31 March until 13 April 2000. Already back in 1996 (general election), in 1997 (municipal election), and in 1998 (general election), Japan has shown its willingness to cooperate and to assist towards Bosnia and Herzegovina’s security and peace process by providing personnel contribution for electoral observation operations supervised by the OSCE.<sup>87</sup> The 11-man Japanese team of 2000 was split into two groups, six were stationed in the city of Sarajevo and the other five in the city of Banja Luka. Their scope of work included the provision of voting stations, monitoring the actual election process together with the responsible polling station committee, ensuring compliance with the election rules, and assisting with the final ballot counting afterwards. In addition, a team of six coordination personnel (also known as liaison and coordination personnel) was dispatched to Bosnia and Herzegovina to supervise and coordinate the cooperation between the Japanese electoral observers, the OSCE, and other organizations that were working together with the OSCE during the election observation operation. The Japanese contingent of coordination personnel was also responsible for guaranteeing an effective and efficient implementation of the Japanese staff’s relevant tasks as well as for the protection of the Japanese staff by observing the security situation and condition in the areas where the Japanese observers were stationed.

After UNMIBH was successful in strengthening peace and stability in the region and in fulfilling all its tasks as determined in the resolution from 1995, it ceased its operational activities in July 2002 based on the UN Resolution 1423. As its successor, the *European Union Police Mission*

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<sup>87</sup> In total, approximately 850 personnel were engaged in the international electoral observation operations from OSCE for the municipal elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2000 (MoFA 2000a).

(EUPM) was installed in January 2003 to provide further assistance. (MoFA Japan 2000b; MoFA Japan 2000c; UNMIBH 2003; IPCH 2013n)

### **3.1.3.2. International peace cooperation in Timor-Leste: UNAMET, UNTAET, UNMISET and UNMIT**

After the Portuguese colonial rule of Timor-Leste<sup>88</sup> ended in 1974, it became part of Indonesia two years later. This annexation was not welcomed by all people as the wish of independence grew stronger. This resulted in the outbreak of armed conflicts between governmental military forces and those fighting for independence. After two decades of violence and turbulences, a peace agreement between both sides was finally reached in 1999. It was decided to conduct a direct, secret ballot and national referendum on Timor Leste's future in August 1999 as to whether it should become independent or should be granted special autonomy within the Indonesian territory. In order to supervise and assist with this consultation, the United Nations established the *United Nations Mission in East Timor* (UNAMET) – based on Resolution 1246 - from June to August 1999, but being extended until 30 September 1999. During this period and in the run-up to the elections, Japan provided UNAMET with contributions in kind, such as radios for the election campaigns to raise awareness among the population in 1999. After UNAMET was established, the United Nations requested personnel contribution from Japan to assist with the work of UNAMET for the preparations of the national referendum. The Japanese government agreed to dispatch three civilian police officers to East Timor from July to September 1999. Two of them were working at the UNAMET headquarters in Dili - now the capital of East Timor - and the other one at the UNAMET office in the Indonesian capital Jakarta. Their duties involved assistance to the local Indonesian police to maintain stability during the pre-election period. In addition to the three Japanese civilian police officers, Japan also sent three liaison and coordination personnel to supervise the Japanese assistance and to enable an efficient communication and coordination of the work between the Japanese personnel, UNAMET, and other relevant organizations. The majority of the population voted for the independence of Timor-Leste and the UNAMET was closed afterwards. In October 1999 the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution - Resolution 1272 - to establish the *United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor* (UNTAET) in order to provide further assistance with the administration and organization as well as legislative and executive tasks during this transition period until the assembly elections in 2001 and 2002. In other words, UNTAET was designed to prepare East Timor for independence and self-government. Until then, it was responsible for governing East Timor and exercising legislative, judicial, and executive governmental functions. In the aftermath of the referendum, the situation among the population was very tense as many did not support the outcome, leading to an increasing number of internally displaced people that tried to flee to West Timor as being part of Indonesia. Due to critical living conditions for those people, UNHCR requested Japan's contribution in humanitarian assistance. In October 1999 the Japanese government decided to provide humanitarian relief supplies, such as tents, sleeping mats, plastic sheets, blankets etc., for the affected people in West Timor. From November 1999 until February 2000, Japan sent transport units of its Self-Defense Force of a total of 113 personnel to deliver and transport relief supplies from Java to West Timor; approximately 400 metric tons of relief material for about 120,000 displaced East Timorese people. To ensure the safety of the Japanese personnel and to coordinate their work and communication with others, Japan also dispatched three liaison and coordination personnel from the prime minister's office, Ministry of Defense (former Japan Defense Agency) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (UN 2001; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013t; IPCH 2013u; IPCH 2013v)

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<sup>88</sup> Officially also referred to as East Timor since the Portuguese name *Timor-Leste* actually means "Timor East".



Under the auspices of UNTAET, assembly elections were conducted on 30 August 2001 in order to adopt a new constitution for the now independent Timor-Leste. After receiving an official UN request, a team of 19 Japanese election observers (13 government officials and six people from the private sector) were sent to Timor-Leste to assist with the international election observation operation. Stationed in the districts of Dili, Manatuto, and Liquica, they were required to collect relevant information, observe election campaigns, and assist with election preparations and the ballot counting afterwards to guarantee a peaceful election. During the actual election process the Japanese team monitored 15 voting stations in the three assigned districts. They returned to Japan on 5 September 2001. After Japan's personnel contribution to the international election observation operation, it dispatched a team of ten staff officers to the headquarters of UNTAET to work as military observers and later also to work for the *United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor* (UNMISET)<sup>89</sup>, which was installed from February 2002 until May 2003 and replaced UNTAET after the official establishment of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste on 20 May 2002. The first group of staff officers was followed by a second group of seven staff officers in total from April 2003 until June 2004. The Japanese staff officers were working in the capital of East Timor, Dili. In addition, Japan also dispatched four engineering units of its SDF – a maximum of 680 personnel were allowed at one time – to provide logistic and transport assistance as well as infrastructure maintenance (i.e. bridges, roads, water supply points etc.) to UNMISET. By December 2002 a total of 650 Japanese military peacekeeping personnel (including troop members and staff officers) was stationed in Timor-Leste. Due to the increasing number of Japanese personnel in Timor-Leste and to ensure better coordination and communication between them and other relevant organizations, Japan even established an own liaison and coordination office in the capital Dili with several Japanese coordination personnel constantly being available. Since February 2002 approximately 3,400 Japanese personnel (as of 2012) have been dispatched to the peacekeeping operations in East Timor, this being the largest personnel contribution from Japan to any United Nations peacekeeping operations so far.

As already mentioned, presidential elections in East Timor were held on 14 April 2002, eight months after the assembly elections and again under the supervision and auspices of UNMISET. In response to the UN request for assistance, Japan sent a team of eight election observers (four government officials and four individuals from the private sector) to Timor-Leste at the beginning of April. They were required to support pre-election preparations, again in the districts of Dili, Manatuto, and Liquica – the same as during the assembly elections in 2001. After monitoring about 14 polling stations to guarantee a free, fair, and democratic election process and supervising the ballot counting, they returned to Japan on 17 April. According to the official election outcome, Xanana Gusmao became the first president of the new established Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (East Timor), gaining independence on 20 May 2002.<sup>90</sup> By December of 2003 the total number of Japanese troops dispatched to East Timor had decreased to approximately 376 personnel and by June 2004, Japan had withdrawn its military troop contribution to UNMISET, with a uniformed peacekeeping contingent of about 375 personnel stationed in May 2004. (UNMISET 2009; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013w; IPCH 2013x; IPCH 2013y)

In May 2006 the situation in Timor-Leste became very tense again as conflicts within the East Timor military emerged, triggered by claims of discrimination from soldiers of the Western part of the state. The conflicts within the military system soon spread over and violence and armed conflicts among the

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<sup>89</sup> UNMISET was established based on Resolution 1410 of the Security Council to assist with the administration of the new state, to ensure political stability and security as well as to monitor its development. It ceased its operation on 20 May 2005, three years after East Timor's independence. (UNMISET 2009)

<sup>90</sup> East Timor was the first state in the 21<sup>st</sup> century that became independent (IPCH 2013y).

population emerged. Based on the Security Council Resolution 1704 and having been requested from the government in Timor-Leste, the *United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste* (UNMIT) was established in August 2006<sup>91</sup> to provide assistance within an alarmingly tense situation of political, social, and security-related unrest and conflict. UNMIT should play a key role to generate stability again and act as mediator between the parties to promote security and mutual agreement. It mainly consisted of uniformed police officers at that time. After the Japanese government had received an official request from the United Nations for assistance, it dispatched a total of four Japanese uniformed police officers (two during each deployment period) to UNMIT to support the UN forces and the Timor-Leste civilian police in order to generate security and stability and to maintain national order despite ongoing conflicts. The first two Japanese police officers were deployed at the UNMIT headquarters in Dili from January until August 2007 and the other team from August 2007 until February 2008.

2007 marked an important election year for the newly established state of Timor-Leste with a presidential election on 9 April, a presidential run-off on 9 May, and a parliamentary election held on 30 June, all of them conducted as democratic elections based on the newly enacted election law from 2006. For the presidential election, Japan sent a team of 14 election observers (including five government officials and nine from the private sector). The first group already arrived at the end of March in Timor-Leste to conduct surveys to collect relevant election related information; the second group arrived at the beginning of April. Prior to the actual election process, they were all responsible for assisting the election preparations and the setting up of voting stations as well as monitoring the actual election in 59 polling stations in the districts of Liquica, Dili, Manatutu, and Baucau. After supporting and observing the ballot counting, they completed their mission and returned to Japan on 17 April. In May 2007 a run-off election was necessary as no candidate won the majority in the first round<sup>92</sup>. For this occasion and responding to a request from the United Nations, the Japanese government decided to again dispatch a team of Japanese election observers; this time the group included eight Japanese personnel (four government officials, three individuals from the private sector and one NGO member) – dispatched from 4 May until 14 May. They were stationed in the districts of Dili, Manatuto, and Baucau. Carrying out the same tasks as the previous group of Japanese election observers, they visited 54 polling stations on the actual election day to guarantee a fair and democratic election process. In the following months, legislative elections were to be conducted in Timor-Leste, again requiring assistance from the international community. From Japan, a team of 14 election observers (including five government officials and nine from the private sector) was sent to the districts of Liquica, Aileu, Dili, Manatuto, Baucau, and Lautem to control and monitor the voting in 55 polling stations in the above mentioned districts. Their election observation mission officially ended on 7 July 2007. (Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013t; IPCH 2013z; IPCH 2013za; UN 2013b; UNMIT 2013)

Especially in the case of the peace cooperation assignment in Timor-Leste, Japan's contribution to peacekeeping operations, missions of humanitarian assistance, and election observation operations is of much importance as it reflects Japan's willingness and constant cooperativeness in such matters. Apart from its personnel contribution to these operations from 1999 onwards, Japan decided the deployment of two military experts and liaison officers from the SDF to Timor-Leste from September 2010 until September 2012.<sup>93</sup> One was stationed in the district of Bobonaro and the other one in the district of Baucau, carrying out various military observation tasks, such as monitoring the ceasefire,

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<sup>91</sup> UNMIT ceased its operation on 31 December 2012 (UN 2013b).

<sup>92</sup> Run-off was between Francisco Guterres-Lu'Olo and Jose Ramos Horta (IPCH 2013za).

<sup>93</sup> UNMIT mandate ended in December 2012 (UNMIT 2013).

overseeing the security condition, engaging in efforts of nation-building, and strengthening of the state's overall security capacity. Their duties also comprised gathering of information on the local conditions of the social infrastructure concerning food and sanitation for example. In addition, several coordination personnel accompanied the deployment of the military officers to facilitate communication and cooperation between the Japanese and others. According to official government press releases, Japan provided financial contribution to Timor-Leste from 1999 until September 2010 totaling about USD 250 million (JPY 25 billion at that time, see below) to assist with Timor-Leste's development and progress towards independence and maintenance of security and peace. (MoFA Japan 2010g; IPCH 2013zb; IPCH 2013zc)

Japan has been making proactive contributions to nation building efforts in Timor-Leste from the viewpoint that peace and stability in the country is crucial for the peace and stability of the Asia Pacific region. Contributions include initiatives such as the dispatch of SDF and civilian police officers and election observers, as well as economic cooperation totaling more than 25 billion JPY. These contributions have been made since before the independence of the country and have been highly appreciated by the relevant parties of the country. (MoFA Japan 2010g)<sup>94</sup>

### **3.1.3.3. International peace cooperation in Afghanistan: UNAMA**

Since 2001 Japan is actively engaged in the international peace cooperation assignment of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan that has been established following the U.S. led intervention in order to provide peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance to strengthen the country's self-reliance. Immediately after the outbreak of the war, Japan decided on delivering humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan after receiving an official request from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In October 2001 Japan deployed about 138 personnel to Pakistan in order to deliver humanitarian assistance relief to affected Afghan refugees. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) and UNHCR have received a large amount of relief supplies such as tents, blankets, sleeping mats, and sheets from Japan to be distributed to the refugees. The Japanese government decided on an emergency aid package of about USD 27 million for its humanitarian assistance (as part of its peacekeeping contribution) and the resettlement and reintegration of Afghan refugees, and the reconstruction of the affected regions with the consent of the former transitional administration of Afghanistan. In the following years, Japan also provided peace assistance to the operational activities of the *United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan* (UNAMA), which was established in 2002 based on the Security Council Resolution 1401. The main goals were to support the political stabilization process in Afghanistan as well as providing development and humanitarian assistance for the population and refugees in order to promote the regional peace process. Japan has expanded its contribution to the process of Afghanistan's social, economic, and political recovery to a wide range of activities. In the field of humanitarian assistance, apart from refugee support and reintegration assistance, Japan has also provided medical assistance and food for the Afghan people in times of food scarcity due to droughts. According to official statistics, in the period between 2002 and 2009, Japan has provided about USD 1 billion for humanitarian assistance. (MoFA Japan 2002a; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; Poole 2011; MoFA Japan 2013a)

Within the field of peace-building and peace maintenance, Japan turned its participation primarily towards the strengthening of Afghanistan's national security and political capacity, the reintegration of ex-combatants in terms of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), and development assistance. In 2002 Japan decided on an assistance package of about USD 200 million for Afghanistan for humanitarian relief, recovery, and reconstruction support to generate a safe and stable environment

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<sup>94</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

and to promote the peace progress. In addition, Japan implemented the *Ogata Initiative* – based on the assistance concept of Sadako Ogata, the special representative of the prime minister of Japan for Afghanistan assistance at that time – with the aim to provide assistance and support for a sustainable, comprehensive national development of Afghanistan. With the launching of this initiative, Japan's focus of assistance in the field of enhancing national security, political, economic, and social capacity as well as overall development was again emphasized. Japan's DDR efforts have also quickly shown results. Until 2006 about 60,000 ex-combatants were reintegrated and more than 200,000 weapons were collected with Japanese assistance. In their efforts towards peace and security maintenance, Japan paid about USD 52 million for the Peace and Reintegration Trust Fund that was established in order to assist the Afghan government led peace process. To pave the way for Afghanistan's peaceful and safe development, peacekeeping operations were also conducted in order to implement mine-clearing programs. Already in 2002 Japan assured its financial contribution for such programs and provided approximately USD 19.22 million to various international organizations (i.e. the UN Development Programme (UNDP)) and sent three civilian personnel to work in the UN Mine Center for Afghanistan (MACA). Apart from that, the government paid again approximately USD 4.8 million to the UNDP for mine-clearing activities, aid for landmine victims, and educational activities to raise awareness of the danger of landmines for children. Furthermore, Japan deployed two Japanese experts on mine-clearing to work together with non-governmental organization Danish Demining Group (DDG) in Kabul for about one month in 2003. These two experts were working for the Japan Mine Action Service (JMAS) and, as former members of Japan's Self-Defense Force, they were required to provide expert advice in terms of correct mine clearance. With such financial and personnel contribution, Japan has actively participated in international peace cooperation activities in the field of anti-landmine programs. As reintegration of former combatants has also been an essential part of Japan's peacekeeping activities in Afghanistan, Japan provided about USD 3.78 million to the United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS) to support a program that was established in order to reintegrate these ex-combatants and to employ them in mine-clearing activities. (MoFA Japan 2002b; MoFA Japan 2003; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; MoFA Japan 2013a; UNAMA 2013a)

In the following years, Japan devoted a large part of its development and peace assistance to Afghanistan and contributed to the reconstruction of Afghanistan's infrastructure as well as its rural and agricultural development by financial aid and personnel dispatch. Experts and projects teams under the lead of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) have been dispatched to Afghanistan to train Afghan people in various fields, such as plant cultivation, rice farming, water management etc. With the Japanese financial and personnel assistance, major results concerning the reconstruction of the infrastructure could be realized; for example the Kabul-Kandahar Road and the Kabul International Airport Terminal. In terms of education and human resource development Japan provided assistance for teacher training, the establishment of 15 vocational training centers, and the restoration of more than 800 schools, also in collaboration with related agencies such as UNICEF.

According to an official government document about Japan's Afghanistan assistance from 2001 to 2007 Japan has provided approximately USD 1.25 billion in total for various missions towards peacekeeping and security maintenance. For security improvement and peace assistance (in form of DDR, mine-clearing programs, strengthening and training of police units for example) Japan spent about USD 193 million up until 2007. Over USD 700 million have been used for reconstruction assistance programs for infrastructure, rural development, refugee resettlement, health and medical care, technical assistance etc. Since Japan has also dedicated its activities of international peace cooperation to political assistance in form of media and election support as well as support for transitional administrations, the Japanese financial contribution to the political recovery process and

the stabilization of the administration were approximately USD 165 million. Others sources determine Japan's financial contribution from 2002-2009 with about USD 1 billion. (MoFA Japan 2008a; MoFA Japan 2013a)

In August 2009 the presidential election took place in Afghanistan, conducted under the auspices of the United Nations. As part of its international peace cooperation strategy, the Japanese government decided to send an electoral observation team consisting of about ten people from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Embassy in Afghanistan to monitor the elections in order to guarantee a fair electoral process. Apart from the personnel contribution, Japan also provided about USD 300 million for the conduct of the elections as well as for the salaries of about 80 000 Afghan policemen for half a year and a financial contribution for the respective independent election committee that had been implemented. Financial and personnel contribution for political stability was of high importance within the Japanese peace cooperation as national stability and order must be restored for a successful recovery and national development towards self-reliance. Japan provided another USD 36 million toward the parliamentary election in 2010 for the assistance of the election committee. (MoFA Japan 2009a; MoFA Japan 2013a)

International cooperation for the maintenance of peace and stability also comprises counter terrorism activities that are also an integral part of the states' efforts and contribution. In 2009 Japan launched a new assistance package for Afghanistan and Pakistan to fight terrorism and generate a safe environment. From 2009 on for the following five years Japan promised a minimum of USD 2 billion (up to a maximum of USD 5 billion) for security assistance, depending on the relevant current situation. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants and the dissolution of illegal armed groups (also referred to as Disbandment of Illegal Armed Groups, DIAG) are the most important elements in Japan's efforts to strengthen Afghanistan's own national security capacity. This also includes Japanese assistance in vocational training centers, vocational retraining, further training courses for ex-combatants, and the implementation of rural development programs. In terms of security and stability, the Japanese government emphasized the importance of strengthening Afghanistan's self-reliance, security, and political capabilities as a crucial factor for its recovery and development. In 2010 Japan dispatched two military medical experts of its SDF to train Afghan forces in relevant medical procedures. (MoFA Japan 2009b; Mizokami 2010)

Japanese peace contribution and cooperation for the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan continues to be provided in the fields of security and stability, political process, humanitarian assistance, education, infrastructure, and rural development. From the beginning of its engagement in 2001 until 2012, Japan spent a total of USD 4.051 billion for financial assistance and aid for a great variety of programs and activities. For security improvement and efforts generating long-term stability Japan provided about USD 1.244 billion, for humanitarian relief and assistance approximately USD 536.51 million. Reconstruction assistance in the course of its peacekeeping activities (i.e. infrastructure, rural development programs, medical health, refugee resettlement etc.) required about USD 1.742 billion of Japanese funding. Activities for strengthening the political recovery process and governance assistance in form of budget, media, election support, and observation took another USD 528.41 million. As it becomes obvious Japan's international peace cooperation in terms of financial assistance in Afghanistan was dominated by its contribution towards security and peace maintenance to generate a safe environment for further development, followed by its second main area of participation, humanitarian assistance. As the risk of terrorist attacks grew again since 2009 Japanese personnel has been slowly reduced for reasons of security and protection (in total a maximum of 30 Japanese staff

were working in Afghanistan in international peace cooperation activities), but financial contribution and assistance is still provided. (MoFA Japan 2013a; The Japan Times 2013)

#### **3.1.3.4. International peace cooperation in Kosovo: UNMIK**

On 17 November 2001 nationwide assembly elections in Kosovo took place with the result of establishing a provisional self-government. Due to ongoing military tensions at the Kosovo border, UN participation was requested to guarantee a fair and safe election process. At that time national order was still not maintained due to the consequences of the Kosovo War (1998-1999) and the conflict in the neighboring Republic of Macedonia in 2001 between the Albanian National Liberation Army (NLA) and the national security forces of Macedonia. For a long time the territory of Kosovo and the control of it was a highly disputed issue between Serbs and Albanians as it was geographically located between them. The conflicts between the mixed Kosovo population of Serbs and Albanians also led to domestic tensions. Before the Kosovo War, Kosovo was part of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, enjoying autonomy status. But in 1998 the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic ordered to bring Kosovo under Serbian control which was opposed to what the Kosovo Albanians wanted. Between 1998 and 1999 the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) – actually a rebel group of Kosovo Albanians – fought against the official Serbian forces of the government for independence, later on also supported by air forces from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) - one of the first major military interventions. Only in 2009 Kosovo declared independence and became the Republic of Kosovo. (Judah 1999; NATO 1999)

In 1999 the United Nations established the *UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo* (UNMIK) based on the Resolution 1244 to monitor and maintain regional stability and security. Under the auspices of UNMIK and upon UN request the Council of Europe (CE) was responsible for conducting international election observation operations. The Japanese government decided to dispatch a group of six election observers (three government officials and three from the private sector) to Kosovo (to the cities of Pristina, Zvecan, Mitrovica, Istok, Klina, Malisevo, and Dakovi) from mid -November 2001 onwards to assist in the election monitoring activities, preparing the polling places, monitoring the election process to guarantee its compliance with the rules, and controlling the count of votes. To provide further assistance to the Japanese team of observers in their work with the CE, the government also sent five coordination personnel from the cabinet office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Pristina during the whole election process. They were employed as mediators between the Japanese observers and the responsible organizations for conducting and monitoring the elections. In addition, two Japanese Balkan experts were stationed in Kosovo from October to November 2001. They were required to support the Kosovo Mission of the Organization for Security and Co-operation of Europe (OSCE) that was responsible for conducting the actual election process, again under the auspices of the UNMIK. Apart from the personnel contribution, the Japanese government also decided to provide about USD 270,000 to the UNMIK for special election programs for the ethnic minorities in Kosovo and to provide information about the election process. (MoFA Japan 2001a; Secretariat of the IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013f)

Three years later, in October 2004, the second assembly elections since the end of the Kosovo conflict took place. These nationwide elections were also important for Kosovo's development towards a multiethnic, independent state. Again the election process was implemented under the auspices of UNMIK and monitored by the Council of Europe. Acknowledging the importance and significance of these elections the Japanese government again dispatched a team of two Japanese election observers to Kosovo to assist the CE in the election monitoring operations. According to official government

statements the Japanese personnel contribution was regarded as essential part of Japan's effort to promote peace and to generate stability and security in this region. (MoFA Japan 2004a)

### **3.1.3.5. International peace cooperation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: MONUC**

In 2006 the United Nations requested Japanese contribution for the presidential and legislative (upper and lower house) elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) that were supposed to be held on 30 July of the same year. This was an important step in the history of the Congo as they were the first democratic elections that took place since its independence from Belgium 40 years ago. The national order and overall stability were very much challenged by political unrest and tension between various power centers. Political unrest and social tensions had already arisen in 1994, at the same time as the uprisings in Rwanda were taking place. The rebelling forces (supported by the states Rwanda and Uganda) and pro-government forces (supported by Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe) clashed together in the Congo, leading to armed hostilities that endangered the regional stability. In July 1999 the *Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement* was reached between the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and the five states that were involved in the conflict. The Security Council decided to establish the *United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (MONUC)<sup>95</sup> - based on the Resolution 1279 - in November 1999, to carry out peacekeeping activities, such as ceasefire observation and monitoring the parties' compliance with the ceasefire agreement of 1999. With the presidential and legislative elections coming up in 2006 the UN saw the need for international election observation assistance. Japan immediately reacted to the UN request and acknowledged the development in the Congo as important step towards national peace and stability. After receiving the necessary approval of the cabinet it sent a team of eight Japanese election observers to Kinshasa, the capital of the DRC, to assist the International Electoral Commission (IEC) with official international election observation activities in order to ensure a fair and democratic election process. The Japanese team, consisting of five government officials and three persons from the private sector, remained until the beginning of August. During their dispatch, the Japanese team stayed in Kinshasa. Before the actual election took place they assisted with the necessary preparations for the election monitoring activities and the election itself, observed election campaigns and the actual voting process at about a total of 59 voting stations in the capital. They also monitored the official counting of votes afterwards. After the termination of the election monitoring assignment an official governmental statement was released about Japan's participation and peacekeeping contribution to the DRC:

The Government of Japan considers that achieving sustainable peace in the DRC is crucial not only for the peace and stability of Great Lakes region, but also for that of the whole of Africa, and even for that of the international community at last. Therefore, Japan takes a policy of extending all possible cooperation for new nation-building in the DRC, and has already provided wide variety of assistance including support for the elections. (MoFA Japan 2006a)<sup>96</sup>

Since no presidential candidate was able to get the majority of the votes in the first run, a runoff between the first two candidates was necessary and set for 29 October 2006. For this occasion the Japanese government again dispatched a team of five election observers under UN command to Kinshasa to assist with the election process. The Japanese team comprised two government officials and three persons from the private sector, performing the same tasks as the former team. In total, the Japanese observers monitored about 43 voting stations in the capital and supported the counting procedure until they terminated their assignment on 2 November 2006. Apart from its personnel

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<sup>95</sup> *Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo (MONUC)*.

<sup>96</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.



contribution, Japan also played an important role in terms of electoral funding. Before the first election process took place in July Japan had assured to provide a package of financial emergency aid in total of about USD 9.07 million to ensure a fair, democratic, and well-managed election process. After the first run and with no majority result a runoff was necessary. For this matter the Japanese government announced in September to donate an additional amount of approximately USD 1.5 million to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Japanese financial contribution was primarily used for election monitoring related activities of the IEC and the UNDP, such as electoral education programs for the population, election campaigns, and the overall election process. (MoFA Japan 2006a; MoFA Japan 2006b; UN 2007; Secretariat of the IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013g; MONUC 2013)

#### **3.1.3.6. International peace cooperation in Nepal: UNMIN**

At the beginning of 2007 the United Nations established the *United Nations Mission in Nepal* (UNMIN), after the *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* between the Nepalese army and Maoist fighters was signed in November 2006. Prior to this important event towards peace and national stability Nepal was highly affected from political unrest and tensions, leading to the Nepalese Civil War from 1996 to 2006. This armed conflict was fought between the Nepalese military forces and the Maoist rebels from the Communist Party of Nepal (also known as Maoist). The political party of the Maoist wanted to overthrow the ruling Nepalese monarchy and to establish a People's Republic which initiated the civil war. The peace treaty of 2006 officially brought an end to the conflict, but the national situation required further assistance and support towards its peace process. The UN mission in Nepal was established to monitor the overall management of the military personnel at seven locations in Nepal, the disarmament of the Maoist fighters and to assist the state with the necessary preparations for the assembly elections in 2007. After the peace agreement was concluded the United Nations requested further help from Japan for the activities and tasks of UNMIN. The Japanese government agreed to dispatch a total of 24 personnel from its Self-Defense Force (four groups, each with six members) as military observers for UNMIN from March 2007 to January 2011, with six Japanese military observers stationed in Nepal each period.

In April 2008 Nepal conducted its assembly election which was regarded as an important process for Nepal's overall recovery and its national rebuilding after a period of ten years of armed conflicts and unrest. Following an official UN request for assistance in international election observation operations, Japan deployed a team of a total of 24 Japanese election observers, including six government officials and 18 individuals from the private sector. The first group of ten persons was sent to Nepal from March until the beginning of April to fulfill the logistical tasks of preparing the headquarters and conducting preliminary investigations of the overall situation. The other group of 14 personnel was deployed soon afterwards. The Japanese team was working throughout the state, in the cities of Kathmandu, Dhulikhel, Pokhara, Biratnagar, and Nepalguni. On the election day itself Japanese election observers monitored the voting process at a total of 300 polling stations. As in previous election monitoring operations, the Japanese team was responsible for observing the election campaigns, preparing the necessary voting facilities and everything relevant for the day of election, and monitoring the election process itself and the correct counting of the votes in the aftermath of the election. The election observation operation lasted until mid-April 2008. Japan took its participation in the UNMIN-led activities of peace cooperation and its assistance for Nepal's peace process very seriously. In August 2009 the Japanese government agreed to extend its assistance in Nepal and to keep its SDF personnel as military observers for another period of six months to assist the UNMIN, following a UN decision to extend the UN mandate in Nepal until January 2010. As the UN renewed its mandate again at the beginning of January, the Japanese government decided to extend the dispatch of its six military observers for another four months in March 2010, lasting until end of July the same



year. By December 2010 a total of six Japanese uniformed peacekeeping personnel were still stationed in Nepal, deployed as military observers. In January 2011 the United Nations Security Council agreed to end its peacekeeping mandate in Nepal and ceased all peacekeeping operations conducted under UNMIN. (MoFA Japan 2009d; MoFA Japan 2010a; IPCH 2013h; IPCH 2013i; Ministry of Defense 2013a)

### **3.1.3.7. International peace cooperation in Sudan: UNMIS**

From 1983 onwards internal political struggles and armed conflicts between the government and rebel groups from the South highly affected Sudan's national peace and stability. The Islamic Sudanese government wanted to enforce Arab nationalism, opposed to the Christian-led southern rebellion group, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). For more than twenty years a civil war, which dominated the Sudanese political reality, was fought for Sudan's democracy and independence. During these two decades of ongoing conflicts the United Nations provided humanitarian relief material for the affected civilians, including Japan's participation. In 2004 and again later in 2007 Japan delivered relief supplies, such as tents, blankets, sleeping mats, and plastic sheets etc., for Sudanese refugees in Chad and for afflicted Sudanese people in Darfur to the UNHCR. Due to international assistance, support, and mediation between the two parties it was possible to sign a *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* (CPA) in January 2005, also known as the *Naivasha Agreement*. Two months later the United Nations established a UN mandate in Sudan based on the Resolution 1590 of the Security Council, the *United Nations Mission in Sudan* (UNMIS). The aim was to assist with and monitor the implementation of the peace agreement and to provide return assistance for Sudanese refugees and civilians, who were displaced during the civil war, as well as to implement demining operations and to provide reconstruction assistance. In July 2005 Japan participated again in relief supply deliveries and provided the UNMIS with technical equipment, such as landmine detectors and four-wheel drive vehicles to implement UN-led Sudan's reconstruction activities. In October 2008, after receiving an UN request, the Japanese government approved the dispatch of two staff officers from its Self-Defense Force to the UNMIS headquarters in Khartoum to carry out peacekeeping operations in order to ensure Sudan's national stability and security. (MoFA Japan 2008b; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013j)

According to an official press release Japan explains the reason for its contribution to the peace cooperation activities in Sudan:

[Being] [...] a responsible member of the international community, Japan will contribute to the Sudan peace process and to further strengthening of bilateral relations by this dispatch. In addition, the mission is expected to make an important contribution to the peace and stability of Africa as a whole and thus is considered significant. (MoFA Japan 2008b)<sup>97</sup>

In accordance with the Article 9 of the Japanese constitution, both officers were unarmed during their deployment. One officer was sent to the Logistics Planning Office of the UNMIS Force Headquarters to assist with the military logistics and to provide logistical support of equipment to the UNMIS military troops. It was also responsible for the vehicle maintenance of the troops. The other Japanese staff officer was working as a database manager in the Joint Mission Analysis Cell of UNMIS that was led by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In November 2008 Japan again delivered relief supplies to UNHCR for the Sudanese civilians. Two years later in June, and in response to the UN decision to renew the UNMIS mandate, the Japanese government announced to extend the deployment of its two staff officers for another one-year period (the last

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<sup>97</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

Japanese staff officer finally left the Sudan in September 2011), since an important event was about to take place at the beginning of the following year.

In accordance with the peace agreement from 2005, a national referendum was to be held in January 2011 on the secession of the southern part of Sudan - home to the anti-government rebel forces - or its independence. In response to the official UN request Japan dispatched a team of 15 Japanese personnel (government officials and individuals from the private sector such as experts or NGO workers), as a Referendum Observation Mission in late December 2010. They were required to assist with the referendum observation operations until mid-January in order to ensure a fair and free voting process with a legitimate result. In 2011 the majority of the Sudanese people opted for the independence, leading to the formation of the Republic of South Sudan. In December 2010 two Japanese uniformed peacekeeping forces were still stationed in Sudan. After six years of UN-led peace and security assistance and national recovery support, the UN mission in Sudan officially ceased its activities in July 2011, whereas other humanitarian relief related organizations and agencies (UN-led and others), such as UNHCR, have renewed their mandate for the delivery of relief supplies for the Sudanese civilians to further assist with the peace and stability process. (MoFA Japan 2008b; MoFA Japan 2010b; Secretariat of IPCH 2010; IPCH 2013j; IPCH 2013k; IPCH 2013l)

#### **3.1.3.8. International peace cooperation on the Golan Heights: UNDOF**

On 31 May 1974 the United Nations Security Council passed the Resolution 350 to establish the *United Nations Disengagement Observer Force* (UNDOF) on the Golan Heights between Syria and Israel, which is operated until today due to the continuing tense situation of this region. The main aim of this UN mandate is to mediate between the two parties, to support peace negotiations, to observe the ceasefire between Syria and Israel, and to assist with the peace maintenance. Furthermore, deployed personnel is assigned to control the disengagement activities of the two forces as well as to secure the border. Currently (as of 30 September 2013), there are still 1,357 troops, 47 international staff, and 87 local civilian staff deployed at the mission, including military peacekeeping forces from the Fiji Islands, India, Ireland, Nepal, the Netherlands, and the Philippines. Japan started its peace cooperation contribution in 1996 with the Japanese personnel of its SDF being responsible for low-risk activities, such as transportation, road restorations etc. Already prior to 2000 Japan has dispatched a unit of military troops to assist with the UN peacekeeping activities of ceasefire observation and security surveillance. On average Japan has dispatched a total of 30 troop members. In 2009, following a request from the United Nations, the Japanese cabinet decided to renew its peace cooperation assignment for six months and to send an additional Japanese staff officer to the headquarters of UNDOF. At that time Japan deployed a total of 43 personnel from its SDF and three staff officers. The situation between rebelling groups remained tense and conflicts between Israeli and Palestinian forces were increasing, hindering the peace process in the Middle East and the security of the situation. In addition to the extension of its personnel contribution to UNDOF, Japan decided to provide the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) with humanitarian relief materials, such as blankets, sheets, and sleeping mats, for the conflict-affected civilians in the Gaza Strip, an area between Israel and Egypt that belongs to the Palestinian territories. One year later in 2010 the Japanese government agreed to another extension of its personnel dispatch to the UNDOF. From 1996 to 2010, a total of 1,279 personnel from Japan's SDF were deployed to the UN-led peacekeeping operation on the Golan Heights. By December 2010 the Japanese unit consisted of a total of 31 SDF personnel and staff officers, the latter being responsible for coordination and public relations-related activities. (MoFA Japan 2009c; MoFA Japan 2010c; UNDOF 2013a; UNDOF 2013b)

### 3.1.3.9. International peace cooperation in Haiti: MINUSTAH

Already in 1993 the Security Council of the United Nations Organization passed the Resolution 867 to establish the *United Nations Mission in Haiti* (UNMIH) in order to provide assistance to Haiti's development after a long period of political, internal tensions, and conflicts.

For about 40 years Haiti's government was dictatorial but it was ended when in December 1990 the first presidential election took place in Haiti, shortly to be followed by a military coup d'état. Prior to this in 1990 the United Nations deployed an election observation team, the *United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti* (ONUVEH), followed by the *International Civilian Mission in Haiti* (MICIVIH), a joint peace support mission between the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS). After the successful establishment of the UN mission in 1994, the UN peacekeeping operations have contributed a lot to the overall economic and political stability, recovery, and development towards security in Haiti until 2000. With the end of the mandate of UNMIH in March 1995 several other peacekeeping missions were installed: the *United Nations Support Mission in Haiti* (UNSMIH) (Resolution 1063), the *United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti* (UNTMIH) (Resolution 1123), and the *United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti* (MIPONUH) (Resolution 1141).

After political unrest, rebellion, and armed conflicts had spread over Haiti and President Bertrand Aristide left the country at the beginning of 2004, the Security Council decided to reestablish a permanent UN mission on 1 June 2004, based on the Resolution 1542, which was called the *United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti* (MINUSTAH)<sup>98</sup>. Immediately after his retreat, having left the state in a chaotic, troublesome situation, the United Nations Security Council agreed to dispatch a Multinational Interim Force (MIF) to Haiti to secure the situation for a period of three months. The establishment of MINUSTAH has succeeded the MIF as the UN-led peacekeeping mandate for providing development assistance and support for the rebuilding of democracy, stability, and peace, also aiming at poverty reduction. It was decided to deploy civilian as well as military personnel to the UN operation; in total a maximum of about 1,600 people consisting of civilian police units and advisors, a civilian contingent of peacekeeping forces of approximately 1,550 personnel (about 550 international and 1,000 local civilians), and a maximum of 6,700 military personnel. The Security Council resolution determined the cooperation between MINUSTAH, the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) to secure the national environment, support the transitional government for political recovery, monitor and assist with the reorganization and training of the Haitian National Police, implement DDR programs, provide protection for civilians, and contribute to Haiti's democratic political development in respect to the rule of law and human rights. (UN News Centre 2004; UN Security Council 2004; IPCH 2013m; MINUSTAH 2013a)

On 12 January 2010 Haiti was damaged by a severe earthquake with over 200,000 people dead, including UN peacekeeping personnel and the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General. Immediately afterwards, the Security Council passed the Resolution 1908 and decided to increase the UN personnel contribution to MINUSTAH in order to provide sufficient assistance and support for Haiti's reconstruction and rebuilding. After receiving the United Nation's request for contribution, the Japanese international peace cooperation plan for Haiti was established in February 2010 and approved immediate personnel and financial contribution to MINUSTAH. Following the official governmental decision, a contingent of a maximum of 350 personnel from the Japanese SDF Engineering Unit was dispatched to Haiti to assist in clean-up operations and the reconstruction of infrastructure, facilities, and camps for the afflicted population (the last unit was sent in August 2010).

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<sup>98</sup> The term MINUSTAH refers to the French full name *Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilization en Haiti* (MINUSTAH 2013a).

Apart from the dispatched Japanese SDF personnel, two Japanese staff officers were sent to the MINUSTAH headquarters in the capital Port-au-Prince to support the planning and coordination of programs, transport, and cooperation for Haiti's recovery. One of them was working at the Mission Support Division under the Deputy of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the other one at the Headquarters of the Military Component to coordinate the transportation for operations. Among its deployed personnel, Japan also dispatched two civilian coordination personnel, who were responsible for the communication and cooperation coordination between the Japanese staff, MINUSTAH, and other participating organizations. They also monitored the working performance of the Japanese personnel to guarantee an efficient contribution and participation. In November 2010 the government approved the extension of its SDF personnel's contribution towards Haiti's recovery for at least another year. By December 2010 a total of 225 military personnel were stationed at MINUSTAH. This was the first time that a military unit from Japan's Ground Self-Defence Force was deployed for such a relief assistance operation as part of an official UN peacekeeping operation. By the end of 2012, and in accordance with Haiti's recovery development, the Japanese government decided to continuously withdraw personnel of its SDF engineering unit. Towards the end of February the following year, all Japanese personnel were back in Japan. (Secretariat of IPCH 2010; MoFA Japan 2010e; IPCH 2013m; MoFA Japan 2013c; UN PK 2013)

Besides infrastructural damage, the living situation for the afflicted civilian population of Haiti became dangerous due to increasing deficiencies in the overall hygienic conditions. An outbreak of cholera had caused the death of almost 300 people and affected even more. In compliance with its peace cooperation assignment the Japanese government decided to provide an emergency grant of about USD 150,000 for medical treatment and material assistance in form of water tanks, water purifiers etc. In addition, the Japanese SDF engineering personnel were now also assigned to medical care and assistance, as well as to support activities for disease control and containment. Japan showed a strong commitment to its peace cooperation assignment in Haiti. According to an official press release, it *'[...] will continue to provide as much support as possible to Haiti's efforts towards recovery, reconstruction and stabilization.'* (MoFA Japan 2010e)<sup>99</sup>.

In November 2010 the Republic of Haiti conducted presidential elections, after the original date in February earlier the same year had to be postponed due to the immediate aftermath of the earthquake from January. Nevertheless, and despite still ongoing reconstruction operations, presidential and legislative elections were held on 28 November 2010 as it was regarded as necessary for Haiti's future development and recovery. The government in Japan agreed to pay a financial contribution for the election process and provided the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) a total of about USD 1.5 million for election material, such as voting ballots, sheets etc. to guarantee an efficient handling of the election. In addition to its financial contribution, Japan also dispatched a team of election observers, consisting of five governmental officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since the overall national situation was still very affected from the consequences of the earthquake, it was necessary to monitor the election to mitigate the risk of political turmoil and internal tension.<sup>100</sup>

At the beginning of 2012, after two years of Japan's contribution in reconstruction efforts and peacekeeping operations, the government decided to extend Japan's international peace cooperation assignment in Haiti for another period of twelve months until 31 January 2013 - following the Security Council's extension of the MINUSTAH mandate itself. In the second half of 2012 Haiti was again

<sup>99</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>100</sup> Since none of the 18 candidates was able to gain the majority of the votes, the run-off was held in March 2011 with Michael Martelly becoming the 56<sup>th</sup> president of Haiti.

severely hit by natural catastrophes this time by the hurricanes in August and in late October 2012, the latter one destroying half of Haiti's communes, its infrastructure, and many important agricultural areas. It also caused the death of more than 50 people. Japan's government approved to provide humanitarian assistance in the form of financial aid of about USD 1.2 million for the affected civilian population via the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). At that time Haiti was still under reconstruction and therefore, international assistance and aid cooperation was very much required due to food scarcity and damages to temporary restoration efforts. (MoFA Japan 2010d; MoFA Japan 2010e; MoFA Japan 2010f; MoFA Japan 2012a; MoFA Japan 2012b)

According to official government press releases and statistics, the Japanese personnel and financial contribution in the peacekeeping operations in Haiti following the 2010 earthquake took place in the areas of humanitarian emergency (medical care, contributions in kind) and reconstruction assistance (infrastructure, health care, education, food, and agriculture), as well as the deployment of its SDF. As already mentioned, by the end of February of 2013 Japan had withdrawn all of its personnel (SDF personnel were deployed until October 2012). From 2010 until 2013 Japan provided a total of about USD 150 million for Haiti's recovery process and development as part of Japan's peacekeeping and development assistance. They dispatched a total of 2,200 SDF personnel from its engineering unit and a total of twelve staff officers to support UN-led peacekeeping operations in the field of reconstruction of infrastructure and facilities, personnel training, and the delivery of necessary relief supplies. (MoFA Japan 2013c)

#### *Concluding remarks concerning Japan's international peace cooperation in UN peacekeeping operations*

According to official United Nations documents on peacekeeping, as of December 2010 Japan participated in a total of five United Nations peacekeeping operations with approximately 266 peacekeeping personnel – not including the civilian peacekeeping contingent – and who were deployed to the following peacekeeping operations: MINUSTAH (225 peacekeeping forces), UNDOF (31 peacekeeping personnel), UNMIN (six peacekeeping forces), UNMIS (two peacekeeping forces) and UNIT (two peacekeeping forces).

Apart from UNDOF, Japan started its peacekeeping contribution to the other four UN peacekeeping operations in the respective period of examination between 2000 and 2010. By December 2010 Japan was in the 47<sup>th</sup> position of all 115 participating UN members. For comparison, by the end of January 2000 the Japanese peacekeeping personnel contingent in UN peacekeeping operations consisted of 30 uniformed peacekeeping forces deployed solely to UNDOF. Japan was 48th in the ranking of all 83 participating UN member states in official UN peacekeeping operations at that time. (UN PK 2013)

In order to present a more coherent picture of Japan's actual cooperation in peacekeeping activities, it is also necessary to include its participation in MNF peace operations between 2000 and 2010.

#### **3.1.3.10. International peace cooperation in Iraq: MNF peace operation**

After the outbreak of the Iraq war in 2001 and the American-led occupation the situation in Iraq remained very critical, especially for the civilian population. In March 2003 the Japanese government decided to send 50 personnel from the Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF) for a humanitarian relief mission to Jordan in order to provide humanitarian assistance by supplying the Iraqi refugees in Jordan and Syria with necessary equipment (i.e. tents). They were accompanied by six additional officials of Japan's Air Self-Defense Force to coordinate and monitor the relief operation and guarantee the security of the Japanese personnel. Following this, and on the request the United Nations World Food



Program (UNWFP), Japan sent another 98 personnel from Japan's ADSF to deliver relief materials and supplies for afflicted Iraqi people on air routes between Italy and Amman from July to August 2003, contributing a total of about 140 metric tons of relief supplies. In addition, Japan dispatched six personnel to assist the Japanese delivery, coordination, and management of the transport process. In 2007 Japan again provided supplies and material, such as tents, to the UN High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) to help afflicted Iraqi civilians. The deployment of ASDF to transport supplies and personnel to provide humanitarian, development, and reconstruction assistance to Iraq lasted for more than four years. The final air-transport operation was conducted in December 2008 and the last members of a withdrawal support unit left Iraq at the end of March 2009. (Ministry of Defense 2009; Secretariat of IPCH 2010)

The MNF peace operation in Iraq was finally installed at the beginning of 2004 and led by the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland. Back in 2003 the Japanese government made an important decision about its military participation in global conflicts and especially its participation in MNF peace operations: For the first time Japan was sending ground military troops – about 1,000 personnel - from its Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF) overseas into a combat zone without the precondition of ceasefire. They were deployed to Iraq in January 2004 to assist with Iraq's postwar-reconstruction activities without an official UN request, acting not as a neutral peacekeeping force under UN command, but providing assistance to U.S. forces this time. This was a peacekeeping operation on Japan's own initiative so to say. The responsible prime minister at that time was Junichiro Koizumi and this decision was possible due to a special legislation approved by the National Diet, the *Humanitarian Relief and Iraqi Reconstruction Special Measures Law*. But in accordance with the Article 9 of Japanese Constitution, the ground forces were only allowed to be sent to non-combat zones to provide humanitarian assistance, medical care, and assistance to the reconstruction of destroyed public buildings and facilities. As was discussed, for Japanese military troops, the use of military force is solely restricted to self-defense. Therefore, the deployment of ground military forces must be well-planned and especially well-reasoned to be accepted. From January 2004 to July 2006 Japanese ground military personnel were deployed to support the MNF peace operation in Iraq and to provide primarily reconstruction and humanitarian assistance with the legitimization of the Japanese government. Although this was not an official UN peacekeeping operation, all MNF peace operations must be approved by the United Nations to be implemented. In the case of Japan, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense were responsible for the overall coordination and implementation of this multinational peace operation force, compared to the responsible IPCH for the coordination of Japan's contribution to official UN peacekeeping operations. (BBC 2003; CNN 2003; Schmitt 2003; Watts 2003; Fouse 2007; MoFA Japan 2013b)

Additional information about Japan's provision of contributions in kind to other relevant international organizations, apart from international peacekeeping operations, but still regarded by Japan as part of its international peace cooperation between 2000 and 2010 can be found in the appendix, see A11.

### 3.1.4. Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping

#### 3.1.4.1. Program for Human Resource Development in Asia for Peace-building: Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center (HPC)

In 2002 a report about Japan's overall contribution and efforts in peacekeeping and peace-building activities in regions that were affected from conflict was published by an UN Advisory Group on International Cooperation for Peace (AGICP), led by the former United Nations Under-Secretary-General, the Japanese Yasushi Akashi. The results showed a strong demand for Japan to focus more

on human resource training and to establish a relevant and specialized institution to provide intensive training for future peacekeeping personnel, also to strengthen its international cooperation with others in such matters of human resource development and thus to expand its possible areas of contribution. Thereafter, further studies were conducted to assess the actual relevance and need of action. In 2006 the idea of the *Pilot Program for Human Resource Development in Asia for Peace-building*, commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (under the former Foreign Minister Taro Aso), was presented. One year later in 2007 the *Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center* (HPC), a legally independent non-profit and non-governmental institution, was established at the University of Hiroshima to conduct the program as well as conducting peacekeeping research and providing intensive training for future peacekeeping personnel. The aim of the program is to equip the trainees (from Japan as well as from other Asian countries) with the necessary theoretical knowledge and practical skills to be prepared for deployment in any UN-led peacekeeping operation. Human resources and especially civilian contribution play an essential role in the field of peace-building. It *‘[...] requires personnel skilled in these fields’* (HPC 2009:2) because *‘[...] we as global citizens have the responsibility to find practical ways to help resolve conflicts and assisting people in need’* (HPC 2009:2). The program itself is implemented based on cooperation between the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) programme, and the HPC itself. With the establishment of this program, Japan has clearly demonstrated its engagement and willingness to invest in the development of human resources for peacekeeping activities and to establish itself as an important point of contact for international peace training cooperation, or in the words of Foreign Minister Taro Aso at the International Peace Building Conference in March 2007, *‘[...] waving the new banner that we [the Japanese] are a peace-builders’ nation’* (MoFA Japan 2007a)<sup>101</sup>. The organizational structure of the HPC comprises the HPC Council (with currently four chairpersons), the Standing Committee (including one director and three deputy directors), and the auditor (currently one tax accountant). The program itself started for the first time on 15 September 2007 with 15 Japanese civilians (selected from about 92 applicants) and 15 civilians from other Asian countries (one from each ASEAN country<sup>102</sup>, PR China, Republic of Korea, India, Mongolia and Nepal) – aged between 24 and 36 years. The selection process involved a personal resume, screening, and several interviews. For applicants to be selected it was necessary to have know-how and expertise in at least one of the following fields: education, child protection, humanitarian assistance, health and medicine, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), community development, governance, and cooperation between developing countries (also known as South-South cooperation<sup>103</sup>). Until the beginning of 2010 already 58 trainees have successfully graduated from the program. Most of the selected civilians belong to several relevant organizations, for example their state’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, peace and development agencies, NGOs etc. The program is conducted in cooperation with six different organizations whose representatives are also taking part in workshops and offering special courses for the trainees. These partner organizations are the Folke Bernadotte Academy (Sweden), the National Defense College (Sweden), the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre (Canada), the UNHCR Regional Centre for Emergency Training in International Humanitarian Response, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), and the International

<sup>101</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>102</sup> ASEAN countries involve Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Viet Nam (ASEAN 2012).

<sup>103</sup> According to the UN Office for South-South Cooperation, the term refers to the collaboration and cooperation between two or more developing countries (initiated by them) in political, economic, social, cultural, technical, or environmental areas. It can be conducted on the bilateral, multilateral, regional, or interregional basis. (UNDP 2011)

Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ). Apart from theoretical training and coursework, there are also overseas, on-site training sessions included to apply the knowledge the trainees have acquired; mainly in field offices of relevant organizations such as UNDP, UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, and relevant NGOs (i.e. Japan Mine Action Service (JMAS)) and administered by the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) programme. The time schedule provides one and a half months of theoretical training in Hiroshima, Japan, followed by an overseas on-the-job training after which trainees are expected to take over *‘[...] leading roles as world’s cutting-edge peacebuilders after gaining on-the-job experience on this overseas training program’* (MoFA Japan 2007e)<sup>104</sup>.

The respective states for HPC overseas training are for example Cambodia, Timor-Leste, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Nepal, South Africa, South Sudan, Uzbekistan, Lao PDR, Uganda, Kenya, Lebanon, and Kosovo. Since 2007 the program has been conducted each year including special designed curricula that are structured into three different categories. The Primary Courses include six weeks of coursework in Hiroshima followed by a deployment abroad for up to twelve months. These courses are for those who want to further develop and expand their career possibilities in peacekeeping operations. The Senior Specialist Courses were introduced in the second year after the program was established and are designed for public and private-sector individuals with peacekeeping and peace-building experience, who want to further apply and deepen their skills. They are also required to complete a six-week course in Hiroshima and an overseas attachment for about twelve months in total. The Seminar on Basic Peace-building was established for newcomers, who consider joining peacekeeping operations for the first time. The idea behind it is to introduce the field of peacekeeping and its basic principles to those who are interested. After graduation the program also offers career support in terms of deployment possibilities. Many graduates have already been successfully deployed to international peacekeeping operations in Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and others.

In October 2013 the new course program for 2013, developed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the *Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center*, was published, offering the Primary Courses (starting from January 2014 with a five-week coursework) and the Seminar on Basic Peace-building in December 2013 (but limited only to Japanese civilians). Applications were due until 7 November 2013. As in previous years the HPC is responsible for the coursework in Hiroshima and the UNV is in charge of the overseas deployment of a selected number of trainees from the Primary Course, who will be dispatched for a maximum of six months. (MoFA Japan 2007b; MoFA Japan 2007c; MoFA Japan 2007d; MoFA Japan 2007e; MoFA Japan 2010h; HPC 2009; HPC 2013a; HPC 2013b; HPC 2013c; HPC 2013d; HPC 2013e; HPC 2013f)

#### **3.1.4.2. Japan Peacekeeping Training and Research Center (JPC)**

Apart from the *Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center* and the conducted training program for civilians, the Ministry of National Defense also established the *Japan Peacekeeping Training and Research Center (JPC)* in March 2010, a state-run organization that offers courses at the Joint Staff College in the field of peacekeeping activities primarily for military peacekeeping personnel.

Due to the expansion of SDF overseas deployment to support international peacekeeping operations and other relevant peace missions - based on several amendments of the Japan Defense Law concerning the deployment of Japan’s SDF - the government saw the need to provide further training and education for the military peacekeeping units and decided to establish a training center. The JPC is divided into an administrative department and a training and research office that provides various courses and seminars primarily for military peacekeeping forces. Employees in the research department are not only military but also civilian personnel from relevant ministries and non-

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<sup>104</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.



governmental organizations. There are two main goals of the JPC: firstly, to provide adequate and appropriate training within a short period of time for those who are required to conduct and lead peacekeeping and peace support operations as command or staff officers – and also for people from international organizations that are participating in the field of regional and global peace and security. And secondly, to conduct research in the field of peacekeeping, which is regarded as important as practical and theoretical training because it requires analysis and examination of international peace operations to gain new insights into the field of peacekeeping and to gain experience for future peacekeeping activities.

The JPC offers three different courses for military peacekeeping personnel and especially for Japan's SDF personnel: the Contingent Commanders Course (CCC), the Staff Officers Course (SOC), and the Basic Course; each requiring different military levels of the participants. The Contingent Commanders Course (about 15 days) aims at Lieutenant Colonels and Commanders at the Captain level to train them as future commanders and leaders for military units deployed to peace operations. The training includes group works, exercises, and discussions, also in terms of specific missions. The Staff Officers Course (about 18 days) is designed to train staff officers, who are assigned to lead peacekeeping operations, both from the UN and from other multinational forces. The participants must be Major Commanders or Lieutenant Colonels. During the course, which includes group work and fictitious exercises of possible situations in the deployment, peacekeeping and relevant staff experts teach the participants necessary leading and conflict-solving skills. The Basic Course (about five days) also aims at military personnel - comprising lower military levels - who are going to participate in UN peacekeeping operations or other relevant peace support activities. The aim is to provide theoretical and practical training in basic peacekeeping matters in order to prepare the participants for their deployment.

Since 2011 the JPC also organizes the annual International Peace & Security Symposiums for Japanese and foreign peacekeeping experts. Since the establishment of the center in 2010 various additional seminars and discussions were also implemented by the Japan Peacekeeping Training and Research Center. (JPC 2013a; JPC 2013b; JPC 2013c; JPC 2013d; JPC 2013e)

#### **3.1.4.3. Japan's assistance to peacekeeping training centers: Financial aid and the dispatch of Japanese training instructors**

Apart from personnel and financial contribution to ongoing peacekeeping operations and efforts made in the field of human resource development for peacekeeping personnel, Japan has taken over an active role as global peace proponent and contributor as it is very much engaged in supporting other peacekeeping training centers especially on the African continent. For Japan, the establishment of African training centers is very important to strengthen the states' peacekeeping capabilities, to improve the personnel's skills and primarily, to maintain an overall condition of stability and security within the African states.

Since 2008 until mid-2009 Japan has supported five training centers in Africa; Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, and Rwanda with financial assistance of about USD 14.5 million and about USD 1 million to the training center in Malaysia. Until the end of March 2010<sup>105</sup> the government has planned to provide an additional amount of approximately USD 4 million for the training and instruction of peacekeeping personnel. Japan's financial aid is mainly used for new equipment, technical devices, and also for necessary renovation measures. Besides the financial aspect, Japan also focuses very much on human resource development in terms of peacekeeping instructor exchanges to mutually benefit from expertise and experience in the field of peacekeeping and peace-building. With its own

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<sup>105</sup> Japan's fiscal year period runs from 1 April until 31 March the following year.

established program for training civilians, Japan has already shown determination and strong engagement in the field of education and personnel training to support international peacekeeping cooperation. The dispatch of Japanese peacekeeping specialists and instructors to other PKO training centers is yet another approach towards effective, sustainable human resource development for future peacekeeping operations. On 23 November 2008 the Japanese government - under Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda and together with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon – decided to send two officers of the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force and one civilian, the director of the HPC and Associate Professor at the Hiroshima University Dr. Hideaki Shinoda, to Egypt, working as training instructors at the *Cairo Regional Center for Training on Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa* (CCCPA) for about two weeks. The Cairo training center provides further training possibilities for African military personnel in the field of peacekeeping and peace-building operations, humanitarian assistance, and reconstruction assistance. Both officers, who were dispatched by the Ministry of Defense, were very experienced in the field of peacekeeping missions (one was responsible for a military transport unit on the Golan Heights and the other one was deployed to the MNF peace operation in Iraq providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance). The dispatch of these two Japanese GSDF officers was important insofar, as it was the first time that Japanese personnel of the SDF were deployed as peacekeeping training instructors at a foreign training center. Staying in Cairo for four days, these two Japanese officers mainly gave lectures about their experience, about emergency relief operations in general, and about ways and methods for peacekeeping personnel to connect and communicate with civilians and local residents in the areas of peacekeeping operations. In his lectures, the director of HPC was primarily dealing with the importance and demand of human resource development in the field of peacekeeping. Prior to this dispatch, another civilian expert on peace-building – this time from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) – was also sent to Cairo to deliver a lecture to government officials from Western African states as part of a two-week training program on the task of controlling small arms and light weapons in the field of peacekeeping. In May 2009 another Japanese SDF officer – accompanied by one civilian – was sent to Cairo to deliver lectures there. In addition to the training center in Cairo, Japan also dispatched one civilian as training instructor to the *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre* (KAIPTC) in Accra, Ghana in November 2008, February 2009, and June 2009. In 2008 the Japanese financial contribution to peacekeeping training centers in Egypt comprised about USD 2.94 million and the contribution for Ghana was about USD 2.5 million. (MoFA Japan 2008c; Ministry of Defense 2009; MoFA Japan 2009e; MoFA Japan 2013d)

In 2008 Japan also provided personnel and financial contribution to the peacekeeping training center *École de Maintien de la Paix* (EMP) in Bamako, the capital of the Republic of Mali. This PKO training center was already established in 1999 and has become an important facility in strengthening and developing the peacekeeping and peace-building capabilities of the African states with almost 2,000 graduated trainees from over 50 countries. The budget for financial assistance for the training center in Mali from June 2008 until 2011 was determined with approximately USD 2.5 million, primarily used for the recruitment of training personnel, training equipment and facilities, training courses, electronic devices etc. In addition to the financial aid package and after receiving a direct official request from the center, Japan dispatched two GSDF officers to Bamako for a period of two weeks – starting from 24 August until 4 September 2008 – as instructors for special training programs for African soldiers and civilians in peacekeeping and humanitarian activities. Apart from the dispatch of Japanese peacekeeping instructors to African training facilities for peacekeeping activities in 2008, Japan also agreed to provide financial assistance to the *Rwanda Peace Academy* (RPA) in Kigali, Rwanda, – in total about USD 3 million – and to the *International Peace Support Training Centre*

(IPSTC) in Nairobi, Kenya, with approximately USD 3.56 million. The *Rwanda Peace Academy* was an initiative between the government of Rwanda and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and strongly supported by the government of Japan and especially the Japanese Ministry of Defense. Its establishment was decided at the *Fourth Tokyo International Conference on African Development* (TICAD; see 3.1.5. *Peace and security related cooperative agreement: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation*) in May 2008 and was finally opened in February 2009 with the aim to conduct peacekeeping research and to offer training for peacekeeping personnel to further develop the abilities in the fields of conflict-prevention and management, peace and security maintenance as well as humanitarian assistance in the region. Starting from the end of 2010 the *International Peace Support Training Centre* in Kenya has reached an agreement with the *Japan Centre for Conflict Prevention* (JCCP) about future training cooperation and the deployment of Japanese experts, especially in the fields of DDR, security reform, and right issues in peacekeeping operations. (Ministry of Defense 2009; MoFA Japan 2009e; MoFA Japan 2013d; MoFA Japan 2013e; MoFA Japan 2013f; RPA 2013)

In addition to the ongoing financial assistance and the dispatch of Japanese training instructors to the already mentioned peacekeeping training centers, three more training centers have been supported by Japan from 2009 onwards: the *Centre de Perfectionnement aux Actions post-conflituelles de Déminage et de Dépollution* (CPADD) in Benin, the *African Centre for Strategic Research and Studies* in Nigeria, and the *South Africa National Peace Mission Training Centre* (PMTTC) in South Africa. The Japanese government determined the overall budget for financial assistance for Benin with about USD 2 million, for Nigeria and South Africa with approximately USD 1 million for each center from 2009 onwards. For Japan, the support and assistance of PKO centers in Africa in form of financial and personnel contribution is of great importance. It intensifies the cooperation between Japan and the African states and strengthens the national personnel peacekeeping capacity of African states. (MoFA Japan 2013d; MoFA Japan 2013i)

Human resource development and personnel training started to play a major role in Japan's peacekeeping assistance and commitment to cooperation especially from 2008 onwards. In April 2010 another Japanese officer of the GSDF was again dispatched to the *Cairo Center for Training on Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping* (CCCPA) for a period of over ten days to hold lectures and to work as a pre-deployment peacekeeping instructor for future African police, military, and civilian peacekeeping personnel. Later that year in August 2010 the Japanese government decided to extend its financial contribution to PKO centers on the African continent and agreed to a financial assistance package of about USD 2.52 million as well as providing an additional amount of about USD 0.6 million to each of the *École de Maintien de la Paix* (EMP) in Mali, the *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre* (KAIPTC) in Ghana, and the *Cairo Center for Conflict Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa* (CCCPA) in Egypt. Moreover, the government provided about USD 0.72 million to the *International Security Forces Training School* (EIFORCES) in Cameroon for the first time.

From 2008 until mid-2010 Japan already provided a total of approximately USD 18.5 million to eight PKO training centers in Africa (Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Rwanda, Benin, Nigeria, and South Africa) for the reconstruction of facilities, for training material and equipment, and training courses. During the period from 2008 until mid-2010 Japanese assistance for such training centers also included the dispatch of about twelve Japanese personnel as lecturers and instructors (about six SDF personnel and six civilians) to a total of three peacekeeping training centers for a variety of relevant issue areas. (MoFA Japan 2010i; MoFA Japan 2010j)

#### **3.1.4.4. Multinational peacekeeping training exercise in Mongolia: Khaan Quest**

As already mentioned, participation in multilateral global peace supporting operational exercises is regarded as an important instrument for states to enhance their own national peacekeeping capabilities but also to increase and improve foremost the level of cooperation with other nations. To improve their bilateral collaboration in peacekeeping activities, the United States and Mongolia established Khaan Quest in 2003, an annual peace supporting training that is held for about two weeks at the Five Hill Training Area near the Mongolian capital city Ulaanbaatar (Ulan Bator). Khaan Quest is coordinated and implemented by the Mongolian Armed Forces (MAF) and the U. S. Army Pacific, financed by the MAF and the U. S. Pacific Command (USPACOM). The main goal behind this training is to improve the overall quality and efficiency of UN peacekeeping operations. Moreover, the idea was to share experience and expertise as well as to strengthen cooperation in the fields of peace-building, peacekeeping, and security stabilization due to the increased demand. Today, Khaan Quest has become an important international peace supporting operational training that promotes regional and global stability, peace, and security. Since 2006 participation in Khaan Quest is also possible for other states. The first states that joined were Bangladesh, Fiji, Thailand, Tonga, and the Republic of Korea. From 2007 on the number of participants has constantly increased up to 1,000. In 2013 14 states were already taking part in the exercise.

Khaan Quest involves a variety of peacekeeping operational activities, such as military command post exercises, field exercises, engineering, and medical civic action programs. Special focus is also set on humanitarian assistance (including humanitarian relief projects but also the rebuilding of facilities) as part of international peace support activities. In addition, Khaan Quest also aims at improving cooperation between military units but also between military and civil peacekeeping contingents for future deployments. Over the last ten years it has become a well-known and important multilateral operational training exercise for international peace support cooperation as well as a strong sign for multilateral peace supporting actions in the Asia-Pacific region, also highly regarded and appreciated by the United Nations. Although other states have already started to participate back in 2006 Japan's engagement in this joint military training exercise took a while to actually develop. Only three years later, during Khaan Quest 2009, Japan sent military troops to Mongolia for the first time to actively contribute peacekeeping personnel to this multinational peacekeeping exercise. Since then, Japan has become a regular participant in Khaan Quest exercises and its participation continues even after 2010. With this development, Japan has acknowledged the importance and significance of its participation in such joint multinational operational exercises, not only to foster its own cooperative capabilities with other states but also to use it as a platform for knowledge and technique exchanges. Moreover, participation in Khaan Quest also strengthens and enhances Japan's own national military personnel skills that are required for future contribution to peacekeeping operations or other relevant peace supporting activities. This is also accompanied by Japan's growing awareness of the need to expand its peace contribution to various other areas of action – including the relevant personnel dispatch – such as human resource development to improve their operational work. (Rozoff 2010; Main 2011; Nyamdorj 2012; Miller 2013; Ministry of Defense 2013b)

#### **3.1.4.5. Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI): GPOI Capstone exercises**

The Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) is a security and peace program that is led and funded by the United States of America. It was established in 2004 to improve the international capacities and skills especially in the field of UN peacekeeping operations. The aim is to increase the overall effectiveness and efficiency of multilateral cooperation and cooperation in peacekeeping and peace

supporting missions, primarily concerning the deployment of uniformed and civilian peacekeeping personnel as well as concerning the logistical support and support to international peacekeeping training centers. The establishment of GPOI was part of the G8 Action Plan for *Expanding Global Capability for Peace Support Operations* at the G8<sup>106</sup> Sea Island Summit in 2004. GPOI was originally planned for a period of five years, but it was renewed until 2014. The main goals of the first five-year period included the training of peacekeeping personnel, the establishment of regional peacekeeping institutions, to increase the number of international peacekeepers especially on the African continent and foremost, to strengthen regional peacekeeping capacities by implementing various training exercises and activities financed by GPOI. For the second period of the Global Peace Operations Initiative from 2009 to 2014 the focus is set on partner states and to enhance their national capacities for peacekeeping training, education, and operational activities. At the end of the first period (as of 30 September 2009) approximately 87,000 military personnel (out of which about 77,000 were Africans) from 78 countries have received GPOI-provided training in the field of peacekeeping and peace support. As part of the training and education plan of its first five-year period, the Global Peace Operations Initiative supports the implementation of the so-called GPOI Capstone Exercises. These annual, multinational peacekeeping exercises take place for about two weeks and are aimed at training international peacekeeping troops especially in the field of humanitarian assistance and relief operations and include strategic and field training operations. The first exercise of such kind was held in Nepal (Exercise Shanti Prayas) in 2000 with the participating countries Bangladesh, Sri-Lanka, the United States, and Nepal. Following this, other exercises were held in Bangladesh (exercise Shanti Doot in 2002 and Shanti Doot 2 in 2008), Thailand (exercise Ayara Guardian in 2006), Sri-Lanka (exercise Sama Gamana in 2004), Mongolia (joint Exercise Khaan Quest in 2007), Indonesia (Exercise Garuda Shield in 2009), and Cambodia (Exercise Anchor Sentinel in 2010).

Although such joint military training exercises have already been implemented since 2000, Japan did not participate for nearly ten years. In 2010 the exercise was again held in Nepal (Shanti Prayas II) and for the first time since establishment, Japan dispatched a contingent of its SDF to take part in staff exercises and field training exercises in order to enhance their own national personnel skills but also to increase the level of cooperation and collaboration with other military troops for further deployment in international peacekeeping operations. After 2010 Japan's participation in such annual GPOI Capstone Exercises also continued. (Sambath and Strangio 2009; Defense White Paper 2010; Hwang 2012; Bhuiyan 2012; U.S. State Department 2013a; U.S. State Department 2013b; Ministry of Defense 2013b)

### 3.1.5. Peace and security related cooperative agreements: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation

#### 3.1.5.1. Japan's development and peace assistance on the African continent: Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD)

For a long time now Japan has shown strong engagement in supporting the development of the African continent in terms of economic growth and humanitarian assistance, but also for generating regional peace and stability. Japan's approach towards increased cooperation and collaboration with African states is determined and influenced by the efforts concerning the '*consolidation of peace*' (MoFA

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<sup>106</sup> G8 (Group of Eight) is an important network and forum including the following industrialized countries: United States, Germany, the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan and Russia. During regular meetings, the Heads of State and Government come together to discuss important global issues such as world economy, development, security policy, energy, terrorism, environment protection etc. (Lee et al. 2013)

Japan 2006b)<sup>107</sup>. Apart from the already mentioned financial assistance to peacekeeping training centers for the development of human resources in the field of peacekeeping, including the dispatch of Japanese instructors to such training centers, it is also important for the Japanese government to develop a strong cooperative network for conducting security and peace related dialog with the aim of maintaining and strengthening regional peace and stability. In the period between 2000 and 2010 the Japan-Africa security and peace cooperative relation has been significantly improved and intensified.

Already in 1993 the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) was established in order to further promote and enhance Japan's support and assistance for African economic, political, and social development. TICAD was the result of a joint initiative between the Japanese government and the United Nations to strengthen the cooperation with other development partners for the African growth and development process. Today the Japanese government, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank (joined in 2000), and the United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Africa (UN-OSAA) are important partners of TICAD. Relevant other contributors are the African Union (AU) and, in regards to Japan, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the city of Yokohama. Other participating actors are interested African states and their respective governments, cooperation partner states, international development organizations, non-governmental organizations etc.

During the first conference in 1993 the *Tokyo Declaration on African Development* was signed. It acknowledged the importance of political and economic reform measures including stimulating the private sector, increasing regional cooperation and besides that, utilizing experience, expertise, and know-how from international cooperation partners, such as Asian countries for example, for the success of Africa's future development and growth and peace process. Economic growth, environmental protection, human security, and peace maintenance have been depicted as main focus areas of the work of TICAD and its participating actors. The second conference followed in 1998 and founded the *Tokyo Agenda for Action* (TAA), especially concerning humanitarian assistance in the form of poverty reduction, as well as the goal to boost the overall economic conditions, to determine and focus on commonly shared objectives, and on how they could be realized. Over time TICAD has become an important guiding plan and mechanism of cooperation for an '*international partnership*' (TICAD 2012a)<sup>108</sup> between Asia and Africa and a collaborative relationship especially in the field of development assistance and stability support. The establishment of TICAD has facilitated the planning, coordination, and implementation of various initiatives and programs for boosting the African economic, political, and social development process. Prior to the conferences, there are usually senior official meetings and ministerial preparatory meetings planned in order to guarantee an efficient conference at a later date. The overall goal of TICAD is to strengthen the policy dialog between the partners on security, peace, regional stability, and its influence on global stability, humanitarian issues, and economic development. In addition, TICAD aims at supporting and promoting African development programs in these areas with the assistance and support of such an international partnership.

In 2003 the third conference, TICAD III, was held in Tokyo. The main focus of the conference was the program *New Partnership for Africa's Development* (NEPAD) and how TICAD partners can further support it. NEPAD was launched in 2001, offering a framework for action for African leaders within the African Union towards economic, political, and social development. This partnership is responsible for the management of various initiatives and programs in certain areas, such as agriculture and food security, human development, natural resource management, economic

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<sup>107</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>108</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

governance, and regional integration. More than that, the third conference became known as one of the largest conferences dealing with African development as it was attended by 23 African leaders and ten representatives from international organizations.

In 2008 TICAD IV was held in Yokohama with emphasis on economic growth, human security including peace and stability maintenance, as well as fostering democratization and environmental protection as the three main areas for intensified cooperation and action. The fifth Tokyo International Conference on African Development, called TICAD V, was again organized in Yokohama in June 2013. The core issues were economic growth including infrastructure development, boosting the tourism sector, and promoting a new form of Public-Private Partnership especially for the agricultural sector and the achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDG)<sup>109</sup>, in particular concerning the fight against poverty, increasing maternal and child health, fostering human security, and strengthening international cooperation. In addition, peace consolidation and promoting good governance in order to strengthen and maintain social security and the overall national stability as well as climate change have been selected as guiding key issues to be acted upon. (MoFA Japan 2006b; NEPAD 2010-2012; TICAD 2012a; TICAD 2012b; TICAD 2012c)

#### **3.1.5.2. Multinational Cooperation Program in the Asia Pacific (MCAP)**

In response to the growing demand for regional cooperation to generate and maintain a stable and secure environment as well as to further promote regional and global peace, Japan established the *Multinational Cooperation Program for the Asia Pacific* (MCAP) in 2002. Since then, this multilateral conference is held every year in Tokyo and headed by the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Forces. The annual conference invites military representatives from various states – not only from the Asia Pacific region - and also international non-governmental organizations as active participants or observers to take part in the conference. The three main focus areas of the MCAP are international cooperation and collaboration in peace supporting and peacekeeping activities, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief assistance. With the establishment of this annual conference, Japan has provided a platform for joint discussions based on the common interests of global and regional peace and security. The program should not only foster cooperation between military units but also cooperation between military and civilian peacekeeping personnel as well as with respective governments and relevant non-governmental organizations. Since the establishment in 2002 regional peace, stability, and security have been selected as the key content of all discussions. The conference focuses on the elements of information sharing, strengthening of cooperative capacities, and human resource development. In more detail, relevant topics include training exercises or measures that states can take to enhance their national capacities in these areas, also regarding its military and civilian personnel contingent. In addition, participating states also discuss possible multilateral agreements and how the overall structure of cooperation can be improved. One of the main objectives is to find proper solutions and ways to facilitate the collaboration between different units especially in the field of peacekeeping and other peace related actions. The conferences also include various working group and expert sessions to foster the dialog between the participating states and to bring forward qualitative results that may be used as a guideline for future action. (Ministry of Defense 2012b; Kasamatsu 2013; Ministry of Defense 2013b)

#### **3.1.5.3. Supporting the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)**

Peace supporting activities may not only include traditional peacekeeping operations, such as ceasefire observation, conflict settlement, peace maintenance or humanitarian assistance but also efforts of arms control and nonproliferation to contribute to a safe and secure regional and global environment. The

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<sup>109</sup> More information about the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) can be found in the appendix, see A8.



Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) was established in 2003 by the former U.S. President George W. Bush in accordance with the international law concerning arms control and nonproliferation. This multinational, multilateral voluntary agreement aims at taking responsible action in the field of nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and other related material and to stop their further delivery between state and non-state actors. This initiative has developed into an important, multinational, institutionalized instrument for joint action to counter proliferation activities that pose a threat to international peace and stability. Furthermore, it should strengthen the states' own capacities as well as facilitate the coordination of cooperation between the participating states in joint activities to combat the illegal distribution and spread of weapons. This can also be regarded as an important element in the field of international peace cooperation to make the world a safer and more secure place and to collectively respond to the growing threat of illegal weapons.

By December 2012 102 states have already joined the Proliferation Security Initiative<sup>110</sup>, acknowledging the *PSI Statement of Interdiction Principles* that is regulating the participation and behavior of nonproliferation supporting states. They commit to work together with other member states and to strengthen their joint efforts to stop the supply and transport of especially WMD. Moreover, they agree to promote the establishment of a coherent information network among the participating states to guarantee an important platform for contact and exchange. States supporting this initiative are not allowed to transport any WMD or to provide assistance to other states in the transportation of such weapons as determined in the PSI principles. In addition to the regular so-called PSI endorsing states, there is also an Operational Experts Group (OEG) that consists of 21 participating states<sup>111</sup>. The OEG is the main organizational body and in charge of the overall performance of PSI and the efforts of the member states. In addition, the expert group is also responsible for all legal issues as well as for implementing workshops, regular meetings, and training exercises. The experts group should also assist member states in enhancing their national capacities to counter WMD proliferation and should promote the establishment of working groups in specific security and nonproliferation related areas.

Initiated by the United States in 2003, about ten other states played a significant role in the establishment of the PSI. Japan is among the founding member states, next to the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, Poland, and Portugal. These states also form the original body of the Operational Experts Group as leading organ of the PSI. When considering Japan's efforts to generate regional and global peace as well as security, arms control, and nonproliferation of illegal weapons have always been of high priority. Despite its dark past, Japan has strengthened its efforts to become a leading peacekeeping and global peace supporting nation as it has expanded its fields of peace related activities to a great extent. Being a founding member of the PSI, Japan has set another important step to increase its international peace contribution in various issue areas, such as nonproliferation of WMD. Since Japan joined the PSI in 2003 it has implemented various PSI exercises; the first in October 2004 which was the first ever being held in Asia. The PSI maritime exercise took place off the coast near Tokyo Bay and was carried out by the Japan Coast Guard, the Japan Ministry of Defense (at that time still called Defense Agency), and other relevant agencies. Another maritime exercise was held by Japan in October 2007. In 2008 and 2009 Japan participated in other PSI exercises and in November 2010 Japan hosted the Operational Experts Group Meeting with 21 OEG states. (MoFA Japan 2004b; MoFA Japan 2013g; PSI 2013a; PSI 2013b; PSI 2013c; U.S. State Department 2013c; NTI 2013)

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<sup>110</sup> A complete list of all PSI members can be found in the appendix, see A12.

<sup>111</sup> A complete list of all OEG members can be found in the appendix, see A13.



#### **3.1.5.4. Bilateral declarations on security and PKO cooperation signed between 2000 and 2010**

*The beginning of Japan's security declarations with the Japan-U.S. declaration in 1996*

In April 1996 Japan already signed its first security and defense related declaration, the Japan-U.S. *Joint Declaration on Security Alliance for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* that was signed between the American President Bill Clinton and the Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and shaped the security relationship between Japan and the United States until today. Based on their alliance partnership, as determined in the Japan-U.S. Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, both governments have acknowledged the need '[...] *to build on the successful history of security cooperation and to work hand-in-hand to secure peace and prosperity for future generations.*' (MoFA Japan 1996).

The declaration focused to a great extent on the mutual defense agreement to counter any attacks against Japan. In addition, they also demanded closer cooperation and collaboration towards regional as well as international peace, security, and stability. In the field of security, they also agreed to strengthen their assistance and contribution to international peacekeeping and peace-building operations as well as humanitarian relief assistance, arms control, and disarmament missions. Especially for UN-led peacekeeping operations, the declaration determined close cooperation between Japan and the U.S. in the areas of information sharing, medical service, transportation, and human resource development (i.e. training and exchanges). Moreover, mutual assistance had to be maintained between the Japanese SDF and the Armed Forces of the United States, also in terms of supplies and services, to further strengthen their cooperative relationship in security matters. At present the established *Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee* (SCC) – also referred to as 2+2 talks since both states' Ministries of Defense and Ministries of Foreign Affairs are included - holds regular meetings to discuss and review their security and mutual defense alliance and to determine further work priorities or focus areas within the field of security, defense, and global and regional peace maintenance. (MoFA Japan 1996; Ministry of Defense 1997)

##### **3.1.5.4.1. The Canada-Japan Declaration on Political Peace and Security Cooperation 2010**

Over time, Japan and Canada have established a close working relationship on matters of international peace, security, and stability based on commonly shared objectives. Back in September 1998 the first *Canada-Japan Symposium on Peace and Security Cooperation* between the Canadian and Japanese Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), as well as the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was held in Vancouver, followed by the *1999 Canada-Japan Action Agenda for Peace and Security Cooperation* that was decided between the former Prime Ministers Jean Chrétien and Keizo Obuchi. The main objective was to examine possible ways for closer and more efficient cooperation in security matters such as post-conflict consolidation, disarmament, arms control and nonproliferation, peace maintenance, and the fight against terrorism in the future. Moreover, both countries agreed to explore the issue of peace-building projects and workshops as well as human resource development and personnel exchanges in the field of peacekeeping, together with relevant NGOs. A crucial factor for this development and establishment of closer cooperation between Canada and Japan was the 1997 drafted Job-Nishihara Report that basically determined the framework for their working relationship in the fields of peace and security. The second symposium took place in Tokyo in November 2000, followed by the third in Vancouver in November 2002 and the fourth again in Tokyo in June 2005. In 2005 the decision was then made to hold the conference each year from that time on in order to intensify the cooperation and their efforts to improve their actions.

In the same year, and based on the action agenda from 1999 as a continuation of their joint efforts and actions, Canada and Japan - represented by the Prime Ministers Paul Martin and Junichiro Koizumi - ratified the *2005 Canada-Japan Action Agenda for Peace and Security Cooperation* to expand and intensify their collaboration in the areas of counter-terrorism measures and in particular, to build up a strong Asian Pacific<sup>112</sup> network of capacities to counteract acts of terrorism, (i.e. chemical, nuclear terrorism etc.), to promote regional peace and to protect human rights. Both states acknowledged the importance of closer bilateral and also multilateral consultation and cooperation in international organizations and institutions, such as the United Nations and others, to maintain regional and global stability and peace. Apart from terrorism, organized crime across borders has become another severe threat for international peace and security. The Canadian and Japanese governments have both highly supported the realization of the *United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime* and highlighted their agreement to further strengthen their collaboration with the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CNDI and United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC). Moreover, protecting human rights and human security has become an essential element in the Canadian-Japanese joint cooperation agreement, particularly concerning peace-building and peacekeeping activities and providing security and development assistance for troubled regions worldwide, but also especially in the Middle East. Both governments do not only consider international security and stability as desirable but also regional peace in the Asian Pacific countries is of utmost importance; in particular the achievement of a resolution on the North Korean issue. Taking collective, multilateral and multinational action towards peace and security maintenance must be acknowledged as a determining key element for success towards an international peace process. Peacekeeping activities also require expanding and intensifying actions of landmine clearance, arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament. Both governments have agreed to provide sufficient assistance to each other and to other states in implementing international rules and regulations on such matters and to support and promote the establishment of comprehensive and more coherent legal frameworks for arms control and disarmament.

Apart from the collaboration between the two Ministries of Foreign Affairs on issues of security, stability, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping, the emphasis, on the multilateral level too, is also placed on expanding their bilateral cooperation towards intensive, regular dialogs and meetings as well as increasing and strengthening their military defense relations via military security talks and exchanges between their Ministries of Defense. Since both states are very active members in international organizations and institutions through their contributions and international presence, they also acknowledge the need to strengthen the capacity of such organizations (i.e. the United Nations) in order to be able to respond appropriately to emerging challenges and problems. This will be done via constant monitoring and implementation of actions to achieve substantive results in international cooperation in the field of peace and security support and also in terms of necessary reform measures. (JICA 2001; Kantei 2005; RIPS 2005)

On 14 November 2010, during the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting of economic leaders in Yokohama, the Prime Ministers of Canada and Japan, Stephen Harper and Naoto Kan (resigned 2011), renewed their commitment of strengthening their security and peace support

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<sup>112</sup> The Asia Pacific regions includes the following countries: Australia, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Canada, China, Chile, Comoros, Cook Islands, Fiji, French Polynesia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kiribati, Laos, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Marshall-Islands, Mauritius, Micronesia, Mongolia, Nauru, Nepal, New Zealand, New Caledonia, Niue, North Korea, Pakistan, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Russia, Samoa, Singapore, Solomon Islands, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanatu, Vietnam, and the United States. (APCSS 2013)

cooperation and signed the *2010 Canada-Japan Joint Declaration on Political Peace and Security Cooperation*. In Prime Minister Harper's official statement, the 2010 declaration is regarded as an essential element in the relationship between Canada and Japan as it '[...] will improve our [their] joint response to mutual security threats and further ensure the safety of our [their] citizens, at home and abroad.' (Prime Ministerial Office Canada 2010a)<sup>113</sup>.

The 2010 declaration is based on the previous joint agreements towards international and regional peace and security, the *Canada-Japan Action Agendas for Peace and Security Cooperation* of 1999 and 2005. The declaration includes the establishment of an effective framework and cooperation mechanism for monitoring and coordinating security and peace cooperation. This should be achieved via regular dialog, discussions, and joint actions to intensify their cooperation and coordination of activities in the field of politics, peace, and stability as well as intensifying a broad variety of security issues based on commonly shared interests and objectives. To foster and strengthen their relationship, the 2010 declaration focused particularly on the following areas of cooperation: peacekeeping and peace supporting activities, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction for regional and international security, arms control, nonproliferation and disarmament, humanitarian assistance, fight against terrorism and organized crime, assistance after natural disasters, energy security, environment protection and joint measures against climate change, collective response to outbreaks of pandemics, maritime security, and cybersecurity. (Prime Ministerial Office Canada 2010a; Prime Ministerial Office Canada 2010b; Kantei 2010)

The declaration itself determines a '*whole-of-government approach*' (Kantei 2010:1) referring to a close cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Ministries of Defense, and other relevant security, peace and defense related agencies and institutions of both states to develop a '*[...] strategic partnership so as to facilitate peace and security policy coordination and operational cooperation.*' (Kantei 2010:1).

#### 3.1.5.4.2. *The Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation 2007*

Around 2004 and after Japanese SDF troops were supported by Australian troops during their deployment in Iraq as part of their contribution to the MNF peace operation there, the bilateral strategic partnership on matters of security and peace between Australia and Japan started to emerge and to constantly develop - especially under the leadership of the Prime Ministers Junichiro Koizumi and John Howard. Both states have already shared some experience of peace cooperation. They have worked together in several UN-led peacekeeping operations and carried out traditional peacekeeping activities, such as military observation or providing humanitarian assistance, for example in Timor-Leste, Iraq, and Pakistan.

Furthermore, the responsible ministers engaged in constructive dialogs and held regular meetings, focusing on their mutual agreement to expand their cooperative relation concerning global and regional peace and security as well as to strengthen their participation in the Trilateral Strategic Dialog (TSD) with the United States in 2007. In March of the same year, the bilateral relation between Australia and Japan gained momentum when Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Prime Minister John Howard officially signed the *Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation (JDSC)*, based on their '*shared security interests*' (MoFA Japan 2007f)<sup>114</sup>. The declaration determined a broad framework for close cooperation between both countries on security, defense, and peace related issues, such as disarmament, arms control and nonproliferation, border control and security, peace-building and peacekeeping operations, humanitarian relief operations, counter-terrorism actions, and maritime

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<sup>113</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

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security. The 2007 declaration also provided that regular annual bilateral meetings and talks between the states' foreign affairs and defense ministries, so-called 2+2 talks, were to be held with the first 2+2 talk being in June 2007. According to an official Japanese government press release, the 2007 declaration was an important element in the Australian-Japanese relationship towards their '[...] *beneficial cooperation on regional and global security challenges, including terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, and human security concerns such as disaster relief and pandemics, as well as their contribution to regional peace and stability.*' (MoFA Japan 2007f)<sup>115</sup>.

Following that, the *Japan-Australia Joint Foreign and Defense Ministerial consultations* were established to discuss and strengthen their cooperation in the field of regional and international peace and security as well as defense related issues, primarily via personnel exchanges, joint training exercises, and coordinated collaboration in peacekeeping operations including nation-building and capacity-building efforts. On a regular basis, they consult on commonly shared strategic interests and objectives in the Asia-Pacific region as well as in the international context, highlighting the need for concrete collective measures towards regional and international security and human security as crucial elements for global and regional prosperity and peace.

In 2008 the first *Japan-Australia Joint Action Plan*, based on the 2007 security declaration, was implemented. The main focus was to expand and improve their actions and international peace and security cooperation as well as their participation in matters of global affairs, and especially their engagement in relevant international institutions, all in accordance with international and national law. Between 2000 and 2010 Japan and Australia have deepened their bilateral cooperation towards promoting regional and global peace and security. Both states supported the establishment of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND) in 2008, and on the regional level, the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI) in 2010. Since the security declaration of 2007 both states also committed to strengthen the security dialog with the United States as part of their peace and security cooperation agreement.

In May 2010, after two months of negotiations and intensive talks, another important step in the Australian-Japanese relationship was made; the signing of the *Japan-Australia Acquisition and Cross-servicing Agreement* (ACSA). This was an agreement between both governments – represented by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Katsuya Okada and the Australian Minister of Defence John Faulkner - on the cooperation between the Japanese Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and the Australian Defence Force (ADF) in terms of mutual assistance and material and service provision in future peacekeeping deployments. This agreement is decisive insofar as it established a framework that facilitates the future cooperation and collaboration of both military forces in United Nations peacekeeping operations, humanitarian relief operations, natural disaster relief operations, military observation missions etc. Moreover, such advanced and well-developed bilateral cooperation will also have an important effect on the overall effectiveness of the implementation of international peacekeeping operations in general. Over the next few years it is planned to develop closer cooperation, especially in the field of information sharing and human resource development via personnel exchanges, joint military exercises, and training. (Australian Government 2007; MoFA Japan 2007f; MoFA Japan 2010k; Cook and Wilkins 2011; Wilkins 2011; Australian Government 2013a)

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#### 3.1.5.4.3. *The Japan-India Security Declarations in 2001 and 2008*

Despite the official establishment of diplomatic relations in 1952, the bilateral relation between Japan and India had started to develop especially at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In 2000 the former Japanese prime minister, Yoshiro Mori, and the Indian prime minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, established the *Global partnership between Japan and India in the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, a bilateral defense agreement that was pushed forward by Japan in order to strengthen their cooperation on various issues of relevance concerning defense, security, stability, and peace. Apart from the commitment to expand their collaboration and joint activities in terms of security exercises, the agreement also included cultural promotion and cultural exchanges.

The main goal and idea behind this commitment towards intensified peace and security cooperation was again to enhance both states capabilities in order to collectively respond to future global challenges, especially concerning regional and global peace and security and to take appropriate action if necessary. Their approach towards better and more efficient cooperation not only included both states' Ministries of Foreign Affairs but also the Ministries of Defense. The agreement has laid the basis framework for the future security cooperation between the two states to promote peace and stability. One year later in January 2001 the first official meeting of their defense ministries was held in Tokyo, followed by the first meeting of the *Japan-India Security Dialog* and the *Japan-India Military-Military Consultation* in July the same year. Based on their commonly shared ideas of global and regional peace and security, overall stability, and regional and global prosperity, the *Japan-India Joint Declaration* was established between the two prime ministers, Junichiro Koizumi and Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to develop their bilateral relations in political, economic, and social areas as well as to include a framework for the *Japan-India Comprehensive Security Dialog*. They agreed to increase the frequency of their bilateral security dialog, to hold annual meetings of their foreign ministers as well as to cooperate actively on the multilateral level towards international security and peace, also in the fields of counter-terrorisms, arms control, and disarmament. The 2001 declaration was followed by an important ministerial meeting between the Prime Ministers Manmohan Singh and Junichiro Koizumi in 2005, launching their joint security statement called *Japan-India Partnership in a New Asian Era: Strategic Orientation of Japan-India Global Partnership* and a joint action plan, the *Eight-fold Initiative for Strengthening Japan-India Global Partnership*. This was established during the symposium titled as *Japan & India: Challenges & Responsibilities as Partners in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century in Asia* that was held in New Delhi in March 2005. The action plan focused mainly on strengthening the overall security and defense cooperation, intensifying consultations and talks, expanding their collaboration towards maritime security including joint training exercises and closer cooperation, for example, between the Japanese Maritime SDF and the Indian navy. Following this, the *Japan-India Annual Summit* was established as a result of the intensified relationship between India and Japan. In May 2006 the ministers of defense of Japan and India, Pranab Mukherjee and Fukushima Nukaga, issued the *Joint Statement Towards Japan-India Strategic and Global Partnership*. They again emphasized the need for closer cooperation in the field of security and defense, including peacekeeping operations and other relevant peace supporting actions, humanitarian and natural disaster relief assistance, counter-terrorism, and arms control. They also established a regular bilateral defense dialog. In December of the same year this statement was followed by the meeting of the two prime ministers at that time, Shinzo Abe and Manmohan Singh. In 2007 the first *Japan-India Defense Policy Dialog* as well as an additional meeting between the two defense ministers, Yuriko Koike and his Indian partner A.K. Antony, were held. (MoFA Japan 2001b; MoFA Japan 2005; MoFA Japan 2008d; Baruah 2010; Gupta 2013)

In the process of the 2008 *Japan-India Annual Summit* in Tokyo, the Japanese Prime Minister Taro Aso and the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh issued another joint declaration on security cooperation, renewing their commitment to '[...] the establishment of a Strategic and Global Partnership that is driven by converging long-term political, economic and strategic interests, aspirations and concerns.' (MoFA Japan 2008d)<sup>116</sup>.

The renewed and revised joint security declaration also defined measures how the cooperation and collaboration between India and Japan could be intensified, namely via proper information exchange between the two responsible governmental bodies, mutual exchange of experience and skills in terms of peacekeeping and peace supporting operations, humanitarian assistance, disaster relief assistance, joint efforts against terrorism, joint actions towards arms control, nonproliferation and disarmament, and exchanges of and joint training possibilities for national defense personnel.

Both governments were to actively enhance their working relationship not only on the bilateral but also on the multilateral level including relevant international organizations (i.e. UN). Security and defense dialogs are to be held between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs (ministerial and vice-ministerial level), between the two Ministries of Defense (also at the ministerial and vice-ministerial level) as well as other security, peace, and defense related agencies including the establishment of relevant working groups. In 2009 the first *Japan-India Maritime Security Dialog* was established to further promote the cooperation in the field of maritime and sea security, as well as expanding the states' collaboration. The 2009 *Japan-India Annual Summit* introduced a new form of communication, the 2+2 dialog, which included the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Ministries of Defense of each state. During the 2010 *Japan-India Annual Summit* in New Delhi, this approach was implemented for the first time and used for consultations on both states' security and defense policies. (MoFA Japan 2008d; MoFA Japan 2010l)

In contrast to other bilateral declarations on security cooperation of Japan, the Japan-India security and defense relationship is greatly characterized by a lot of regular meetings, consultations, and dialogs. However, the implementation of actual actions and measures appears to be somehow missing, as their first joint military exercise took place in 2012, see Gupta (2013). The cooperation agreement between Japan and India is also highly influenced by the growing importance of maritime security and cooperation between the two states' navy forces, as it is highlighted in almost every released joint declaration between the two governments. Peace-building and peacekeeping operations as well other peace supporting activities seem not to be of such high importance compared, for example, to the Australia-Japan or Canada-Japan joint security declarations.

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## 3.2. The field of international peace cooperation activities of the Republic of Korea between 2000 and 2010

### 3.2.1. The evolution and nature of South Korea's international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities

Within a short period of time, South Korea has made an impressive economic, political, and social development. After being devastated by the Korean War (1950-1953), the country made significant progress. With the beginning of the 20th century, a new policy approach by South Korea became the center of focus. *Segyehwa*, Korea's national strategy for globalization, became a prominent slogan during the period of Kim Young-sam (president from 1993-1998) and the first civilian administration in thirty years. In the national context, *segryehwa* determined Korea's new diplomatic approach and included top-down reforms in the areas of education, politics and press, legal and economic order, public administration, culture, and environment in order to strengthen Korea for the international market. Apart from the domestic and national approach, the concept of *segryehwa* also influenced South Korea's foreign policy orientation as well as its international status and perception. The first foreign minister under Kim Young-sam's administration was Han Sung-joo (1993-1994), who used the concept of *segryehwa* to announce South Korea's new orientation towards global issues, and furthermore, to emphasize Korea's responsibility to take collective action by properly dealing with global challenges in various issue areas. Moreover, he committed to increase South Korea's level of cooperation and contribution in the field of global and regional security and peace, including peacekeeping and peace-building operations, peace observation, regional and international stability maintenance, arms control, disarmament efforts as well as the protection of the environment and natural resources. By doing so, Korea's strengthened engagement and participation would also contribute to the effectiveness and efficiency of bilateral and multilateral cooperation and its coordination in international organizations, such as the United Nations. Moreover, it should also increase Korea's international reputation and profile for its own interest.

During a conference in 1993 Han affirmed Korea's position towards the United Nations by promising that '*We [the Koreans] will contribute to UN Peace Keeping Operations and international peace and security, thereby also securing our place in the international community.*' (Koh 2000:199), thereby committing to active assistance and contribution especially in the field of peacekeeping and including arms control, nonproliferation efforts, and humanitarian assistance towards poverty reduction. Later on peacekeeping operations again became an important element in the state's foreign policy approach, when the former president of the Republic of Korea, Lee Myung-bak, (president from 2008-2013), emphasized the significance and importance of such operations, especially South Korea's contribution towards global and regional peace and stability.

In the same year that Han promised South Korea's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations, the Korean government fulfilled its commitment to increasing Korea's participation in peacekeeping operations by deploying a unit of 252 engineering personnel (known as *Sangroksu Unit* – Evergreen Unit) to the *United Nations Operation in Somalia II* (UNOSOM II). This was the first time South Korea participated in peace operations in general and dispatched an own military unit to UN peacekeeping operations, since it became a full member of the UN two years before.

After the outbreak of armed hostilities between government forces and anti-government troops in Somalia, the United Nations imposed an arms embargo and, in April 1992, the Security Council approved the establishment of the *United Nations Operation in Somalia* (UNOSOM) including armed military observers, based on the Resolution 751. Korea's participation in the UN Somalia mandate started in March 1993 during UNOSOM II, which was established to replace the former *Unified Task*

*Force* (UNITAF). UNITAF was a multilateral force authorized by the Security Council and primarily led by the United States, charged with the task of ensuring a stable and secure surrounding in order to facilitate humanitarian assistance and relief operations, including efforts towards disarmament, conflict resolution, ceasefire observation, and stability and peace maintenance. The UNOSOM II mandate also required the deployment of peacekeeping personnel primarily for landmine clearing, surveillance of public facilities, such as airports, and the supply of humanitarian relief materials. In the case of South Korea, the *Sangroksu Unit* provided foremost reconstruction and humanitarian assistance until around late 1994. About 2,700 Korean soldiers in total took part in this peace mission. In 1995, two years after its first participation in an UN peacekeeping operation, Korea joined the *United Nations Stand-by Arrangement System* (UNSAS), providing around 800 listed personnel until around 2010. (UN 1996; UN 1997; Kim 2000; Koh 2000; Groves 2007; Hong 2009; Hwang 2012; MoFA South Korea 2013a)

Since its beginning in 1993 until around 2012 South Korea has kept its promise of active participation in peacekeeping and other relevant peace supporting activities in approximately twenty-two conflict areas (i.e. Somalia, East Timor, Angola, Western Sahara, Georgia, Kashmir, Cyprus, Lebanon, and Haiti), contributing personnel peacekeeping contingents to generate peace and security to various peace operations under the command of the United Nations or other international, multilateral missions (i.e. MNF peace operations).

In South Korea military forces that are deployed to overseas peacekeeping and peace-building operations are distinguished between *Peacekeeping Forces* (PKF) – dispatched to UN peacekeeping operations – and *Multinational Forces* (MNF) that are, for example, deployed in MNF peace operations. So far, Korea's personnel and financial contribution has been implemented in various areas, such as ceasefire observation and monitoring, conflict resolution mediation, maintenance of stability and security, supervising public order in the compliance with law and human rights, providing humanitarian relief assistance, election observation, and reconstruction and development assistance (i.e. infrastructure, public facilities). However, when analyzing their actual participation in relevant peace missions, the main focus of its contribution and cooperation were humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. As already mentioned, during its twenty years of participation in international peacekeeping activities, South Korea has not only provided support to UN-led operations, but also to other international peace missions, comprising of direct conflict resolution, situation stabilization, and reconstruction efforts, conducted by multinational forces (MNF) that are led by one or more states. South Korea's participation in many MNF peace operations that are led by the United States can be linked with the strong U.S.–ROK security relation that has been developed since the Korean War. As a sign of support and to further deepen their security alliance, Korea has provided troops assistance to the U.S.-led peace and security missions in Iraq and Afghanistan (the two largest) between 2000 and 2010 as well as to missions earlier in time during the Vietnam War (1956-1975) and the Gulf War in 1991. In these missions South Korea participated as a “security partner” of the United States and not as a peacemaker supporting an official UN peace mandate. This engagement has not only brought South Korea a reputation of being a responsible nation for maintaining peace and stability but also harsher criticism due to its close U.S. security relations which might shape Korea's global peace cooperation in general. Many experts even argue that South Korea's increasing peacekeeping participation, also in official UN peacekeeping operations, is only the result of its main aim to deepen its alliance with the United States, but without being as concerned about the actual implication on its peace and security cooperative relationship with the United Nations in general. (Hwang 2012; Olbrich and Shim 2012)



Although South Korea's first participation in an official United Nations peacekeeping operations took place back in 1993, it took almost twenty years, namely until 29 December 2009, until the National Assembly, the legislative branch of the Korean government, finally passed the *Law on Participation in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*<sup>117</sup>. It was enacted in January 2010 and finally came into effect in April 2010. This decision was preceded by intense negotiations between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT), the Ministry of National Defense (MND), and the National Assembly regarding South Korea's approach of participation in and contribution to international peacekeeping and peace-building operations as well as other relevant peace supporting missions especially under the auspices of the United Nations. (Hwang 2012; Olbrich and Shim 2012)

The purpose of this Act is to allow the Republic of Korea to participate in UN Peacekeeping Operations more expediently and actively to contribute to creating and maintaining world peace by stipulating the matters concerning the dispatch and withdrawal of military units taking part in UN Peacekeeping Operations. (Defense White Paper 2010:384)

The Act makes a clear distinction between military units (being members of the South Korean army) and 'uniformed service personnel' (Defense White Paper 2010:384) such as police personnel. Other peacekeeping forces, in particular units of non-uniformed civilian personnel that may also include government members, are not mentioned. South Korea's act on its participation in international peacekeeping activities has been primarily set up to facilitate the deployment of military standing units to peacekeeping missions. (Defense White Paper 2010)

The Law defines UN peacekeeping operations as activities that are relevant for ceasefire observation, monitoring of peace agreements and compliance with the determined rules, maintenance of stability and public order, election observation, humanitarian relief, and also reconstruction and development assistance – all under the command of the United Nations and based on a Security Council resolution. The following graph illustrates the variety of possible areas for South Korea's participation and contribution to peace supporting and peacekeeping activities under the auspices of the United Nations:

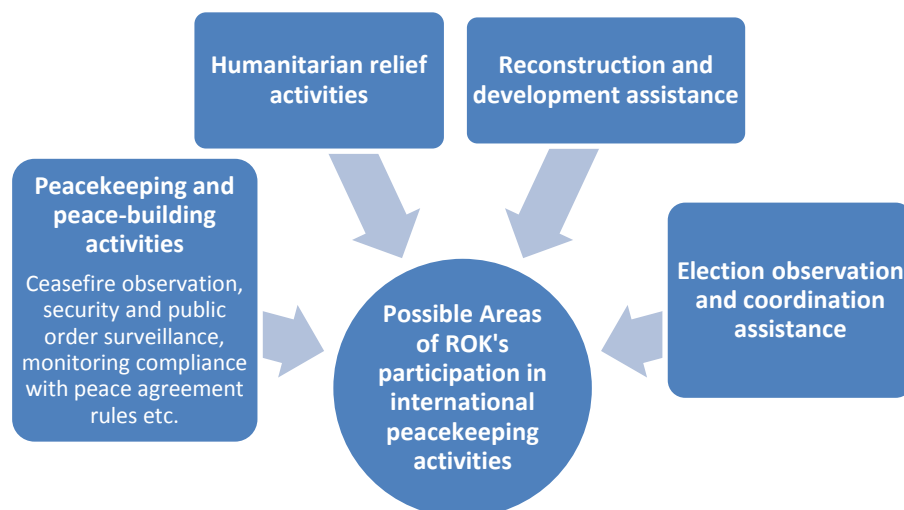


Figure 3: South Korea's peace support and peacekeeping cooperation activities.

Source: Defense White Paper 2010

<sup>117</sup> For more detailed information see *Defense White Paper 2010*, available at: [http://www.nti.org/media/pdfs/2010WhitePaperAll\\_eng.pdf?\\_1340662780](http://www.nti.org/media/pdfs/2010WhitePaperAll_eng.pdf?_1340662780).

The PKO Act includes detailed information about United Nations peacekeeping operations and their performance and method of implementation in general. It also includes the structures of the decision-making process in the Korean parliament concerning the deployment of Korean peacekeeping personnel and for the overall implementation plan, as well as relevant rules concerning a possible extension of participation in ongoing missions. Moreover, the law regulates the notification and information system with the National Assembly about the participation of Korean peacekeeping forces in any peacekeeping operations.

In general, the law was passed to regulate the peacekeeping contribution of South Korea and to guarantee a more effective and efficient overall implementation procedure. With the final passing of the PKO law, South Korea has taken another important step towards increasing its international role and towards being aware of its global responsibility. According to official documents, the law shows that South Korea has ‘[...] [acknowledged] the importance of UN PKO that facilitate the maintenance of international peace and security, [and that] the government of ROK will continue to actively participate in PKO missions and make constant efforts to improve its contribution to the program.’ (MoFA South Korea 2013b)<sup>118</sup>.

With the enactment of the law, it is also now possible for South Korea to make provisional agreements about its cooperation with the United Nations based on certain requirements, but without the final approval of the National Assembly, which would normally be necessary. These requirements include the following: The number of deployed military personnel must not exceed 1,000 and the pre-determined deployment period may not be longer than one year. Furthermore, the military unit may only be dispatched for non-military operational activities, such as reconstruction, humanitarian, and infrastructure development assistance. Such provisional agreements are also only possible when the respective state, in which the peace operation is about to take place, has agreed to the international peace operation. The PKO Law also facilitates the overall deployment of South Korean peacekeeping personnel insofar as the preparation period for the dispatch is now not longer than three to four months after the government has decided to participate. This is possible because the overall training and education conditions for military peacekeeping forces have also been reformed and improved in the course of the new PKO Act. Before that, it took about at least six to seven months until military troops were ready to be dispatched. (Defense White Paper 2010; Eun-sook 2010; Hwang 2012; Olbrich and Shim 2012; MoFA South Korea 2013b)

Based on the *Law on Participation in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations* the South Korean government has also approved the establishment of so-called standing units that are ready for the dispatch of troops for peace supporting activities from 2010 onwards. These standing units comprise three subunits with each a contingent of 1,000 members. One unit is assigned for immediate overseas deployment – the *Onnuri Unit*<sup>119</sup> – that can be dispatched within a period of only one month after the government’s final approval; the second unit is the reserve unit whereas the third unit is a non-combat unit and mainly consists of other military peacekeeping personnel, such as medical, engineering or logistics personnel or military police. (Sang-ho 2010; Hwang 2012)

As part of its international peace cooperation activities, South Korea has also dedicated its contribution to humanitarian and development assistance as well as emergency relief support. For this matter, the government had already established an *Overseas Emergency Relief System Scheme* for the overall coordination and cooperation in disaster management and emergency relief deployments in

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<sup>118</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>119</sup> *Onnuri* is the Korean word for “whole world”; *Onnuri Unit* is replacing the former responsible unit of the Sepcail Warfare Command (Sang-ho 2010).

2006. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MOFAT)<sup>120</sup> was selected as the responsible central ministerial body for this relief system scheme. In March 2007 the *Overseas Emergency Relief Act* was passed and finally enacted in October 2007, regulating the emergency assistance and contribution of South Korea to global disasters. Overseas Emergency Relief includes the dispatch of relief personnel (also military personnel), provision of relief supplies (similar to Japan's contributions in kind), medical and health care, rescue missions, transport etc. especially in regions that were hit by natural disasters or catastrophes. The Emergency Relief System also coordinates the recruiting and training of emergency relief personnel as well as the storing and stocking up of relief supplies and necessary equipment. Moreover, it provides an effective and efficient decision-making mechanism and regulates the process of assistance. It also affects the international cooperation of South Korea with other states and relevant international organizations (i.e. UN Disaster Assessment and Coordination (UNDAC)) in such emergency situations. To further strengthen South Korea's emergency relief mechanism, the "*Government-wide Plan to Strengthen Overseas Emergency Relief*" was developed. What is important to note here is that the area of reconstruction and development assistance of ROK's peacekeeping participation should not be confused with its Official Development Assistance (ODA). ODA includes financial and technical cooperation programs for developing countries in general, whereas reconstruction and development assistance as part of peacekeeping operations is primarily aimed at conflict areas and post-war countries after ceasefire or peace agreements have been set up. South Korea's ODA is a big part of its international relations strategy, also in terms of its own history as former aid-recipient. ODA is mainly carried out through the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) that has been established in 1991. The main goal of ROK's development assistance is sustainable economic and social development in developing countries in respect to human rights, including respective areas such as health, education, rural development, government, environment, industry etc. For the purpose of this thesis though, material relief contribution is only relevant insofar as it is provided in the course of official international peacekeeping operations, including UN peacekeeping operations and MNF peace operations. South Korea's general development and emergency assistance between 2000 and 2010 is not included in the analysis of this paper. (KOICA 2008; Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013g; MoFAT South Korea 2013)

#### *Mandatory financial share to UN peacekeeping budget between 2000 and 2010*

Although it was not possible to find accurate numbers especially from 2000 until around 2006, the official tables showed that South Korea was not part of the 15 largest financial contributors to the UN peacekeeping operations budget until 2001. Because of its successful development and transformation, South Korea became more and more a responsible and essential actor in the UN system, also concerning peacekeeping cooperation and its financial contribution to the peacekeeping budget. From 2001 on South Korea was upgraded into the list of the 15 largest contributors to the PKO budget in terms of financial shares; by now ranking tenth with a continuous mandatory financial contribution of around two percent and being classified as a so-called Level B country in transition. According to the earliest available official UN figures with exact percentage information, South Korea was also the tenth largest provider of financial contribution to the United Nations peacekeeping operations with a total amount of 2.23 percent (of a total budget of about USD 7.75 billion) for the period from 1 July 2009 until 30 June 2010. For the period of 2010-2012 South Korea's mandatory financial share of the total UN PKO budget was determined with 2.26 percent, positioning South Korea again tenth in the ranking. Why South Korea, despite its economic and political development and progress, is still assessed with only around two percent remains subject to debate. The financial contribution is

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<sup>120</sup> In 2013 it was renamed as Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA).

determined on various parameters that assess the state's actual financial ability to pay. Two percent seems to be a relative small share compared to the three largest contributors in 2010, the United States with 27.17 percent, Japan with 12.53 percent and the United Kingdom with 8.16 percent. One could argue that South Korea's stable economic situation might actually allow for more, however, taking a closer look at the top ten financial providers in 2010 and their actual percentages, South Korea's contribution seems somehow to be fitting. France paid a mandatory share of 7.56 percent which made it the fifth largest contributor after Germany (8.02 percent). Between France and Italy (five percent), the gap is almost three percent. China's mandatory share was 3.94 percent, followed by Canada with 3.21 percent and Spain with 3.18 percent. South Korea as the tenth largest provider contributed 2.26 percent to the 2010 budget. (Koh 2000; UN Secretariat 2009; UN 2010; UN 2011)

When comparing these numbers, two percent seems to fit in the overall picture although it becomes very obvious that there is no steady progression due to some large gaps between successive states. The following graph illustrates the grouping of the ten largest financial providers assessed on their mandatory share in 2010 with South Korea just making the list.

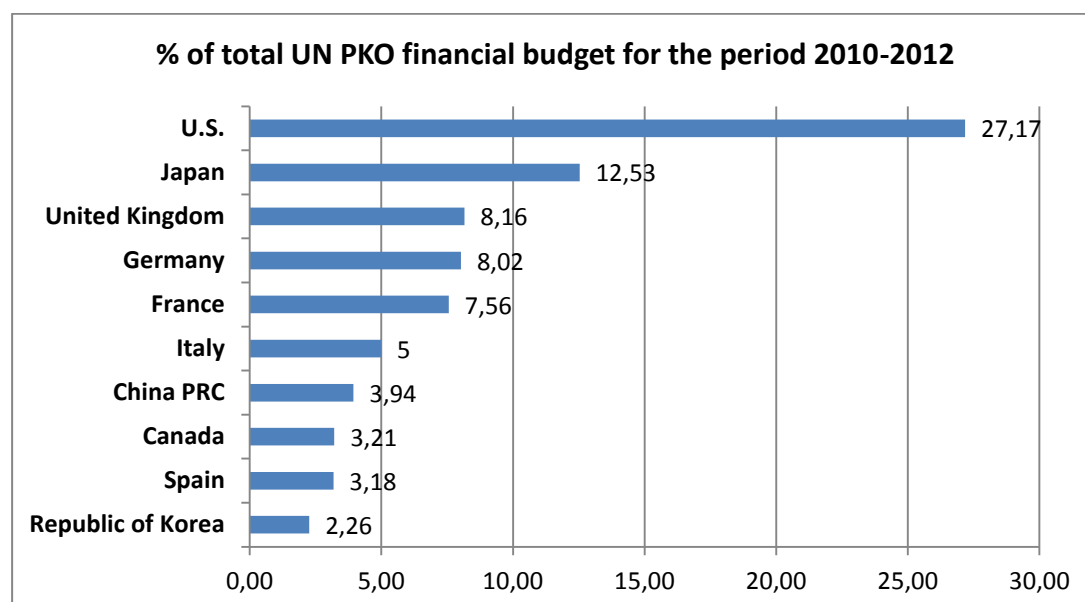


Figure 4: Top 10 largest providers of financial contribution to UN PKO budget.

Source: UN 2011:81

#### *Institutional linkage within the system of the United Nations Organization*

The Republic of Korea joined the United Nations in 1991. Apart from its membership in the General Assembly, it also participated as non-permanent member in the Security Council twice, in 1996-1997 and in the present year 2013-2014. In 2001 Korea took over the presidency of the General Assembly. Korea has increased its global reputation and position in the United Nations system and proven itself as a valuable, active member in various issue areas such as international peace and security, peacekeeping operations, disarmament and nonproliferation, humanitarian and development assistance, human rights, international law etc.

The current eighth UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, is a native-born South Korean and was elected by the UN member states in 2007. To further strengthen South Korea's contribution and participation in the United Nations system, South Korea has established a Permanent Mission to the United Nations in 1991, located in Manhattan, New York City. Since 1951 Korea was already

represented in the United Nations with an Observer Mission. The Permanent Mission is currently headed by the Ambassador H.E. Mr. Oh Joon and led by several permanent representatives and observers. The overall organization of the mission is structured into the following working areas: Security Council and Peacekeeping Operations (PKO); General Assembly; disarmament; economic development and environment; social, humanitarian and cultural issues; administration and budget; legal issues; and general matters. (Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013a; Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013b; Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013c)

South Korea itself experienced the struggles of war over fifty years ago. With this experience in mind, Korea has developed from a poor aid-recipient into a modern, advanced nation that is aware of its responsibility towards global problems and challenges, see the speech of the former foreign minister, Han Sung-joo, in 1993. Especially peace and security take a leading role in South Korea's foreign approach, also reflected in the major focus areas of its Permanent Mission to the United Nations. Determined in its policy approach within the United Nations, South Korea committed itself to provide support and assistance in the areas of conflict resolution, peacekeeping and peace-building as well as post-conflict security maintenance to contribute to regional and global peace and stability. This commitment also includes active personnel and financial contribution to peacekeeping operations and other global peace supporting activities. According to the South Korean government, *'The level of Korea's participation in PKO is a reflection of the government's willingness to contribute to world peace and security, thus enhancing its status in the international community.'* (Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013e)<sup>121</sup>.

In 2013 Korea was in 34<sup>th</sup> position of all UN member states regarding troop deployment to PKO. Also in the field of disarmament, arms control, and nonproliferation, South Korea shows strong interest and active support. In cooperation with the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA), South Korea organizes the annual *ROK-UN Joint Conference on Disarmament and Nonproliferation*. Having experienced humanitarian and development assistance itself, South Korea also orientates its contribution and participation in this area, especially towards the achievement of the United Nations Millennium Goals (MDG). In respect to the UN leading principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality, and independence, Korea supports development programs in terms of education, health care, agricultural and rural sustainability, environment protection etc. Especially to provide regional and global humanitarian assistance, South Korea closely cooperates with responsible UN organizations and other relevant organizations, such as the WFP, UNICEF or the UN Humanitarian Liaison Working Group (HLWG). (Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013d; Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013e; Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013f; Permanent Mission of South Korea to the United Nations 2013g)

In the annual defense white paper of 2010 of the Ministry of National Defense, the Defense Minister Kim Kwan-jin committed to *'[...] involve ourselves [referring to the Republic of Korea] in military diplomacy and Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) as part of the efforts to lift the nations' prominence and increase national interest.'* (Defense White Paper 2010:3).

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<sup>121</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

### 3.2.2. The internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes

In contrast to Japan there is no extra established institution such as the International Peace Cooperation Headquarters for the coordination of South Korea's contribution to international peacekeeping operations and peace supporting activities. For that matter participation in international peacekeeping operations, including UN and MNF peace missions, has always been an issue that has been primarily dealt with between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense. Official requests for South Korea's peace cooperation are aimed at the foreign minister who has to inform the defense minister. Then, both have to discuss a possible participation including all relevant details. Similar to Japan, the executive branch of the South Korean government has to be informed about the request and must be included in the decision-making process. Within the executive branch, the Cabinet consists of the president, the prime minister, the vice prime minister, and the ministers of the 17 ministries, and is headed by the president (currently President Park Geun-hye). The Cabinet is the responsible body within the executive branch for any policy consultations and decisions. The following graph should illustrate the organizational structure of the South Korean executive branch in general.

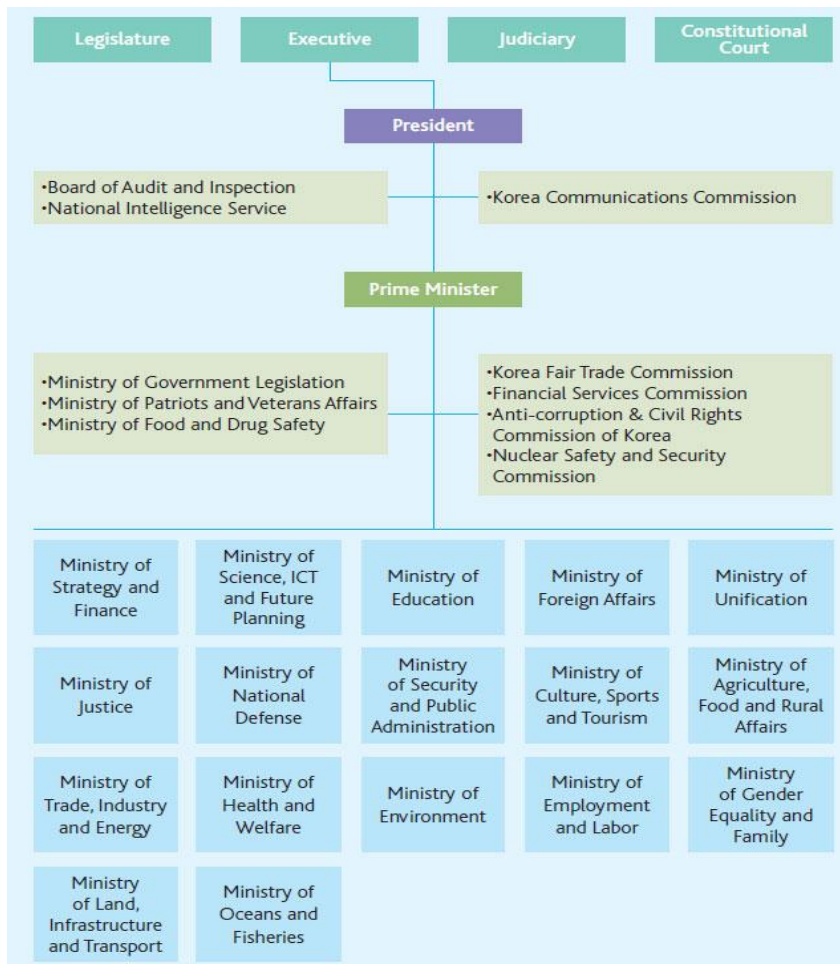


Figure 5: Organizational chart of South Korea's executive branch.

Source: KOCIS 1999-2013a

Within the executive branch, the South Korean Cabinet is the highest responsible body. In general, the executive branch of the government consists of seventeen ministries headed by the respective ministers, including several agencies attached to certain ministries, the prime minister and his office as well as the president at the head. As determined in the UN Charter, official requests for a country's contribution and participation to peacekeeping operations under UN command must be made. In the case of South Korea, these requests are primarily handled via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, since such operations also often include military troop deployment, the Ministry of National Defense – as the responsible ministry for military matters, military personnel administration, and military budget – is included in the consultation and negotiation process. In South Korea's defense white paper – published by the Ministry of National Defense – peacekeeping and peace-building efforts are mentioned as one of the three main objectives of its national defense: '*[...] defending the nation from external military threats and invasion; upholding the principle of peaceful unification; and contributing to regional stability and world peace.*' (Defense White Paper 2010:41).

In Article 5 of the South Korean legal act on peacekeeping it is determined that if South Korean participation in UN PKO is requested, '*[...] the Foreign Minister shall inform the National Defense Minister of the request, and the two shall discuss the matters concerning the dispatch, including the dispatch of a standing unit.*' (Defense White Paper 2010:385). Following this, it is necessary to conduct further research concerning the relevant conflict areas on behalf of the two ministers. It is important insofar as the overall security situation must be assessed before the deployment of military units can be decided upon. After further discussions between the foreign minister and the defense minister about a possible personnel contribution, the Cabinet is included in the final decision-making process about relevant details (i.e. deployment unit size, personnel contingent, period of deployment etc.). The legislative branch, the National Assembly, has to make the final decision in terms of deployment of large military units. The National Assembly, headed by the president, also played a significant role in the passing of South Korea's law concerning its participation in peacekeeping operations, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense<sup>122</sup>. Apart from its authority to give the final approval concerning the deployment of military peacekeeping units, the Assembly is also responsible for matters regarding the national budget, the dispatch of foreign military troops to Korea, possible declaration of war, and other relevant issues of national importance.

After the deployment of military units to international peacekeeping missions has been approved, the foreign minister and the defense minister can sign the international peace agreement (with the United Nations for example). Following that, the Ministry of National Defense has to set up the necessary implementation plan for South Korea's peacekeeping contribution including the troop deployment and the assessed budget. Together with the *Korean Peacekeeping Operations Center*, also referred to as PKO Training Center, (more information about the center can be found in 3.2.4. *Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping*), the Ministry of National Defense is responsible for the overall coordination and management of the dispatch. (Defense White Paper 2010; Hwang 2012; The National Assembly of ROK 2012; The National Assembly Secretariat 2012; KOCIS 1999-2013a; KOCIS 1999-2013b; MoFA South Korea 2013b)

The following graph summarizes the coordination structure of the Republic of Korea concerning its participation in international peacekeeping operations:

- <sup>122</sup> The responsible persons include the former President Lee Myung-bak, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Yu Myung-hwan and the former Minister of National Defense Kim Tae-young. (MoFA South Korea 2013c; CFR 2012)

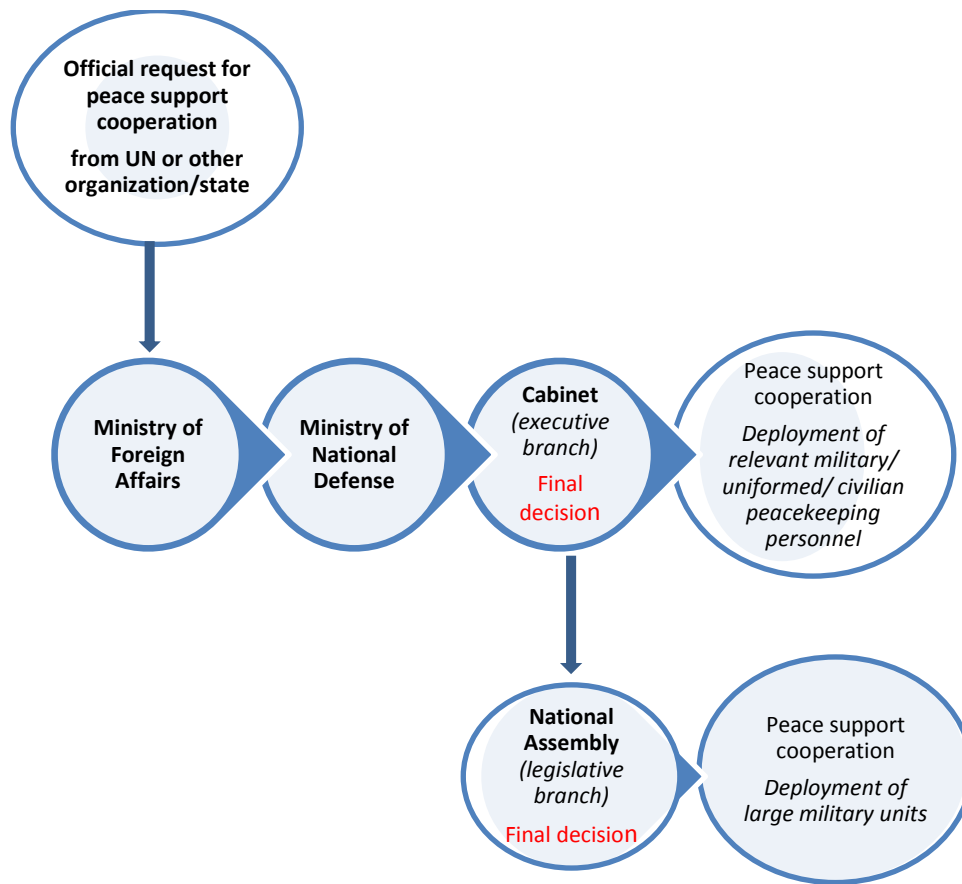


Figure 6: Coordination structure of decision-making processes for participation in PKO ROK.

Source: Hwang 2012; Defense White Paper 2010

### 3.2.3. Cooperation in international peacekeeping operations including voluntary personnel, material, and financial contribution

Below South Korea's participation and engagement in UN peacekeeping operations as well as its possible participation in MNF peace operations from 2000 to 2010 will be analyzed in terms of its voluntary contribution, including personnel deployment and material and financial assistance. The focus is set on overseas deployment of Korean military troops and other relevant peacekeeping personnel (i.e. medical and engineering units) to provide relevant peacekeeping assistance in conflict areas. MNF peace operations are another way for South Korea to contribute to international peace and stability and to promote its *Global Korea* strategy in order to strengthen its international position. In general, MNF peace operations have also become an important element in the field of international peace cooperation and peace promoting multilateral actions. Therefore, they will also be included in order to present a more coherent picture of South Korea's international peace cooperation activities between 2000 and 2010.

#### 3.2.3.1. International peace cooperation in Western Sahara: MINURSO

Territorial claims and political disagreements have shattered the national stability of the Western Sahara, which is located on the African north-west coast. When the Spanish administration of the



territory ended in 1976, the neighboring states Morocco, Algeria, who was supporting the Western Saharan military and political group Frente Polisario<sup>123</sup>, who in turn supported the independence of Western Sahara, and Mauritania (who later retreated in 1979) claimed their right to the land, which led to armed hostilities. The situation became increasingly tense in the next three years. To mitigate the risk of escalation of the conflict, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) saw the need to intervene and to provide regional and international peace-building assistance in the region. Together with the United Nations and with the consent of both Morocco and Algeria, they established a small peacekeeping mission in 1985, with the objective of offering proposals for the settlement of the conflict and promoting reconciliation and further dialog between the relevant parties about their territorial claims and the future of the Western Sahara. In the following years, joint peace-building efforts towards a peaceful solution increased, which led to further considerations about an official United Nations PKO. Based on recommendations from the UN Secretary-General, the Security Council passed the Resolution 690 in 1991 for the establishment of the *United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara* (MINURSO), including the deployment of military, police, and civilian peacekeeping forces and the establishment of two headquarters – one in the Moroccan-controlled and one in the Frente Polisario-controlled part of Western Sahara. The UN mission in Western Sahara was established to provide all necessary support for the national referendum on the future independence of the Western Sahara or its integration with Morocco. This period of transition started with a ceasefire agreement between the fighting forces and should end with the final outcome of the referendum. During this time, the United Nations – represented by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General to MINURSO – was responsible for the implementation of the negotiated conflict settlement plan including the overall administration and coordination of the national referendum, which was originally planned to be held in 1992. The mission's mandate also comprised the following operational activities in the field of peace-building and peacekeeping: ceasefire observation, monitoring the parties' compliance with the determined peace agreement rules, withdrawal of Moroccan troops, mine clearing programs, confidence building measures for national security, support for the repatriation of refugees together with UNHCR, referendum preparations (i.e. registration of voters) etc. In addition, MINURSO was also required to provide humanitarian assistance if necessary.

Despite all good efforts, the narrow time frame that was set for the transitional period did not allow for the referendum to be held in 1992 due to time-consuming but necessary preparations for the conflict settlement and the overall peace process. Meanwhile, the United Nations established the MINURSO Identification Commission to facilitate the voter registration, but the overall process and especially the identification of tribal members only made slow progress, delaying the national referendum. In 1999 a provisional solution was presented to the parties, which made it possible to at least terminate the identification process for eligible voters. However, several disagreements and discrepancies remained between the parties, hindering the implementation of the original plan for conflict settlement. Various new plans, agreements, and initiatives for a solution were drafted in the following years but until today, the national referendum has not been carried out. Despite the failure of the implementation of the referendum, the United Nations constantly renewed their mandate in Western Sahara and MINURSO continues its operational activities to provide assistance for the overall peace process in the African region, also in order to ensure ceasefire and to reduce the risk of another outbreak of armed hostilities. (MINURSO 2013a; MINURSO 2013b; MINURSO 2013c)

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<sup>123</sup> The *Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y de Río de Oro* are claiming the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (MINURSO 2013a).

MINURSO was established in 1991 and in September 1994 South Korea sent a medical unit consisting of 27 military officers and 14 soldiers to MINURSO; the medical personnel contingent was stationed until May 2006. By December 2001 South Korea had dispatched a contingent of 20 military personnel to Laayoune, a Moroccan occupied region in Western Sahara. There, the South Korean unit was assigned to provide peace-building contribution and international cooperation in the Western Sahara and to help to facilitate the overall peace process. They investigated the situation and participated in activities such as ceasefire observation and security and public order surveillance to mitigate the risk of further armed attacks and thus, to protect the affected population. Until May 2006 a South Korean team of 20 troop members remained deployed to MINURSO. Three years later the South Korean government agreed to participate in the peacekeeping operations of MINURSO again, sending two military experts to the mission in November 2009. By December 2010, the South Korean personnel contribution contingent remained unchanged, consisting of two military experts providing peacekeeping expertise and know-how to other peacekeeping personnel and also to assist with the peace supporting actions and still ongoing MINURSO referendum preparations, contributing to the efforts to find a final peace solution in the region. From a total of 204 military experts being stationed at MINURSO at the end of 2010 two of them were South Koreans. In the following years, the Republic of Korea increased its personnel contribution to a total of four military experts. (Hong 2009; Defense White Paper 2010; UN PK 2013)

### **3.2.3.2. International peace cooperation in India and Pakistan: UNMOGIP**

After the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947, the allocation of the northwestern region of Kashmir remained unsolved. Territorial disputes between India and Pakistan emerged, leading to armed hostilities in the following year. Since the conflicts endangered the regional security, which, consequently, might also pose a threat to global stability, the Security Council passed the Resolution 39 and established the *United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan* (UNCIP) including two headquarters, one in Islamabad (from November to April) and one in Srinagar (from May to October). UNCIP was to assist the two parties in their efforts towards a settlement of the conflict. In January 1949 international military observers were deployed as supporting peacekeeping forces. They laid the foundation for the *United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan* (UNMOGIP), which was established in 1951 based on the Security Council Resolution 91. The military observers were under the command of a Military Adviser who was appointed by the UN Secretary-General and supported the UNCIP members in their operational activities and had to report from the borderline in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The dispatched military observers were not allowed to intervene in any uprisings or military orders of the conflict parties but were strictly limited in their actions. With the signing of the *Karachi Agreement* on 27 July 1949, the ceasefire line between India and Pakistan had to be supervised by UN military observers from that time on together with local officers on each side. After the UNCIP mandate ended in March 1951 the Security Council decided to extend the work of UNMOGIP in order to maintain regional peace and stability, including their duties concerning ceasefire observation and providing regular reports about the security situation.

After two decades of UN monitoring assistance, hostilities between Indian and Pakistani forces re-emerged in 1971, following the independence movement in East Pakistan that led to the formation of Bangladesh at that time. Due to the tense situation, UNMOGIP remained in its position, also to observe the parties' compliance with the ceasefire agreement of 17 December 1971, which required all forces to withdraw to their own territories. In July 1972 another line along the border in Kashmir was selected as a controlling line for military observation activities conducted by UN military observers. Until today UNMOGIP peacekeeping forces are stationed in Kashmir, both on the Indian side and the Pakistani side to maintain regional security and peace.

The examination period from 2000 to 2010 shows that the Republic of Korea has become an active contributor to the operational activities of UNMOGIP throughout the ten-year period. Due to the high demand of observers for the ceasefire line, South Korea's voluntary personnel contribution comprised a permanent contingent of nine South Korean military observers being deployed to UNMOGIP between 2000 and 2010 in order to carry out relevant peacekeeping tasks such as border controls and security surveillance activities. Even after 2010 the South Korean contingent of nine military observers continued its work. (UNMOGIP 2013; UN PK 2013)

### **3.2.3.3. International peace cooperation in Georgia: UNOMIG**

In the summer of 1992 social unrest and political tensions emerged in the Georgian region of Abkhazia as local government forces strived for independence from the Republic of Georgia. Consequently, this resulted in an outbreak of armed hostilities between pro-independence forces and the Georgian military. On 3 September 1992 a ceasefire agreement between the Republic of Georgia, the Abkhaz leadership, and the Russian Federation was signed in Moscow, determining the region of Abkhazia as part of the Republic of Georgia and demanding a halt of armed attacks. Despite the peace agreement between the two parties, the situation remained to be tense and the fighting was resumed only one month later in October 1992 with the Abkhaz forces being supported by other combat forces from the North Caucasus. Around 30,000 people of the population in the Abkhaz region had to flee to the Russian Federation as the conflict became more dangerous. Together with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations started to take action as international peace and security were threatened by the occurrences in Georgia. Another ceasefire agreement was reached in July 1993. One month later in August 1993 the *United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia* (UNOMIG), based on the Security Council Resolution 858, was established. Prior to this the UN had already opened a regional UN office in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, to facilitate the necessary preparations for the establishment of the actual mission. The headquarters of UNOMIG was stationed in Sukhumi, the capital city of the Abkhaz region, with another office located in Tbilisi. UNOMIG's peacekeeping contingent included a total of 88 military observers, who were responsible for monitoring the parties' compliance with the ceasefire agreement from July 1993. The peacekeeping forces of UNOMIG were in contact with both parties in order to promote the peace process in the region and to work towards a settlement of the conflict. The UN mandate was extended in 1994 (Resolution 937) and it was decided to increase the number of the uniformed contingent up to a total of 136 military observers. Their tasks included the surveillance of the security zones in order to prevent the opposing parties from entering as well as regular patrol duties. They worked together with military forces from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and had to provide regular reports on the situation to the UN Secretary-General. In addition to UNOMIG, the United Nations also established an office for the protection of human rights in the region of Abkhazia (Security Council Resolution 1077) in December 1996 that was coordinated by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and the OSCE. Based on the Resolution 1494, the United Nations decided to dispatch additional peacekeeping forces to UNOMIG; a contingent of a total of 20 police officers were dispatched to assist the UN military observers and to provide support for the maintenance of public order and regional stability and also to assist with the humanitarian relief assistance of the UN to repatriate Georgian refugees. Until June 2009 UNOMIG carried out its operational activities in Abkhazia towards Georgia's peace process and conflict settlement. (UNOMIG 2006; UNOMIG 2009)

During the time period 2000 to 2010 UNOMIG was one of the most important peacekeeping operations South Korea had participated in, deploying a constant contingent of seven military observers to the Abkhazia region to support Georgia's peace and reconciliation process from the end

of 2002 onwards. Until then, the South Korean unit consisted of three to five military peacekeeping forces working as military observers. The mandate of UNOMIG terminated in July 2009 and until the end of May the same year, the South Korean government continued its voluntary personnel contribution to the UN peacekeeping operation in Georgia. (UN PK 2013)

#### **3.2.3.4. International peace cooperation in Cyprus: UNFICYP**

Until 1960 the island of Cyprus was a British colony with a multi-ethnic population of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot groups. After the end of British rule, a constitution was established, agreed between Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, to strengthen Cyprus' sovereignty and to maintain stability, despite ongoing ethnic tensions and conflicts. However, political unrest, territorial disagreements, and growing social discontent became a severe obstacle for regional stability, leading to the outbreak of armed hostilities in December 1963 after a coup d'état of Greek forces, who wanted Cyprus to become part of Greece, as opposed to what the Turkish communities wanted. The Cypriot government requested peace support from the United Nations as the situation became more dangerous and also endangered the international security and peace situation. The Security Council passed the Resolution 186 and decided to establish the *United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus* (UNFICYP) in 1964. UN peacekeeping forces were dispatched to monitor ceasefire among the Greek and Turkish Cypriot groups, to carry out security surveillance in order to maintain public order and to assist with national capacity-building efforts towards peace settlement. The overall national situation remained to be very tense. In 1974 Turkish military forces occupied the northern part of Cyprus which fueled the conflict again. Following this, UNFICYP established a buffer zone between the Turkish occupied northern part and the Greek part in the south, deploying UN peacekeeping forces to this area to carry out border controls and to maintain overall stability as well as to promote reconciliation and conflict settlement. The number of the UN peacekeeping personnel stationed in this buffer zone was increased to over 850 military troops and over 60 police officers. Until today the overall security situation for the UN peacekeeping forces is of high risk since no further peace agreement has been made between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot forces; both parties keep their own armed military forces around the buffer zone. Apart from border control, UN military peacekeeping forces also provide some kind of humanitarian assistance to both parties in terms of electricity, farming and water supply along the ceasefire line. The mandate of UNFICYP was renewed several times since its establishment in 1964. Until today UNFICYP is conducting its peacekeeping and peace-building in Cyprus, but without concrete results towards actual conflict settlement and long-term reconciliation although the relationship between the two groups has at least slightly improved over the years. (UNFICYP 2013a; UNFICYP 2013b)

Within the time period between 2000 and 2010 South Korea had provided personnel contribution to UNFICYP with one Korean soldier being deployed between February 2002 and December 2003 to assist with the peacekeeping activities within the buffer zone and along the border. Compared to other international peace cooperation activities, the number of personnel and the overall time period of deployment indicate the relative low importance and relevance of UNFICYP to South Korea. The unstable security situation for UN peacekeeping personnel in the buffer zone may also be a reason why South Korea did not dispatch a larger group of peacekeeping forces to provide assistance and peace cooperation to the UN peace mission in Cyprus. By January 2004 the South Korean government had already withdrawn its military officer from Cyprus. (UN PK 2013)

### 3.2.3.5. International peace cooperation in Timor-Leste: UNTAET, UNMISSET and UNMIT

After the end of Portuguese rule of Timor-Leste, armed hostilities and violence among the population emerged due to disagreements about the future of their country. This endangered the security situation and overall stability of the country. Following this, the UN established the *United Nations Mission in East Timor* (UNAMET)<sup>124</sup> to support the preparations for the national referendum that was planned for August 1999 to resolve whether Timor-Leste became an independent country or granted special autonomy within the Indonesian territory. After the referendum was held with the result in favor of Timor-Leste's independence, the *United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor* (UNTAET)<sup>125</sup> succeeded UNAMET in October 1999. The main goal was to provide assistance during the transitional period until the country could declare its independence and its own government was established. For that matter, UNTAET took over the legislative and executive power until a government was formed and supported the country's capacity-building efforts. In the meantime it was necessary to deploy international military forces to maintain public order and overall stability as well as to conduct security surveillance and to provide training to the national military in order to support national forces. From January until the end of May 2002 South Korea deployed a total military contingent of 439 troop members to Dili to assist with the operational activities of UNTAET during the transitional period. (UNTAET 2001; UNTAET 2002; UN PK 2013)

With the independence of Timor-Leste (officially the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste) on 20 May 2002 the United Nations established the *United Nations Mission in Support of East Timor* (UNMISSET)<sup>126</sup> to assist the country with its operational activities until the situation would allow for the new government to take over. The mandate was originally considered for a period of two years in which the UN peacekeeping forces would provide support for Timor-Leste's development process towards self-sufficiency and self-reliance. In 2004, the mandate was expanded for another year because the overall national situation required further international assistance in various fields to guarantee a successful peace and stability process of the new state Timor-Leste. Three years after Timor-Leste's independence, UNMISSET ceased its operational activities in May 2005.

By June 2002 South Korea had already dispatched a military contingent of 435 troop members to Timor-Leste to carry out international peace supporting action and to contribute to the UN mission (UNTAET and UNMISSET). In addition to the voluntary personnel contribution, the South Korean government also provided financial assistance, in total about USD 1.25 million, for humanitarian assistance, and other relevant programs for Timor-Leste's overall national stabilization and development program for its peace process. Until the end of the year, the number of deployed Korean peacekeeping personnel increased to a total of 436 Korean military peacekeeping forces, who were assigned to various fields such as security surveillance, maintaining public order and to train national military forces in order to prepare them for the time after the UN mandate. In 2003 the South Korean government decided to gradually withdraw its deployed forces as the overall national condition seemed to slowly develop. By June 2003 the Korean unit only consisted of 255 military personnel, followed by a radical decrease of the numbers until only a team of six military personnel were left in October 2003. Until the end of May 2004 three South Korean military peacekeeping forces were stationed to UNMISSET in Timor-Leste. (Herman and Piccone 2002; UNMISSET 2009; UN PK 2013)

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<sup>124</sup> Security Council Resolution 1246.

<sup>125</sup> Security Council Resolution 1272.

<sup>126</sup> Security Council Resolution 1410.



One year after the end of UNMISET in 2005 conflicts within the military of Timor-Leste emerged and posed a risk to the political situation. Following this, violence and armed hostilities started to develop among the population, requiring the government to make an official request to the United Nations for international support and assistance. Based on the Security Council Resolution 1704, the *United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste* (UNMIT) was established in August 2006 to help the government to generate national stability again as well as to provide international assistance for the presidential elections in 2007. The UNMIT headquarters was located in Dili, the capital city of Timor-Leste. The public order was highly affected by social uprisings and armed hostilities among the population and national security was endangered, requiring external support especially for Timor-Leste's own police contingent. After receiving a request from the United Nations, South Korea dispatched a unit consisting of five civilian police officers to Dili to assist the local police there from November 2006 onwards. In the following years, the total number of South Korean peacekeeping forces in East Timor varied between four and six permanent police officers in Dili. By the end of 2008 the number decreased to only one South Korean uniformed personnel stationed in Timor-Leste. In the period between April and June 2009 not a single person from the South Korean peacekeeping forces was stationed in Timor-Leste. The Korean peacekeeper contingent returned in August the same year and consisted of four civilian police officers. By December 2010 South Korea's personnel contribution had remained unchanged. For almost another two years, South Korea provided a police unit to Timor-Leste, slowly decreasing its number to two police officers due to the improvement of the overall national security situation. UNMIT finally ceased its operational activities in December 2012 and South Korea's personnel contribution lasted until mid-October 2012. (UNMIT 2013; UN PK 2013)

### **3.2.3.6. International peace cooperation in Afghanistan: UNAMA**

Since the intervention of the United States into Afghanistan in late 2001 – following the 9/11 attacks – the already very tense situation in Afghanistan had deteriorated, in particular concerning the humanitarian condition in the conflict-affected regions. Efforts towards an overall stabilization of the situation and security maintenance became the primary objectives of the international assistance program. After receiving an official request from the Afghan government, the Security Council decided to establish a UN mandate for providing such external assistance and support for Afghanistan's peace process and development process in 2002, calling it the *United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan* (UNAMA)<sup>127</sup>. UNAMA was to promote regional peace, stability and security, to strengthen national capacities and to support the Afghan government in the reconciliation and peace process. Moreover, UNAMA should facilitate the coordination of international support in the fields of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance. The United Nations also committed to assist with the organization and coordination of upcoming elections, such as the presidential and provincial council elections in 2014; foremost, to guarantee a fair and democratic election process. For this purpose, it was and still is necessary for UNAMA to develop and further strengthen national capacities and to provide technical assistance for Afghanistan's peaceful transformation. Under the auspices of the United Nations, UNAMA also played a significant role during the preparations for the Kabul Conference on peace development that was held in 2010 in Kabul, Afghanistan. (Defense White Paper 2010; UNAMA 2013a; UNAMA 2013b; UNAMA 2013c) After receiving an official request from the United Nations for participation in the UNAMA peace operation, the South Korean government decided to deploy peacekeeping forces to Afghanistan in order to support the multilateral peace assistance for Afghanistan's peace process. In July 2003 the first South Korean military observer was sent to the UNAMA headquarters in Kabul to work in the

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<sup>127</sup> Security Council Resolution 1401.

field of peacekeeping support and assistance as well as to provide his expertise and know-how to the other deployed forces and Afghan people. In general, military observers are primarily responsible for monitoring ceasefire and the compliance of all involved parties with the peace agreement rules; this was also the case for the South Korean peacekeeper. In the following years, the South Korean peacekeeping personnel contingent changed and as part of South Korea's contribution to UNAMA, the government decided to dispatch one military officer for a period of one year, after which a new officer would be sent to Kabul. Until November 2010 one South Korean officer was stationed at the UNAMA headquarters in Kabul, working as a military expert for the UN international peace operation. (Defense White Paper 2010; UN PK 2013)

#### **3.2.3.7. International peace cooperation in Liberia: UNMIL**

In the 1990s Liberia was highly affected by a civil war between government forces that caused the death of over 100,000 people and threatened the national peace and stability. In 1992 the Security Council of the United Nations decided to put an arms embargo on Liberia and sent one UN representative as mediator to the country to arbitrate between the two opposing parties as well as to assist the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) with its efforts towards reconciliation. After both parties agreed on a peace agreement in 1993 with the help of ECOWAS, the United Nations decided to establish the *United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia* (UNOMIL)<sup>128</sup> to monitor the peace process and the overall national development in Liberia but also to further support ECOWAS in its peacekeeping efforts. This form of cooperation between an official United Nations peacekeeping operation and the peacekeeping mission of another organization was the first in UN history. In 1997 presidential elections were held under the observation of the United Nations. The newly elected President Charles Taylor announced a new policy approach towards national peace, stability, and reconciliation. Following this, UNOMIL ceased its operational activities in September 1997. However, for the following period of Liberia's new government administration, the United Nations installed the *United Nations Peace-building Support Office* (UNOL) to provide further assistance and support in Liberia's post-conflict reconciliation development and reconstruction process. At the beginning of 2003 its mandate was renewed due to its important role in the overall peace maintenance and government assistance in Liberia but, despite all good efforts, the work of the United Nations via UNOL was hampered by the increasing discrepancies between the government and the opposition party on major governmental issues. Moreover, the lack of necessary security reforms and disrespect of human rights again threatened the overall national security situation; especially when conflicts between the government forces started to erupt again. In response to this development, the United Nations terminated the operational activities of UNOL and established the multinational peacekeeping operation *United Nations Mission in Liberia* (UNMIL) in September 2003 – based on Security Council Resolution 1509 - after another peace agreement was signed between the two Liberian parties. UNMIL was primarily established to provide support to the transitional government of Liberia during the peace and reconciliation process that should follow. Moreover, among the tasks of UNMIL and its deployed peacekeeping personnel were ceasefire observation, public order maintenance, assistance to and training of the newly restructured military, providing assistance to the implementation of security reform, and monitoring the overall compliance with human rights and human security. Being established in 2003 a total of over 9,000 peacekeeping personnel (including troops, police officers and military experts) were dispatched to UNMIL until 2010, primarily responsible for ceasefire observation and reconciliation efforts. The UNMIL mandate finally ended in September 2012. (UNMIL 2013)

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<sup>128</sup> Security Council Resolution 866.

Within a short period of time after its establishment in September 2003, the South Korean government decided to dispatch a total of two peacekeeping forces to the UNMIL headquarters in Monrovia. In November 2003 one military observer and another one in December 2003 were sent to Liberia, each for a period of one year. Apart from peacekeeping activities such as ceasefire monitoring, they sometimes were also responsible for the overall coordination regarding transport logistic, operational activities, and personnel management. By December 2004 the Korean government had withdrawn one military observer, but deployed one member of the Korean military ground forces to assist the other South Korean military observer in his duties. The composition of the South Korean contingent to UNAMA remained the same until December 2010 and even after. (Defense White Paper 2010; UN PK 2013)

#### **3.2.3.8. International peace cooperation in Burundi: ONUB**

Until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Burundi and its neighboring country Ruanda were European colonies, called Ruanda-Urundi. Burundi gained independence in 1962 and is now officially called the Republic of Burundi. However, in the aftermath of its independence, social unrest and turbulences among the multi-ethnic population emerged, especially between Hutu and Tutsi groups since both groups claimed power. The situation remained very tense until the late 1990s. Not until 2000 and after four years of negotiation and talks and several failed ceasefire agreements, the *Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement* was finally signed. It determined the establishment of a transitional government for a period of five years as well as contributing to the actual ceasefire agreement achieved between the Hutu rebel groups and the Tutsi government forces in 2003. Although the overall reconciliation was in progress, the situation was still regarded as potentially dangerous, threatening the international peace and stability. Therefore, the Security Council of the United Nations passed the Resolution 1545 and established the *United Nations Operation in Burundi* (ONUB) from June 2004 onwards to provide assistance to the Burundian transitional government, to support the population and to monitor both parties' compliance with the peace arrangements that were determined in the *Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement*. A Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General was leading the operational activities of ONUB. The total number of the UN peacekeeping personnel deployed to ONUB was set for a maximum of 5,650 military personnel (including military observers and staff officers), a maximum of 120 police personnel, and an appropriate contingent of civilian peacekeeping forces. The military UN contingent was required to monitor the ceasefire between the parties, to support the DDR efforts (disarmament, demobilization and reintegration) of the UN and the Burundian government itself, to carry out security surveillance to restore public order and stability as well as to further promote reconciliation among the two opposing groups. Apart from such traditional peacekeeping activities, the ONUB peacekeeping personnel were also concerned with humanitarian relief assistance, especially for internal displaced people and refugees. In addition, the ONUB peacekeeping personnel were assigned to provide electoral assistance for the presidential and parliament elections that took place between 2004 and 2005. For this matter, the UN military personnel had to provide a secure and safe environment. In the following two years, ONUB intensified its operational activities towards Burundi's peace process and conflict settlement and its mandate was extended several times. Since its establishment in 2004 ONUB has contributed to a great extent to the development towards peace and stability in Burundi. By December 2006 the Security Council finally decided to terminate the mandate of ONUB since the regional situation did no longer pose an obvious threat to international peace and security. By 31 December 2006 ONUB ceased its activities. However, it was followed by the established *United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi* (BINUB) to further monitor the overall regional development without direct, international peacekeeping involvement. After the establishment of ONUB in June 2004 the South Korean government decided to dispatch a



Korean peacekeeping team in September 2004 in response to the UN request for contribution. The South Korean unit consisted of two military observers who were deployed to carry out peacekeeping activities together with other UN military personnel and to contribute to Burundi's national reconciliation and peace progress. In the following two years, South Korea's contingent did not change and two military experts were permanently stationed at the ONUB headquarters in Bujumbura, the capital city. During December 2006, towards the official end of ONUB, South Korea withdrew its military peacekeeping forces. (ONUB 2006; UN PK 2013)

### **3.2.3.9. International peace cooperation in Sudan: UNMIS**

Since the outbreak of the north-south conflict between government forces and rebelling groups in 1983, national stability and safety in Sudan were threatened. Following this, regional peace support activities had been established, especially headed by the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The United Nations focused on further cooperation also in terms of international peacekeeping operations to support Sudan's peace process. For that matter, the United Nations Security Council passed the Resolution 1547 and established the *United Nations Advance Mission in the Sudan* (UNAMIS) in 2004 to increase its peace and stability promoting efforts in the region. UNAMIS was to arbitrate between the two parties and take the necessary precautions for further peacekeeping activities under UN command. In the meantime, the security situation in Darfur, a sensitive region in Western Sudan, seemed to be threatened due to increasing ethnic, political and economic conflicts and an increase in violence. The region of Darfur was included into UNAMIS' field of responsibility since it was likely that this development would highly affect the overall regional stability. Apart from UNAMIS, peace-building operations were also conducted by the African Union (AU) in Darfur, including the deployment of troops to protect the population and to observe the conflict. The United Nations missions also provided humanitarian assistance and supplied humanitarian relief material to the affected people in Darfur. In January 2005 an important step for Sudan's development was taken: the signing of the *Comprehensive Peace Agreement* (CPA) between the government and the rebelling forces of the Sudan's People Liberation Movement SPLM (or Sudan's People Liberation Army SPLA). Both sides agreed to establish a transitional government of a period of six and half years during which necessary institutional preparations would be made for the national referendum in 2011. To intensify UN efforts in Sudan's peace and development progress and to provide further assistance to the transitional government, the Security Council passed the Resolution 1590 on the establishment of the *United Nations Mission in the Sudan* (UNMIS) in March 2005. The UNMIS headquarters was located in the capital city, Khartoum, and an additional Joint Monitoring Coordination Office was established in the city of Juba. UNMIS continued its cooperation with the African Union for the peace process in Sudan. Apart from assistance to the government and overall peace support, UNMIS should also monitor the parties' compliance with the peace agreement from January 2005. Others tasks included, for example, humanitarian assistance for refugees and displaced persons and mine clearing activities. It was determined that UNMIS would consist of a military contingent of up to 10,000 personnel and a uniformed peacekeeper contingent of a maximum of 715 police personnel. In the same year the situation in Darfur continued to deteriorate, which required the United Nations to expand its personnel dispatch of over 18,000 personnel, responsible for the peace agreement observation. Following this, the UNMIS mandate of the UN was expanded in August 2006 and included the peace operational activities in Darfur within the work of UNMIS. This made it necessary to increase the number of deployed peacekeeping personnel at UNMIS to a total of about 20,000 peacekeeping forces, including military and uniformed personnel.

Back in 2005 when the *United Nations Mission in Sudan* (UNMIS) was founded, the South Korean government agreed to provide personnel contribution to the UN peacekeeping operation in

Sudan, with the first dispatch in January and followed by another dispatch in December 2005. A total of eight peacekeeping forces, as part of South Korea's military contingent and consisting of military observers and staff officers, were dispatched to the UNMIS headquarters in Khartoum. Apart from their regular field of tasks within their position, they were especially deployed for ceasefire observation and to monitor the parties' compliance with the rules and regulations that were defined in the 2005 peace agreement between the Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. By July 2006 South Korea had reduced its personnel capacity to seven peacekeeping forces. After the successful referendum was held in January 2011 with the result of South Sudan's independence, UNMIS officially ceased its operation in July 2011 after six years of operational activities and peace assistance for the African state. For the following period of South Sudan's new autonomy, the Security Council decided to establish a mission for further assistance and support, the *United Nations Mission in South Sudan* (UNMISS), which was planned from 2011 for at least about a year. Until the operational activities of UNMIS were terminated in July 2011, South Korea constantly contributed a total of six to eight peacekeeping forces (military observers and staff officers) to UNMIS, each group deployed for about a period of one year, and from February 2007 on, the Korean peacekeeper contingent also included one soldier from the Korean military ground forces. In the period between 2005 until 2011 UNMIS employed a total of over 10,000 multinational peacekeeping forces including police officers, military troops, and military experts. (Defense White Paper 2010; UNMIS 2013a)

### **3.2.3.10. International peace cooperation in Lebanon: UNIFIL**

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Israel-Lebanon relationship was very much affected by the resettlement of Palestinians to areas within Lebanon. The tensions between Israeli and Palestinian people intensified, leading to an outbreak of armed hostilities especially at the Israel-Lebanon border. Following this, the Lebanon government turned to the United Nations Security Council in 1978 after an invasion of Israeli forces. In response to the increasing threat of regional security in the Middle-East, the Security Council demanded a halt to the attacks from the Israeli forces and decided to establish an observatory mission, the *United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon* (UNIFIL)<sup>129</sup> with the deployment of the first military troops in March 1978. The main objectives of UNIFIL were to monitor and ensure the retreat of Israeli forces from the southern Lebanese territory, to restore regional peace, order, and security and therefore, to mitigate the risk of a possible threat for international peace as well as to provide humanitarian assistance for the affected people. In addition, UNIFIL forces were required to provide assistance to the Lebanese government in order to regain authoritative power over the situation and to restore a secure environment. Until 1982 the armed attacks continued, leading to no ceasefire agreement. Not until June the same year did Israeli forces – the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) - slowly start to withdraw from the occupied Lebanese parts, but they still controlled a certain territorial area in southern Lebanon which did not end the hostilities between IDF and the so-called South Lebanon Army (SLA). Having established its mandate in 1978 but with no final peace resolution in sight, the United Nations was required to extend and re-adjust its mandate several times on requests of the Lebanese government and the United Nations Secretary-General, for example in 1982 and 2000. It took another twenty years until Israeli forces did completely withdraw from the Lebanese territory in June 2000. UNIFIL continued its assisting operations, including regular controls of the border and the “withdrawal line” (also called Blue-Line), ceasefire observation, humanitarian assistance and later also mine clearing activities. Despite all efforts, the situation was still regarded as potentially dangerous. In the summer of 2006, new hostilities emerged due to some violations on the

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<sup>129</sup> Those two decisions of the Security Council are based on Resolutions 425 and 426.

Blue-Line. Following this, the Lebanese Hizbollah forces resumed their attacks on IDF positions and Israeli territory in July 2006. They crossed the Blue-Line and killed several Israeli soldiers. Armed attacks at the border started to re-emerge, including air attacks from both parties, and expanded over to the UNIFIL operational area. In the course of the outbreak of the new conflict, the UN Secretary-General functioned as mediator between the two prime ministers of Israel and Lebanon. The situation for UN peacekeeping forces became very dangerous because the ceasefire was not maintained. Nevertheless, UNFIL continued its military observation and humanitarian and, now also, medical assistance for the affected and wounded people. This engagement though caused many peacekeeping personnel to be injured and five staff members were even killed. Only one month after the hostilities had re-emerged, the Security Council passed another resolution on its Lebanon mandate (Resolution 1701), demanding the Hizbollah and Israeli forces to immediately cease their attacks. In addition, the resolution has also allowed an increase of the number of deployed UN troops to a maximum of 15,000, compared to the maximum level of 2,000 troops before. Moreover, it was the first time in UN PKO history that the Security Council decided to dispatch a contingent of maritime task forces to UNIFIL. After the UN mandate was expanded in August 2006, the military troop contingent was already significantly enlarged by mid-September. UNIFIL is still in operation and supporting the peace process between Israel and Lebanon, including the regular control of the border and the Blue-Line in order to mitigate the risk of new hostilities that might emerge.

The Republic of Korea started its peace cooperation in January 2007 with the deployment of a team of peacekeeping forces consisting of two military command staff members (being counted as troop members) to the Lebanese town of Nakoura. There they were responsible for the overall coordination of the operational activities of the peacekeeping personnel. Until June of the same year, their number increased to a total of nine peacekeeping personnel. In July 2007 the South Korean government –after the final approval of the National Assembly – decided to dispatch a military contingent of South Korean soldiers to UNIFIL, with a determined budget of almost USD 35 million. The military unit –called *Dongmyeong Unit* - included 350 soldiers who were deployed to the Lebanese city of Tyre. There, they were responsible for ceasefire observation at the Israel-Lebanon border. Apart from such operational activities, the *Dongmyeong* forces carried out multi-faceted civil peacekeeping and reconstruction operations as part of its so-called *Peace Wave program*. The program comprised the following areas: repairing schools and public facilities, infrastructure reconstruction, and providing medical assistance to the affected people. In addition, members of the *Dongmyeong Unit* also taught classes in Taekwondo, Hangul (the Korean alphabet), and computer science. Moreover, the improvement of rural living conditions was also an important task for the Korean personnel. Due to the Korean experience with modernization of their rural area (based on the New Township Movement from the 1970s), they provided assistance to the local rural population in learning new skills as part of their civil peacekeeping operations. The Korean unit worked together with the Lebanese military and other UNIFIL military units and carried out joint actions of border supervision for example. The military staff of the *Dongmyeong Unit* was stationed there for about six months after which a new unit of soldiers from the Korean Army replaced the former unit. By December 2007 their number rose to 363 troop members. In order to provide further assistance, the ROK government also agreed to provide voluntary financial contribution of approximately USD 37 million for the peace and stabilization process in Lebanon. In March 2008 an additional team of South Korean peacekeeping forces – consisting of five staff members – were dispatched to the UNIFIL unit called West Brigade in the city of Tibnin in the Lebanese region of Al Janub. In January 2010 the highest number of the Korean peacekeeper contingent was 475 Korean soldiers stationed in Lebanon. By the end of December 2010 South Korea's peace cooperation to the UN mandate in Lebanon consisted of a military unit of a total of 359 Korean Army soldiers, including five military command

staff members and five military staff members of the UNIFIL Western Brigade; the overall national budget for the *Dongmyeong Unit* in 2010 was about USD 21.5 million. South Korea's peace cooperation in Lebanon continued even after 2010. (Hong 2009; Defense White Paper 2010; UN PK 2013; UNIFIL 2013)

#### **3.2.3.11. International peace cooperation in Nepal: UNMIN**

From 1996 until the signing of an official peace agreement in 2006, Nepal was highly affected by increasing tensions and armed hostilities between the Nepalese army and Maoist fighters. In response to the peace treaty and to provide further assistance for Nepal's peace process and development towards regional stability and security, the United Nations established a political mission, the *United Nations Mission in Nepal* (UNMIN)<sup>130</sup> in 2007, after receiving an official request from the transitional Nepalese government at that time. The UNMIN central headquarters was based in the Nepalese capital, Kathmandu, and with other headquarters offices in Biratnagar, Dhangadhi, Nepalgunj, and Pokhara that were operated until July 2008. Main objectives of UNMIN were to monitor the disarmament activities, to coordinate the overall management of the Nepalese military personnel and Maoist forces, to observe the ceasefire agreement and most importantly, to assist with the assembly election in 2008. After the election and its successful observation, the United Nations decided to extend their mandate in Nepal a total of seven times. On 15 January 2011 and based on a Security Council decision, UNMIN finally ceased its operational activities. However, other UN agencies such as UNHCR continued their assistance in Nepal.

South Korea dispatched its first team of peacekeeping personnel to UNMIN in January 2008, consisting of five military observers, who were sent to the UNMIN headquarters in Kathmandu. There, they took part in ceasefire observation activities and assisted with the arms control management of both parties. The deployment period for South Korean personnel to UNMIN was determined by the Korean government for one year, after which another peacekeeping team was dispatched, but by the end of 2008 South Korea already withdrew its peacekeeping forces from UNMIN. By February 2009 another South Korean team consisting of four military experts and observers was deployed to the UNMIN headquarters in Kathmandu. By December 2010 four South Korean military experts were stationed in Nepal. Until the official ending of the UN mandate in Nepal in January 2011, a total of four South Korean military staff members were stationed in Kathmandu to provide assistance in the international peacekeeping and peace-building operations of UNMIN to support Nepal's peace process. (Defense White Paper 2010; UN PK 2013; UNMIN 2013)

#### **3.2.3.12. International peace cooperation activity in Darfur: UNAMID**

In 2003 armed hostilities between government military forces and rebelling groups emerged in Darfur, a region in the western part of Sudan. In the following three years many people died in the civil war. Public order was destroyed and the overall security and humanitarian situation deteriorated which resulted in an increasing number of refugees and internally displaced people. The African Union (AU) established a peacekeeping operation in 2006, in which the United Nations provided cooperation in order to promote and ensure a development towards a stable peace process in Sudan since the uprisings started in 2003. It was the first time that the United Nations participated in a non-UN-led peacekeeping operation. With the support of the African Union as well as of its cooperating partners

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<sup>130</sup> The establishment of UNMIN is based on the Security Council Resolution 1740. Following this, several mandate extensions were made: in January 2008 (Resolution 1864), in July 2008 (Resolution 1825), January 2009 (Resolution 1864), July 2009 (1879), January 2010 (Resolution 1909), May 2010 (Resolution 1921), and September 2010 (1939). (UNMIN 2013)

such as the UN, the *Darfur Peace Agreement* between the two fighting parties could be signed on 5 May 2006. In July 2007 the African Union's peacekeeping operation in Darfur was replaced by the established joint *African Union/ United Nations Hybrid operation in Darfur* (UNAMID) based on the Security Council Resolution 1769. The UN mandate determined the deployment of a military, police, and civilian peacekeeper contingent to carry out the necessary peace-building and peacekeeping activities. UNAMID became the largest peacekeeping operation concerning the personnel deployment so far with a total of over 19,000 uniformed personnel, including ground forces, military observers, and police personnel, more than 1,000 international and almost 3,000 local civilian personnel, and over 400 United Nations volunteers. The UN determined UNAMID's field of responsibility as follows:

UNAMID [...] is [...] tasked with contributing to security for humanitarian assistance, monitoring and verifying implementation of agreements, assisting an inclusive political process, contributing to the promotion of human rights and the rule of law, and monitoring and reporting on the situation along the borders with Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR). (UNAMID 2013a)<sup>131</sup>

In sum the operational activities of UNAMID included the supervision of the peace agreement and its implementation on both sides, promoting further dialog and talks between the respective parties, providing assistance to the political process towards a stable and secure political environment and for the economic reconstruction, rebuilding public order, strengthening the right of law, carrying out training courses for the community police as well as providing humanitarian relief assistance to those affected and providing non-armed logistics support. UNAMID established its headquarters in the capital of North Darfur, El Fasher, and other relevant offices in three more states of Darfur, in order to ensure an effective implementation of its peacekeeping operations supporting the peace development process in Darfur. In July 2012 and 2013 the United Nations renewed its Darfur mandate, and to this day, UNAMID carries out its operational activities to ensure peace and stability in the conflict-affected region of Darfur in Sudan. (UNAMID 2013a; UNAMID 2013b; UNAMID 2013c; UNAMID 2013d)

Two years after the establishment of UNAMID in 2007 the South Korean government agreed to dispatch two military officers as part of the South Korean troop contingent to Darfur in June 2009, with a rotation period of one year. They were part of the UN uniformed peacekeeping personnel responsible for peacekeeping activities, such as security and public order surveillance, ensuring both parties' compliance with the agreements of the peace treaty as well as carrying out ceasefire observation and border controls to maintain regional stability. Until May 2010 two South Korean military officers were stationed in Darfur, with a brief interruption of deployment during June and July 2010 when the ROK withdrew all of its peacekeeping personnel from Darfur. The two-member military peacekeeper contingent resumed its operational activities in August 2010 and in December 2010 they were still stationed in Darfur to participate in the work of the international peace operation of the United Nations as part of South Korea's international peace cooperation activities. (Defense White Paper 2010; UNMIS 2013b; UN PK 2013)

### **3.2.3.13. International peace cooperation in Côte d'Ivoire: UNOCI**

In 1960 Côte d'Ivoire gained independence and in the following thirty years the national situation remained stable. After the death of the President Houphouët-Boigny in 1993, inner-political tensions intensified and a military coup d'état in 1999 provoked further power struggles between the parties, especially during the presidential election in 2000. In 2002 armed hostilities between rebelling forces and governmental security forces then emerged, followed by several military operations and the

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<sup>131</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

outbreak of a civil war. The number of internally displaced persons and refugees was increasing. The leaders of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) soon decided to provide peace support assistance in the affected country and established a peace task force. In October 2002 a ceasefire agreement could be reached and in January 2003, during a meeting of all relevant political parties<sup>132</sup>, a peace agreement – the *Linas-Marcoussis Agreement* – was signed. The agreement included plans for national reconciliation, the reconstruction of a stable government and the promotion of a national peace process. In May 2003 the Security Council passed the Resolution 1479 on the establishment of the *United Nations Mission in Côte d'Ivoire* (MINUCI). This political mission remained to be small in size but it allowed MINUCI peacekeeping forces to supervise the implementation of the peace agreement and the compliance of all parties with the rules determined in the agreement. In addition, a military peacekeeping contingent was assigned to assist the military forces of France and ECOWAS. One year later in April the mandate of MINUCI ended, but was immediately replaced by the *United Nations Operations in Côte d'Ivoire* (UNOCI) with its headquarters in Abidjan. This UN PKO was based on the Security Council Resolution 1528 from February 2004 and was decided for a temporary period of one year. UNOCI continued the work of MINUCI concerning the observation of all parties' implementation of the peace agreement. UNOCI was also established to facilitate and assist with the country's peace process and to ensure the reconstruction of a safe and secure national environment. In the following years its mandate was renewed several times in order to provide further support for a peaceful development in Côte d'Ivoire. The United Nations also assisted in electoral observation activities as part of its peacekeeping operation during the presidential election in November 2010. The incumbent president at that time, Laurent Gbagbo, refused the outcome of the election (with Alassane Quattara as winner) and defended his position with military force, provoking the outbreak of new civil war for another five months. In May 2011 Laurent Gbagbo was finally arrested and Alassane Quattara was inaugurated as the new Ivorian president, together with all good hopes for economic and political development and long-term peace and stability. In response to the post-election conflict that was threatening regional stability and peace, the United Nations decided to maintain their military presence and to continue their work through UNOCI due to the residual risk of further hostilities and political tensions. UNOCI emphasized the importance of its peacekeeping contribution for the promotion of national stability and reconciliation, disarmament, necessary reforms of the security sector, and control of the Côte d'Ivoire-Liberia border. With the Resolutions 2062 in 2012 and 2112 in 2013 though, the United Nations decided to continuously reduce its military contingent due to the overall national peace development, but to maintain its mandate to provide further protection of the population, to ensure a safe and secure environment and to assist the government in its efforts towards DDR (disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combat forces) and reforming the security sector. As of September 2013 the UN PKO in Côte d'Ivoire comprised a total of almost 10,000 uniformed personnel, including troops, military observers, and police personnel, and almost 1.800 international and local civilian personnel. (MINUCI 2004a; MINUCI 2004b; UNOCI 2013a; UNOCI 2013b)

In 2009, after receiving an official request from the United Nations for participation in the activities of UNOCI, the South Korean government decided to dispatch two military observers – one in August 2009 and the other following in January 2010 - to the UNOCI headquarters in the city of Abidjan to

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<sup>132</sup> This meeting included the following political parties: Ivorian Popular Front, the Movement of Future Forces (MFA), the Movement for Justice and Peace, the Patriotic Movement of Côte d'Ivoire, the Ivorian Popular Movement of the Great West, the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire-African Democratic Party (PCDI-RDA), the Ivorian Workers Party, the Rally of the Republicans, the Democratic Union of Côte d'Ivoire (UDCI), and the Union for Democracy and Peace in Côte d'Ivoire. (MINUCI 2004a)



assist the peacekeeping operational activities of the United Nations. From that time on South Korea held on to its commitment of participation and remained present in the UN peacekeeping operation in Côte d'Ivoire, however, with some slight variations in the number of South Korean military observers dispatched to UNOCI, but usually keeping between two and six military experts as observers stationed in Abidjan. The Republic of Korea continued its deployment of a total of two military experts to UNOCI as part of the UN uniformed peacekeeping forces to share their peacekeeping expertise and know-how and also to participate in cooperative actions in the field of security and public order surveillance, government assistance as well as military and police training. Even until September 2013 South Korean military personnel were still deployed in Abidjan. (Defense White Paper 2010; UN PK 2013; UNOCI 2013b)

#### **3.2.3.14. International peace cooperation in Haiti: MINUSTAH**

The United Nations established the *United Nations Mission in Haiti* (UNMIH) in 1993 to support the peace development in Haiti, after a long period of inner political tensions and conflicts resulting from the end of the dictatorial government in 1990. Prior to this, the United Nations had also installed the *United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti* (ONUVEH) in 1990 in order to monitor the presidential election in 1991, followed by a joint peace support mission between the United Nations and the Organization of American States known as *International Civilian Mission in Haiti* (MICIVIH). In the following years several other UN peacekeeping missions had been established (i.e. UNSMIH<sup>133</sup> until June 1997, UNTMIH<sup>134</sup> until November 1997 and MIPONUH<sup>135</sup> until 2000) to maintain regional peace and to ensure a safe and secure environment for the population as well as for the peacekeeping personnel. From 1993 until 2000 the United Nations have been present with a military and civilian peacekeeping contingent on the island for the overall stabilization efforts and surveillance of public order to mitigate the risk of further hostilities. After a new outbreak of violence and fighting in February 2004 the situation in Haiti became increasingly threatening for the overall regional as well as international peace and security situation. This development contributed to the Security Council's decision to deploy *Multinational Interim Forces* (MIF) to Haiti, in order to assist with the transitional period of the peace and conflict settlement process until the *United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti* (MINUSTAH) was established in June 2004, based on the Security Council Resolution 1542. The MINUSTAH headquarters was located in the capital city Port-au-Prince. MINUSTAH's work included the assistance for the transitional government at that time, security surveillance, and public order maintenance. International peacekeepers were required to monitor the rule of law, assist with the necessary reforms of the national police, support DDR activities, protect the civilian population and other peacekeeping personnel, provide assistance for the upcoming election and foremost, promote human rights and the overall national reconciliation as it would ensure a safe and secure environment. According to the UN mandate the peacekeeping mission in Haiti could deploy a maximum of 6,700 military, over 1,600 police and over 1,500 civilian personnel as part of the UN peacekeeping forces. The United Nations has renewed the Haiti mandate several times since the MINUSTAH establishment in 2004, also in accordance with the respective circumstances of Haiti's peace process and political and social development. With the extension of the mandate in October 2009 the Security Council also included the tasks of election preparation support and electoral observation to the responsible fields of MINUSTAH, since elections were to be held in 2010. On 12 January 2010 though, Haiti was hit by a severe earthquake that destroyed the capital Port-au-Prince and the surrounding regions, which affected the humanitarian situation and many people became

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<sup>133</sup> United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH) based on Resolution 1063 in 1996.

<sup>134</sup> United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH) based on Resolution 1123 in 1997.

<sup>135</sup> United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH) based on Resolution 1141 in 1997.

refugees. The Security Council immediately passed the Resolution 1908 that allowed the increase of the number of deployed troops from previously 6,940 to 8,940 military personnel and called for further international contribution. The earthquake had cost more than 200,000 people their lives and also killed 96 UN peacekeepers that were stationed in Port-au-Prince. The increased number of UN personnel to MINUSTAH was necessary to support the recovery and reconstruction activities and to re-ensure the regional stability and peace. By December 2010 a total of 11,984 peacekeeping personnel including uniformed and civilian units were stationed in Port-au-Prince to assist with the UN activities of MINUSTAH. In the following period MINUSTAH provided electoral assistance for the presidential elections in 2011, increased its medical care to mitigate the risk of the outbreak of diseases as a consequence of the earthquake and continued its overall reconstruction activities as well as its security and peace support efforts, which included security and public order surveillance. The operational activities of MINUSTAH are still ongoing in order to help Haiti to economically, politically and socially recover from the devastating earthquake. (MINUSTAH 2013a; MINUSTAH 2013b; UN PK 2013)

After receiving an official request from the United Nations for participation in the peacekeeping activities of MINUSTAH already prior to the earthquake, the South Korean government sent one military staff officer to Port-au-Prince in November 2009 to assess the overall situation in Haiti and to further discuss the deployment of South Korean peacekeeping personnel. But the situation had taken a turn when the earthquake hit Haiti in January the following year. In response to the increase of troop deployment to MINUSTAH and the UN demand for international cooperation, South Korea sent a team of about 35 civilian peacekeeping forces to Haiti as humanitarian relief personnel to assist with immediate rescue activities. Moreover, it decided to dispatch a military engineering unit of its own, the Haiti Reconstruction Support Group (*Danbi Unit*), which consisted of a total of 240 military personnel. The first group left South Korea in February 2010, followed by the second group in March 2010. Stationed in the port city Léogân (to the west of the capital Port-au-Prince), the engineering unit carried out reconstruction and restoration operations of infrastructure and public facilities. Apart from reconstruction assistance, they also provided humanitarian assistance and medical care and supported the quarantine activities imposed upon the affected people, also in cooperation with military peacekeeping units from other nations. The Korean government determined the budget for the deployment of the *Danbi Unit* with approximately USD 26 million. In addition to its personnel contribution the South Korean government decided to provide emergency aid of approximately USD 1 million to Haiti as part of its peacekeeping development assistance, in cooperation with several non-governmental organizations such as the Korean National Red Cross and the Federation of Korean Industries. In March 2010 the total South Korean peacekeeping contingent comprised one commanding officer and 240 Korean soldiers from the engineering military, with a deployment period until December 2012.

In the following months after the dispatch of the military unit the South Korean peacekeeping forces were actively engaged in the reconstruction efforts for Haiti's recovery and national stability. By December 2010 the South Korean personnel contribution was a total of 242 personnel, consisting of 240 Korean Army soldiers and two staff officers, who were stationed in Port-au-Prince and the surrounding areas. The South Korean government also provided military material (i.e. equipment, facilities for camps etc.) worth about USD 9.5 million. After the end of the deployment of the *Danbi Unit* South Korea's peace support contribution did not stop. A small team of Korean military personnel is still stationed in Haiti to support the work of MINUSTAH since 2013. (Defense White Paper 2010; Kim 2010; Haiti Libre 2012; UN PK 2013)



### *Concluding remarks concerning South Korea's international peace cooperation in UN peacekeeping operations*

In December 2010 the Republic of Korea participated in ten United Nations peacekeeping operations with a total of 633 peacekeeping personnel, compared to seven UN peacekeeping operations (MINURSO, ONUB, UNAMA, UNMIL, UMIS, UNMOGIP and UNOMIG) and a total of 49 peacekeeping personnel<sup>136</sup> in December 2005. Concerning the number of voluntary personnel contribution South Korea was in 32<sup>nd</sup> position of all 115 participating UN members in 2010. The total amount of 633 peacekeeping personnel in December 2010 was deployed to the following operations: MINURSO (two peacekeeping forces), MINUSTAH (242 peacekeeping forces), UNAMID (two peacekeeping forces), UNIFIL (359 peacekeeping forces), UNMIL (two peacekeeping forces), UNMIN (four peacekeeping forces), UNIMIS (seven peacekeeping forces), UNIT (four peacekeeping forces), UNMOGIP (nine peacekeeping forces) and UNOCI (two peacekeeping forces). South Korea's peace cooperation and contribution started in eight out of these ten peacekeeping operations in the period between 2000 and 2010. For comparison, by the end of January 2000 the South Korean personnel contingent in UN peacekeeping operations only consisted of 32 peacekeeping forces: 20 military personnel at MINURSO, nine military observers at UNMOGIP, and three observers at UNOMIG. This put South Korea 45<sup>th</sup> in the ranking of all 83 participating UN member states in official UN peacekeeping operations. (UN PK 2013)

As already briefly mentioned South Korea's contribution to regional and international peace and security does not only include its participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations but also in peace missions implemented by multinational forces. These peace stabilization missions are similar to those of the United Nations but are led by one or more states or a regional security organization for example. Nevertheless, MNF peace operations must also be approved by the United Nations. They also comprise regional peace supporting activities such as conflict resolution, reconciliation efforts, peace maintenance, reconstruction assistance etc. When considering the time period between 2000 and 2010 and South Korea's international peace cooperation activities, it is necessary to mention three important missions of that kind: the MNF mission at the Somalian Coast, the MNF mission in Afghanistan and the MNF peace mission in Iraq.

#### **3.2.3.15. International peace cooperation in Somalia: MNF peace operation**

Somalia has long been affected by inner domestic tensions and civil conflicts. So-called piracy groups and organizations started to emerge, posing a great risk for the international shipping traffic along the Somalian coast. As a result the Security Council passed a resolution in 2008 to take protective measures and to ask member states to deploy naval and air support to the Somalian coast to maintain security and stability in that region. For that matter the Korean government decided to dispatch the *Cheonghae Unit* to the Gulf of Aden off Somalia in March 2009, after the National Assembly approved the request for the deployment of military units. At that time the unit consisted of about 300 Korean military members and also included various transport equipment. This was the first time South Korea participated in a so-called "ocean peacekeeping" operation which opened a new area for further international peace contribution and cooperation. The military budget for the *Cheonghae Unit* in 2009 was determined by the Korean government with approximately USD 26.7 million and for 2010 it was set at about USD 32 million. The South Korean military unit was required to protect Korean ships

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<sup>136</sup> As of December 2005 a military contingent of 20 troop members were deployed to MINURSO, two military observers to ONUB, one military observer to UNAMA, one military observer and one staff officer to UNMIL, eight military observers to UNMIS, nine military observers to UNMOGIP and seven military observers to UNOMIG (UN PK 2013).

when passing the Gulf of Somalia and to conduct anti-piracy operations via joint naval military exercises in order to generate a secure and safe environment for the international shipping traffic. Apart from these tasks, the Korean unit also carried out naval surveillance operations. By November 2010 the *Cheonghae Unit* consisted of 306 Korean military personnel. (Defense White Paper 2010; Ministry of National Defense 2013)

#### **3.2.3.16. International peace cooperation in Afghanistan: MNF peace operation**

Apart from the United Nations mission in Afghanistan, UNAMA, another important peace operation is being conducted in Afghanistan. Since 2001 the overall political situation Afghanistan has deteriorated with the dissolution of the government. Based on the Resolution 1883 the Security Council established the *International Security Assistance Force* (ISAF) that was assigned to carry out activities for the overall security stabilization. Already in 2001 the former South Korean President Kim Dae-jung approved the deployment of Korean engineering troops. But due to an incident in 2007 that caused the death of one Korean soldier, South Korea withdrew its military contingent from Afghanistan, since the safety of the military unit could not be guaranteed any longer. With another resolution made in October 2009 the United Nations requested the personnel, financial and/or material contribution from its member states to support the ISAF during the multinational force peace operation in Afghanistan. After long negotiations and with the final approval of the National Assembly in February 2010, the Republic of Korea dispatched the *Korean Reconstruction Team* (KRT), consisting of military and civilian personnel, to the Parwan Province in Afghanistan five months later. Knowing the risks for South Korean soldiers in Afghanistan, the former President Roh Moo-hyun is quoted to have said: '*It is sometimes unavoidable to ask the nation's soldiers to shoulder the burden of maintaining world peace. Knowing every life is precious, it is not easy to send soldiers abroad to assume such a role.*' (Groves 2007:48).

To take no further risks and to protect the Korean reconstruction team in Afghanistan, the government deployed a military unit, known as *Ashena Unit*, in June 2010, after receiving the final approval from the National Assembly. In the Parwan province the KRT was assigned to carry out reconstruction activities in the field of infrastructure, education, public health etc. The *Ashena Unit* was required to protect the areas of KRT operations and the Korean reconstruction personnel in their peace-building and reconstruction efforts. By the end of 2010 the *Ashena Unit* consisted of about 232 military members with a total military budget of about USD 44 million. Apart from the KRT and *Ashena Unit*, South Korea also deployed several staff, information, and engineering coordination officers to Afghanistan, a total of seven were stationed in the city of Kabul and the United States air base Bagram towards the end of 2010. (Groves 2007; Defense White Paper 2010; Hemmings 2012; Ministry of National Defense 2013)

#### **3.2.3.17. International peace cooperation in Iraq: MNF peace operation**

South Korean peacekeeping cooperation also comprises its personnel contribution to the MNF peace operation in Iraq, led by the United States and authorized by the United Nations. The main objective of this assignment was to provide reconstruction assistance and to take measures for the overall stabilization in post-conflict Iraq after the American military invasion in the beginning of 2003. After receiving a request for participation from the U.S. for cooperation in the field of reconstruction, the National Assembly approved the deployment of a military contingent of 474 soldiers – the *Zaytun Unit* – that was sent to southern Iraq in April 2003. This decision has led to much criticism from the South Korean population, who was against such military unit deployment. But as a security alliance partner of the United States, South Korea was more or less required to provide assistance when

requested, as it might have also negatively affected this security relationship.

In Iraq the South Korean forces were assigned to provide reconstruction assistance, especially to U.S. forces and other military peace forces from about 38 countries. In preparation for their deployment the South Korean military peacekeepers were also instructed in the country's language and culture, in order to be adequately equipped for the overseas peace operation. Apart from reconstruction activities, the forces of the *Zaytun Unit* were also assigned to areas such as humanitarian assistance including medical care, infrastructure development, and assistance to the Iraqi Security forces by providing training courses. In the course of their deployment the Korean soldiers built a hospital, various schools, and training facilities. They also helped to improve the overall rural living conditions by, for example, renewing the water supply and sanitation systems. In addition and as part of their civil peacekeeping actions – similar to their deployment in Lebanon - the Korean unit also taught taekwondo classes to the military members of the Iraqi Army as part of their confidence-building and trust-building measures. Apart from sport classes, various courses on technological education were also offered by the South Korean peacekeeping forces. With the establishment of a language school in the northern part of Iraq, the Korean military unit also enabled language classes in Kurdish for the Iraqi people.

Prior to the official end of the mandate of this MNF operation on 31 December 2008, the South Korean military contingent was already withdrawn during December 2008, after five years of peace cooperation and collaboration with other forces to promote peace and stability in the region and to foster further development. Apart from its voluntary personnel contribution of military peacekeepers, the South Korean government also decided to provide approximately USD 460 million for the reconstruction and peace assistance (including humanitarian and infrastructure development assistance) to the peace operation in Iraq. (Groves 2007; Carter 2008; Hong 2009)

### 3.2.4. Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping

South Korea's efforts in the field of human resource development concerning peacekeeping forces during the period between 2000 and 2010 will be examined below. This includes the establishment of training centers for peacekeeping personnel, specific peacekeeping training programs as well as joint (military and/or civilian) peacekeeping exercises to further train its peacekeeping personnel in the fields of peace consolidation process, dispute settlement, humanitarian relief operations etc. The participation in and/or hosting of multilateral training exercises is not only important to expand the skills of the state's own military and civilian personnel but also to improve cooperation with other nations, to exchange knowledge and to learn from each other. Active contribution in this field is of benefit for South Korea insofar as it also enables South Korea to achieve its national interests concerning better trained national peacekeeping forces but also to strengthen its international position.

#### 3.2.4.1. Peacekeeping Operation (PKO) Center

Today the PKO Center is the primary responsible institution in South Korea for the training and education of peacekeeping forces for future deployments in peacekeeping operations and other relevant peace supporting missions. A similar institution was already established in 1995, two years after South Korea's first participation in an UN peacekeeping operation. At that time it was headed by the Joint Staff College<sup>137</sup>, but since 2006 the establishment of a new, state-run peacekeeping training center was discussed. The overall aim was to reform the training center to provide better training possibilities and to increase South Korea's national peacekeeping capacities. The final decision was

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<sup>137</sup> The Joint Staff College is a military institution to train officers to become military observers for peacekeeping activities.

then part of the 2008-2012 action plan of the Ministry of National Defense, including an overall restructuring of the center in order to strengthen and improve the skills of its military peacekeeping troops as well as other peacekeeping personnel including police officers, civilians, and government officials. The establishment of the new center should also further intensify South Korea's participation and improve its contribution to international peacekeeping operations and peace cooperation missions which, in turn, should positively affect the international perception of South Korea as peace supporting country.

On 1 January 2010 the new and restructured PKO Center was opened – adjacent to the Korean National Defense University (KNDU) in Seoul - and the authority and responsibility over the new PKO center was also transferred to the Korean Defense University. The training program of the PKO Center includes theoretical but also practical classes in areas such as international politics, Middle East politics (in particular since many conflict areas are located in this region), security diplomacy, peace security, defense management, and military science. Especially for the officers deployed overseas and other relevant peacekeeping personnel, English language classes are offered to facilitate multinational peace cooperation and to mitigate the risk of possible language barriers that might hinder successful collaboration in peacekeeping activities. In addition to the practical education, intensified research in the field of global and regional peacekeeping is of high importance for the actual implementation of peacekeeping operations. Therefore, the center also focuses very much on the theoretical education, because peacekeeping experts and professionals are important advisors for peacekeeping operations in general.

Apart from the education and training aspect of the center, further cooperation and collaboration with other regional and international peacekeeping training facilities is considered to be an important and necessary next step for further promoting South Korea's position in the field of global, multilateral peace-building and peacekeeping. This plan also includes the goal to develop an extensive network within the field of peacekeeping training (i.e. exchanges of instructors, joint training sessions etc.). The main objectives and goals of the newly established PKO Center can be summed up as improving peacekeeping training, promoting South Korea's participation in peacekeeping operations, reforming and restructuring the PKO education sector, intensifying multilateral cooperation and coordination as well as increasing the number of national peacekeeping experts especially in the research field.

Concerning the organizational structure of the PKO center, there are three different departments that are covering a broad spectrum of activities: firstly, the planning and operations division; secondly, the research and development division; and thirdly, the training and education division. The PKO center also stays in close contact with military units and assists military officers during their overseas deployment by providing regular deployment reports and so-called after action reviews. The *Dongmyeong Unit* as well as the *Ashena Unit* and *Cheonghae Unit* received a special training program in the PKO center before their overseas peacekeeping deployments. In the case of the *Dongmyeong Unit*, for example, the training program involved classes of understanding the basic concept of peacekeeping operations, international law, cultural understanding (including Arab classes, history, religion, customs etc.), human rights and humanitarian assistance, stress management, negotiation techniques, special techniques for the identification of weapons as well as general information about the respective deployment location in terms of the economic, political, and social situation. The main idea and goal of such specific training programs for military units or individual units is to optimally prepare the Korean peacekeeping forces for their overseas deployment and to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of their contribution to international peacekeeping operations. Apart from practical know-how and expertise, this should also include theoretical knowledge concerning the basic concepts, principles and legal frameworks of such missions, communication and cooperation techniques as well

as relevant cultural aspects. (Jung 2008; Defense White Paper 2010; Hwang 2012; PKO Center 2013a; PKO Center 2013b; PKO Center 2013c)

#### **3.2.4.2. Multinational peacekeeping training exercise in Mongolia: Khaan Quest**

International cooperation in the field of peacekeeping operations and other relevant peace supporting missions also requires joint bilateral and multilateral training programs and exercises to strengthen national and international capacities and peacekeeping personnel skills. Such exercises are also important insofar as they improve the cooperation between states and its overall effectiveness. However, there is another beneficial side effect for states when participating in joint training exercises namely, they can use these exercises to gain new expertise from others as well as strengthening their role within international relations – which may be the interest of many – by showing strong commitment and engagement in such exercises, and in particular in the field of regional and global peace and security.

To improve their bilateral cooperation in international peacekeeping operations and to promote the importance of regional and global stability and security, the United States and Mongolia established the annual peacekeeping exercise called Khaan Quest in 2003. This operational exercise is coordinated and implemented by the Mongolian Armed Forces (MAF) and the U. S. Army Pacific, and financed by the MAF and the U. S. Pacific Command (USPACOM). Having started as a bilateral training it soon became a well-known and important training exercise with multinational participation when it opened up for other nations to take part in 2006. Since then the number of participating nations has constantly increased and already 14 states took part in Khaan Quest 2013. Khaan Quest has become an important, well-known exercise to improve the implementation and the overall efficiency of United Nations peacekeeping operations. Every year Khaan Quest is held for about two weeks at the Five Hill Training Area near the Mongolian capital Ulaanbaatar and consists of various training exercises, including military command post exercises, field exercises but also medical and engineering exercises (i.e. construction of facilities or other humanitarian assistance projects). The overall aim of Khaan Quest is to strengthen the cooperation between military-military and military-civil peacekeeping contingents during future deployment in order to guarantee a better implementation of their actions in international peacekeeping operations. Participating states can actively provide military units that take part in Khaan Quest. However, another option for states is to participate as observer nation before sending own military peacekeeping units to Mongolia.

Soon after the establishment of Khaan Quest training exercises, South Korea seized the opportunities offered by this multilateral peacekeeping training exercise to pursue its own interests in increasing its global status as active contributor to international peace and to further strengthen its security and peace efforts. In 2006 South Korea participated in Khaan Quest as observer nation for the first time. Three years later, in 2009, the South Korean government decided to dispatch a military navy unit to take active part in the training exercise for the first time. Since then South Korea has become an active participant in this important peacekeeping joint exercise, providing various units of military peacekeeping personnel to foster its peacekeeping contacts and to improve the skills of its peacekeeping personnel for its future contribution to international peace cooperation activities. (Defense White Paper 2010; Main 2011; Hwang 2012; Nyamdorj 2012; Miller 2013)

#### **3.2.4.3. Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) Capstone Exercises**

In 2004 the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) was established by the United States at the G8<sup>138</sup> Sea Island Summit to improve the overall quality of UN peacekeeping operations as well as to

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<sup>138</sup> For more information about the G8 please refer to page 99.

enhance the capacities and skills of international peacekeeping personnel. In particular, international cooperation of multinational peacekeeping forces, concerning operational and logistic activities in peacekeeping operations, was to be strengthened. Apart from increasing the overall effectiveness and efficiency of such peacekeeping operations, it also became a main objective of the GPOI to increase the number of possible peacekeeping personnel, including military and civilian forces and especially on the African continent, and to provide them with adequate and extensive training. To achieve these goals it became necessary to support international peacekeeping training centers via financial and personnel assistance, instructor exchanges, and material contribution as well as to encourage mutual learning through multilateral training exercises, including exchanges of experiences, with other peacekeeping forces. The so-called Capstone Exercises, the first of its kind having been already conducted in 2000 though, have become an important element in GPOI's field of human resource development of peacekeeping forces. The establishment of the GPOI has contributed immensely to improving these training exercises to guarantee best training and best results for future peacekeeping operations. The contents of these annual exercises include staff and field training operations in terms of traditional peacekeeping activities but also humanitarian assistance and humanitarian relief operations.

In 2008, and for the first time, the South Korean government decided to send a unit of its own military forces to participate in the GPOI Capstone Exercise (called Shanti Doot) that was held in Bangladesh in that year. With the decision to participate in these GPOI funded joint military training exercises, the Republic of Korea acknowledged the importance of collective peacekeeping training to improve its own national capacities and its military skills in peacekeeping and other relevant peace supporting activities. Moreover, participation in such multilateral exercises with the goal of promoting global peace and security is also highly appreciated by the government, as it demonstrates South Korea's willingness to be a part of international peace cooperation and it strengthens its abilities to cooperate. In addition, it provides military training and collaboration with other military forces in terms of new equipment and material. (Sambath and Strangio 2009; Defense White Paper 2010; Hwang 2012; Bhuiyan 2012; U.S. State Department 2013a; U.S. State Department 2013b)

### 3.2.5. Peace and security related cooperative agreements: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation

#### 3.2.5.1. Supporting the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)

As already identified, global peace supporting activities are not only limited to traditional peacekeeping operations including ceasefire observation and conflict settlement but, for example, can also include joint regional and global efforts for arms control and nonproliferation of weapons. In response to the growing threat of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to international peace and stability, the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) was founded in 2003. It was initiated by the United States including ten other founding members with the primary goal to stop the illegal distribution and dissemination of weapons of mass destruction between states and non-state actors, which poses a potential risk for the outbreak of armed hostilities that might also affect global stability.

The leading body of the PSI is the Operational Expert Group (OEG) and consists of 21 states. It is responsible for all relevant legal matters as well as for organizing regular meetings including all PSI supporting states, specific meetings of the expert group itself, workshops, and joint training exercises. In addition to these tasks the OEG is also in charge of monitoring the actions of the PSI supporting



states<sup>139</sup>, especially concerning their compliance with the basic, guiding principles of the initiative. The main idea behind the Proliferation Security Initiative is primarily to foster and strengthen the states' national capacities in their nonproliferation actions and to take concrete measures in order to minimize the risk of further increasing weapon proliferation. Moreover, the PSI should also strengthen the cooperation and collaboration of PSI supporting states in such actions to achieve better results and to promote global peace and security on a broader basis. Since its establishment in 2003 the PSI has become an important, multinational platform and instrument for enhancing international peace and security cooperation and for increasing joint efforts of collaboration to generate an international environment of peace, stability, and foremost, security.

Due to ongoing tensions with North Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, DPRK) the Republic of Korea was hesitant about officially supporting the Proliferation Security Initiative since its beginning. South Korea feared the reaction of North Korea to its decision and possible military attacks by the North Korean military. However, during all this time the South Korean government did discuss and negotiate South Korea's possible participation in this multilateral initiative, as the topic was still very relevant for the South Korean government. Things changed after North Korea carried out a nuclear weapon test in May 2009. The South Korean government reacted immediately to this incident and officially joined this multinational, voluntary security agreement. Following this, South Korea presented itself as a very active contributing member state. It has implemented stricter controls concerning weapons and similar material in its export activities as well as integrating these rules in its cooperative agreements with other states.

Today, South Korea is not only a PSI supporting state but also became a member of the PSI leading Operational Expert Group (OEG) in 2010. Since South Korea joined the PSI in 2009, it already hosted PSI activities twice in 2010. The first PSI exercise South Korea implemented in its own country took place from 14 October to 15 October 2010. The goal of this exercise was to train the participating states on how to stop the distribution and dissemination of weapons of mass destruction and how to improve their cooperation in such actions. About two weeks later South Korea implemented a PSI Regional Workshop with a total of twelve participating PSI states. Although South Korea didn't join until 2009, it had already participated in a PSI training exercise as observer nation in New Zealand in 2007. (Belcher 2011; Snyder 2012; PSI 2013a; PSI 2013b; PSI 2013c; U.S. State Department 2013c; NTI 2013)

### **3.2.5.2. UN-ROK Joint Conference on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues**

In response to international joint efforts in global peace supporting activities such as disarmament and nonproliferation of weapons (also regarded as non-traditional peacekeeping activities), the Republic of Korea does not only support the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI), for example, but also plays a significant role in implementing an important international event concerning nonproliferation and disarmament and its relevance for global stability and peace. Together with the United Nations, South Korea co-hosts the annual *UN-ROK Joint Conference on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues*. Over the past two decades international terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the growing illegal distribution and transfer of other weapons, and its illegal financing have become major challenges for today's global peace and stability. For this matter and to provide a forum for joint discussion about possible legal actions as well as counter-measures against this growing security risk, the conference on disarmament and arms control was established in 2002 in cooperation between the United Nations and the Republic of Korea, the first conference being held in South Korea.

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<sup>139</sup> A complete list of all PSI supporting states and the member states of the OEG in particular can be found in the appendix, see A12 and A13.

Over the years it has become an important international platform for government officials, experts, researchers, and other individuals or representatives from relevant non-governmental organizations, who have taken part in the conference; the total number of participants having already increased to over forty. During the two to three-day conference the topics of regional and global peace and security are the center of attention. Participants discuss regional security concerns and the states' responsibilities and obligations to take concrete action in order to stop the proliferation situation from getting more dangerous to global peace and stability. Based on their mutual interests of global stability and foremost security, they also talk about taking necessary legal measures to prevent an increase in the illegal distribution and use of such dangerous weapons. They also review certain treaties and agreements to effectively counteract this peace-endangering development. In addition, the conference also aims at bringing forward possible joint efforts and actions to foster states' cooperation and collaboration with each other, especially in the fields of disarmament and stopping the illegal spread of weapons. All of these considerations are made on the background of the growing risk of terrorist attacks or power struggles within a country that might get out of control. Based on their common interests to promote a regional and global secure, peaceful environment, participants discuss and develop measures of joint action to strengthen international disarmament efforts but also to improve their cooperative capacities for the sake of global peace and security.

The UN-ROK joint conference was established by the Government of the Republic of Korea (represented by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) operated via its UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific (UNRCPD). Until today, the conference is an important and significant instrument to bring together the most important and skilled people in the fields of arms control and disarmament. On an annual basis joint discussions and consultations are conducted to properly respond to the growing security threats for international and regional peace. Every year the conference is implemented under a certain theme; the most current ones, for example, include "The Past and Future of Disarmament and Non-proliferation" in 2011, "Disarmament and Non-proliferation in Asia and Beyond: Conventional Weapons and Missiles" in 2012, or "Non-proliferation Regime in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Challenges and the Way Forward" in 2013. Since the establishment of the UN-ROK joint conference in 2002, the government of South Korea has taken another important step in its *Global Korea* strategy to strategically position Korea within the system of international peace cooperation. As co-host of this conference South Korea has committed itself to strongly support the international joint efforts towards disarmament and arms control in order to generate a peaceful international environment. Moreover, South Korea wants to foster cooperation and collaboration with others in this field in order to properly respond to any possible challenges and threats for international peace but also for its own regional security and stability. (KOCIS 1999-2013c; Shin 2012; UNODA 2013; MoFA South Korea 2013d)

### **3.2.5.3. Bilateral declarations on security and PKO cooperation signed between 2000 and 2010**

#### ***3.2.5.3.1. Joint security vision of global peace support with the United States in 2008***

Apart from South Korea's political efforts in promoting global and regional peace and security via its participation in the PSI or co-hosting the annual conference on nonproliferation, together with the United Nations, South Korea focuses very much on strengthening its national capacities in peacekeeping operations and peace supporting activities (i.e. GPOI Capstone Exercises, Khaan Qest), in order to participate in actions concerning international peace cooperation.



Bilateral agreements on peace and security related issues play an important role in the field of international peace cooperation. South Korea's security relation with the United States (also referred to as U.S.-ROK alliance) is no different. They do not only provide mutual security but they also focus on the issues of global and regional peace in terms of international peacekeeping, conflict settlement, conflict resolution, and stabilization efforts. The security relationship between the United States and the Republic of Korea has developed since the Korean War (1950-1953) when South Korea was supported by American troops. Following this, security and mutual defense agreements have been established, which intensified the U.S. ROK relation and also contributed to maintain a stable regional environment. On the basis of regular summit meetings between the responsible ministers of the Republic of Korea and the United States, their cooperation has further been strengthened. In 2008 both states agreed to take their security and defense relation one step further and to develop it towards a '*Comprehensive Strategic Alliance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*' (Defense White Paper 2010:78), on a bilateral, regional, and also global level. After another meeting the defense ministries of both states released a joint statement in June 2009 concerning their future alliance and cooperation especially in matters of regional and global security, called '*Joint Vision for the ROK-U.S. Alliance*' (Defense White Paper 2010:78):

The Alliance is adapting to changes in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century security environment. We will maintain a robust defense posture, backed by allied capabilities which support both nations' security interests. [...] In the Asia-Pacific region we will work jointly with regional institutions and partners to foster prosperity, keep the peace, and improve the daily lives of the people of the region. [...] Our governments and our citizens will work closely to address the global challenges of terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, piracy, organized crime and narcotics, climate change, poverty, infringement on human rights, energy security, and epidemic disease. The Alliance will enhance coordination on peacekeeping, post-conflict stabilization and development assistance. (The White House 2009)<sup>140</sup>

The alliance between the United States and the Republic of Korea has always been shaped and defined by its mutual interests in global and ,foremost, regional security and peace, especially in the aftermath of the Korean War. Both states constantly emphasize their mutually shared values and interests in the field of military and security issues as they want to build '*[...] an Alliance to ensure a peaceful, secure and prosperous future for the Korean Peninsula, the Asia-Pacific region, and the world.*' (The White House 2009)<sup>141</sup>.

With the joint vision of 2009 both states have committed to expand their security and defense cooperation insofar as it would now also cover multilateral activities to foster and to promote international peace and stability, in particular concerning the field of peacekeeping operations and other relevant peace supporting activities. At the 41<sup>st</sup> Security Consultative Meeting between the Republic of Korea and the United States in October 2009 their peace commitment was confirmed by the Korean Minister of National Defense Kim Tae-young and the U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert M. Gates. Both announced to '*[...] continue to enhance close Alliance cooperation to address wide-ranging global security challenges of mutual interest, including through peacekeeping activities, stabilization and reconstruction efforts, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief.*' (Defense White Paper 2010:389).

Apart from their interests in global peace and stability, their security relationship is also very much shaped by their mutual regional security and peace interests, especially on the Korean Peninsula. The conflict between North Korea and South Korea remains to be a very dominant issue not only for South Korea, but also in its alliance with the United States. (Defense White Paper 2010; Hwang 2012)

<sup>140</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

<sup>141</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

Since its first participation in international peacekeeping operations in 1993, South Korea has actively developed itself to take over a greater and more responsible role in the field of global security and peace cooperation. Doubtless to say, it has increased its level of participation and peace cooperation in general, perhaps also driven by its strong security alliance with the United States. Having a strong and actively participating South Korea in the activities of international peace cooperation and collaboration towards global stability may also be beneficial for the United States insofar as it can count on its alliance partner for international peace cooperation via participation in MNF peace operations, for example, that are led by the U.S. In turn it might also be useful for South Korea to have a strong security partner in order to further realize its *Global Korea* strategy and to expand the areas of a possible implementation of this strategy not only in the field of peacekeeping and peace-building.

#### 3.2.5.3.2. *Joint declaration on security cooperation with Australia in 2009*

The partnership between Australia and the Republic of Korea has its roots back in the Korean War (1950-1953), when about 18,000 Australian military forces were part of the *United Nations Command* (UNC)<sup>142</sup> force unit that supported the South Korean army in the fight against the invasion of North Korea. Australia also participated in the United Nations Korean peace-building missions that had been established prior to and during the war, such as the *United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea* (UNTCOK)<sup>143</sup> in 1947 and the *United Nations Commission on Korea* (UNCOK)<sup>144</sup> in 1948. In the following fifty years, Australia and South Korea have both intensified their cross-border contact and expanded the area of political and economic cooperation. In 1992 the Australia-Korea Foundation (AKF) was established to promote further interaction in the fields of industry, commerce, science and technology, education, media, culture etc., on the individual but also institutional level. Today South Korea is one of the three main export markets for Australia (together with Japan and the People's Republic of China) and an important trading and regional partner with shared values and interests in the regional and global development towards peace, security, and sustainability. South Korea and Australia are both considered to be strong middle powers in the Asia-Pacific region and active participants and supporters of regional and international organizations and institutions.<sup>145</sup> Cooperation and collaboration are key elements in both countries' foreign approach, especially concerning their contribution to regional and global peace and stability to ensure a safe and secure environment for their future interaction. (Downer 2005; Australian Embassy 2013; Australian Government 2013b)

In 2008 both heads of government started their negotiations on a possible security declaration of cooperation between Australia and the Republic of Korea. This was regarded as an important step to strengthen their strategic partnership in order to meet regional and global future challenges, also especially in the field of peace, security, defense, and overall stabilization. After intensive preparation the Republic of Korea agreed to establish this bilateral security cooperation. In March 2009 the Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and the South Korean President Lee Myung-bak signed the *Joint Statement for Enhanced Global and Security Cooperation* and established their bilateral security

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<sup>142</sup> In 1950, the Security Council passed a resolution to establish a joint unit of multinational military forces to carry out military action to assist South Korea in the attacks from North Korea. The UNC was led and controlled by the United States. Countries such as the United States, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey dispatched military forces; others, for example Denmark, India, Norway or Sweden provided medical personnel to the operation. (USFK 2013)

<sup>143</sup> Based on Resolution 112.

<sup>144</sup> Based on Resolutions 195 and 293.

<sup>145</sup> Regional organizations and institutions both states are members of are, for example, ASEAN Regional Forum, East Asia Summit (EAS) or the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Examples of international organizations are UN, IMF, WTO, and G20.

cooperation. In the joint statement both states determined their visions for their future peace, security, and defense related working relationship on the regional as well as global level. For South Korea this was the first bilateral security declaration with another country except the United States so far.

Similar to the security alliance with the United States the South Korean-Australian cooperation is also based on '[...] *shared democratic values, commitment to human rights, freedom and the rule of law, and mutual respect, trust and deep friendship.*' (Prime Ministerial Office Australia 2009:1). With the establishment of this strategic partnership towards global and regional security and peace both states agreed to further strengthen their bilateral collaboration as well as working together with other states to promote and ensure a secure and safe regional and global environment. This should also be achieved through their active participation in relevant international and regional multilateral institutions in which both states are members. Intensifying their joint efforts and engagement in such institutions should also facilitate multilateral cooperation as well as bilateral cooperation in order to properly address global problems and challenges and, furthermore, also to be able to meet future demands concerning security and peace. (Australian Government 2009; Prime Ministerial Office Australia 2009)

In the 2009 released *Joint Statement for Enhanced Global and Security Cooperation* Australia and the Republic of Korea commit to the following goals and objectives:

[To] Continue to expand cooperation on global disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery through a range of mechanisms including the United Nations and its associated agencies and the International Commission for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament. (Prime Ministerial Office Australia 2009:1)

[To] Build on the established good level of strategic dialog and cooperation between the two countries' defence forces by exploring opportunities for defence engagement in areas such as peacekeeping, civil military cooperation, defence management, joint exercises, training and exchange programs, and the establishment of linkages between the Asia-Pacific Civil Military Centre of Excellence and Korean institutions. (Prime Ministerial Office Australia 2009:1)

In addition to their joint statement both states have also developed a detailed *Action Plan for Enhanced Global and Security Cooperation between Australia and the Republic of Korea*, including administrative issues and defining the areas of peace and security cooperation, such as peacekeeping, disarmament, development and humanitarian assistance, emergency management, border security, counter terrorism etc., as important elements in their agreement on their security cooperation. According to the action plan regular meetings and consultations (bilateral as well as multilateral) are required to discuss relevant matters and possibilities of cooperation. The responsible government departments for such security and peace dialog are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense on the South Korean side and the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the prime minister and his cabinet and the Department of Defense on the Australian side. High-level, annual meetings between the two foreign ministers as well between the heads of government (the South Korean president and the Australian prime minister) are considered to be very important for the successful maintenance and future development of their cooperative security relationship. The coordination of their cooperation in peacekeeping operations and other relevant peace supporting activities is primarily handled via the Korean Ministry of National Defense and the Australian Defense Department. Important elements of their security relationship are civil-military cooperation activities, regular political dialog, bilateral training exercises to share expertise and know-how, military personnel exchanges to prepare and train the South Korean and Australian forces for possible future deployment to overseas peacekeeping, conflict management exercises, and other relevant activities of

international cooperation concerning global peace and security. (Australian Government 2009; Prime Ministerial Office Australia 2009)

## 4. Evaluation

### 4.1. Evaluation of Japan's international peace cooperation activities based on the selected criteria and sub-criteria

In this part of the thesis Japan's efforts in the field of international peace cooperation will be examined in more detail based on the developed framework consisting of the selected criteria and sub-criteria, see 2.2.2. *Framework of analysis*.

#### 4.1.1. The evolution and nature of international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities

| A.) The evolution and nature of international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities         | JAPAN   |
|---|---|
| A.1. First participation in PKO: date, place and area of contribution                               | <p>1992 in Angola, <i>United Nations Angola Verification Mission</i> (UNAVEM II )</p> <p>International election observation operation</p>   |
| A.2. Legal framework for peace supporting activities and contribution to UN peacekeeping operations | <p><i>United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Cooperation Law</i>, also referred to as PKO Act</p> <p>Passed in 1992</p> <p>Determined three areas of peacekeeping contribution: traditional peacekeeping operations (ceasefire observation, DDR cooperation etc.), international humanitarian relief and international election observation operations.</p>   |
| A.3. Legal restraints on peacekeeping activities  | <p>Japan's Self-Defense Force (SDF) can only be deployed as non-combat force and only in cases of ceasefire (use of force for self-defense reasons only).</p> <p>Excludes participation in Charter VII operations (non-traditional peacekeeping operations).</p> <p><b>Areas for deployment of military forces:</b> ceasefire observation, military observers, reconstruction and humanitarian assistance, transportation and delivery of</p> |

|   |  |
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|   | relief supplies, medical care etc.   |
| <b>A.4. Direct institutional linkage between the state and the United Nations</b> | Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations, established in 1956 and located in the UN headquarters in New York City. |

**Table 2: Evolution and nature of peacekeeping contribution and cooperation Japan.**

#### 4.1.2. The internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>B.) The internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes</b>         | <b>JAPAN</b>  |
| <b>B.1. Who is responsible within the state? Institution or person?</b>  | International Peace Cooperation Headquarters (IPCH), headed by the Japanese prime minister.<br><br>It also includes personnel from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense.   |
| <b>B.2. State or non-state institution? Extra established institution?</b>   | Extra established state institution within the Cabinet of the prime minister: IPCH  |
| <b>B.3. Who is the contact person/institution for official requests concerning participation in peacekeeping operations?</b> | Official requests from the UN or other international or regional relevant organizations concerning Japan's peacekeeping contribution are directed to the Japanese prime minister.<br><br>Contribution to peacekeeping activities can also be proposed to the prime minister by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. |
| <b>B.4. Joint decision-making process?</b>   | Yes.<br><br>Decisions are generally made between the prime minister and the Japanese Cabinet; decisions are made within one institutional body, so to say.<br><br>For certain assignments (deployment of military units) the National Diet (parliament) is also involved in the decision-making process.        |

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense are responsible for coordination of personnel participation in MNF peace operations.   |
| <b>B.5. Who makes the final decision?</b> | <p>IPCH is responsible for the planning and implementation of Japan's peace contribution activities, also in terms of personnel and financial contribution.</p> <p>Prime minister has to call a meeting with Cabinet to inform about peace mission and to get approval (also report to the National Diet).</p> <p>In terms of military personnel deployment of Japan's SDF, National Diet (parliament) gives the final approval.</p> |

**Table 3: Internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes Japan.**

#### 4.1.3.Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations

| <b>C.) Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations</b>  | <b>JAPAN</b>   |
|--|--|
| <p><i>C.1. Traditional peacekeeping activities:</i></p> <p>i.e. ceasefire observation, public order surveillance, border controlling, monitoring compliance with peace and reconciliation related agreements, DDR efforts, mine-clearing activities etc.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (UNAMET (July - September 1999))</li> <li>• UNTAET (February - May 2002)</li> <li>• UNMISSET (May 2002 - June 2004)</li> <li>• UNMIT (January 2007 - February 2008; September 2010 - September 2012)</li> <li>• UNAMA (2002-2009)</li> <li>• UNMIN (March 2007 - January 2011)</li> <li>• UNMIS (October 2008 - September 2011)</li> <li>• UNDOF (1996 - December 2010+)<sup>146</sup></li> </ul> |
| <p><i>C.2. Humanitarian relief assistance:</i></p> <p>i.e. material, medical and logistic aid, contributions in kind</p>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (UNAMET (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1999))</li> <li>• UNTAET (October 1999 - February 2000)</li> <li>• to UNHCR and IOM for Afghanistan in 2001</li> <li>• UNAMA (2002 - 2009)</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (March 2003; July - August 2003; also later until 2006)</li> </ul>   |

<sup>146</sup> Peacekeeping participation also continued after December 2010.



|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• to UNHCR in Iraq (2007 - 2009)</li> <li>• to UNHCR in Sudan (2004, 2007 and 2008)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIS</b> (July 2005)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (February 2010 - February 2013)</li> </ul>  |
| <p><i>C.3. Reconstruction assistance:</i></p> <p>i.e. rebuilding of damaged facilities, maintenance of infrastructure, transport logistics</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (May 2002 - June 2004)</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (2003 - 2006)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (February 2010 - February 2013)</li> </ul>   |
| <p><i>C.4. International election observation:</i></p> <p>i.e. presidential or legislative elections or national referendum observations</p>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>UNMIBH</b> (March – April 2000)</li> <li>• <b>UNTAET</b> (August - September 2001)</li> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (April - May 2002)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIT</b> (April - July 2007)</li> <li>• <b>UNAMA</b> (August - October 2009)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIK</b> (November - December 2001; October - November 2004)</li> <li>• <b>MONUC</b> (July - August 2006; October - November 2006)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIN</b> (March - April 2008)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIS</b> (December 2010 - January 2011)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (November - December 2010)</li> </ul> |

**Table 4: Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations Japan.**

#### 4.1.4. Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations

| <b>D.) Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations</b>                               | <b>JAPAN</b>   |
|--|--|
| <u><i>Uniformed peacekeeping forces</i></u>  |  |
| <p><b>D.1. Military ground forces (troops)</b></p> <p>Also including military officers</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>UNDOF</b> (1996 - 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>UNTAET</b> (October 1999 - February 2000): transport of relief supplies</li> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (May 2002 - June 2004): reconstruction contribution; logistic &amp; transport assistance</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (March - August 2003): humanitarian assistance &amp; supply of relief material</li> <li>• Assistance to UNHCR in Iraq (2007 - 2009):</li> </ul> |

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <p>humanitarian assistance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (January 2004 - 2006): reconstruction assistance</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (February 2010 - February 2013): reconstruction assistance</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>D.2. Military observers</b></p> <p>i.e. staff officers, military experts from SDF etc.</p>                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>UNTAET</b> (February - May 2002)</li> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (May 2002 - June 2004)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIT</b> (September 2010 - September 2012)</li> <li>• <b>UNAMA</b> (2003) as military experts for mine clearing</li> <li>• <b>UNAMA</b> (2010) as military medical experts to train Afghan military in medical procedures</li> <li>• <b>UNMIN</b> (March 2007 - January 2011)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIS</b> (October 2008 - September 2011)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (February 2010 - January 2013)</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>D.3. Police personnel</b></p>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>(UNAMET</b> (July - September 1999))</li> <li>• <b>UNMIT</b> (January 2007 - February 2008)</li> </ul>  |
| <p><u>Civilian peacekeeping forces (i.e. logistic, medical, transport, engineering personnel etc.)</u></p>               |   |
| <p><b>D.4. Election observers</b></p> <p>i.e. for elections or national referendums</p>                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>UNMIBH</b> (March – April 2000)</li> <li>• <b>UNTAET</b> (August - September 2001)</li> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (April - May 2002)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIT</b> (April - July 2007)</li> <li>• <b>UNAMA</b> (August - October 2009)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIK</b> (November - December 2001; October - November 2004)</li> <li>• <b>MONUC</b> (July - August 2006; October - November 2006)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIN</b> (March - April 2008)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIS</b> (December 2010 - mid-January 2011)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (November - December 2010)</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>D.5. Coordination personnel</b></p> <p>i.e. communication, transport, logistic, engineering or medical support</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>(UNAMET</b> (July - September 1999): coordination personnel)</li> <li>• <b>UNTAET</b> (November 1999 - February 2000): coordination personnel</li> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (February 2002 - May 2003)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIT</b> (September 2010 - September 2012): coordination personnel for military officers</li> </ul>  |

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>UNMIBH</b> (March - April 2000)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIK</b> (November - December 2001): coordination personnel</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (July - August 2003): coordination personnel for ASDF forces for transport of supplies</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (February 2010 - February 2013): coordination personnel for SDF troops</li> </ul> |
| <b>D.6. Humanitarian assistance and delivery of relief supplies</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To UNHCR and IOM in Afghanistan (2001 - 2009): distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian assistance</li> </ul>   |
| <b>D.7. Civilian experts and working personnel</b>                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To UN Mine Center in Afghanistan (2002)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIK</b> (October - November 2001): Balkan experts</li> </ul>  |

**Table 5: Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations Japan.**

#### 4.1.5. Financial contribution to peacekeeping operations

| <b>E.) Financial contribution to peacekeeping operations</b>  | <b>JAPAN</b>   |
|---|--|
| <b>E.1. Mandatory financial share to UN peacekeeping budget</b><br><br>(% of total peacekeeping budget) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2000 - 2010: 2<sup>nd</sup> position after the United States; ~13% in 2010 (of USD 7.26 billion)</li> <li>• Classified as Level B country for rate assessment</li> </ul> <p>In 2008 ~17%, dropped to 12.53% in 2009 and 2010.</p>   |
| <b>E.2. Voluntary financial contribution to peacekeeping operations</b><br><br>Between 2000 and 2010    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in Timor-Leste</u>: comprising UNAMET, UNTAET, UNMISSET, and UNMIT</li> </ul> <p>A total of ~USD 250 million of financial aid for peace and security and process (1999 - 2010).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in Afghanistan</u>: comprising UNHCR and IOM in Afghanistan as well as UNAMA.</li> </ul> |

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|  | <p>Emergency aid package of ~USD 27 million in 2001.</p> <p>Between 2001 and 2007: a total of ~USD 1.25 billion<br/>→ for peacekeeping activities (DDR, mine-clearing, ceasefire observation etc.), reconstruction and humanitarian assistance, political recovery process (election and administration support etc.)</p> <p>2009: ~USD 300 million for presidential and legislative election</p> <p>2010: ~USD 36 million for parliamentary election</p> <p>2009 - 2014: Between USD 2 billion and USD5 billion of financial aid as part of security assistance.</p> <p>(2001 - 2012: ~USD 4.051 billion of voluntary financial peace contribution)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in Kosovo</u>: UNMIK</li> </ul> <p>Financial contribution to election process November-December 2001 of ~USD 270,000.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>: MONUC</li> </ul> <p>Financial contribution to election process July - August 2006 of ~USD 9.07 million.</p> <p>Financial contribution to election process October - November 2006 of ~USD 1.5 million.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in Haiti</u>: MINUSTAH</li> </ul> <p>Emergency aid for humanitarian assistance and medical care in mid-2010 of ~USD 150,000</p> <p>Financial contribution to election process November - December 2010 of ~USD 1.5 million.</p> <p>Financial aid to UNICEF of ~USD 1.2 million in 2012.</p> <p>2010 - 2013: A total of ~USD 150 million for recovery and reconstruction process.</p> |
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Table 6: Financial contribution to peacekeeping operations Japan.

#### 4.1.6. Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping

| F.) Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping                    | JAPAN   |
|--|---|
| <p><b>F.1. Establishment of PKO training centers and training programs</b></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>International Peace Cooperation Program Advisors</i></li> </ul> <p>Education program civilians for a period of 2 years; established in 2005 to provide peacekeeping training.</p> <p>Civilians participate in joint activities and operations concerning global peace and security; employed as national government employees under government protection.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center (HPC) and the Program for Human Resource Development in Asia for Peace-building</i></li> </ul> <p>HPC established at the University of Hiroshima in 2007.</p> <p>Independent non-profit and non-state institution, cooperation between Ministry of Foreign Affairs, United Nations Volunteers (UNV) programme and HPC.</p> <p>Peacekeeping training (theoretical and practical) and peacekeeping research; primarily for civilian peacekeeping personnel.</p> <p>Primary Courses; Senior Specialist Courses; Seminars on Basic Peace-building.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Japan Peacekeeping Training and Research Center (JPC)</i></li> </ul> <p>Established in 2010 by the Ministry of Defense.</p> <p>State-institution headed by the Joint Staff College especially to train military peacekeeping personnel, with focus on leading positions in peacekeeping operations and peace support activities.</p> <p>Also conducts peacekeeping research.</p> <p>Three different course programs: Contingent Commander Course (CCC), Staff Officer Course (SOC) and Basic Course.</p> |

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| <p><b>F.2. Joint military exercises for peacekeeping operations</b></p> <p>Training for international peace and security cooperation between 2000 and 2010</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) exercises:</i></b></li> </ul> <p>PSI was established in 2003; Japan was one of the founding members and is now an active participant.</p> <p>Regular PSI exercises: aim is to improve and train cooperation between PSI supporting states in the field of arms control and dissemination of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) to promote peace and security.</p> <p>2004: Japan implemented the first PSI exercise in Asia; another one in 2007</p> <p>2008 and 2009 participation in other PSI exercises</p> <p>2010: Japan hosted Operational Expert Group (OEG) Meeting</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Khaan Quest exercises:</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Annual, multilateral military training exercise to improve UN peacekeeping operations; established in 2003; cooperation between Mongolia and the U.S.</p> <p>Exercises in a variety of operational activities in the field of peacekeeping and peace-building.</p> <p>Since 2009 Japan is active participant.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>GPOI Capstone Exercises:</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Global Peace Operation Initiative (GPOI): security and peace program led by the U.S. since 2004.</p> <p>Aim is to improve human resources and skills for UN peacekeeping operations.</p> <p>Capstone Exercises are annual, multinational military exercises to improve cooperation and skills in international peacekeeping operations; focus on humanitarian relief assistance in peace operations.</p> <p>To improve national personnel capabilities, including staff and field training exercises.</p> <p>Since 2010 Japan active participant (to improve national military skills, to train cooperation with other military units and to work with new equipment and material).</p> |
| <p><b>F.3. Exchange of peacekeeping instructors to</b></p>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Cairo Regional Center for Training on Conflict</u></li> </ul>   |

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| other PKO training centers   | <p><u>Resolution and Peacekeeping in Africa (CCCPA):</u></p> <p><i>November 2008</i> for two weeks: two GSDF officers and two civilians (from HPC and Japan International Cooperation Agency JICA)</p> <p><i>May 2009:</i> One GSDF officer and one civilian</p> <p><i>April 2010:</i> One GSDF officer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Ghana</u></li> </ul> <p><i>November 2008, February 2009 and June 2009:</i> One civilian peacekeeping instructor each month</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>École de Maintien de la Paix (EMP) in the Republic of Mali:</u></li> </ul> <p><i>August 2008</i> for two weeks: two GSDF officers</p> |
| F.4. Financial contribution to other peacekeeping training centers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2008 - 2010: Financial contribution to eight peacekeeping training centers in Africa (Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Republic of Mali, Rwanda, Benin, Nigeria, and South Africa) of ~USD 18.5 million.</li> <li>• 2008: ~USD 1 million to peacekeeping training center in Malaysia.</li> <li>• 2010: ~USD 0.72 million to International Security Forces Training School (EIFORCES) in Cameroon.</li> </ul> <p>Financial contribution is used for new equipment, material, facilities, instructors, training etc.</p>  |

Table 7: Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping Japan.

#### 4.1.7. Peace and security related cooperative agreements: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation

|  |  |
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| G.) Peace and security related cooperative agreements        | JAPAN  |
| G.1. Joint security and peace related bilateral declarations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Further strengthening of Japan-U.S. security alliance declaration of 1996</i></li> </ul> |



|   |   |
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|   | <p>Also including strengthened cooperation in the field of peacekeeping.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Canada-Japan Declaration on Political Peace and Security Cooperation 2010</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Canada-Japan Action Agenda for Peace and Security Cooperation (since 1999); regular security and peace related dialog and talks.</p> <p>Enhancing cooperation in the fields of international conflict resolution, post-conflict consolidation, peace maintenance, humanitarian assistance, disarmament etc.</p> <p>Increasing cooperation in peacekeeping training.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Japan-Australia Security Declaration 2007</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Japan-Australia Joint Action Plan (since 2008); regular meetings and 2+2 talks.</p> <p>Enhancing cooperation and collaboration for regional and international peace and security.</p> <p>Japan-Australia Acquisition and Cross-servicing Agreement (ACSA) in May 2010: providing mutual assistance and material provisions for cooperation in PKO, humanitarian relief or reconstruction operations etc.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Japan-India Security Declaration 2001 and 2008</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Bilateral defense agreement since 2000</p> <p>Joint statement towards <i>Japan-India Strategic and Global Partnership</i> in May 2006.</p> <p>Strengthening cooperation in regional and international areas of defense, security, and peace; including peacekeeping, peace-building, and humanitarian relief operations.</p> <p>Since 2005 <i>India-Japan Annual Summit</i></p> <p>Particular focus on maritime security; <i>Japan-India Maritime Security Dialog</i> established since 2009.</p> |
| <b>G.2. Security and peace related multilateral initiatives</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)</i></b></li> </ul> <p>International cooperation and joint efforts towards arms control and disarmament to enhance global</p>   |

|   |   |
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|   | <p>peace and security and to stop proliferation of WMD.</p> <p>Japan one of the founding members in 2003 and member of the Operational Experts Group (OEG).</p> <p>Japan implementing PSI exercises (in Japan); active participator</p>   |
| <p><b>G.3. Establishment of institutionalized forms of peace and security related cooperation; initiated by the state itself</b></p> <p>i.e. conferences, symposiums etc.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD)</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Already established in 1993; initiated by Japan and held in regular intervals.</p> <p>Areas of focus: economic growth, human security, peace maintenance, and environmental protection.</p> <p>Cooperation between Government of Japan, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), UNDP, UN-Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, World Bank (WB) and African Union (AU).</p> <p><i>Tokyo Agenda for Action (TAA)</i> after each conference</p> <p><i>New Partnership for Africa's Development</i> → concept to strengthen international cooperation in the field of peace, security and stability on African continent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Canada-Japan Symposium on Peace and Security Cooperation</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Held at regular intervals since 1998 between both Ministries of Foreign Affairs, JICA, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS).</p> <p>Main focus: to strengthen and expand cooperation in security and peace related areas such as disarmament, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping based on regular meetings.</p> <p><i>Canada-Japan Action Agenda for Peace and Security Cooperation</i> (since 1999)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Multinational Cooperation Program in the Asia Pacific (MCAP)</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Established in 2002 by Japan.</p> <p>Annual conference hosted by Japanese GSDF in Tokyo</p> |

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|  | <p>Focus on:</p> <p>→international peace cooperation activities</p> <p>→multinational cooperation in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief assistance</p> |
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**Table 8: Peace and security related cooperative agreements: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation Japan.**

## 4.2. Evaluation of the Republic of Korea's international peace cooperation activities based on the selected criteria and sub-criteria

I shall now apply the same structure for my second case study of the Republic of Korea that I applied to my first case study of Japan, using the same theoretical framework including the criteria and sub-criteria that I have developed concerning the field of international peace cooperation activities of Japan and South Korea between 2000 and 2010.

### 4.2.1. The evolution and nature of international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p><b>A.) The evolution and nature of state's peacekeeping activities</b></p> <p><b>The evolution and nature of international peace cooperation and peacekeeping activities</b></p> | <p><b>REPUBLIC OF KOREA</b></p>  |
| <p><b>A.1. First participation in PKO: date, place and area of contribution</b></p>   | <p>1993 in Somalia, United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNOSOM II )</p> <p><i>Sangroksu Unit</i> (about 250 military engineering personnel)</p>  |
| <p><b>A.2. Legal framework for peace supporting activities and contribution to UN peacekeeping operations</b></p>   | <p><i>Law on Participation in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations</i></p> <p>Passed in 2009 and came into effect in April 2010.</p> <p>Distinguishes between military units and uniformed service personnel (police personnel) that are deployed to international peacekeeping operations.</p> <p>Law should facilitate the deployment of military units.</p> <p>Determined four areas of peacekeeping contribution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional peacekeeping operations (ceasefire observation, DDR cooperation, security surveillance etc.)</li> <li>• International humanitarian relief cooperation</li> <li>• Reconstruction and development assistance</li> <li>• International election observation and coordination assistance</li> </ul> |
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| <b>A.3. Legal restraints on peacekeeping activities</b>                           | <p>None (compared to Japan)</p> <p>PKO Law only includes military and uniformed peacekeeping forces; civilian peacekeeping forces are not mentioned.</p>   |
| <b>A.4. Direct institutional linkage between the state and the United Nations</b> | <p>Permanent Mission of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations established in 1991 and located in Manhattan, New York City.</p> <p>(since 1951 South Korea had established an Observer Mission to the United Nations)</p> |

**Table 9: Evolution and nature of peacekeeping contribution and cooperation ROK.**

#### 4.2.2. The internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>B.) The internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes</b>         | <b>REPUBLIC OF KOREA</b>  |
| <b>B.1. Who is responsible within the state?<br/>Institution or person?</b>  | <p>Cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of National Defense.</p> <p>Responsible persons for ROK's peacekeeping participation are, therefore, the South Korean minister of foreign affairs and the South Korean minister of national defense.</p>  |
| <b>B.2. State or non-state institution? Extra established institution?</b>   | <p>No extra established state institution.</p> <p>Cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of National Defense.</p>   |
| <b>B.3. Who is the contact person/institution for official requests concerning participation in peacekeeping operations?</b> | <p>Official requests from the UN or other international or regional relevant organizations concerning South Korea's peacekeeping contribution (also in MNF peace missions) are directed to the South Korean minister of foreign affairs.</p> <p>In the next step, he/she has to inform the minister of national defense for further discussion.</p> |

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| <p><b>B.4. Joint decision-making process?</b></p> | <p>Yes.</p> <p>First considerations and pre-decisions are generally made between the minister of foreign affairs and the minister of national defense, also in the case of preliminary assessment on a possible dispatch of South Korean peacekeeping forces (military, uniformed and/or civilian contingent).</p> <p>After that they have to inform the government (Cabinet as relevant body of the executive branch) to discuss actual implementation details (deployment mission, personnel contribution and period of deployment).</p> <p>In the case of the deployment of military units, the National Assembly is also included.</p> <p>In case of military unit deployment, minister of national defense responsible for personnel and financial planning and actual implementation of military unit contribution to peace operations.</p> |
| <p><b>B.5. Who makes the final decision?</b></p>  | <p>The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of National Defense (each represented by the minister) are responsible for the first assessment and consideration of South Korea's global peace contribution activities.</p> <p>When approved by both of them, the final decision about commitment is made by the government (Cabinet).</p> <p>In terms of military unit deployment of South Korea's army, the National Assembly (legislative branch) gives the final approval.</p>  |

**Table 10: Internal structure of coordination of peacekeeping cooperation and national decision-making processes ROK.**

#### 4.2.3.Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations

| C.) Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations   | REPUBLIC OF KOREA   |
|--|---|
| <p><b>C.1. Traditional peacekeeping activities:</b></p> <p>i.e. ceasefire observation, public order surveillance, border controlling, monitoring compliance with peace and reconciliation related agreements, DDR efforts, mine-clearing activities etc.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MINURSO</b> (prior to 2000 - May 2006; November 2009 - December 2010 +<sup>147</sup> )</li> <li>• <b>UNMOGIP</b> (2000 - 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>UNOMIG</b> (2000 - May 2009)</li> <li>• <b>UNFICYP</b> (February 2002 - December 2003)</li> <li>• <b>UNTAET</b> (January 2002 - May 2002)</li> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (June 2002 - May 2004)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIT</b> (November 2006 - March 2009; August 2009 - December 2012)</li> <li>• <b>UNAMA</b> (July 2003 - November 2010)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIL</b> (November 2003 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>ONUB</b> (September 2004 - December 2006)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIS</b> (January 2005 - July 2011)</li> <li>• <b>UNIFIL</b> (January 2008 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIN</b> (January - December 2008; February 2009 - January 2011)</li> <li>• <b>UNAMID</b> (June 2009 - May 2010; August - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>UNOCI</b> (August 2009 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (November 2009 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation at the Somalian Coast</b> (March 2009 - December 2010+)</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>C.2. Humanitarian relief assistance:</b></p> <p>i.e. material, medical and logistic aid, contributions in kind</p>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (April 2003 - December 2008)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (January 2010 - December 2010+): humanitarian relief and military material</li> </ul>   |
| <p><b>C.3. Reconstruction assistance:</b></p> <p>i.e. rebuilding of damaged facilities, maintenance of infrastructure etc.</p>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (April 2003 - December 2008)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (February - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Afghanistan</b> (2001 -</li> </ul>   |

<sup>147</sup> Peacekeeping participation also continued after December 2010.



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|  | 2007; February - December 2010+)   |
| <b>C.4. International election observation:</b><br><br>i.e. presidential or legislative elections or national referendum observation | No information available about any participation of South Korea in international election observation operations for the period 2000 – 2010. |

**Table 11: Areas of contribution in peacekeeping operations ROK.**

#### 4.2.4. Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations

| D.) Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations                               | REPUBLIC OF KOREA   |
|---|---|
| <u>Uniformed peacekeeping forces</u>  |   |
| <b>D.1. Military ground forces (troops)</b><br><br>Also including military officers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MINURSO</b> (prior to 2000 - May 2006)</li> <li>• <b>UNFICYP</b> (February 2002 - December 2003)</li> <li>• <b>UNTAET</b> (January - May 2002): military unit of over 400 soldiers</li> <li>• <b>UNMISSET</b> (June 2002 - May 2004): military unit of over 400 soldiers</li> <li>• <b>UNMIL</b> (December 2004 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIS</b> (February 2007 - July 2011)</li> <li>• <b>UNIFIL</b> (January 2007 - December 2010+): <i>Dongmyeong Unit</i> of over 300 soldiers</li> <li>• <b>UNAMID</b> (June 2009 - May 2010; August - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (November 2009 - December 2010+): <i>Danbi Unit</i> of almost 300 soldiers; reconstruction and humanitarian assistance</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Iraq</b> (April 2003 - December 2008): <i>Zaytun Unit</i> of about 470 soldiers: reconstruction and humanitarian assistance</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation at the Somalian coast</b> (March 2009 - December 2010+): <i>Cheonghae Unit</i> of about 300 soldiers</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Afghanistan</b> (2001-2007)<br/>(February - December 2010+): KRT engineering unit (military and civilian personnel)<br/>(June - December 2010+): <i>Ashena Unit</i> of over 200 ground forces for military protection of KRT</li> </ul> |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p><b>D.2. Military observers</b></p> <p>i.e. staff officers, military experts from SDF for example</p>                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MINURSO</b> (November 2009 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>UNMOGIP</b> (2000 - 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>UNOMIG</b> (2000 - May 2009)</li> <li>• <b>UNAMA</b> (July 2003 - November 2010)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIL</b> (November 2003 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>ONUB</b> (September 2004 - December 2006)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIS</b> (January 2005 - July 2011)</li> <li>• <b>UNMIN</b> (January - December 2008; February 2009 - January 2011)</li> <li>• <b>UNOCI</b> (August 2009 - December 2010+)</li> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Afghanistan</b> (February - December 2010+): to assist KRT and <i>Ashena Unit</i></li> </ul> |
| <p><b>D.3. Police personnel</b></p>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>UNMIT</b> (November 2006 - March 2009; August 2009 - December 2010+)</li> </ul>   |
| <p><u>Civilian peacekeeping forces (i.e. logistic, medical, transport, engineering personnel etc.)</u></p>               |   |
| <p><b>D.4. Election observers</b></p>  | <p>No information available about any participation of South Korea in international election observation operations for the period 2000 – 2010.</p>   |
| <p><b>D.5. Coordination personnel</b></p> <p>i.e. communication, transport, logistic, engineering or medical support</p> | <p>No information available about participation of South Korean civilian peacekeeping personnel in PKOs between 2000 and 2010.</p>  |
| <p><b>D.6. Humanitarian assistance and delivery of relief supplies</b></p>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MINUSTAH</b> (January 2010 - unknown)</li> </ul>  |
| <p><b>D.7. Civilian experts and working personnel (e.g. reconstruction assistance)</b></p>                               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>MNF peace operation in Afghanistan</b> (February - December 2010+): part of KRT</li> </ul>  |

Table 12: Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations ROK.

#### 4.2.5. Financial contribution to peacekeeping operations

| E.) Financial contribution   | REPUBLIC OF KOREA  |
|--|--|
| <p><b>E.1. Mandatory financial share to UN peacekeeping budget</b></p> <p>(% of total peacekeeping budget)</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Until 2001 not among the 15 largest contributors</li> <li>• By 2010: 10<sup>th</sup> position, ~2.26% in 2010 (of USD 7.26 billion overall budget)</li> <li>• Classified as Level B country (in transition) for rate assessment</li> </ul> <p>From around 2008 onwards, constant rate of ~2% of mandatory share to UN PKO budget.</p>   |
| <p><b>E.2. Voluntary financial contribution to peacekeeping operations</b></p> <p>Between 2000 and 2010</p>    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in Timor-Leste:</u><br/><i>UNMISET</i></li> </ul> <p>In 2002 ~USD 1.25 million for humanitarian assistance and other relevant assistance for East Timor's peace and stabilization process.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping mission in Iraq:</u><br/><i>MNF peace operation Iraq</i></li> </ul> <p>2003 - 2007: ~USD 460 million for overall reconstruction assistance in Iraq.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in Lebanon:</u><br/><i>UNIFIL</i></li> </ul> <p>In 2007, voluntary financial contribution of ~USD 37 million.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Peacekeeping operation in Haiti:</u><br/><i>MINUSTAH</i></li> </ul> <p>Emergency aid for humanitarian and reconstruction assistance in mid-2010 of ~USD 1 million.</p> <p>Cooperative agreement between the South Korean government, the Korean National Red Cross, and the Federation of Korean Industries.</p> |

Table 13: Financial contribution to peacekeeping operations ROK.

#### 4.2.6. Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping

| <b>F.) Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping</b>   | <b>REPUBLIC OF KOREA</b>   |
|--|--|
| <p><b>F.1. Establishment of PKO training centers and training programs</b></p>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>PKO Training Center</i></li> </ul> <p>Located at and headed by the Korean National Defense University (KNDU); reformed and restructured in 2010 (as part of 2008 - 2012 Action Plan of MND); state-run institution.</p> <p>Predecessor institution (since 1995) headed by Joint Staff College.</p> <p>PKO Center: theoretical and practical training in various fields and peacekeeping research.</p> <p>English classes and other relevant language classes (depending on country of deployment).</p> <p>Primarily for military units (including specific training programs for deployment).</p>  |
| <p><b>F.2. Joint military exercises for peacekeeping operations</b></p> <p>Training for international peace and security cooperation between 2000 and 2010</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Khaan Quest exercises:</i></li> </ul> <p>Annual, multilateral military training exercise to improve UN peacekeeping operations; cooperation between Mongolia and the U.S. since 2003.</p> <p>Exercises in a variety of operational activities in the field of peacekeeping.</p> <p>Since 2006 ROK observer nation.</p> <p>Since 2009 ROK active participant.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>GPOI Capstone Exercises:</i></li> </ul> <p>Global Peace Operation Initiative (GPOI) is a security and peace program led by the U.S. since 2004.</p> <p>Aim is to improve human resources and skills for in UN peacekeeping operations.</p> <p>Capstone Exercises are annual, multinational and military exercises for international peace cooperation, especially also concerning</p> |

|  |  |
|--|--|
|  | <p>humanitarian relief assistance in peace operations.</p> <p>To improve national personnel capabilities, including staff and field training exercises.</p> <p>Since 2008 ROK active participant (to improve national military skills, to train cooperation with other military units and to work with new equipment and material).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) exercises:</i></b></li> </ul> <p>PSI was established in 2003 and initiated by U.S. and other states to stop regional and global illegal distribution of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).</p> <p>Regular PSI exercises: aim is to improve and train cooperation between PSI supporting states in the field of arms control and dissemination of illegal and dangerous weapons to promote global peace and security.</p> <p>Since 2009 ROK official PSI supporting member.</p> <p>In 2007 observer nation in PSI exercise and hosting PSI Regional Workshop.</p> <p>In 2010 South Korea hosted PSI exercise and PSI workshop.</p> |
| <b>F.3. Exchange of peacekeeping instructors to other PKO training centers</b> | <p>No information available.</p> <p>New PKO Center was established in 2010; instructor exchanges are included in the action plan for future years.</p>   |
| <b>F.4. Financial contribution to other peacekeeping centers</b>               | <p>No information available.</p>   |

Table 14: Human resource development in the field of peacekeeping ROK.

#### 4.2.7. Peace and security related cooperative agreements: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation

| <b>G.) Peace and security related bilateral/multilateral cooperative agreements</b> | <b>REPUBLIC OF KOREA</b>   |
|---|--|
| <b>G.1. Joint security and peace related bilateral declarations</b>                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>U.S.–ROK security alliance: Joint statement on peace support</i></b></li> </ul> <p>In 2008 agreement to establish a “<i>Comprehensive Strategic Alliance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</i>” on bilateral but also global level including international peace cooperation.</p> <p>June 2009 “<i>Joint vision for the ROK –U.S. Alliance</i>”: statement to enhance and improve coordination and cooperation especially in the field of peacekeeping and post-conflict stabilization efforts to maintain (regional and global) peace and security.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Australia–ROK security declaration 2009</i></b></li> </ul> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> bilateral security declaration for South Korea.</p> <p>Since 2008 talks about security and peace related cooperative agreement.</p> <p>2009 “<i>Joint Statement for Enhanced Global and Security Cooperation</i>” between South Korean president and Australian prime minister.</p> <p>Aim is to improve cooperation in peacekeeping activities and disarmament missions and to expand civil military cooperation (i.e. bilateral training exercises).</p> <p>Implementing action plans of cooperation; annual meetings between South Korean Ministries of Foreign Affairs and National Defense; and Australian Department of Defense and the prime minister and his Cabinet.</p> |
| <b>G.2. Security and peace related multilateral initiatives</b>                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)</i></b></li> </ul> <p>International cooperation and joint efforts towards arms control and disarmament to enhance global peace and security and to stop distribution of WMD.</p>  |

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | <p>2009: South Korea became PSI supporting member.</p> <p>2010: South Korea became member of the Operations Experts Group (OEG).</p> <p>ROK participates in and also implements PSI exercises and meetings.</p>  |
| <p><b>G.3. Establishment of institutionalized forms of peace and security related cooperation; initiated by the state itself</b></p> <p>i.e. conferences, symposiums etc.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b><i>UN-ROK Joint Conference on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues</i></b></li> </ul> <p>Established in 2002.</p> <p>Cooperation between Government of the Republic of Korea and the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (via UN Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Asia and the Pacific).</p> <p>Annual conference held in South Korea to promote global peace and security and non-proliferation issues.</p> <p>Discuss security concerns, joint disarmament efforts, relevant treaties etc.</p> |

**Table 15: Peace and security related cooperative agreements: political dialog on global security and peace cooperation ROK.**

## 5. COMPARISON AND CONCLUSION

After having analyzed the wide range of international peace cooperation activities of Japan and the Republic of Korea between 2000 and 2010, based on the established theoretical framework, it is now possible to identify certain differences and/or similarities in both states' global peace support approach and their general behavior towards the field of international peace cooperation. Below I am going to present a comparative overall evaluation of the empirical findings concerning Japan's and South Korea's actions and efforts to promote and maintain regional and global peace between 2000 and 2010. How do their peacekeeping and global peace supporting activities compare to each other and what are their approaches towards international peace cooperation?

Concerning their first official contribution to international peacekeeping operations and missions, it is important to note that the focus of each state's specific peace cooperation is somehow reflected in this first peacekeeping participation. Japan started its peace cooperation by deploying an election observation team to the UN peace mission in Angola in 1992 whereas South Korea deployed a military engineering unit to the UN mission in Somalia one year later. This first prioritization of a specific area of contribution as part of their participation will later be identified as the central theme of both states international peace cooperation. The enactment of a national law regulating the states' peacekeeping activities in UN peacekeeping operations is a major difference in their peace cooperation approach. Japan's PKO Act (called *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations Cooperation Law*) was already passed back in 1992, simultaneously with Japan's first deployment of peacekeeping personnel. The law primarily regulates Japan's peace contribution especially in regard to the Article 9 of Japan's Constitution. According to Article 9 Japan's military Self-Defense Forces are not allowed to use force except for self-defense reasons, also in terms of peacekeeping activities. To further guarantee the non-use of force, Japan's military units can also only be deployed to non-combat areas – which excludes Japan from participation in Chapter VII peacekeeping operations - and only when ceasefire is maintained. In addition, the PKO Act also defines the three main areas of Japan's international peace cooperation, including the deployment of military forces. The three areas are traditional peacekeeping activities, international election observation operations, and humanitarian relief operations. In contrast to Japan the South Korean law, called *Law on Participation in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*, was primarily established to facilitate the overall deployment of Korean military units of peacekeepers and was passed in 2009. Similar to Japan's PKO Act the Korean law also determines the peacekeeping areas for South Korea's peace contribution and dispatch of uniformed and military units as peacekeeping forces. But in the case of South Korea there are no legal restraints on its peacekeeping contribution and peace support cooperation, especially concerning its (voluntary) personnel contribution, and also concerning its financial contribution. An interesting fact though is that the South Korean law explicitly differentiates between military units and uniformed service personnel (police personnel) for a possible deployment to international peacekeeping missions; civilian peacekeeping forces are not mentioned. Almost simultaneously to their admission to the United Nations, both states have established a Permanent Mission to the United Nations as a direct institutional bond between them and the organization, also concerning their future cooperation and interaction.

In terms of the internal, organizational structure of the coordination of the peace cooperation of both Japan and the Republic of Korea, there is a significant difference concerning their decision-making apparatus. Japan has established an extra state-institution within the prime minister's Cabinet, the



International Peace Cooperation Headquarters (IPCH) that is responsible for the coordination of Japan's peace cooperation activities and is headed by the Japanese prime minister. Official requests for participation in UN PKOS or other MNF peace operations are therefore directed to the IPCH and the prime minister, who is also in charge for the decision-making process on Japan's peacekeeping activities, together with the Cabinet. In terms of a possible dispatch of military personnel, the National Diet (as the legislative branch) has to give the final approval. Compared to South Korea's national internal organization and decision-making apparatus there is a striking difference that can be identified. In South Korea there is no such extra established state-institution within the government, it is rather a process of close cooperation primarily between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense, headed by the respective ministers. The Cabinet, as highest body of the executive branch, is thereafter also included in the decision-making process. Official requests for contributions to international peacekeeping operations (again either UN or MNF peace missions) are directed to the South Korean minister of foreign affairs, who has to consult the minister of national defense about South Korea's possible participation in terms of personnel, material, and financial contribution. Similar to Japan it is also a joint decision-making process within the South Korean government. After the initial consultation between the two ministers, the Cabinet has to be included in the final decision-making process and also in the following preparation of the deployment plan and its details. As in Japan the deployment of military units requires the final approval of the legislative branch of the government, which is the National Assembly in South Korea.

When taking a closer look at the areas of international peacekeeping cooperation, an overall trend and prioritization towards certain specific areas can be identified. As already mentioned in the beginning of this comparative evaluation, both states seem to prioritize in different ways concerning their actions of international peace cooperation. In the case of Japan and in terms of the number of peacekeeping contributions, international election observation and humanitarian relief assistance are the main focus of its global peace cooperation. Traditional peacekeeping activities (especially with the deployment of military peacekeepers) and reconstruction assistance follow, although with a great gap in between those two. Between 2000 and 2010 Japan has dispatched more than 140 election observers to international peacekeeping missions. Until 2005 its military peacekeeping contingent only consisted of about 30 deployed soldiers to UNDOF but then started to slowly increase. The biggest military unit dispatch included more than 260 Japanese ground forces being deployed to the UN peace mission in Haiti, primarily for peacekeeping activities and reconstruction assistance as part of their peace cooperation.<sup>148</sup> So far this was the largest military dispatch for Japan between 2000 and 2010. Japan's cooperation in multi-national force peace operations is limited to its participation in the Iraq mission, led by the United States. Compared to its civilian contribution the military personnel contribution seems to somehow be limited. One reason for Japan's strong interest in participating in international election observation, rather than showing more support for such traditional peacekeeping activities, can be traced back to the legal restraints on Japan's peacekeeping contribution due to Article 9 of its Constitution. However, some amendments have already been made to facilitate the deployment of military peacekeeping forces in order to expand Japan's peace cooperation and to increase Japan's international reputation as a global peace supporting country, which, in turn, is also of relevance for a possible permanent membership in the Security Council of the United Nations. When compared to South Korea, however, there is clearly a significant difference in their international peace cooperation approach. Throughout the period between 2000 and 2010, the Republic of Korea has shown strong commitment to the dispatch of peacekeeping personnel, especially for traditional peacekeeping

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<sup>148</sup> A more detailed comparative list of the deployment of military peacekeeping forces between 2000 and 2010 of both Japan and South Korea can be found in the appendix, see A14.

activities such as ceasefire observation, public order and security surveillance, border controlling, mine-clearing activities etc. This area can be identified as the main focus of Korea's peace cooperation, including the dispatch of several large military units (to UN and MNF peace operations), followed by reconstruction and humanitarian relief assistance. As an interesting fact though, there was no information available about any participation of South Korea in international election observation operations between 2000 and 2010, whereas, prior to 2000 and also after 2010, South Korea indeed participated in such peace supporting operations. Another striking characteristic of Korea's peacekeeping contribution is its multiple deployments of large military units, starting from 200 up to over 400 (see criteria 4.2.4. *Personnel contribution to peacekeeping operations* for more details) to various peacekeeping operations (both UN and MNF). Although there are no legal restraints on South Korea's peacekeeping contribution and participation compared to those in Japan, one can say that – based on the findings from the empirical examination – Korea seems to prioritize traditional peacekeeping activities including the deployment of military peacekeeping forces. Although it very often dispatches a great number of soldiers within a military peacekeeping unit, it somehow neglects other possible important areas for its personnel and material contribution, such as humanitarian relief and reconstruction assistance or – as already mentioned- international election observation operations. It may also consider including more civilian peacekeeping experts in its peace contribution efforts and especially in the UN peacekeeping operations for example. Of course, it is not to be said that South Korea does not provide any support of this kind, but it seems to be the case that civilian personnel are included more in the areas of South Korea's emergency relief and development assistance rather than peacekeeping operations. Active participation in UN peacekeeping operations was somehow limited to military units. This can also be traced back to South Korea's peacekeeping law, which primarily determines military and uniformed peacekeeping personnel relevant for South Korea's contribution in UN peacekeeping operations.

There are interesting differences between both states' mandatory financial share to the overall UN peacekeeping operations budget as well as between their additional, voluntary financial support for international peacekeeping and peace-building activities. During the period between 2000 and 2010 Japan (classified as Level B country) was able to maintain its position as second largest financial contributor to the UN budget with around 12 percent in 2010. South Korea (classified as Level B country in transition) has also developed itself in terms of the assessed financial share, and moved into the list of the 15 largest contributors in 2001, making it into the 10 largest in the second half of the respective period; from 2008 onwards with around two percent. The "financial" power reflected in this ranking can also be found in the voluntary financial contributions to various peace missions by Japan and South Korea between 2000 and 2010. From what I was able to retrieve from official resources and publications, Japan's additional financial contribution comprised over USD 600 million to five global peacekeeping and peace-building activities under the auspices of the United Nations. In contrast to that South Korea provided voluntary financial peace support of almost USD 500 million to a total of four UN and MNF peacekeeping operations.

In terms of human resource development in the field of peacekeeping, Japan established one non-governmental institution, the *Hiroshima Peacebuilders Center* (HPC), in 2007 and including the training of civilian peacekeeping forces. It also established the state-run institution *Japan Peacekeeping Training and Research Center* (JPC) in 2010 that was primarily designed for the education and training of its military peacekeeping forces. This development can be seen as an indicator of how Japan might have finally started to consider the importance of its military peacekeeping presence in international peacekeeping operations and, thus, acknowledged the need to

provide appropriate training facilities, also for Japanese military personnel to take over leading positions in any international peace operation of the UN or other relevant MNF peace mission. With the establishment of the HPC a first important step was made to develop Japan into an internationally important training country for future peace-builders. Between 2000 and 2010 Japan was also very active concerning the exchange of peacekeeping instructors from its own training centers to other training facilities worldwide. Apart from the personnel exchange in the field of human resource development, Japan has also provided substantial financial contribution to support other peacekeeping trainings centers, especially on the African continent. Its financial aid was primarily used, for example, for new equipment, material, and new instructors as well as for the (re-)construction of training facilities.

The Republic of Korea on the other hand seemed only to slowly start to establish an international reputation as important “peace-builder nation”. Although a similar peacekeeping training institution was already established in 1995, it was only brought to new heights during the 2008-2012 Ministry of National Defense’s Action Plan, and was reformed and restructured in 2010. Similar to the *Japan Peacekeeping Training and Research Center* (JPC), the *PKO Training Center* is a state-run institution and headed by the Korean National Defense University (KNDU). The main focus of this peacekeeping training center is the education and training of South Korea’s military forces for future deployments to international peace missions. When comparing the various curricula of the PKO KNDU and the HPC, for example, it appears to be that the Korean training center tends to focus more on specific courses, whereas the Japanese training center (both the HPC and the JPC) provides different but more coherent and comprehensive training courses for the field of international peacekeeping in general. In contrast to Japan it was not possible to find any information about personnel exchanges or financial contribution from Korea to other peacekeeping training centers. However, this can also be explained insofar as the new *PKO Training Center* in South Korea was only established in 2010. Within the new action plan for this new center the importance of future exchanges between training instructors is highly emphasized, which leaves room open for further observations in this area from 2010 onwards. Although Korea has a strong military unit presence in various peacekeeping operations worldwide, the field of human resource development for peacekeeping activities did not take over a position of the same importance to Korea between 2000 and 2010, when compared to Japan’s. There is still a need to catch up if South Korea further intends to promote its *Global Korea* strategy and to strengthen its international reputation and position, also in the field of international peace cooperation. This requires not only the deployment of peacekeeping personnel but also the laying of the foundation for future participation in peace cooperation activities, by focusing on and expanding the area of human resources and, foremost, promoting the development of its peacekeeping personnel.

In terms of joint military training exercises for international peacekeeping operations, it was challenging to find information about Japan’s participation. Based on the reviewed literature and resources Japan was not highly engaged in such exercises between 2000 and 2010, maybe also due to the legal restraints on its military use of force and the consequent limited deployment of its military personnel for reasons of peace support cooperation. However, with the growing awareness and enhancement of its military contingent of peacekeepers Japan might also start to adapt its approach towards such military joint exercises when taking the growing global demand for military personnel in peacekeeping operations and peace supporting missions into consideration. Being an active supporting and also founding member of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and its Operational Expert Group (OEG), Japan has shown strong interest in global and regional security, peace, and stability as well as fostering multilateral cooperation for that matter. It participates regularly in PSI exercises and

also hosts such exercises in its own country to strengthen national capacities. The Republic of Korea didn't join the PSI until 2009 and became a member of the OEG in 2010. However, in 2007 already, South Korea participated as observer nation in a PSI training exercise and, especially since 2009 it also takes part as an active member in exercises, thereby becoming an important hosting country for workshops etc. Another important event for joint training of peacekeeping personnel and the overall improvement of human resources are the Global Peace Operation Initiative (GPOI) Capstone Exercises. These annual, multinational military exercises include staff and field training exercises to expand the skills and capacities of the participating personnel contingents for future deployment in peacekeeping operations and peace support cooperation. Since 2008 the ROK has been an active participant in these Capstone Exercises, foremost to strengthen its cooperation with other peacekeeping personnel but also to improve its national peacekeeping power for its own national interest. Japan participated for the first time in 2010, which leaves room for speculation about Japan's growing awareness of the importance of multilateral security and peace cooperation and joint training exercises. Apart from the PSI exercises and GPOI Capstone Exercises, South Korea and Japan also participate in the Khaan Quest exercises, which are annual, multinational military training sessions to improve the quality of UN peacekeeping operations. Khaan Quest was established between the Mongolian and the U.S. government in 2003 and has developed into a well-known and important peacekeeping training event. South Korea started its participation as an observer nation in 2006 and three years later Korean military units were already taking part in Khaan Quest. Compared to Korea Japan was again a "late starter" as its participation also started in 2009, but without any engagement prior to this.

In summary, it can therefore be said that Japan somehow has a reserved approach towards active cooperation in the military peacekeeping field, since its participation in the above mentioned joint training exercises started after Korea did. Nonetheless, with their participation in such multilateral and multinational training programs of cooperation and collaboration – regardless of when they actually started to participate - both states show their strong interest and support in terms of regional and global security, including traditional peacekeeping activities, but also non-traditional activities such as disarmament and nonproliferation efforts (referring to PSI exercises and other PSI events for example). Japan's growing orientation towards the enhancement of its military personnel capacities and the strengthening of multilateral security and peace related cooperation may also be a result of its growing demand for a higher international reputation in matters of global and regional peace, security and stability, together with the wish for a permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations. Japan has to consider making further amendments to improve and expand its military peacekeeping presence in international peacekeeping operations and other peace supporting activities, also in accordance with the challenges posed by Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.

Peace and security related cooperative agreements also play an important role for states' international peace support cooperation and collaboration to promote regional and global peace and stability. For that matter it was examined whether Japan and South Korea have made any significant decisions on such agreements. Apart from the agreement to further strengthen the U.S.–Japan security alliance, Japan established three important bilateral security declarations between 2000 and 2010; also with emphasis on their extended and improved cooperation in the field of peacekeeping and peace supporting activities. These agreements include the Japan–Australia Security Declaration in 2007, the Japan–India Security Declaration in 2001 and 2008 and the Canada–Japan Declaration on Political Peace and Security Cooperation in 2010. When compared with Japan's engagement South Korea has only established one new bilateral security agreement, the second after its security alliance with the United States. This security agreement was the Australia–ROK Security Declaration, which was

established based on their “Joint Statement for Enhanced Global and Security Cooperation” in 2009. The overall aim was again the same as Japan’s, namely, to improve and strengthen the states’ cooperation in peacekeeping missions, disarmament efforts and also to expand bilateral training exercises, especially for military forces. The field of conducting political dialog on global peace and security cooperation also includes the establishment of “institutionalized” forms of cooperation, such as regular conferences, symposiums etc. In the case of Japan this already happened with the formation of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) back in 1993. During the examination period of 2000 to 2010 Japan has conducted several TICAD conferences during which the following areas of focus for cooperation have been highly promoted: human security, peace maintenance, economic growth, and environmental protection. Japan has become an important partner for African development as well as for regional stability and peace and to further strengthen Africa’s national capacities in this field.

Prior to the Canada–Japan Security Declaration of 2010, Japan actively supported the establishment of the Canada–Japan Symposium on Peace and Security Cooperation to foster and strengthen their bilateral cooperation in regional and global peacekeeping activities, disarmament and conflict resolution, based on regular meetings (symposiums) between various national agents and institutions. Together with the developed action plans, the symposiums have played a decisive role for the final establishment of the security agreement between Canada and Japan. Apart from the above mentioned institutionalized programs, Japan also initiated the *Multinational Cooperation Program in the Asia Pacific (MCAP)* in 2002, with special focus on international cooperation in peacekeeping activities, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief assistance. Headed by the Japanese Ground Self-Defense Force, this has become an important element for regional peace and security related cooperation. When taking a closer look at the establishment of such programs and initiatives, Japan has shown strong interest in supporting and further promoting regional cooperation for regional as well as global peace and stability.

In the case of South Korea such institutionalized forms of peace and security cooperation (i.e. conferences, symposia etc.) initiated by the Republic of Korea took place to a lesser extent during the period of 2000 to 2010. Since 2002 Korea co-hosts the annual *UN–ROK Joint Conference on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Issues* together with the United Nations. Over time the conference has become an important platform and international forum for government officials, researchers, and other relevant experts to jointly discuss security matters and disarmament efforts and to develop strategies to enhance international cooperation to stop the spread of WMD. Korea has significantly contributed to the development and growing importance of the conference. South Korea’s overall international peace contribution and cooperation in international peace supporting missions has mainly taken place via the deployment of military units to peacekeeping operations. It seems that between 2000 and 2010 South Korea has somehow neglected the increasing demand for other forms of peace support contribution to promote and strengthen regional and global peace and stability.

In conclusion, during the period of 2000 and 2010, South Korea’s military units’ peace engagement has outreached Japan’s, but missed out on improving and expanding its peace cooperation and contribution in other forms and areas, such as international election observation operations or humanitarian relief assistance, for example, or to increase the number of non-military peacekeeping forces in the long term. Apart from the voluntary personnel, material or also financial contribution, South Korea should perhaps also reconsider increasing its engagement and cooperation in the field of human resource development of peacekeeping personnel as well as security and peace related agreements and declarations, in order to further deepen its peacekeeping and peace-building skills and to promote international and regional stability. Compared to Japan the Republic of Korea has been

very active in the deployment of military units, especially concerning the unit size, to various UN peace operations and also to several MNF peace missions. However, it has not been that active in areas such as humanitarian relief assistance, material provision or election observation actions. By expanding its contribution in these areas - also in terms of personnel, financial and/or material contribution - as well as improving and intensifying its efforts in its human resource development, South Korea may be able to enhance its international reputation as a peace supporting nation, to credibly promote its *Global Korea* strategy and to strengthen its position within the international community, especially in the United Nations.

During the period from 2000 to 2010 Japan showed strong interest and support for international peacekeeping operations via voluntary personnel, financial as well as material contribution. By especially strongly focusing on the participation in international election observation operations as part of its peacekeeping activities, Japan was able to provide international peace cooperation despite its legal restraints on the deployment of military forces abroad. Although Japan has also participated in traditional peacekeeping activities such as ceasefire observation, security surveillance etc., when comparing it with South Korea, it did not dispatch as many soldiers and large military units. Because of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, deployment of military forces has always been a very sensitive issue among the government and the population as well. It somehow seemed that Japan tried to find other ways to contribute to peacekeeping and peace-building operations and to engage in international cooperation to promote global peace and security. To compensate the “lack” of large military units deployed to peace operations, Japan has committed itself to becoming a strong and active participating country, contributing by providing various other contingents of peacekeeping personnel as well as relevant relief supplies to international peacekeeping missions. It also provided an extensive amount of additional financial aid for peacekeeping operations as well as for training facilities. Human resource development (including training centers, instructor exchanges etc.) and peace and security related agreements have become an important element in Japan’s general peace support cooperation; on the one hand to promote further cooperation for regional and global peace and stability and on the other hand to strengthen its own capacities and skills as well as to enhance its international reputation as part of its own national interests. However, being aware of the growing demand and need for military peacekeeping personnel that situations often require - especially larger military units - Japan seems to have realized that certain amendments and also improvements to its global and regional peace contribution and possible areas of cooperation are necessary, also regarding Japan’s position within the United Nations and its wish to become a permanent member in the United Nations Security Council.

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## 9. APPENDIX

### Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present a comparative analysis of Japan's and the Republic of Korea's actions and efforts to promote and maintain regional and global peace between 2000 and 2010.

The first part of this paper deals with the theoretical foundation and basics of international cooperation. Influenced by liberal thinking and especially neo-liberal institutionalism, the paper examines the concept of institutionalized cooperation and its relevance for global peace and security, with reference to the concept of collective security, international regime theory, complex interdependence and democratic peace theory. This part also includes a brief discussion of the role of interests and power in international relations and the concept of global governance with particular emphasis on the United Nations Organization as the best-known and most prominent international "peacemaking body".

In the second part of this thesis the field of international peace cooperation is examined in more detail based on the case studies of Japan and South Korea and covering the following core criteria: the state's approach towards peacekeeping operations and the legal basis, internal structure of decision-making processes, participation in international peacekeeping operations (including personnel, financial or material contribution), efforts in human resource development of peacekeeping forces (including training centers, joint training exercises etc.) and the engagement in the political dialog about global peace and stability with other states (including the establishment of new security declarations, hosting multilateral conferences or participating in multinational programs and initiatives focusing on measures to promote global peace and security).

Between 2000 and 2010 Japan and South Korea have both shown strong interest in international peace cooperation and proven to be active participants. Japan has started to acknowledge the growing need of increased deployment of its military peacekeeping personnel in the future to further strengthen its international position and to expand its areas of peace cooperation. South Korea has very much focused on the dispatch of military peacekeeping personnel as part of its peace cooperation but kept its civilian peacekeeping contingent to a limit. Compared to Japan, it took a longer time for South Korea to start increasing its efforts in human resource development and the political dialog towards global peace and security.

## Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Es ist das Ziel dieser Arbeit, eine umfassende, vergleichende Analyse der internationalen Friedenszusammenarbeit von Japan und der Republik Korea zwischen 2000 und 2010 zu präsentieren. Der erste Teil der Arbeit beinhaltet eine ausführliche Beschreibung und Erklärung der theoretischen Konzepte der internationalen Zusammenarbeit per se und ihre Bedeutung für die Wahrung von Weltfrieden und zur Friedenskonsolidierung. Besonderes Augenmerk wird hierbei auf die Theorie des liberalen Institutionalismus gelegt, vor allem in Bezugnahme auf das Konzept der kollektiven Sicherheit, Regime- und Institutionstheorien, Ansätze der Interdependenz-Theorie und relevante Inhalte der Theorie des demokratischen Friedens. Im Bereich der internationalen Beziehungen und der Zusammenarbeit spielen auch nationale und gemeinsame Interessen sowie Machtverteilung und verschiedene Machtverhältnisse eine entscheidende Rolle. Im Laufe der intensiven theoretischen Auseinandersetzung mit internationaler Zusammenarbeit vor allem in Institutionen und Organisationen hat sich das Konzept des *global governance* (globale Steuerung bzw. Regierung) entwickelt, in dem die Vereinten Nationen (UNO) eine entscheidende Stellung einnehmen. Als internationale, hoch angesehene Friedensstifter leisten sie einen essentiellen Beitrag zur internationalen Friedenszusammenarbeit und deren Koordination.

Im zweiten Teil wird der Bereich der internationalen Friedenszusammenarbeit anhand von Länderstudien zu Japan und der Republik Korea genauer analysiert. Die folgenden Hauptkriterien sind dafür ausschlaggebend: Entwicklung und rechtliche Grundlage für die Beteiligung an Friedenssicherungseinsätzen, interne Entscheidungsstrukturen, Teilnahme an internationalen Friedenssicherungseinsätzen (in Bezug auf freiwilliger Bereitstellung von Personal, Material oder finanzieller Unterstützung) und die Ausbildung und das Training von nationalem Friedenspersonal (*human resource development*) basierend auf der Errichtung von Trainingsstätten, dem Austausch von Lehrpersonal, der Kooperation mit anderen Trainingszentren und der Durchführung von gemeinsamen Übungen zur Effektivitätssteigerung in realen Einsätzen. Im Anschluss daran wird die jeweilige Friedenszusammenarbeit im Rahmen des politischen Dialogs inklusive Konsultationen zur Friedenssicherung und Aufrechterhaltung der globalen Sicherheit und Stabilität genauer betrachtet. Konkrete Inhalte sind gemeinsame Sicherheitserklärungen, Friedenskonferenzen, Unterstützung von gemeinsamen Initiativen und das Durchführen relevanter Programme in Bezug auf die Zusammenarbeit zur Gewährleistung von Friede, Sicherheit und Stabilität.

Basierend auf den Ergebnissen lässt sich zusammenfassend sagen, dass Japan im Bereich der internationalen Friedenszusammenarbeit zwischen 2000 und 2010 besonderes Augenmerk auf die Beteiligung von nicht militärischem Friedenspersonal legte und sich vor allem an Aktivitäten zur Wahlunterstützung und humanitärer Hilfe in internationalen Friedenssicherungseinsätzen beteiligte. Dennoch scheint Japan immer mehr die Bedeutung und Notwendigkeit von militärischem Friedenspersonal sowohl für die Beteiligung in Friedensmissionen als auch im Bereich des *human resource development* zu erkennen und zeigt sich bemüht, seine Stellung dahingehend und als wichtiger Unterstützer von Friede und Sicherheit noch weiter zu stärken. Südkoreas Beteiligung an Friedenseinsätzen zwischen 2000 und 2010 ist hingegen sehr stark von der Entsendung von militärischem Friedenspersonal geprägt, mit Fokus auf vor allem traditionelle Friedenssicherungsaktivitäten wie Überwachung des Waffenstillstands, Sicherheitskontrollen etc. Sowohl im Bereich des *human resource development* als auch im Bereich des politischen Dialogs zur Friedenssicherung und Sicherheitswahrung besteht für Südkorea noch genügend Spielraum und Möglichkeit, geeignete Maßnahmen und Schritte zu setzen, um seine *Global Korea* Strategie weiterhin zu untermauern und seine internationale Stellung zu festigen.

## A1.

### Types and functions of intergovernmental organizations (IGO)

Although the first international organizations in their earliest forms had already been established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the contemporary forms of intergovernmental organizations have emerged especially after the Second World War with the purpose to generate stability and promote cooperation between the states. There are various forms of organizations, such as intergovernmental organizations (IGO) – also referred to as international governmental organization - or non-governmental organizations (NGO). International intergovernmental organizations are defined as institutionalized arrangements between two or more states that are handled via their governments and respective representatives and often include an established administrative body (with permanent staff members) for the overall coordination and management of the states' cooperation to work towards common goals. In general, IGOs are defined as following: they include two or more states working towards commonly shared objectives and goals based on an institutionalized agreement that provides some form of governing body (also with permanent staff) that is responsible for the administration and coordination of the cooperation between the member states, see Gutner and Thompson (2010).

According to Karns and Mingst (2004a), the following functions are assigned to IGOs: providing information and relevant data (informational function), providing a common ground for talks and negotiations, establishing sets of rules and principles, norms and patterns of behavior states have to abide to as well as monitoring the compliance with these rules and actions. Besides these functions, intergovernmental organizations are also responsible on the operational level, including resource management and distribution, providing technical support and sending out troops or military forces when necessary. With reference to the theoretical considerations of Koremenos et al. (2011:763), it is also possible to identify five different areas concerning the internal structure: '*membership*', '*scope*', '*control*', '*flexibility*' and '*centralization*'. Institutions may vary in terms of their membership regulation and rules, their central subjects and topic area, their controlling and monitoring rules, their flexibility degree concerning re-arrangements and re-negotiations and their mechanism for centralizing and coordinating tasks. (Koremenos et al. 2011)

Apart from the governmental and non-governmental characteristics, there is a great variety of governmental organizations in terms of size, purpose, function, and their geographical position and relevance. There are organizations that are designed for particular states (i.e. Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)) or other issue-related and specialized ones, such as the World Health Organization (WHO), International Labor Organization (ILO), the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) or the World Trade Organization (WTO). The United Nations as successor of the former League of Nations is a central piece in the system of global governance and plays an essential role within the international system. Organizations can be established on sub-regional, regional or global level with general or specialized purposes.

International organizations require member states to abide to the implemented set of rules, act in accordance with norms and principles, work towards the commonly shared goals and interests, as well as to acknowledge the need and benefits of mutual information sharing and collaboration. The effectiveness and "power" of organizations is basically dependent on their member states' willingness to cooperative and comply with the rules and agreements. In most cases, such intergovernmental organizations also implement certain processes for problem-solving and collective decision-making to further strengthen the interaction and interconnectedness between the participating states. (Karns and Mingst 2004a)

## A2.

### Dimensions and forms of power

Although the complex concept of power is difficult to grasp and especially to measure, there are certain ways to dismantle the concept into smaller parts and to identify different forms and dimensions of power. In his analysis of power, David Baldwin (2013) refers to the concept of power as a multidimensional one, consisting of the following dimensions under which power can be described and explained: *domain*, *scope*, *weight* and *means*. According to Baldwin (2013), the term *domain* refers to the actual number of other actors that are influenced by actor A's behavior. How far-reaching is the power of actor A, also in terms of geographic spread? Contrary to *domain*, *scope* measures and analyzes the behavior of actor B as being affected by actor A's action. To what degree and to what extent can actor A influence actor B in using its national political and economic power? The *weight* of a state's power can be understood as its influence reliability. It basically refers to the likelihood and possibility that actor A affects actor B's behavior and action in international politics. The *costs* for actor A as well as actor B in terms of influencing and affecting others can also be guidelines for measuring the power of a state on the one hand, as well as analyzing the power condition within the relations of states. Is it "cost-efficient" for actor A to influence actor B? What are the economic or political costs for actor B to be influenced? Especially when actor A can get B to comply with its demands and even influence actor B to do something that is very costly for B, this can be regarded as an valuable indicator of A's power extent and role within the relationship. Another very important dimension of power is the differentiation of *means* of power. By using these means, one actor can claim his power to affect and influence the counterpart's behavior and action. Following this differentiation, a categorization of these means used as power tools is presented: *Economic means* refer to trade balance practices and, therefore, the offered availability of goods and services to the other actor. Using its power, an actor can either reduce or increase mutual business and trading activities. *Military means*, for example, imply that an actor uses military force to threaten others and force them into agreements. In the worst case, military actions follow military means when the desired outcome cannot be achieved. *Diplomatic means* comprise a variety of diplomatic practices like negotiations, consultations, and meetings to come to certain agreements and to balance differing interests, using a softer approach towards power exercise. *Symbolic means* can include the passing on and providing of relevant information to others, also in order to influence the others in their actions and behavior. (Baldwin 2013)

All these above mentioned means can be used to exert power and to exercise influence in international relations and also within international cooperation. Consequently, considering their extent, these means can be used to evaluate and - in the broadest sense - also used to measure the actual power of actors and their degree of influence in the relationship with others. But still, it remains to be a very difficult task to be able to actually estimate relative influence and power of actors in international relations. To sum it up, power relations, power resources, the exercise of power, and changing power balances remain very important elements and decisive factors in international relations and in any multilateral cooperation. The concept of power not only affects and determines the behavior of states within international relations, but it also shapes and defines the way of interdependence and the degree of cooperation between them. But still, despite the amount of literature on the concept of power, its complexity remains and continues to play an essential role in international relations and international cooperation.

### A3.

#### The nature of diplomacy

The concept of diplomacy became a prominent topic of analysis and theoretical discussions especially from the 1960s onwards. In its basics, there are six main areas of function of diplomacy: ceremonial task (i.e. in form of representation and visits), management (of bi- and multilateral relations, cooperation, actions and interests), communication and information (monitoring and reporting of actions), international negotiation, duty and responsibility of protection (with its connection to the mutually shared goal of institutions of peace and security) and its contribution to the international order (by implementing normative and legal settings for example; see also the function of institutions for maintaining global stability). It can be noted that for the strategic handling and management of international relations, diplomacy is of much relevance for the respective actors to strengthen their international positions as well as to strengthen and improve their status within institutions. However, diplomacy is also an essential tool to pursue national interests as well as mutually shared interests and to achieve the commonly determined objectives. Over time though, the use of diplomacy and the core elements of its method and modes may have changed in their significance and effectiveness. (Barston 2006b)

In general, within the diplomatic setting of states and their international relations, it is possible to identify various “diplomatic actors” worth mentioning, such as local ambassadors, ministers, secretaries, non-state actors or ‘*personal diplomacy*’ (Barston 2006a:9) conducted by the head of the state (or government). Within international institutions and organizations, the diplomatic actors are usually representatives from the foreign ministry or specially selected and chosen representatives. Diplomatic activities are carried out in various issue areas and dealing with specific topics and subjects according to their agenda, coherent with the varieties of institutions being established in the international system, for example. Diplomacy methods – on the national as well as international level – are usually classified as ‘*personal diplomacy*’ (Barston 2006a:11), ‘*discreet diplomacy*’ (Barston 2006a:11) or ‘*diplomacy of consensus*’<sup>149</sup> (Barston 2006a:11) especially in negotiations with more than two participating sides. Another distinction can also be made between open ‘*open*’ (Barston 2006a:13) and ‘*secret*’ (Barston 2006a:13) state practice of diplomacy. ‘*Coercive diplomacy*’ (Barston 2006b:45) is another form of diplomacy. It refers to states that use force, threats or sanctions for example within their relationships and cooperation with others. Other forms of diplomacy are ‘*summit diplomacy*’, ‘*crisis diplomacy*’ and ‘*nuclear diplomacy*’ (White 2004:292).

In the modern order of global politics there are various instruments of diplomacy that are used on the national as well as global level. As mentioned, one main function of diplomacy is the management of bilateral and multilateral relations between states. In such cases, diplomacy is an essential tool for cooperation and the process towards agreement and coordination of joint actions and interests. For this purpose, diplomatic instruments refer in particular to constant contacts and correspondence, negotiations, consultations, visits, regular meetings, and conferences (summits). Permanent representation of states within institutionalized arrangements might also be beneficial for the common purpose of institutions and organizations in particular. Such institutionalization provides a setting, in which diplomatic action is guided by rules and norms. Diplomacy per se can also refer to the whole process of policy-making, decision-making as well the implementation of joint actions. (White 2004; Barston 2006b)

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<sup>149</sup> In many cases, consensus diplomacy is regarded as being preferable over a voting system, especially in multilateral negotiations, see Barston (2006a).



The concept of diplomacy also includes various types of diplomatic styles. In the context of international institutions and organizations, it is possible to define a so-called ‘*institutional diplomatic style*’ (Barston 2006c:73). This specific style of diplomacy is influenced by various elements concerning the internal structure of institutions. As already mentioned, diplomatic actions and patterns of behavior are guided by the implemented set of rules, principles and norms. These rules are also relevant insofar as they shape the formal processes of negotiations, consultations, and decision-making. Moreover, they influence the “appropriate” and accepted diplomatic style of diplomacy of the member states. In other cases, the respective executive heads of the institutions may also define and regulate the multilateral procedures and forms and ways of communication and cooperation. Global governance is characterized by the dominance of multilateralism, and especially multilateral diplomacy as the number of participating states constantly grows. Since many states have recognized that the benefits of cooperation outweigh the disadvantages, interaction and collaboration become progressively more very important. The overall diplomatic setting for international relations becomes progressively more complex as divergent interests, intentions, and goals have to be linked together in order to reach a consensus and to determine common objectives. To govern the complexities of multilateral diplomacy, the process of decision-making of institutions and organizations plays a very important role. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was common that decisions required unanimous consent of all member states because majority voting was rejected. Today, decision-making on consensus is more important. The complex system of multilateral diplomacy is also shaped by the leadership efforts and the actors’ strategies of their participation in institutions and organizations. These strategies may include group or coalition building between various member states in order to use their combined “power” and efforts to reach a better agreement or to act as intermediaries for solving conflicts or disagreements. (Karns and Mingst 2004a; Barston 2006c)

#### **A4.**

#### **Members of the United Nations (in alphabetic order and including their year of official admission)**

Source: UN 2006

**A** Afghanistan (since 1946), Albania (since 1955), Algeria (since 1962), Andorra (since 1993), Angola (since 1976), Antigua and Barbuda (since 1981), Argentina (since 1945), Armenia (since 1992), Australia (since 1945), Austria (since 1955), and Azerbaijan (since 1992)

**B** Bahamas (since 1973), Bahrain (since 1971), Bangladesh (since 1974), Barbados (since 1966), Belarus (since 1945), Belgium (since 1945), Belize (since 1981), Benin (since 1960), Bhutan (since 1971), Bolivia (Plurinational State of) (since 1945), Bosnia and Herzegovina (since 1992), Botswana (since 1966), Brazil (since 1945), Brunei Darussalam (since 1984), Bulgaria (since 1955), Burkina Faso (since 1960), and Burundi (since 1962)

**C** Cambodia (since 1955), Cameroon (since 1960), Canada (since 1945), Cape Verde (since 1975), Central African Republic (since 1960), Chad (since 1960), Chile (since 1945), China (since 1945), Colombia (since 1975), Comoros (since 1975), Congo (since 1960), Costa Rica (since 1945), Côte D’Ivoire (since 1960), Croatia (since 1992), Cuba (since 1945), Cyprus (since 1960), and Czech Republic (since 1993)

**D** Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (since 1991), Democratic Republic of Congo (since 1960), Denmark (since 1945), Djibouti (since 1977), Dominica (since 1978), and Dominican Republic (since 1945)



**E** Ecuador (since 1945), Egypt (since 1945), El Salvador (since 1945), Equatorial Guinea (since 1968), Eritrea (since 1993), Estonia (since 1991), and Ethiopia (since 1945)

**F** Fiji (since 1970), Finland (since 1955), and France (since 1945)

**G** Gabon (since 1960), Gambia (since 1965), Georgia (since 1992), Germany (since 1973), Ghana (since 1957), Greece (since 1945), Grenada (since 1974), Guatemala (since 1945), Guinea (since 1958), Guinea Bissau (since 1974), and Guyana (since 1966)

**H** Haiti (since 1945), Honduras (since 1945), and Hungary (since 1955)

**I** Iceland (since 1946), India (since 1945), Indonesia (since 1950), Iran (Islamic Republic of) (since 1945), Iraq (since 1945), Ireland (since 1955), Israel (since 1949), and Italy (since 1955)

**J** Jamaica (since 1962), Japan (since 1956), and Jordan (since 1955)

**K** Kazakhstan (since 1992), Kenya (since 1963), Kiribati (since 1999), Kuwait (since 1963), and Kyrgyzstan (since 1992)

**L** Lao People's Democratic Republic (since 1955), Latvia (since 1991), Lebanon (since 1945), Lesotho (since 1966), Liberia (since 1945), Libya (since 1955), Liechtenstein (since 1990), Lithuania (since 1991), and Luxembourg (since 1945)

**M** Madagascar (since 1960), Malawi (since 1964), Malaysia (since 1957), Maldives (since 1965), Mali (since 1960), Malta (since 1964), Marshall Islands (since 1991), Mauritania (since 1961), Mauritius (since 1968), Mexico (since 1945), Micronesia (Federated States of) (since 1991), Monaco (since 1993), Mongolia (since 1961), Montenegro (since 2006), Morocco (since 1956), Mozambique (since 1975), and Myanmar (since 1948)

**N** Namibia (since 1990), Nauru (since 1990), Nepal (since 1955), Netherlands (since 1945), New Zealand (since 1945), Nicaragua (since 1945), Niger (1960), Nigeria (since 1960), and Norway (since 1945)

**O** Oman (since 1971)

**P** Pakistan (since 1947), Palau (since 1994), Panama (since 1945), Papua New Guinea (1975), Paraguay (since 1945), Peru (since 1945), Philippines (since 1945), Poland (since 1945), and Portugal (since 1955)

**Q** Qatar (since 1971)

**R** Republic of Korea (since 1991), Republic of Moldova (since 1992), Romania (since 1955), Russian Federation (since 1945), and Rwanda (since 1962)

**S** Saint Kitts and Newis (since 1983), Saint Lucia (since 1979), Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (since 1980), Samoa (since 1976), San Marino (since 1992), Sao Tome and Principe (since 1975), Saudi Arabia (since 1945), Senegal (since 1960), Serbia (since 2000), Seychelles (since 1976), Sierra Leone (since 1961), Singapore (since 1965), Slovakia (since 1993), Slovenia (since 1992), Solomon Islands (since 1978), Somalia (since 1960), South Africa (since 1945), South Sudan (since 2011), Spain (since 1955), Sri Lanka (since 1955), Sudan (since 1956), Suriname (since 1975), Swaziland (since 1968), Sweden (since 1946), Switzerland (since 2002), and Syrian Arab Republic (since 1945)

**T** Tajikistan (since 1992), Thailand (since 1946), the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (since 1993), Timor-Leste (since 2002), Togo (since 1960), Tonga (since 1999), Trinidad and Tobago (since 1962), Tunisia (since 1956), Turkey (since 1945), Turkmenistan (since 1992), and Tuvalu (since 2000)

**U** Uganda (since 1962), Ukraine (since 1945), United Arab Emirates (since 1971), United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (since 1945), United Republic of Tanzania (since 1961), United States of America (since 1945), Uruguay (since 1945), and Uzbekistan (since 1992)

**V** Vanatu (since 1981), Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) (since 1945), and Viet Nam (since 1977)

**Y** Yemen (since 1947)

**Z** Zambia (since 1964) and Zimbabwe (since 1980)

## **A5.**

### Organizational structure of the United Nations system

Source: UN 2014

See next page!



# The United Nations System

## UN Principal Organs

General Assembly

Security Council

Economic and Social Council

Secretariat

International Court of Justice

Trusteeship Council<sup>6</sup>

### Funds and Programmes<sup>1</sup>

- UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
- ITC International Trade Centre (UNCTAD/WTO)
- UNDP United Nations Development Programme
- UNCDF United Nations Capital Development Fund
- UNV United Nations Volunteers
- UNEP United Nations Environment Programme
- UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

### Subsidiary Bodies

- Main and other seasonal committees
- Disarmament Commission
- Human Rights Council
- International Law Commission
- Standing committees and ad hoc bodies

### Subsidiary Bodies

- Counter-terrorism committees
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)
- International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

### Advisory Subsidiary Body

Peacebuilding Commission

### Research and Training Institutes

- UNICRI United Nations International Crime and Justice Research Institute
- UNIDIR<sup>2</sup> United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

### Related Organizations

- CTBTO Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization
- IAEA<sup>1,3</sup> International Atomic Energy Agency
- OPCW Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
- WTO<sup>1,4</sup> World Trade Organization

- Specialized Agencies<sup>1,5</sup>**
  - FAO Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
  - ICAO International Civil Aviation Organization
  - IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development
  - ILO International Labour Organization
  - IMF International Monetary Fund
  - IMO International Maritime Organization
  - ITU International Telecommunication Union
  - UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
  - UNIDO United Nations Industrial Development Organization
- Other Bodies**
  - Committee for Development Policy
  - Committee of Experts on Public Administration
  - Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations
  - Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
  - United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names
  - Other seasonal and standing committees and expert, ad hoc and related bodies
- Regional Commissions**
  - ECA Economic Commission for Africa
  - ECE Economic Commission for Europe
  - ECCLAC Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
  - ESCAP Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
  - ESCWA Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
- Functional Commissions**
  - Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice
  - Narcotic Drugs
  - Population and Development
  - Science and Technology for Development
  - Social Development
  - Statistics
  - Status of Women
  - Sustainable Development
  - United Nations Forum on Forests
- Departments and Offices**
  - EOSSG Executive Office of the Secretary-General
  - DESA Department of Economic and Social Affairs
  - DFS Department of Field Support
  - DGACM Department for General Assembly and Conference Management
  - DM Department of Management
  - DPA Department of Political Affairs
  - DPI Department of Public Information
  - DPKO Department of Peacekeeping Operations
  - DSS Department of Safety and Security
  - OCHA Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
  - OHCHR Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
  - OSAA Office of the Special Adviser on Africa
  - SRSG/CAAC Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict
  - SRSG/SVC Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict
  - OIOS Office of Internal Oversight Services
  - OLA Office of Legal Affairs
  - OSAA Office of the Special Adviser on Africa
  - SRSG/CAAC Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict
  - SRSG/SVC Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict
- Other Entities**
  - UNAIDS Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
  - UNISDR United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
  - UNOPS United Nations Office for Project Services
- Other Entities**
  - UNITAR United Nations Institute for Training and Research
  - UNBISD United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
  - UNSSC United Nations System Staff College
  - UNU United Nations University

### Notes:

- The United Nations, its funds and programmes, the specialized agencies, IAEA and WTO are all members of the United Nations System Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB).
- UNEP and UNODC report only to the General Assembly (GA).
- IAEA reports to the Security Council and the GA.
- WTO has no reporting obligation to the GA, but contributes on an ad hoc basis to GA and Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) work on, inter alia, finance and development issues.
- Specialized Agencies are autonomous organizations whose work is coordinated through ECOSOC (intergovernmental level) and CEB (inter-agency level).
- The Trusteeship Council suspended operations on 1 November 1994, as on 1 October 1994 Palau, the last United Nations Trust Territory, became independent. This is not an official document of the United Nations, nor is it intended to be all inclusive.

## **A6.**

### Uniting for Peace Resolution of the United Nations

If the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to Members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the peace or acts of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security. If not in session at the time, the General Assembly may meet in emergency special session within twenty-four hours of the request therefor. Such emergency special sessions may be called if requested by the Security Council on the vote of any seven members, or by a majority of the Members of the United Nations. (Howard 1990:34)

## **A7.**

### The spectrum of global politics and relevant issues within the field of international relations and international cooperation

#### **Environmental Issues**

Despite the importance of global peace and stability, there are also other relevant issues and topics that require the joint efforts and cooperation of states. Environmental concerns have gained much importance over the past decades. With the growing awareness and global responsibility for common objectives and interests, the issues of environmental protection and environmental problems caused by the society have appeared on the international agenda and became the concern of the UN as well as various IGOs and especially NGOs. The process of globalization increased the interaction between the states and increased their economic interdependence, which also raised the economic status of the population in many parts of the world. This development also affected the environment due to increased production and demand. Mass production became the key solution in order to meet the demands of consumption, but with severe implications for the environment. Consequences are, for example, resource scarcity, air pollution, and high emission of climate-damaging gases, such as carbon dioxide or chlorofluorocarbon gases from industrial products. However, not only increased production but also the increasing number of cars became a threat for the global environment. Environmental pollution does not stop at national borders but it is a problem of all. Apart from pollution, food scarcity is another important topic within environmental issues. Due to differences in the living standards of people, there is no equal distribution of food (and product) supply and wealth. Food surplus in the developed countries versus food scarcity in less developed poorer countries so to say. Food scarcity also has severe impacts on the environment because people are forced to over-exploit nature to somehow survive. Deforestation is not only limited to poor countries but it became a global problem with long-term effects on the carbon dioxide emissions and leading to air pollution because carbon dioxide cannot be converted. The consequences of global warming are numerous: rising sea levels, which threaten the lives of many people living on islands and coastal regions, extremes in temperatures, and an increased possibility for weather-related disasters and environmental catastrophes. It is said that the problem of environmental degradation, with its implications for the lives of all people, and especially the issue of environment protection have become major topics in the system of global governance. In the 1970s, a conference on the human environment was held by the United Nations for the first time. This led to the establishment of the UN Conference on Environment

and Development as the first global summit on environmental protection in the history. International environmental politics is now a key element in global governance and within international relations. In particular for environment protection, institutions are essential for bringing together states in order to determine commonly shared objectives and targets to meet the emerging challenges and to find solutions. However, it has to be said that *essential* should not immediately be associated with *effective* because efforts and agreements within such institutions have not always achieved the best results or any results at all. In reality, and especially concerning commonly decided emissions limits for states, it has been more often the case that states don't comply with the rules and therefore, don't adhere to the emission limits. Nevertheless, a certain system of global environmental governance, carried out by a variety of actors, is more successful in terms of environmental protection rather than states acting self-independently and making decisions on their own and based solely on self-interests without any form of "control" and cooperation with others. International norms, rules, and policy formulations on environment protection are more important than ever, with their effectiveness and the states' compliance still being subject of improvement. (Jackson and Sorensen 2007b; Mitchell 2013)

Ronald Mitchell (2013) highlights the importance of institutions and the need of cooperation between states, which can also be linked to issues such as environmental protection: *'The creation of intergovernmental institutions and regimes "above" the state and of efforts by transnational actors "below" the state provide mechanisms that can mitigate, if not eliminate, the negative environmental externalities that arise from independent state decision making.'* (Mitchell 2013:803)

International conferences, such as the Stockholm Conference in 1972 or the Rio Conference in 1992 (all under the auspices of the UN), were important to raise the awareness of issues of environmental protection in order to put them on the agenda of global governance. Over time and due to the common efforts that were made during such conferences, international environmental principles and norms, as well as global agreements have been established. International institutions dealing with environment protection are the key elements in the structure of multilateral global environmental governance. They help to create environmental standards and to discuss activities concerning environment protection. In addition, they also monitor the states' actions and behavior as well as their compliance with rules and regulations. There are numerous institutions of such kind that are concerned with the issues of environment, protection and pollution, one prominent example being the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). UNEP was established after the Stockholm Conference in 1972 in order to take collective action and to find long-term as well as short-term solutions to protect the environment. Another important organization is the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), which was established in 1991 and works under the auspices of the World Bank (WB). Its main function is to sponsor environmental projects of low-income and middle-income countries. The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was established after the Rio Conference in 1992 as a monitoring body. It promotes activities concerning sustainable development, also in regard to environmental protection. However, not only global governance is of high importance, but also regional environmental governance plays an important role in order to meet current as well as future environmental challenges. (Karns and Mingst 2004d)

### **International trade, finance and development assistance**

As a consequence of the growing interaction between states, political and economic interconnectedness have become major elements within international relations. In the broadest sense, politics refers to power balances, the exercise of influence, and interest representation in the international system. Economics, in the most basic sense, refers to the market, the production and consumption of resources, and the trade of resources and products. In this context, resources are an

essential element in defining a state's "power", which further defines its role in international relations. Economic interaction plays an important part in the complexities of global governance. Many institutions and agencies have been created and established that deal with economic and financial interaction and governance, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the World Bank Group (WBG), Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Group of Eight (G8), and many others. All of these institutions primarily deal with the issues and challenges of economic and financial interaction, interconnectedness, and cooperation between states. The growing interaction is regarded as result of globalization, also in the economic and financial dimensions. It has *'[...] been broadly conceived, namely, in terms of: (a) the crossing of borders; (b) the opening of borders; and (c) the transcendence of borders.'* (Scholte 2004:600).

This development strengthened and increased such cross-border economic activities and the exchanges of products, resources, money, investment, and also people (as workforce). In general, intensified and strongly interlinked trading activities (i.e. import and export), transborder (or cross-border) production of products, and financial activities (i.e. foreign direct investment, cross-border bond and fund transactions, cross-border bank lending, and banking networks) between states have contributed a lot to this process of *economic and financial globalization* and interconnectedness. National and international frameworks and agreements played an important role for reducing previous official restrictions on trade and financial interaction. This development has brought up the issues of global markets, global goods, and global and cross-border production. National currencies entered global trading activities and became global money for such cross-border transactions. However, the growing economic and financial interconnectedness and interaction also brought certain challenges, such as trade disputes and financial crisis of states with severe impact and influence on other countries due to the growing interconnectedness and interdependence. In situations like these, institutions can play an essential role for implementing reforms and coordination mechanisms for currency exchanges etc., in order to properly handle such difficulties and to mitigate the overall consequences. Prominent examples of such institutions are the Bretton Woods Institutions, such as the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which became the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. (Scholte 2004; Karns and Mingst 2004e)

Economic and industrial (sustainable) development as well as human development in terms of fighting poverty and hunger are also important issues within international relations and international cooperation. The key elements are providing technical assistance and expertise for developing states that are not able to do it on their own. Development as a concept per se can be regarded in various ways, however, the dominant approach is to define *'[...] development as synonymous with economic growth [...]. Economic growth is identified as necessary for combating poverty, defined as the inability of people to meet their basic material needs through cash transactions.'* (Thomas 2004:649).

Development can be measured in terms of economic growth (i.e. based on the gross domestic product (GDP) of states) and the degree of industrialization of the state. Another approach is to analyze if basic material and non-material human needs can be fulfilled, also with regard to the natural conditions of the national environment. Today, the "development categorization" of countries is primarily done on basis of GDP calculations. There are several different programs within the system of the United Nations that deal with economic and industrial development and collaborate with the WB and its institutions in order to provide capital and assistance for infrastructure construction for certain development programs. However, there are also other specialized agencies of the UN that are primarily responsible for providing personal support and technical assistance. UN programs of development assistance are usually funded by voluntary financial contributions from UN member



states, but they are also funded by several organizations and agencies together. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is regarded as main organization for providing technical assistance for economic development initiatives in developing countries. Another important and well-known organization for development assistance is the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). In 2002 an important global declaration on economic and human development, including eight main goals, was stipulated: the Millennium Development Goals (MDG)<sup>150</sup>. This declaration is regarded as an important international agreement between states based on commonly shared goals and objectives in order to meet global challenges and take collective action towards the same goals of global economic development and sustainability. In the MDG report the general set of eight goals is again divided into specific targets with specific time frames and implementation plans, as well as certain performance indicators in order to analyze the work and activities of the involved organizations, programs, and states. The field of development assistance and financial aid to promote further progress in less developed states is also known as states' official development assistance (ODA). The Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD), for example, established a specialized Development Assistance Committee (DAC) to help and support poorer countries. However, economic assistance, in form of funding projects, providing military, technical or professional assistance etc., may more often also be provided by states based on their strategic and political considerations. Intensified relations with other states including greater dependence on the "supporter" state may be beneficial at some point of time. In general, development assistance is coordinated via bilateral and multilateral aid development institutions and based on cooperative agreements of collaboration between states. (Karns and Mingst 2004e; Thomas 2004)

## A8.

### The Millennium Goals (MDG)

Source: Karns and Mingst 2004e:377

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.

Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education.

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women.

Goal 4: Reduce child mortality.

Goal 5: Improve maternal health.

Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases.

Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability.

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development.

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<sup>150</sup> The eight goals are listed in the appendix, see A8.



## A9.

### Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, Chapter II

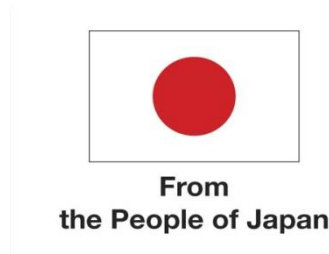
#### Reunification of War

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized. (Prime Ministerial Office 2013)<sup>151</sup>

## A10.

Japan's efforts to increase the visibility of its aid: Symbol sticker attached on contributions in kind for peacekeeping activities

Source: MoFA Japan 2014



## A11.

Provision of contributions in kind (humanitarian assistance as part of its international peace cooperation) of Japan to other relevant international organizations apart from international peacekeeping operations between 2000 and 2010

Besides the already discussed international peace cooperation assignments Japan has been involved in, it is also necessary to briefly mention other relevant material contributions for peace related international activities between 2000 and 2010 that are considered as international peace cooperation by Japan.

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka was affected by severe armed ethnic conflicts between government forces and the group of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE). The Sri Lankan civil war lasted for almost thirty years, from 1983 until 2009 when the Sri Lankan government forces were able to finally overwhelm the rebelling forces. Despite the fact that peace talks have already been successfully conducted in 2002 and actually resulted in a ceasefire agreement, the fighting restarted in 2006. The United Nations established an international cooperation plan to provide humanitarian assistance to the affected population. Two months after the plan was launched in August 2006, Japan agreed to an official UN request and provided humanitarian assistance in the form of relief supplies. In order to provide international cooperation and peace contribution towards an overall

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<sup>151</sup> Document was viewed online and did not include any page numbers.

improvement of the national situation, the Japanese government decided to deliver necessary relief materials, such as sleeping mats and plastic sheets etc., for the affected and internally displaced people to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Three years later in May 2009 Japan again provided humanitarian relief supplies (i.e. sleeping mats, sheets, tents, mosquito nets etc.), but this time to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in order to support the internally displaced Sri Lankans. (IPCH 2013o; IPCH 2013p; IPCH 2013q)

In the aftermath of the Second World War the situation in the near East was very tense. Especially the region of Palestine, located between Egypt, Arabia and Syria, has always been affected by ethnic conflicts and claims. In 1947 the General Assembly of the United Nations agreed on the UN Partition Plan of Palestine, which provided the establishment of an Arab and a Jewish state within Palestine. One year later Israel declared its independence. This decision provoked the Arab state, leading to an increase in armed attacks, which resulted in the first Arab-Israeli War with approximately 750,000 Palestinian refugees, who fled to Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and other neighboring countries. The humanitarian situation in the region deteriorated and the United Nations decided to establish a relief and human development agency in 1949, the United Nations Works and Relief Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in order to provide humanitarian assistance. Until now the situation in Palestine has not eased, which makes it impossible for many refugees to return home. In 2008 the conflict again escalated when Israeli land and air attacks on the Gaza strip, after two weeks of attacks between the end of December 2008 and the beginning of January 2009, killed over 1,000 Palestinians and left over 5,000 injured people. The humanitarian situation again deteriorated due to food shortage and the lack of daily necessities. This caused the UN to demand contribution and participation from the international community. After the end of the attacks UNRWA requested Japanese assistance for its international relief work to support Palestinian refugees. In January 2009 Japan provided contributions in kind, such as blankets, sheets, and sleeping mats, to the affected people. (IPCH 2013r; IPCH 2013s)

## **A12.**

Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI): PSI supporting states (in alphabetic order; as of December 2012)

Source: PSI 2013d

1. Afghanistan
2. Albania
3. Andorra
4. Angola
5. Antigua and Barbuda
6. Argentina
7. Armenia
8. Australia
9. Austria
10. Azerbaijan
11. Bahamas, The
12. Bahrain
13. Belarus

14. Belgium
15. Belize
16. Bosnia and Herzegovina
17. Brunei Darussalam
18. Bulgaria
19. Cambodia
20. Canada
21. Chile
22. Colombia
23. Croatia
24. Cyprus
25. Czech Republic
26. Denmark
27. Djibouti
28. Dominica
29. Dominican Republic
30. El Salvador
31. Estonia
32. Fiji
33. Finland
34. France
35. Georgia
36. Germany
37. Greece
38. Holy See
39. Honduras
40. Hungary
41. Iceland
42. Iraq
43. Ireland
44. Israel
45. Italy
46. Japan
47. Jordan
48. Kazakhstan
49. Korea, The Republic of
50. Kyrgyzstan
51. Kuwait
52. Latvia
53. Liberia
54. Libya
55. Liechtenstein
56. Lithuania
57. Luxembourg
58. Macedonia
59. Malta
60. Marshall Islands

61. Moldova
62. Mongolia
63. Montenegro
64. Morocco
65. Netherlands, The
66. New Zealand
67. Norway
68. Oman
69. Panama
70. Papua New Guinea
71. Paraguay
72. Philippines
73. Poland
74. Portugal
75. Qatar
76. Romania
77. Russia
78. Samoa
79. Saudi Arabia
80. San Marino
81. Serbia
82. Singapore
83. Slovakia
84. Slovenia
85. Spain
86. Sri Lanka
87. St. Lucia
88. St. Vincent and the Grenadines
89. Sweden
90. Switzerland
91. Tajikistan
92. Thailand
93. Tunisia
94. Turkey
95. Turkmenistan
96. Ukraine
97. United Arab Emirates
98. United Kingdom
99. United States
100.       Uzbekistan
101.       Vanuatu
102.       Yemen

### **A13.**

States of the Operational Experts Group (OEG) in alphabetic order:

Source: PSI 2013c

1. Argentina
2. Australia
3. Canada
4. Denmark
5. France
6. Germany
7. Greece
8. Italy
9. Japan
10. Republic of Korea
11. The Netherlands
12. New Zealand
13. Norway
14. Poland
15. Portugal
16. Russia
17. Singapore
18. Spain
19. Turkey
20. United Kingdom
21. United States

## A14.

Comparison between personnel contribution of Japan and the Republic of Korea: an overview

### Deployment of uniformed peacekeeping forces including troops (ground forces), military observers, and police personnel to UN peacekeeping operations between 2000 and 2010

#### Japan

| <b>2000 (as of December)</b>                   | <b>2005 (as of December)</b>                         | <b>2010 (as of December)</b>  |
|--|--|---|
| <i>48th rank of 83 participating UN states</i> | <i>76th rank of all 108 participating UN members</i> | <i>47th rank of 115 participating UN states</i>   |
| <u>Total of:</u> 30 peacekeeping personnel     | <u>Total of:</u> 30 peacekeeping personnel           | <u>Total of:</u> 266 peacekeeping personnel   |
| UNDOF: 30 ground forces                        | UNDOF: 30 ground forces                              | MINUSTAH: 225 ground forces<br>UNDOF: 31 ground forces<br>UNMIN: 6 military experts<br>UMIS: 2 ground forces<br>UNMIT: 2 military experts |

Source: UN PK 2013

#### Republic of Korea

| <b>2000 (as of December)</b>   | <b>2005 (as of December)</b>  | <b>2010 (as of December)</b>   |
|--|---|--|
| <i>45<sup>th</sup> rank of all 83 participating UN members</i>                           | <i>65th rank of all 108 participating UN members</i>  | <i>32<sup>nd</sup> rank of all 115 participating UN members</i>  |
| <u>Total of:</u> 472 peacekeeping personnel  | <u>Total of:</u> 49 peacekeeping personnel  | <u>Total of:</u> 633 peacekeeping personnel  |
| UNTAET: 460 ground forces<br>UNMOGIP: 9 military observer<br>UNOMIG: 3 military observer | MINURSO: 20 ground forces<br>ONUB: 2 military observer<br>UNAMA: 1 military observer<br>UNMIL: 1 ground force, 1 military observer<br>UNMIS: 8 military observer<br>UNMOGIP: 9 military observer<br>UNOMIG: 7 military observer | MINURSO: 2 military observers (experts)<br>MINUSTAH: 242 ground forces<br>UNAMID: 2 ground forces<br>UNIFIL: 359 ground forces<br>UNMIL: 1 ground force, 1 military expert<br>UNMIN: 4 military observers<br>UNMIS: 1 ground force, 6 military observers<br>UNMI: 4 police personnel<br>UNMOGIP: 9 military observers<br>UNOCI: 2 military observers |

Source: UN PK 2013

## Resume

### Andrea Aumayr, Bachelor of Arts (BA)

#### Contact information

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#### Education

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Since 2012 | <b>Master's program</b> in "East Asian Economy and Society" at the University of Vienna   |
| 2007-2012  | <b>Bachelor's program at the University of Vienna</b><br>Major in "Transcultural Communication" with the working languages German, English and Mandarin Chinese |
| June 2007  | <b>Graduated with distinction</b>   |
| 1999-2007  | <b>High School (Gymnasium Dachsberg - Prambachkirchen, Austria)</b>   |

#### Work experience

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Since Dec. 2013     | <b>project assistant</b> at Feuerstein Consulting e. U.   |
| July – August 2012  | <b>guest management</b> at the international <i>ImPulsTanz</i> festival in Vienna, Austria  |
| August – Sept. 2012 | <b>internship</b> at <i>iStudy International</i> in Dublin, Ireland   |
| February 2012       | <b>team assistance</b> for the French, Italian and Swiss teams at the FIS Ladies Ski Jumping Worldcup in Hinzenbach, Austria          |
| Dec 2010 – Dec 2013 | <b>administrative work</b> at the Institute for Austrian and International Tax Law of the Vienna University of Economics and Business |
| July – August 2010  | <b>administrative internship</b> at the department for social welfare of the district administrative authority in Eferding, Austria   |
| July 2009           | <b>English translation</b> of the homepage of the company DOMICO  |
| July – August 2008  | <b>internship</b> at the retirement home in Eferding, Austria   |
| July – August 2006  | <b>administrative internship</b> at the district chamber of agriculture in Eferding, Austria  |

#### Experiences abroad

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| July 2009 – August 2009     | language-learning stay at the University for Language and Culture in Beijing, China |
| August 2010 – November 2010 | language-learning stay at the International House in Xi'an, China                   |