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アジアにおける「人間の安全保障」とAHCの目指すもの

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1、アジアにおける「人間の安全保障」をどうとらえるか

もともと従来の安全保障は国家間の問題として議論され、国家同士が何らかの取り決めや枠組みをつくることに よって安全保障が現実のものとなるという理解があった。しかし冷戦崩壊後、内戦をはじめ地域紛争が多発し、そ の際国家が国民の安全を確保する機能を喪失する状況がまれではなく、そうした状況の下で国際社会がどのように 紛争当事国の国民の安全保障を確保するべきかという課題が深刻な問題となった。角度を変えて言うならば、もと もと国内問題と見なされていたエスニック運動、宗教対立、貧困、人権の抑圧、感染症などが、1990年代以降の劇 的な政治的抑圧からの解放、グローバリゼーションの波、さらにはそれに伴って急激に拡大した人の移動などによ って、一挙に国境を越える国際問題となっていったことにある。コソボ紛争など冷戦後のヨーロッパ、旧ソ連での 民族紛争、ルワンダなどアフリカでの混乱・虐殺などが思い出される。つまり安全を脅かす要因や形態が急激に変 わってきたのである。

それゆえに、国境という枠組みは現実に存在するが、いったんそれに拘泥されることなく人間の安全という観点 から問題を考え直す必要が高まっていった。国連では一般に人間の安全を脅かす脅威を「欠乏からの脅威」、「恐怖 からの脅威」という二種類の脅威からとらえ、欠乏からの脅威は、食料や物的資源、インフラなどの公的資源に対 する物質的欠乏と、それがもたらす脅威、そして恐怖からの脅威は貧困地域において特に多発している地域紛争・ 民族紛争・宗教間対立およびテロリスト犯罪などの暴力的な脅威を指摘している。

こうした新たな状況に対して最も積極的に対応しているのが国連をはじめとする国際関連機関である。UNDP (国連開発計画)、世界銀行などは発展途上国支援という視点から貧困の解消に積極的に取り組み、国連安全保障理 事会は紛争予防、紛争処理、平和構築などを重視し以前にも増して PKO、PKF の充実を進めるようになった。ユ ネスコ、ユニセフ、難民高等弁務官事務所などがそれぞれの専門領域で人間の安全保障をテーマとして取り組むよ うになっていった。

しかし 21 世紀に入り、人間の安全を脅かすものはその内容と規模を一段と深刻化させている。2001 年1月、人間の安全保障委員会が緒方貞子前国連難民高等弁務官およびアマルティア・セン(ノーベル経済学賞受賞者)を共同議長として創設され、同委員会は 03 年 2 月に最終報告書を発表した。それによると各委員会が取り組むべき中心的な課題として以下の 10 項目が指摘されている。①紛争の危険からの人々の保護、②武器拡散からの人々の保護、③移動する人々の安全保障の推進、④戦争から平和への移行期のための基金の創設、⑤極貧者が恩恵を受けられるような公正な貿易と市場の強化、⑥最低限の生活水準の保障、⑦基礎保健サービスの完全普及、⑧効率的かつ衡平な特許制度の創設、⑨普遍的な基礎教育の完全実施、⑩グローバルなアイデンティティの促進である。①~④は暴力による恐怖・危険からの保護と対策、⑤⑥⑨は貧困からの脱却と社会福祉・教育の充実といえるが、依然としてばらばらに並列した感が否めない。

さらに今日の人間の安全保障を考える場合、全人類的課題としてもう少しリアルに突きつけられているいくつか の深刻な問題が指摘できる。すなわちその突出した問題として特に以下の4点が指摘できる。

第1は、地球温暖化、自然大災害などにつながる環境汚染・自然生態系の深刻な破壊である。CO2排出をめぐる 深刻な問題、大規模な津波、ハリケーン、洪水、地震などの頻発、各国での恒常的な水不足、水質汚染問題などが あげられよう。08年のG8洞爺湖サミットがポスト京都議定書をめぐる地球温暖化問題にフォーカスされているの は象徴的である。

第2は、2001年「9・11」以降世界の人々を震撼させ続けているテロリズムの脅威である。米国軍を軸にNATO などの軍事力で対応を試みているが、明らかに普通の人々の生存を脅かす深刻な問題となっており、民間レベルを 含めた対応のシステム化が問われている。国連安保理自身も緊急平和部隊(UNEPS)という直属の常設部隊の創設 を検討するようになっている。

第3は、市場化・自由化の急速な広がりに伴ってグローバルな経済格差の拡大、多数の農村崩壊、新たな貧困層 の拡大が顕著な現象となってきたことと、こうした人々の広い意味での人権侵害である。グローバル化は確かに競 争原理の拡大と効率化を一挙に広め、経済の活性化、経済的豊かさを促進した。しかし競争社会についていけない 多数の社会的弱者を生み出し、従来の貧困層に加えて社会格差の問題を深刻化させている。

そして第4は、エイズ・SARS・鳥インフルエンザなど感染症の恒常的な広がりを指摘できるだろう。20世紀終わりから世界的に騒がれるようになり、今日なおその衰えを見せていない感染症の拡大は、もはや日常的に人間の 安全を脅かす問題となっている。しかし感染症危機管理のネットワークやシステムが構築されているとは言い難い。

では我々はなぜアジアにフォーカスして人間の安全保障問題を考えようとしているのか。もちろん上で指摘した ような諸課題は、アジアに限定された問題ではなくまさにグローバルな現象として理解できるものである。しかし それでも具体的に見ていくと、そこには「アジア的特徴」を見ることができ、アジア自身がそのことをしっかりと 認識し対応していく必要がある、これが第1の理由である。例えば上記第1の点では、世界の成長のセンターとま で言われ経済の発展を続けているアジアは、それゆえに急激な深刻な自然破壊、環境破壊の現実にも直面している。 CO2排出では来年には世界第1位が確実視されている中国をはじめ、インドの排出量急増も目覚ましい。黄砂の拡 大はもはや中国だけの問題ではなく朝鮮半島・日本にも甚大な被害を生み出している。極めて大規模な津波・地震・ 洪水など自然災害も毎年アジアのどこかで発生するようになっている。国際機関に頼るだけでは極めて不十分であ る。

第2の点では、テロリズムをめぐる特徴である。いわゆるイスラム原理主義過激派のテロリズム VS 反テロリズムといった世界的な構図とアジアにおけるテロ・反テロの問題はやや異質である。アジアにおけるエスニック運動は基本的には依然国内問題として封じ込められ、国境を超えた運動になりにくい状態にある。また人権の視点からテロの問題を考えると国家が蹂躙する人権(いわゆる「国家テロ」)の問題を抜きにすることはできない。北朝鮮脱北者問題、ミャンマーの軍事的抑圧などはその典型であろう。さらに東南アジア海域やインド洋に出没する海賊テロ問題も浮上してきている。

第3の点では、確かにアジアの経済成長が他の開発途上地域に比べて圧倒的に貧困の減少を引き起こしているこ とを軽視してはならない。しかし同時に経済格差およびそれに伴った社会的格差はアジア全般で急速に拡大してい る。農村から都市へ、貧しい国から豊かな国への大量の人口移動は、従来貧しいなりにも機能していた相互扶助的 な自生的な生活や社会保障のメカニズムも一挙に破壊し、多くの地域で農村崩壊あるいは放置すれば確実にそうし た道をたどるような危機状況を生み出している。あるいは移住に伴う社会不安、社会コンフリクトもアジア各地の 都市で急増している。

第4の点では、とりわけ SARS・鳥インフルエンザの感染源とも言われる家禽の分布が世界的にみればアジア特 に中国沿海から東南アジアに集中していること、またアジアでは人の居住地域と家禽の処理する場所が一般に接近 ており、また闘鶏鳥の生血を食する習慣などがありその分、感染の機会多いといわれることなどが専門家から指摘 されている。

なぜアジアなのかの第2の理由は、人間の安全保障を国を超えて協力し協働メカニズムを構築していこうという 思考、連携がアジアでは圧倒的に立ち遅れているという主体の問題がある。1990年頃までアジアで唯一の先進国で あった日本が行った数々の経済援助がアジアの経済成長の重要な牽引力であったことは否定できない。しかしその 援助は日本のアジアへの経済進出の手段、あるいは外交的手段として使われていた側面があったこと、他方途上国 アジアの側の関心はもっぱら如何にこうした援助を自国に取り込むかにあったことも否定できない。そこには国を 超えてともにこういった普遍的な人間の安全保障にかかわる問題を一緒になって考え、共に対応を模索するといっ た思考が決定的に欠けていたのである。この点ではすでに長い歴史を持つ欧米の数々の優れた組織、ネットワーク に学ぶ必要がある。

そして第3の理由は、人間の安全保障委員会が当初に掲げていたような「国家の安全保障から人間の安全保障へ」 といったような単純な枠組みから人間の安全保障を扱うことのできない複雑さが、アジアにはあるということであ る。もちろん抑圧的政治体制それと背中合わせにある人道的介入の問題はもっともセンシティブで扱いの難しい問 題であろう。同時に上記のほとんどの問題は国家のイニシアティブと力量を抜きにしては現実的な解決の道を歩む ことは不可能であろう。同時にこの問題を担うもう1つの重要なアクターである主体的自立的な市民は成長しつつ あるとはいえ、層としては依然圧倒的に脆弱である。こうした特殊な事情を踏まえながらアジアの人間の安全保障 に取り組んでいく必要があるのである。では何をなすべきか。

2、AHC(アジア・ヒューマン・コミュニティ)ネットワークは何を目指すのか

われわれはアジアの成長・繁栄を強く評価しつつ、さらにアジアにある深刻な問題の解決に対する理論的現実的 な解決の提言を目指してアジアの共生を考えること、そのための枠組みとしての「アジア共同体」を「アジアの行 動する有識者」たちを中心に真剣に考えたい。現在各国政府、政府系シンクタンクのベースで東アジア共同体設立 の作業が進んでいるが、ここでの基本的な考え方は、「アジアの成長・繁栄」に重点がおかれ、貿易の自由化、市場 化をいっそう促進するための制度作りを主要な目的としていることである。しかし政府ベースだけでは国益論のぶ つかり合いという現実も伴って、共同体づくりは数々の壁にぶつかってしまう。

しかも、もし貧しい人々、援助の必要な「弱者」を自由化、市場化という「錦の御旗」を掲げて、ブルドーザー で一気に均すように押しつぶしてしまう動きになるとすれば、それは断じて避けねばならない。GDP1人当り平均 では3万ドルを超える日本に対して、ベトナム・ラオス・カンボジア・ミャンマーなどはわずか200~500ド ル、経済躍進と人民元の切り上げで上昇する中国でさえ2006年にようやく2000ドルを超えたばかりである。 そもそもアジアは経済以外にも、民族・宗教・生活・価値観・言語など多様性が際立っている。多くのアジアの人々 が日本人のライフ・スタイルと異なった生活環境の中で生きているのである。

っまりアジア共同体づくりは、域内の各国・各地の内発的発展、内発的安定のメカニズムを摘み取ってしまうよ うな画一的な枠組み構築だけを優先的に目指すのではなく、すでにある内発的発展、内発的安定のメカニズムを支 援し、さらに育み、多様な発展モデルを包み込み、共存・調和させるものでなければならない。したがって、それ は緩やかなプロセスでもあるはずである。そしてこうした姿勢を大切にし、相互の協力を進めようとするならば、 このコミュニティーはアジアにこだわらず、外に開かれたものである、と同時に自ずと現場主義、草の根リーダー を重視、重用する視点が必要である。

そこでAHCの目標を一歩進めて考えるなら以下のようになる。

【1】アジア各国の行動的知識人を中心とし平等・互恵を原則とし、「アジア共生」の創造を目指す「知的ネット ワーク」の構築を図る。

AHC は単なる研究フォーラムではない。アジアの知識人、各界リーダーなどの人的ネットワークを組織し、情報を蓄積し、問題解決の方策を共同して考えるフォーラムである。ここには東アジア、南アジア、時には欧米諸国のこうした問題に心を寄せる学者、さらにはジャーナリスト、企業家、政治家、NGO リーダーなどが集まることが期待されている。

【2】AHCネットワークは「トラック25方式」の充実・発展を目指す。

われわれは政府レベルあるいは政府シンクタンクの役割、行動の意義を軽視するものではない。しかし政府ベースで共同体構想が進むことが十分だとは考えない。アジアにおいては市民社会、市民参加意識が脆弱であること、 共同で問題を考える意識やネットワークの脆弱性などにより、民間ベースの主体的な役割、実践が軽視されてきた。 この点の改善を意識的に取り組まない限り、共同体創造に向けた試みは大きな欠陥を内包せざるを得ない。われわ れは意識的に民間ベースを主体とした包括的な影響力を持つネットワークを創造し、その上で政府ベースのこうし た試みと連携しつつ、アジア・コミュニティの充実を図りたい。こうした意味において、われわれのアプローチを「ト ラック 2.5 方式」と表現する。

したがって、「トラック 2.5 方式」においてはアジアをめぐる形而上学的ではなく、現実に存在する上で述べたようなホットで重大な問題をめぐってさまざまな意見を交換し、現状の認識を共有し、具体的な問題解決に向けた見通し、提言をも含めた研究成果を挙げ、自ら何らかの形で実践に参加することを目指したい。

【3】AHCネットワークは既存の個別的なアジア・ネットワークを連結する包括的ネットワークを目指す。

既にアジアにおいて環境保護、平和構築、人権などさまざまな分野で多様なネットワークが存在している。そして、それらは今日ますます大きな役割を担うようになっており、社会的な影響力も徐々に拡大しいている。AHC ネットワークはこうしたネットワークの後追いをするものではなく、個々のネットワークを連携させることによって、それぞれの活動効果をより高めると同時に、また全体としてのアジアにおける市民・知識人の社会的政治的影響力を増大させることを目指している。

われわれは無論アジアに限らず世界の国や人々の共生・繁栄を願うものであるが、まずは「アジア社会の共生」を 目指す。アジアはどのような歩み方を目指せばいいのか、どのような枠組みを構想すればいいのか。基本的には価 値・文化・政治・経済・階層などの「多様性の中の共存」、「共に発展する」思想、実践の広がりが問われてくる。 こうした「考える場」を創造していきたい。

「アジア共同体」を目指し、「アジア・サミット」との協力関係を保ちながら、独自の「アジア民間フォーラム」あるいは「アジア民間サミット」を将来において構想する。

そこで、以上を包括した組織化の目的を象徴的に表現すると、「アジア・ヒューマン・コミュニティー(AHC)」 ネットワークの構築ということになる。

ではヒューマン・コミュニティーのコンセプトは何か。

それはあらゆる人間の尊厳こそが、共同体を考える上での最も重要な立脚点であり、ある人間(集団)の犠牲を強いる発展も共同体も、このコミュニティーが目指すべきものではないという考え方をしっかりと持つことである。 そうした考え方の上に立って相互扶助・協力、互恵・相互発展のコミュニティー構築を目指すことを意味している。 われわれはそれを必ずしも空想的な理想主義だとは考えない。こうしたコミュニティーの実現を目指す行為は、現 実をしっかりと把握し、その上で何をなすべきかを考え、具体的可能性をしっかりと見定めながら一歩一歩実践を 試みない限りは、具体的な実現化のプロセスには入らない。もちろん現実にはさまざまな妥協も必要であろう。そ ういう意味ではまさに現実的理想主義の創造とその実践ということができるかもしれない。

【AHC の目指す主な活動の課題】

ではわれわれは、こうしたコミュニティーの構築を通して何をし、何を目指すのか。今日発展の中で抱えている、 あるいはこれから抱えることが予想される幾つかの重大なイシュー、問題をいくつかのクラスターに分類し、共同 研究プログラムとしてアジア全体で考えていく。この場合、3つの側面での充実が重要なポイントとなる。

①信頼醸成メカニズム=相互誤解の減少、相互理解の深化

②相互協力・支援メカニズム=体系的、効率的協力・扶助の推進

③アイデンティティ醸成メカニズム=歴史認識・未来創造の共有、アジア意識の創造 ①2(3)にそれぞれ対応した形で以下のプログラムを設置する。

〔1〕信頼醸成メカニズム

(1)サテライト型ネットワーク・システムの創造

そもそもアジア各国間で交流の質量が大幅に増大しているにもかかわらず、相互誤解の深刻さ、相互理解の不足 が関係進展の重大な障害となっている。もちろんこうした問題に関心を持つ人々によって改善の努力は進んでいる が、基本的には個別的散発的な段階にとどまっている。ここでは韓国、中国、日本、香港、台湾、ASEAN 各国、 インドなどにおいて、上記のような問題関心を強く持っている研究者、諸分野での実務者・活動家などの連携をし っかりと取る。同時に、各国でいくつかのネットワーク拠点(センター)を設置し、各国内ではこれらを中心に他の 組織や参加者との連携ネットワークを構築し、かつ各国間ではこのネットワーク拠点が軸となって多国間ネットワ ーク=サテライト型を形成し、常時情報を提供しあい、意見を交換しあう。

(2) 市民共生プログラム

市民、庶民のレベルからの共生を考える。市民、庶民の「意識」「考えている」ことの相互理解、国家間・地域間 対立をめぐる市民レベルのさまざまな対話・イベントなどを企画、実施する。より具体的な課題としては、①各国 間相互イメージの検証、②市民交流の現状と課題、③係争問題(領土・領海、資源開発など)についての意見交換、 共同のアイデアの創造などを模索する。

〔2〕協力・支援システム創造プログラム

(1)経済・社会充実プログラム

プラス・サム発展モデル構築の追求、発展が生み出す深刻な矛盾の認識共有と対応。環境保護協力、格差・貧困問 題、人材育成などを考える。

主な課題としては、①貧困問題と支援のあり方:内発的発展モデルの可能性、②環境問題と循環型社会構築の可 能性、③資源の開発と共有:人材資源、食糧資源、エネルギー資源、④ライフ・スタイルと人権などを考察し具体 的アイデアを模索する。

(2)新しい平和・安全メカニズム創造プログラム

国家と軍事力を軸とした従来の安全保障論(伝統的安全観)の転換が求められている。無論そうした安全観を今日なお必要としている現実も存在している。しかし、ここでは非国家レベルで考える人間(社会)の安全、国際民間レベルでの「平和構築」、アジア各国における多民族社会化現象の中での社会秩序構築と安全を考える。

主な課題としては、①国境、国家を超える安全:難民、エスニック、海賊、テロなど、②市民社会、地域社会と 安全:多民族社会空間における安全の問題を考える。

[3] アイデンティティ醸成メカニズム

(1)歴史遺産の共有プログラム

植民地支配、日中戦争、朝鮮戦争、ベトナム戦争、そして冷戦などは依然としてアジア各国で認識の共有が見られない。しかし他方で、そうした歴史認識の現実を超えて東アジアが協力・共存を求める動きがある。そうした状況を踏まえて、「アジアの中の歴史争点」という視角から未来の共存のために可能な限りの歴史の共有を試みる。

主な課題としては、①「アジアの戦争」総括:大東亜共栄圏論、アジア冷戦、ポスト冷戦など、②「東アジア近現 代国際史」(共通の「教科書」)の作成

(2) アジア・アイデンティティー創造プログラム

アイデンティティはいくつかの政治・経済・社会・文化的な条件を必要とするが、その中で自然的に生まれるも のではなく、「創られる」ものである。歴史認識の共有、アジア市民レベルでの交流、共同メディアの構築などを通 して、「アジア市民」の創造を目指す。

主な課題としては、①アジアの伝統の中での主体性発掘:中国、韓国、日本などの独自文化とは何か、②「大東亜 連盟構想」、EAEG、ASEAN・WAY、大中華圏構想などの再検証、③市民意識の越境性とIT文化による文化ヒュ ージョンにおける新アジア文化の創造などを考える。

継続は力なり。小さな第一歩でも力を合わせ継続していけば大きな夢を自分たちに近づけることはできる。まず はアジアが力を合わせよう!

"Human Security" in Asia and striving for the AHC (Asian Human Community) AMAKO Satoshi

1. How should we understand "Human Security" in Asia

Originally, traditional security has been discussed as a problem between nations, and it was thought that security was created through the creation various kinds of agreements or frameworks between nations. However since the collapse of the Cold War, regional conflicts and civil wars have multiplied, and in these situations, it has not been uncommon for states to lose the ability to ensure the safety of their people. In this situation, the question of how international society should ensure the safety of citizens of the states that are party to conflict has become as serious problem.

To look at this from a different point of view, due to changes like to the dramatic liberation from political oppression that took place in the 1990's, the wave of globalisation and the sudden increase in human migration caused by these factors, ethnic movements, religious conflicts, poverty, the suppression of human rights, infectious diseases and other issues which were originally seen as internal problems have suddenly come to be seen as international problems that reach across borders. In this context, we think of the conflict in Kosovo and the other ethnic conflicts in post cold war Europe and the old USSR, as well as the turmoil and massacres in Rwanda and other parts of Africa. That is to say, the factors and forms that threaten safety have changed abruptly.

Therefore, the framework we call "borders" do exist but rather than fixating on them, there is an increasing need to rethink this problem from the standpoint of human safety. At the UN, there is commonly held to be two types of threat to human safety: the "threat of want" and the threat of fear." The "threat of want" is the threat caused by lack of food, material resources, public resources such as infrastructure and other material wants. The "threat of fear" refers to regional conflicts, ethnic conflicts, antagonism between religions, terrorist crimes and other violent threats which are especially prevalent in poverty-stricken regions.

The UN and other international organisations are the most active in responding to this new condition. The UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), the World Bank and others are actively engaged in ending poverty through assistance to developing nations, and the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) emphasises conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace creation, and is promoting of Peace Keeping Operation's (PKO's) and Peace Keeping Forces (PKF's) even more than before. UNESCO, UNICEF (UN Children's Fund) and the UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees) are actively engaged in the theme of human security in their respective specialty areas.

However, in the 21st Century, the substance and size of threats to human safety have become a level more acute. In January 2001, a committee on human security was set up with the former UNHCR, Sadako Ogata, and Nobel Economics Prize Winner Amartya Sen as joint chairpersons. This committee published its final report in February 2003. According to this report, the 10 points enumerated below are the central topics that

the various committees should be engaged upon.

- ① Protecting people in violent conflict;
- 2 Protecting people from the proliferation of arms;
- ③ Supporting the security of people on the move;
- ④ Establishing human security transition funds for post -conflict situations;
- (5) Encouraging fair trade and markets to benefit the extreme poor;
- (6) Working to provide minimum living standards everywhere;
- \bigcirc According higher priority to ensuring universal access to basic health care;
- ⑧ Developing an efficient and equitable global system for patent rights;
- (9) Empowering all people with universal basic education;
- ① Clarifying the need for a global human identity while respecting the freedom of individuals to have diverse identities and affiliations.

Points (1-4) are concerned with fear of violence, protection from danger and provisions concerning these. Points (5), (6) and (9) are all concerned with escape from poverty and the improvement of education, but as before, these two goals continue along separate, parallel courses.

Today, when we think of human security, we can point out a number of serious problems which are confronting the whole of humanity. Most prominent among these is the 4 problems outlined below.

First are environmental pollution and the terrible destruction of the natural ecosystem which leads to global warming and massive natural disasters. One can mention the serious problems related to CO₂ emissions, frequent large-scale tsunamis, hurricanes, floods, earthquakes, various nations become permanently drought stricken and pollution of water quality. A symbol of this is that the 2008 Toyako G8 Summit in Hokkaido will focus on post Kyoto Agreement global warming issues.

The second point is the fear of terrorism that continues to send shockwaves around the world since the events of 9/11 in 2001. Centered on the U.S., NATO is attempting to respond militarily. However, it is clear that this is threatening the existence of normal people, and on all levels including the civilian, the systematization of response is being questioned. The UNSC itself is considering the creation of a "United Nations Emergency Peace Service" (UNEPS), which would be a permanent unit directly under the UNSC.

Third, the enlargement of a widening global gap between rich and poor, the destruction of numerous agricultural villages and the expansion of a new stratum of poor due to the fast spread of marketisation and liberalisation are all conspicuous phenomenon, and in the wider sense, these are all human rights violations. With the spread of the principle of competition and the rapid increase in efficiency, globalization has indeed increased the liveliness of the economy and promoted economic wealth. However, this has also worsened the problem of the gap between rich and poor, adding to the existing poor with the creation of large numbers of weaker members of society who cannot keep up with the competitive society.

Fourth, we can point to the constant spread of infectious diseases such as AIDS, SARS, and bird flu. From the end of the 20th Century these have caused global disturbance, and today there is no sign of the abatement of the spread of infectious disease, and is now a problem that is constantly a threat to human safety

So, why are we considering human security problems focused on Asia? Of course the various problems I have noted above are not limited to Asia, and can be understood as global phenomenon. The first reason for this is that if we look at the specifics, we can see "Asian characteristics" and there is a need for Asia itself to recognise and react to this. For example, in the 1st point above, economic development is continuing in Asia and it can even be called the center of world growth, but due to this Asia is facing the reality of sudden and serious environmental and natural destruction. Next year China will become the world's largest emitter of CO₂ and the sudden increase in emissions by India is also striking. The spread of yellow sand is not just a problem for China but has caused serious damage in Japan and on the Korean Peninsula. Extremely large tsunami's, earthquakes and floods and other natural disasters seem to occur every year somewhere in Asia. To only rely on international organizations is extremely inadequate.

The second point concerns the characteristics surrounding terrorism. The global form of so-called Islamic fundamentalist extremist terrorism versus anti-terrorism is slightly different from the terrorism and anti-terrorism problem in Asia. Ethnic movements that occur in Asia are still contained as internal problems, and it would be difficult for them to become cross-border movements. As well as that, if we think of the problem of terrorism from the viewpoint of human rights, we cannot exclude the problem of the human rights which states infringe (so-called state terror). The problems of refugees from North Korea or the military repression in Myanmar are representative of this. Also, the problem of the pirates who infest the waters of South East Asia and the Indian Ocean springs to mind.

Thirdly, it is clear that, compared to other developing regions around the world, Asian economic growth has overwhelmingly reduced the incidence of poverty, and this should not be treated lightly. However, at the same time, all over Asia economic disparity and the social disparity that this brings are expanding rapidly. People are moving from villages to the cities, from poor countries to rich countries, and these massive movements of people have destroyed the self-help volunteer lifestyles and social insurance mechanisms which worked even when people were poor. If unchecked this process lead to the destruction of agricultural villages, and in many areas, it is already too late. This movement of peoples is also causing a sudden increase in social uncertainty and social conflict in cities al over Asia.

Fourth, the distribution of poultry is highly concentrated in Asia, especially in the coastal regions of China and down into South-East Asia. This is said to be the point of origin for SARS and Bird-flu. As well as this concentration, many specialists have pointed out that the opportunities for infection are greater for many reasons, including because the areas for slaughtering poultry are quite close to people's dwellings, and also because in there are customs of cock-fighting and consuming the raw blood of chickens. The second major reason why we choose to concentrate on Asia is the subjective problem that in this region, the philosophy and linkage to cooperate and create a joint mechanism to ensure human security lags behind that of other regions. Until about 1990, it cannot be denied that the numerous cases of economic assistance from Japan, as the only developed country in the region, were an important motivator for Asian economic growth. However, there was an aspect of using this aid as a tool for Japanese economic penetration of Asia, or as a tool of Japan's foreign policy. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the developing countries in Asia were mainly concerned with how to get access to this aid.

There was a definite lack of any idea to search together for a response, a lack of any move to cross borders and come together to jointly consider problems related to universal human security. There is a need for us to learn from excellent European and American organizations, which have a long history on this subject.

At its inception, the Human Security Committee called for a change "From national security to human security." The complexity that prevents us dealing with human security on the basis of this simple framework is present in Asia and that is the third reason why we should concentrate on Asia. Of course the related problems of oppressive political systems and humanitarian intervention are sensitive and most difficult to deal with. At the same time, it is impossible to find the way to realistic solutions to the problems listed above without the abilities and initiatives of nation-states. In addition to this, subjective, independent citizens are another important actor in supporting these issues, but even with the growth of this group, they are as before, a highly vulnerable group. It is imperative that we deal with these specific problems while attempting to grapple with the issue of human security. So what should be done?

2. What is the AHC (Asian Human Community) aiming for?

We highly value the growth and prosperity in Asia but, when we think of "Asian Symbiosis," we need to propose practical solutions to the serious problems existing here in Asia. To that end, we want to think seriously of a framework for the "Asian Community" centered on "Asian active intellectuals." Currently, the work for the establishment of the East Asian Community is proceeding from a base of the various governments and also government related think-tanks. The basic thinking is to emphasize "Asian Growth and Prosperity," and the creation of a system to promote free trade and mercerization is one of the main objectives. However, if this is only at the governmental level then it comes up against the reality of conflicting with arguments of national interest, and the construction of the community runs into a number of obstacles.

Moreover, we should definitely avoid any attempt to bulldoze level the poor and those weaker people who need assistance under the flag of liberalization and marketization. Japan has an average GDP per capita that exceeds \$30,000 USD annually, but in comparison, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and other countries figures are between \$200-\$500 annually, and even with its rapid economic progress and the appreciation of the RMD, China's per capita annual GDP exceeded \$2000 only in 2006. From the beginning, not just the diversity of the economies, but also the diversity of the races religions, lifestyles, values and languages of Asia is striking. Many Asians exist in life environs that differ markedly from the life-styles of the Japanese.

That is to say, the creation of the Asian Community cannot just preferentially aim for the construction of a unified framework that picks up on the internally generated development and internally generated stability mechanisms of the various countries and regions. Rather we should support and develop the already existing internally generated development and stability mechanisms, embracing a diversified model, and allowing harmony and symbiosis. This needs to be a gentle process. If we stress the importance of this stance, and if we push forward mutual cooperation, this community does not need to be hung up just on Asia, but can be open to the outside. At the same time, it is necessary to stress the importance realistic, grassroots leaders.

Here below we can move forward to consider the aims of the AHC.

[1] To plan the construction of an "Intellectual Network," this aims for the creation of an "Asian Symbiosis." This would be centered on active intellectuals from all the countries of Asia, and with principles of equality and reciprocity.

The AHC is not just a research forum. It will be the institutionalized network for Asian intellectuals and leaders from all fields, a forum where information can be accumulated and where people can jointly consider measures for problem solving. At the AHC, we hope that academics and also journalists, entrepreneurs, politicians, leaders of NGO's and others from East Asia, South Asia and sometimes even Europe who are interested in these problems will gather together.

[2] The AHC network will aim to improve and develop the "Track 2.5 system"

We do not think lightly of the roles and the meaning of the actions of governments and government think-tanks. However, under government control we do not think that the progress of the community framework is sufficient. In Asia civil society and the participation impulse amongst citizens is weak, networks for and awareness of joint problems considering is weak, and due to this, the role and practices of civil society focus has been neglected. As long as we do not consciously work to improve this point, attempts aimed at constructing a community will carry this defect. We consciously aim to construct a network with comprehensive influence that will have civil society as its subject. On top of this, we will link these attempts to the government and plan a full Asian Community. In this sense, our approach is the "Track 2.5 system."

[3] The AHC will aim to be a comprehensive network which links with other, already existent, individual networks.

Already, there are a diversity of networks existent in Asia in such fields as environmental protection, peace construction, human rights and others. These organizations are taking on larger and larger responsibilities now, and gradually expanding their social influence. The AHC network does not intend to chase after these organizations, but through linking with these individual networks, we aim to increase the results of activities, and at the same time, we aim to increase the social and political influence of citizens and intellectuals in Asia as a whole.

It goes without saying that we hope for the symbiosis and prosperity of not just Asia, but the countries and peoples of the world but, at the start, we are aiming for "the symbiosis of Asian society." What kind of journey should Asia aim for, what kind of framework should be constructed? Basically we question the spread of philosophy and practice of "Symbiosis amongst diversity," and "cooperative development" in areas like values, culture, politics, economics and class. We would like to create "thinking space" to consider these.

In aiming for the "Asian Community," as well as keeping cooperative relations with the Asian Summit, in the future we should consider our own "Asian Civilian Forum," or "Asian Civilian Summit."

If we symbolically express the above aim for a comprehensive organization, this becomes the construction of the Asian Human Community (AHC) Network.

So what is the concept of the AHC?

When considering the community, the most important principle is the dignity of all people. We hold fast to the idea that development or a community which victimizes any person (or group) is not the community we should aim for. Standing on this idea, this means that we aim for the construction of a community of mutual-aid, cooperation, reciprocity and mutual development. We do not necessarily think that this is imaginary idealism. To aim for the realization of this community, we have to understand reality and then based on that, consider what we should do. Ensuring the concrete possibilities, if we don't try things one step at a time, we will never start the process of actual realization. Of course, in reality many kinds of compromises are necessary. In that sense, we can possibly construct a realistic idealism and implement it.

The topics of the main activities of the AHC

So, what will we do and what will we aim for through the creation of this community? Looking at the problems and issue we face today and also those we can predict that we will face in the future, we will classify these into clusters and consider the whole of Asia through joint research programs. In this situation, the fulfillment of three different aspects is the important point.

- ① Confidence-building mechanisms=the reduction in mutual misunderstandings, the deepening of mutual understanding
- 2 Mutual cooperation and support mechanism=the promotion of systematic and efficient cooperation and assistance
- ③ Identity building mechanisms=Historical understanding, joint future creation, the creation of an Asian consciousness

We will establish separate programs to respond to ①②③. The details are as follows:

- [1] Confidence Building Mechanisms
- (1) The creation of a system or network on a satellite format

Even though exchange between the various Asian nations is increasing in both quality and quantity, the seriousness of mutual misunderstandings are the lack of mutual understandings have become huge barriers to the advance of relations. Of course, people who have an interest in these kinds of problems are working to improve this but these efforts are still largely at the individual and scattered level. Here we will create links between academics, businessmen from many fields, activist and other people from South Korea, China, Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the ASEAN nations, India and other nations who have a strong interest in the problems expressed above. At the same time, we will establish a number of network bases (centers) in the

various countries. In their respective countries and cantered on these centers will be created a coordination network with other organizations and participants, and these network centers will become hubs for contact between the various countries, creating a multinational network on a satellite model, allowing information to be supplied and exchanges of opinions.

(2) <u>Citizen Symbiosis Programme</u>

This will consider symbiosis from the level of the citizen and ordinary person. This will plan and implement various events and dialogues at the citizen level concerning the citizen's and ordinary peoples' "understanding" and "thoughts" on mutual understanding, international and inter-regional conflict. More concrete topics will be: ① studies of mutual inter-country images; ②the issue and state of citizen exchanges; ③disputed issues (land, sea disputes, resources development etc.) and opinion exchanges, seeking the creation of joint ideas.

[2] Programme for the creation of cooperation and support systems

(1) Economic and social enrichment programme

It is necessary to search for a plus-sum development model, joint consciousness, and to respond to the serious contradictions accompanied by development. It is necessary to consider various issues like environmental protection cooperation, disparity and the problem of poverty, the training of human resources.

The main topics are: ① the problem of poverty and the nature of support: the possibilities of internally generated development models; ② Environmental problems and the possibility of constructing a recycling society; ③ resource development and joint use: human, food and energy resources; ④ Considering life-styles and human rights-groping towards concrete ideas.

(2) <u>The programme for the creation of new peace and safety mechanisms</u>

A change is required from the conventional security theory (traditional security view) with its axes in the military and the state. Of course there are realities which require that sort of security theory even today, but here we will consider the safety of people (or society) not at the state level, peace construction at the international level, and the construction of safety and social orders under the phenomenon of multiculturalization in the various countries of Asia.

The main topics will be: ① Safety that exceeds the state and national borders: refugees, ethnic conflicts, piracy, terrorism etc; ② Citizen society, regional society and safety; Considering the problem of safety that occurs in the space of a multi-ethnic society.

[3] Identity building mechanisms

(1) The programme for joint ownership of historical heritage

We still cannot see in Asia a joint understanding of issues like Colonial control, the Russo-Japanese War, the Korean War, The Vietnam War, and the Cold War. However on the other hand, we can see moves aiming for cooperation and co-existence in East Asia that cross over the realities of historical understandings like these. Touching on this situation, and for the purpose of future coexistence, from the point of view of "Historical issues in Asia" we will attempt the largest possible joint history.

The main topics will be: ① "War in Asia": Summary of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, The Cold War in Asia, post Cold War and others; ② East Asian Early Modern and Modern International History: the creation of a joint textbook.

(2) Asian Identity Creation Programme

Identity requires a number of political, economic, social and cultural conditions, but amongst them it is not a naturally occurring thing but something that is "created." We will aim for the creation of and "Asian citizen" through joint historical understanding, exchange at the level of Asian citizens, the construction of joint media etc.

The main topics will be: ① The excavation of the subject in Asian tradition: What are the independent cultures of China, Korea and Japan; ② A re-examination of "The Greater East Asian League Design," EAEG, the ASEAN Way, the design of a Greater China sphere; ③ Cultural fusion from the cross-border nature of citizen consciousness and IT culture: Considering the creation of a new Asian culture..

Practice makes perfect. From a small first step if we join our strength and continue our journey, we can achieve our dream together.



East Asian Perspective on Human Security

Lee Shin-wha Korea University

East Asian Perspectives on Human Security

Shin-wha Lee

Department of Political Science and International Relations, Korea University

- "Security of People"
- Individual Sovereignty
- Traditional/Non-traditional Security and Post-Cold War Security Paradigm: "Comprehensive Security"
- Growing international consensus: concepts of security including people (as well as states)
- Physical safety, economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Focus on human life and human dignity, rather than states and territorial integrity

-Safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression

-Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life

Twin Objectives of Human Security

-Freedom from Want & Freedom from Fear

 Kofi Annan (millennium speech)
 →nothing new?: the Preamble of "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights"

More easily identified through its absence (human insecurity) than its presence

Changes in Conflicts and Casualties in the Post-Cold War World







- absolute poverty 2 billion (1/3 of the world's population)
- 840 million undernourished (790 million in the Third World)

- Government's incapacity, corruption, inefficiency, ill-conceived development policies \rightarrow fail to respond to the problems related to overpopulation, natural disaster, famine, economic underdevelopment

Factors leading to Human Insecurity

- Globalization: information, inequalities & inflammatory inequalities

-Privatization of security: beyond peacekeeping to accumulation, corruption & escalation

 Proliferation of landmines & small arms: deterrents to human Development

-Exponential environmental & health threats: from global warming to HIV/AIDS

(Timothy M. Shaw, Canada & New 'Global' Strategic Alliances: Prospects for Human Security at the Start of 21st Century)

Human Security Elements (UNDP 1994)

- 1) economic security (e.g., freedom from poverty)
- 2) food security (e.g. access to food)
- 3) health security (e.g. access to health care and protection from diseases)
- 4) environmental security (e.g. protection from such dangers as environmental pollution and depletion)
- personal security (e.g. physical safety from such things as torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence, drug use, suicide, and even traffic accidents)
- 6) community security (e.g., survival of traditional cultures and ethnic groups, and the physical security of these groups)
 7) political security (e.g. enjoyment of civil and political rights, and freedom from political oppression)

Minimum Human Security

-Freedom from Fear Freedom from Want Freedom from Discrimination

Aspects

- i) Protection from sudden and damaging disruptions in the patterns of daily life
- ii) Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, discrimination and repression
- iii) Freedom from alienation, deprivation, damage caused by misunderstandings or misperceptions of different cultures and peoples

Maximum (Positive) Human Security

-Freedom to Improve the Quality of Life of the People/Freedom for People Empowerment/Freedom of Celebration of Commonalities and Diversities

Aspects

i) Enjoyment of life to its fullest through capacity and opportunity building

ii) Improved access to resources, social and political empowerment through institutionalized ways of protecting vulnerable groups

iii) Enhancement of tolerance and understanding through long-term, open-ended and multi-sectored dialogues between civilizations

How to Define Human Security?

- UNDP (1994) – 7 dimensions (environmental, economic, social, political, cultural, individual, community)

- Commission Human Security (CHS, 2003) – Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People

 \rightarrow all-encompassing \rightarrow operational possibilities?

Canada: Responsibility to Protect (RTP, 2001) – more focus on protection of people in situations of violent conflic (recovering violent conflict)

UBC Human Security Center, *Human Security Report*, *Human Security Brief 2006*

Questions Addressed

1) Cognitive and normative framework pertaining to security Security of What and Security for Whom?

2) Translation of ideas regarding human security from theory into practice

3) Critics on RTP (Responsibility to Protect)

what factors determine threats to human security?

- how to explain conflict–driven poverty and famine?
- how to protect vulnerable groups suffering 'vicious cycle of conflict and poverty
- how to manage 'complex emergencies'
 - (complex humanitarian crisis)

Understanding NTS/HS in East Asia

East Asia as a Region

 - 10 ASEAN states and 5 Northeast Asian states
 (Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam/China, Japan, Mongolia, North Korea, and South Korea)

Historical Legacy and Political/Military Urgency

- Deep-rooted hostility throughout the colonial periods, WWII, the Korean War and the Cold War
- Potential risk spots in the post-Cold War world: conflict over Chinese territorial claims for Taiwan, disputes in the South China Sea, Japan's major rearmament, regional hegemony competition between China and Japan

Understanding NTS in East Asia

Asian Financial Crisis

- Focus on economic reform programs and new technologies
- Apparent decline in resource allocations for the social and human sciences in the region

Rise of Non-traditional Security in East Asia

-Complication of interstate relations due to low-politics issues
-Perception of non-traditional security issues as a catalyst or obstacle for regional cooperation
-9/11 attacks as the epitome of terrorism, which is a threat to civilians and a crime against humanity

East Asian Perspectives on Human Security-1

- Increasing recognition of the urgency of human security in East Asia since the financial crisis

- Two fundamental but different reactions while undergoing subsequent bailout programmes designed by the IMF

 "Globality" Reconsider the viability of "Asian way" of achieving development, "Asian values" (norms of "society over self" trusts in the "developmental state") & become more receptive to "global standards" and thus international concept of human security (global governance, environmentally sustainable development and social safety net for the impoverished)

2) "IMF Crisis" Increase the region's resistance to outside influence while experiencing a chauvinistic response during the sudden influx of foreign influence consequent to the crisis (a new form of Western imperialism? -- UN-proclaimed definitions of human security is primarily based on Western thinking and philosophy)

East Asian Perspectives on Human Security-2

- Most Asian governments are very unlikely to adopt a human security definition that contains political constraints or economic directives and would rather agree that it is a nation's own duty to secure its individuals' physical safety.
- Human security in several East Asian countries are still limited within the scope of freedom from fear of violence.
- In order for human security to progress from just being an idea to an actual condition in East Asia, it better be examined through frameworks that function as imperatives and guidelines in promoting the concept.
- The establishment of a cognitive and normative framework to work within is recommended, rather than a strictly set definition

Major Human Security Threats in East Asia

1. Cross Border Threats

-Proliferation of WMD and Nuclear Threat -Terrorism

2. Intermestic Threats

- -Human Trafficking
- -HIV/AIDS Epidemics
- -SARS and Avian Flu
- -Environmental Security (incl. climate change)

3. Threats from Within

- -Political Insecurity
- -Ethnopolitical Conflicts
- -Poverty and Economic Inequity
- -Food Security

'Western' Perspectives and Its Relevance to East Asia

State

- Perpetrator causing/aggravating threats to human security
 Protector/Promoter of human security
- Western perspective is important in order to consider individual as the actor, objective and beneficiary of security policies (importance of securitizing human security)
- 'securitization' refers to a process in which an issue (e.g. genocide and famine) is verified as an 'existential threat' to 'referent objects' (e.g. people).

- In effect, as argued in Canadian perspectives, this process transforms nontraditional security issues (e.g. factors threatening human security) into core security issues, which in turn provide the grounds for why humanitarian concerns should be considered as a national security threat.
- Most East Asian states had undertaken government centered modernization and development strategies.
- The states in this region as the planner and executor of policies and programs for individual necessities.
- Strong bureaucratic tradition of East Asia, esp. Northeast Asia, makes it difficult to build a notion of individual being the center of gravity in political life.

 In East Asia, both freedom from want and freedom from fear become issues that the state needs to take care of, not itself being the object of criticism.

 In order to enhance understandings on human or individual security, and also to overcome the limitations of state centric approaches to security, the role of the state needs to be reconsidered

 The Western definition of human security (esp. *Responsibility to Protect*) is instrumental in addressing the problem of constructing responsible states in East Asia.

<u>Three Dilemmas in reconciling people's security</u> with the state interest

- The Misbehavior of state leadership in a sovereign state who place their own interests (greed) over their citizens' basic needs
 - No international laws and systems effectively address a state's wrong policies
- The Reluctance of many states to provide aid to those suffering at home or asylum to those fleeing their home countries for survival.
 - -> No mandatory international norms dictating a state's humanitarian action for other states in need

 Controversies over who define 'right' or 'wrong' humanitarian intervention? (issues of non-intervention; problem of selective humanitarian intervention)
Neither Paradigm Shift nor Hot Air: Human Security in China

YU Tiejun Peking University

Talking Points for International Symposium on Asian Human Security at Waseda University January 17-18, 2008

I would like to borrow the title of Roland Paris's stimulating paper "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" to summarize the current Chinese perspectives on human security.¹ My conclusion is that, the human security concept does not represent a paradigm shift in China: it is only just beginning to get attention in both the academic and policy worlds, and the dominant paradigm of security studies remains state-centric for the foreseeable future. It is not hot air either, because it is becoming more and more relevant with the tremendous social transformation of China.

I. Human Security as a discourse in the Chinese context

"Human security" is the latest newcomer in the family of security studies around the world if we view the issuing of the 1994 UNDP's *Human Development Report* as its birthday. It is especially new in China. Just as Paul Evans, a Canadian professor observed, "until the late 1990s the phrase was virtually unknown to Chinese academics and is still only rarely used by officials in formal meeting or the media."²

Entering the new century, this situation has begun to change. In October 2000, an international symposium titled "Human Economic, Social and Environmental Security" was held in Beijing. It was co-sponsored by the Exchange Center of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation and UNDP. Almost 100 experts, scholars, and officials from China, UNDP, Japan, and Canada participated in the discussion on such topics as "Globalization and Human Security," "Factors threatening the International Environment," and "Technology, Education and Human Security." ³ Articles on human security have also gradually appeared in some prominent academic journals, such as *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* (*World Economics and Politics*) and *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* (Contemporary International Relations).⁴ But until now, there has been no book-size monograph on human security has been published in China as far as I know.

¹ Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, 26: 2 (Fall 2001).

² Paul M. Evans, "Human Security and East Asia: In the Beginning," Journal of East Asian Studies, 4 (2004), p. 275.

³ Wu Yingchun, "Experts and Scholars Talks about Human Security," *Remnin Ribao*, November 1, 2000, p.7.

⁴ Several eminent scholars' pieces on human security in East Asia have been translated into Chinese and published in *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* in the past several years. For instance, Amitav Acharya, "Human Security: East Versus West?" and Paul M. Evans: "Human Security and East Asia: In the Beginning," The editor-in-chief, Professor Wang Yizhou, is an enthusiastic advocator of human security concept in China.

The term of "human security" appeared in official speech probably for the first time in November 2004, when Chinese President Hu Jintao gave a talk on human security at the 12th APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting. He said that it was necessary and timely for a meeting to include "human security" into its agenda. During his talk, he admitted in a somehow low-profile the importance of fighting terrorism and epidemics for protecting the human security.⁵ After his speech, the human security notion did not get wide publicity.

Compared with "human security," the idea of "non-traditional security" is preferred and more widely used by Chinese leaders as well as scholars and mass media. Many books have been published on non-traditional security, and it has also become a hot topic of many academic conferences and think tank research projects.⁶ It has even been written into the 16th and 17th CPC National Congress reports, which show that has become firmly rooted in Chinese official policy.⁷

Non-traditional security is generally defined in contrast to traditional security, which emphasizes the state as the main actor and military force as the main instrument. Non-traditional security thus refers to multiple actors and multiple security fields except for the military. To take *Fei Chuantong Anquan Lun* [*On Non-Traditional Security*] as an example, which is probably the first book on non-traditional security in China. It includes chapters on economic security, financial security, energy security, environmental security, water security, secessionist movements, religious extremism, terrorism, cultural security, information security, pandemics, population security, drug-trafficking, illegal immigration, pirate, and money laundering. If we look at the UNDP's 1994 definition of human security and the seven specific elements that comprise human security, community security, and political security), we could find that the content of non-traditional security overlaps with human security in many areas.

How should the different treatment of the two concepts in China be explained? Why has the "non-traditional security" concept become a mainstream discourse while the "human security" concept is still in the backseat despite their overlapping meanings? The key answer may lie in that human security is people-centric while the non-traditional security is state-centric, or at least ambiguous on this question.

According to Chu Shulong, a political scientist at Tsinghua University, the Chinese government usually hesitates in embracing the concept of human security because of the following reasons: the country's traditional security thinking based on the modern history of humiliation by the Western powers; the current political and social situation in China, such as the existence of

⁵ Wu Qimin and Fan Jianqing, "APEC Leaders' Informal Meeting Held in Santiago, Hu Jintao Attended and Delivered an Important Speech," *Remnin Ribao*, November 22, 2004, p. 1. Usually speech by the President should be reported in full-text, but under this occasion, there was only journalists' report. Worthy of mention also is "human security" was translated into "Renlei Anquan" which means human being as a whole instead of "Ren de Anquan" which means the individual human, perhaps more similar to the connotation of "human security."

⁶ The term "non-traditional security" began to get the attention of the Chinese academic world after the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997. In 1998, Professor Wang Yizhou and his Journal initiated research in this field. For the typical Chinese views on non-traditional security, see Lu Zhongwei, ed., *Fei Chuantong Anquan Lun [On Non-Traditional Security]*, Beijing: Shishi Chubanshe, 2003; and Zha Daojiong, ed., *Zhongguo Xuezhe Kan Shijie (Fei Chuantong Anquan Juan)* [World Politics: Views from China (Non-Tradition Security)], Beijing: Xinshijie Chubanshe, 2007.

⁷ It is usually expressed as "traditional and nontraditional threats to security are intertwined" when evaluating the international circumstances. See Documents of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party if China, Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2007, p. 59.

Taiwan, Tibet, and Xinjiang issues; and its foreign policy toward some critical international issues such as sovereignty, interference in domestic affairs, and human intervention.⁸ Other scholars speaks more frankly that at the current stage, state is still the basic unit of the international system and thus should be the basic platform to carry out the security task. Without the dominant position and function of the state in security issue, human security is actually infeasible.⁹ China's position on this question is far from alone, actually it is rather representative in the developing countries and in Asia, which still emphasize the central role of the state, or government in the protection of human security.

II. Why Changing?

Though still suspicious of and thus not fully embracing the "human security" concept, the emphasis on non-traditional security, which is related to human security in my point of view and President Hu Jintao's speech at APEC at least indicated that China was becoming more and more open to this notion. This kind of change could be understood under both the internal and external circumstances.

Domestically speaking, the year of 2008 is the 30th anniversary of the start of reform and opening-up. Since 1978, China has been the world's fastest growing economy. The GDP expanded by an annual average of over 9% in the past twenty years. Poverty has fallen sharply. Education and health have improved at an impressive rate. The Chinese government has sought to fight poverty through economic development. According to the UNDP's 2007-08 *Human Development Report*, China's Human Development Index (HDI) ranks 81 among 177 countries in 2005, above the average level in the world. And in 1990, China's ranking is 101. Thus, within 15 years, China's HDI ranking has risen by 20%.

However, this fast development has been accomplished with tremendous costs, a lot of which fall in the scope of human security: the deteriorating environment (Chinese cities are blanketed by air pollution; seven of the world's eleven most air-polluted cities are in China; water pollution); pandemics (SARS, Avian flu, and AIDS); Rising inequality (urban-rural, costal-interior disparity); social insecurity; disorder of the public health system; and increasing unemployment, etc. The UNDP's 2005 report pointed out that the challenge facing China is how to turn its astonishing income increase into the sustainable human development.¹⁰ In addition, with the economic development, Chinese people's political participation in political life is also increasing. People are becoming more and more independent and active in exercising their democratic rights, thus demanding more accountability of the Chinese government.

Facing such challenges, the current Chinese leaders have put forward the CPC's guiding principles—"Scientific Outlook on Development." According to the 17th CPC National Congress report, "the Scientific Outlook on Development takes development as its essence, putting people

⁸ Shulong Chu, China and Human Security, North Pacific Policy Papers 8, Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia, 2002, p.8.

⁹ Lu Zhongwei, ed., Fei Chuantong Anquan Lun, pp. 29-31.

¹⁰ UNDP, Human Development Report 2005, p. 28.

first as its core, comprehensive, balanced and sustainable development as its basic requirement, and overall consideration as its fundamental approach."¹¹ All these are compatible with human security.

With regard to the international environment, the idea of "human security" coincides with the CPC's strategic judgment of the world trend, that is, "peace and development remain the main themes of the present era, and pursuit of peace, development and cooperation has become an irresistible trend of the times."¹² The first two decades of the 21st century has been regarded as "a period of important strategic opportunities" which must be grasped in order to develop. Based upon this judgment, China has been advocating the New Security Concept since the mid of 1990s. Some of the key elements of the New Security Concept, especially the emphasis on collaborative action to address pressing transnational issues, overlap with human security."¹³ Considering the increasing domestic demand, its compatibility with the CPC's guiding principles at the current stage, and relatively benign international environment, it is

understandable that the concept of "human security," with its emphasis on "protection and empowerment" for people's vital freedom,¹⁴ has begun to draw more attention in China in the past several years.

III. The Practices

Although the term "human security" has not been widely used in Chinese official language nowadays, in reality the Chinese government "has in recent years accepted and put it in practice the idea of protecting people, improving their living conditions, ensuring their social and political rights, and guarding them from social and natural threats."¹⁵

- 1. Internal Efforts:
 - \cdot Environmental protection
 - \cdot Fighting poverty
 - · Improving Social security
 - \cdot Fighting illegal drugs and immigration
 - \cdot Fighting pandemics
 - · Fighting terrorism
 - · Promoting Democracy and Improving Human Rights
- 2. Foreign Policies:
 - · Cooperation with ASEAN in the non-traditional security aspects China in 2002 cosigned the Joint Declaration of ASEAN and China on Cooperation in the

¹¹ Documents of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party if China, p. 18.

¹² Ibid., p. 58.

¹³ Evans, "Human Security and East Asia: In the Beginning," p. 275.

¹⁴ Commission on Human Security, Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People, New York, 2003, pp. 2-13.

¹⁵ Shulong Chu, *China and Human Security*, p. 12.

Field of Non-Traditional Security Issues related to illegal drugs, people smuggling, trafficking in women and children, piracy, terrorism, arms smuggling, money laundering, international economic crime, and cybercrime.

· Active role in the UN peacemaking mission:

In past decade or so, China has supported many international interventions in regional and internal conflicts and even participated in some of those international interventions. East Timor, Darfur, and Burma.

 \cdot Disaster relief:

Southeast Asian tsunami; Pakistan earthquake

- · Foreign aid
- \cdot Climate change
- · Land mines issue and small arms control

IV. Way Ahead

When commenting on the development of the concept of human security in Asia, Amitav Acharya pointed out, "whether governments in the region will shift towards such a people-oriented approach will depend very much on their domestic political agendas."¹⁶ This is especially true when applied to China. In a dramatically changing and pluralizing society, human security will become more and more relevant to China, and to individual Chinese people. Furthermore, it coincides with the guideline of the current Chinese government, and could play a constructive role in the process of building a "harmonious society." In that sense, the future of human security concept which pursues "freedom from wand and freedom form fear" is very promising in China.

On the other hand, as a large country where traditional conceptions of sovereignty remain predominant and where the pace of democratization still lags behind, China will take its time in embracing the notion of human security. Even if the Chinese government fully accepts this concept, then, as always, the devil lies in the detail. The concept itself is good, but who will implements it? and how? Considering the weakness of Chinese NGOs, and to a large extent, the Chinese society, China absolutely needs to learn the experiences and lessons of other countries. And on that very point, I really think the theme of our symposium today—"Asian Cooperation, Integration, and Human Resources" is truly meaningful and helpful.

¹⁶ Amitav Acharya, *Human Security: East Versus West?* IDSS paper, No. 17, September 2001, p. 18.

人間の安全保障をどう捉えるか:東京大学の取り組みを通して

Human Security from the Perspective of A Graduate Program at the University of Tokyo

山影進(東京大学) Susumu Yamakage (University of Tokyo, Komaba)

はじめに Introduction

多様な定義 Various (sometimes, Incompatible) Definitions of Human Security 複雑な関連概念 Various and Complex Concepts Around Human Security 日本での一例としての東京大学大学院「人間の安全保障」プログラム The Graduate Program on Human Security (Univ. of Tokyo) As an Example

1 背景 Background

安全保障すなわち軍事 Security used to mean National/Military security. 東大での軍事研究禁止 Prohibition of Military Studies at the University of Tokyo 人間の安全保障の登場 Human Security Proposed 平和(紛争)と開発(貧困)の結合 Peace (Conflict) and Development (Poverty) 「セキュリティ」概念に対する認識変化 Change in the Meaning of "Security" cf. 東京大学名誉博士1アマルティア・セン 3コフィ・アナン

2 東京大学大学院「人間の安全保障」プログラムにおける人間の安全保障の捉え方

Human Security As We Have Conceived, and Elaborated

◎貧困、紛争、環境破壊、組織犯罪、薬物、飢饉、難民、感染症など人間に対する様々な脅威

Poverty, Conflict, Environmental Deterioration, Organized Crimes, Drug, Famine, Refugees, Infectious Diseases, and Other Various Threats to Human Activities

◎人間一人一人に注目し、個人の生存・生活・尊厳を脅かす脅威への取り組み

Countermeasures to the Treat that Endangers Individual Survival, Life and Degnity ◎市民社会・国家・国際機関の連携

Collaboration among Civil Society, Nation and International Organizations

◎様々なプロジェクト・様々な対話を通じて貧困削減・紛争予防・難民救済・人道支援・感染症対策・人材育成等々

Poverty Reduction, Conflict Prevention, Refugee Relief, Humanitarian Assistance, Measures for Infectious Diseases, Human Resource Development, etc Through Cooperation and Communication (の持続可能な社会発展(平和・環境・経済・健康・安心)

Sustainable Social Development (Peace, Environment, Economy, Health, Security)

3 東京大学大学院「人間の安全保障」プログラムの概要 Human Security As We Have Taught
 ◎修士(国際貢献)・博士(国際貢献)を授与 M.A. and Ph.D. In Human Security Studies
 ◎理論武装と現場感覚 Academic Literacy and Practical Experiences

◎開講科目 Course Offerings
人間の安全保障基礎論 Introduction to Human Security
紛争と和解・共生 Conflict, Peace and Coexistence
平和プロセスと国際協力 Peace Processes and International Cooperation
文化エコロジー Cultural Ecology
社会の自立と協同 Self-Supporting System and Social Cooperation
生命と尊厳 Life and Human Dignity
開発と貧困 Development and Poverty
生存とライフスキル Subsistence and Skill of Living
サステナビリティの戦略 Sustainability Strategy
その他演習、実験実習 Seminars and Practical Trainings

4 人間の安全保障という考え方の普及へ◎大学院から学部へ From Graduate School To College (Undergraduate Program)

◎教科書刊行 Textbook

◎交流 人間の安全保障教育研究コンソーシアム Inter-University Consortium on Human Security Studies and Teaching

◆セッションⅡ: 「持続的危機 貧困と人権」(中国、朝鮮半島、東南アジアにおける現状と課題) Continuous Crisis: Poverty and Human Rights (Current Situation in China, Korean)

Peninsula, and Southeast Asia)

Multidimensional Poverty in Indonesia: Trends, Interventions, and Lessons Learned *) Sudarno Sumarto and Wenefrida Widyanti

Abstract

Despite the Government of Indonesia's commitment to address human security as stated in its ambitious medium-term development plan and the Millennium Development Goals, poverty in its multidimensionality remain major issues in Indonesia as a significant proportion of the Indonesian population is still consumption poor. Whilst the number of the poor has been decreasing consistently since 2002, most of those escaping poverty are still vulnerable and just a small shock can send them quickly below the poverty line. Using the PPP \$2/day poverty line as a vulnerability measure, the World Bank (2006) found that 45% of Indonesians remain vulnerable to poverty. Non-consumption poverty is even more problematic, including malnutrition, maternal health, and access to basic services. For example, a quarter of children below the age of five are malnourished, only about 72% of births are accompanied by skilled birth attendants, 45% of poor households have no access to sanitation, more than half have no access to safe water, and around 20% of children from these households do not continue to junior secondary school.

The current state of Indonesian multidimensional poverty can be traced back to the time of crisis that struck Indonesia in mid-1997. Before the onset of the economic crisis, Indonesia was one of the fastest growing economies in the world. This rapid growth had generated an unprecedented reduction in poverty within a remarkably short period of time. In mid-1997, after nearly a quarter of a century of rapid growth and welfare gains, a currency crisis struck Indonesia, and by early 1998 the country was suffering from the combined effects of financial, economic, and political crises. The social impact of the crisis was enormous. The national poverty rate soared 15 percentage points, implying that an additional 36 million people were pushed into absolute poverty due to the crisis. More than half of the increase in poverty during the crisis was due to an increase in chronic poverty. The crisis primarily affected the poor and vulnerable non-poor through falling real wages and a large increase in the prices of basic commodities. The economic crisis that threw millions of Indonesians into poverty had forced the Government of Indonesia to launch social safety nets (as social protection programs were largely based on informal arrangements), to help the poor and newly poor cope with the impact of the economic crisis. The programs covered employment creation, education, health, food security, and community empowerment.

^{*)} This paper is prepared for the 1st International Symposium on Asian Cooperation, Integration, and Human Resources to be held in Tokyo, January 17-18, 2008, and organized by Waseda University, Japan.

A decade after the crisis, as the economy slowly recovers and welfare has stabilized around pre-crisis levels, the government has redesigned several of these programs and discontinued others. Throughout this latter post-crisis period, the government also implemented a range of new social protection programs to replace highly regressive fuel subsidies. The new programs have included unconditional cash transfers, school operational assistance, and community-driven development programs. These programs are designed to promote movement of poor households out of poverty and to prevent non-poor households from falling into poverty. Some progress has been made in addressing multidimensional poverty in Indonesia but more must still be done, including a greater focus placed on inclusive economic growth.

This paper first describes the current state of multidimensional poverty in Indonesia. It then briefly outlines the characteristics of several major programs designed to address multidimensional poverty, both during and after the crisis, and describes their implementation problems and likely impacts. Finally, it details the lessons which can be applied to future targeted social protection programs to address human security in Indonesia.

Multidimensional Poverty in Indonesia: Trends, Interventions, and Lesson Learned*

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* Prepared for the 1st International Symposium on Asian Cooperation, Integration, and Human Resources to be held in Tokyo, January 17-18, 2008, and organized by Waseda University, Japan.

Presentation Outline

- I. Background
- II. The current state of multidimensional poverty in Indonesia
- III. The evolution of targeted social programs in Indonesia to address multidimensional poverty
- IV. Program details, implementational problems, and likely impacts of targeted social programs
- V. Lessons learned and the way forward

Background

- Poverty in its multidimensionality as a human security issue remains a major issue in Indonesia as significant proportion of the Indonesian population is still poor. An even larger proportion are considered to be vulnerable to poverty, i.e. are at risk of falling into poverty in the near future.
- Indonesia is a highly diverse country (> 300 ethnic groups, > 250 languages), so is Indonesian poverty: characterized by great degree of heterogeneity.
- The Government of Indonesia recognizes the "human security" challenges and has committed itself with its ambitious medium-term development plan and support of the MDGs through the implementation of both targeted poverty reduction programs and the promotion of quality economic growth. These programs include the conditional cash transfer, intended to help chronically poor households improve their health & education outcomes.
- Some progress has been made in addressing human security but more must still be done.

Poverty in Indonesia (1)

The poverty rate is now back to the pre-crisis level but in absolute terms is still higher than the pre-crisis period



Poverty in Indonesia (2)

Close to 42 percent of Indonesia's population live between the US\$1-US\$2 per day poverty lines



Source: "Making the New Indonesia Work for the Poor", World Bank, 2006

Poverty in Indonesia (3)

Non-consumption poverty indicates a lack of access to basic services



Source: Susenas 2004

Poverty in Indonesia (4)

Non-consumption poverty is a more serious problem than consumption poverty

- In some Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) indicators, Indonesia has failed to make significant progress and lags behind other countries in the region. For example:
 - Malnutrition rates are high and have even risen in recent years: a quarter of children below the age of five are malnourished in Indonesia.
 - Maternal health is much worse than comparable countries in the region: Indonesia's maternal mortality rate (307 deaths in 100,000 births) is three times that of Vietnam and six times that of China and Malaysia; only about 72 percent of births are accompanied by skilled birth attendants.

Poverty in Indonesia (5)

Regional disparities in poverty are high (%)



Poverty in Indonesia (6)

Regional disparities in poverty are high (absolute)



Poverty in Indonesia (7)

Inequality in access to services remains high







Source: Water and sanitation are analyzed based on Demographic and Health Survey 2002/2003 data.

Poverty in Indonesia (8)

In 2005 Indonesia ranked 107 out of 177 countries in HDI by UNDP



Poverty in Indonesia (9)

Sources of risk and coping mechanisms



Natural Disaster

- Decreasing income due to losing job
- Decreasing income due to health factor
- Lost due to conflict
- Lost due to economic risk

The Evolution of Targeted Social Programs in Indonesia to Address Multidimensional Poverty

Indonesia's Social Protection Program

- Crisis Period: Food security, education, health, employment creation through community empowerment.
- Post-Crisis: community empowerment/KDP, scholarships (BKM), unconditional cash transfer (BLT), school operational assistance (BOS), rural infrastructure (IP), rice for the poor (Raskin), and health program (Askeskin).
- Opcoming and on-going programs: National Community Empowerment Program (PNPM) and Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) that is targeted to communities and households (particularly chronically poor households).

Program details, implementational problems, and likely impacts of post-crisis targeted social programs

Program	Description of benefits	Program coverage	Implementation problem	Likely impact to poor/vulnerable
Rice for the poor (Raskin)	Sales of subsidized rice	Intended to cover 15.8 million households in 2007	 Socialization to the community is still weak. The program is not fully transparent. Varying targeting accuracy. 	Help with food expenses, "taking a load off the minds" of recipients & their families, and being able to limit price fluctuations for rice in the local markets
School operational assistance (BOS)	School operational assistance for the 9 years of compulsory basic education which is distributed to and managed by schools	July-Dec 2005: Rp5.136 trillion for 39.6 million students.	 Lack of socialization & technical training particularly for school administrators. Time lag for the distribution of funds with the commencement of the academic year/semester 	 Increased the availability of better equipment and teaching materials. School tuition and other school fees are reduced or even free.

Program details, implementational problems (continued)

Unconditio nal Cash Transfer/U CT (BLT)	Direct cash transfer (Rp100,000/HH/ month) to poor and near poor households that were given quarterly for a period of one year (2005/2006)	2005/2006 (started in Oct 2005): About 19.2 million households	 Program socialization to the public was lacking or even absent in some locations. Complaint resolution was not sufficiently accommodated in the original program design. Regional & local governments generally unprepared to handle a program of this scale and in such a short implementation schedule. 	Helps beneficiary households to cope with negative shock due to the fuel subsidy reductions (seen from use of funds, e.g. purchase of rice or other foods; payment of school fees, debt, and medical treatment).
Kecamatan Developme nt Project (KDP)/Urb an Poverty Program (UPP)	Block grants to eligible subdistricts, focus on community participation with 2 components: small loans & infrastructure improvement.	KDP 1998-2008: 30 provinces, 260 districts, 1,983 subdistricts, 34,200 villages UPP: 6,600 urban wards and 7.4 million beneficiaries	 Local bureaucracy bogs down participation Elite capture in deciding on infrastructure project Overall lack of financial transparency Insignificant community involvement in maintaining the finished projects. 	 More than 50% cheaper than contractor-executed construction. Increase participation. Provide access to poor families.

Ongoing & Upcoming Programs

	Program	Description	Objectives	Program Coverage
TI C C TI H (^k P K	Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT): Community	 Allocated block grant to communities, who decide how block grants can be best used to reach several education and health targets Conditionality: financial incentives to villages based on performance evaluation of 12 indicators. Village performance will be compared with other villages in the subdistrict at the end of program cycle. 	 To reduce current poverty To reduce maternal mortality To reduce child mortality To ensure universal coverage of basic education 	The pilot project (2007) covered 48 districts/municipalities in seven provinces (DKI Jakarta, West Java, East Java, West Sumatera, North Sulawesi, Gorontalo, and East Nusa Tenggara).
	Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT): Household (known as Program Keluarga Harapan/PKH)	 Applies the traditional CCT design with quarterly cash transfers to individual poor households identified through statistical means. Households recipients will receive the cash transfer through the post office as long as they meet the requirements of using specified health and education services. Health facilities & schools will regularly report non-use of their services. If the HH-CCT recipient fails to comply with the required condition after a few warnings, the cash transfer will be terminated. 		The pilot (2007) covered approximately 500,000 chronically poor households in seven provinces.

Lessons Learned from Indonesia's Targeted Social Programs (1)

- Since informal coping mechanisms are often insufficient to mitigate the worst effects of a major crisis, real spending on formal Social Safety Net during a time of crisis must ambiguously rise.
- To effectively target transfer programs, accurate and recent data is necessary but insufficient.
- A comprehensive socialization program is necessary to ensure efficient implementation and to prevent social conflict.
- Institutional commitment supported by clear objectives and simple design is crucial.

Lessons Learned from Indonesia's Targeted Social Programs (2)

- Continued linkages and cooperation between governments, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and other parts of civil society are also important.
- Some progress has been made in poverty reduction (good evaluation and willingness to make program changes; poverty reduction strategy paper/PRSP; and additional funding for propoor programs).
- However, policies to stimulate pro-poor growth are still lacking, also lacks of direction and support for links with regional plans.

The way forward (1)

Considerations for Integrating the Human Security Perspective into Poverty Reduction Strategies

- A poverty reduction strategy with a human security perspective should include three dimensions of risk management:
 - Preventative & mitigating measures against risk (to avoid disaster/risk)
 - Protecting or coping measures when human security is threatened by increased risk (to cope with disaster/risk), and
 - Promoting measures to enhance social opportunities or human capabilities of the poor to fight chronic poverty over the medium and long term (to enhance human capabilities/social opportunity).
- Promoting measures to enhance social opportunities and human capabilities works most effectively towards risk prevention.
- A poverty reduction strategy should include "protection" and "empowerment". These aspects have been considered in Indonesia's social protection programs.

The way forward (2)

Considerations for the Design of Human Security-Oriented Poverty Reduction Strategies

- Freedom from large external shocks is a precondition for securing human security. The first and foremost task of human security is to prevent threats such as violent conflict and macro-economic instability, environmental degradation, natural disaster and pandemic disease. This importance can also be explained by the positive correlations between violent conflict and poverty, inequality, and variables measuring economic development that have been confirmed by Barron et al. (2004) using quantitative analysis.
- Strengthening governance and government capabilities.
- Safety net programs, such as emergency funds and food-for-work programs that are adopted when people face risk.
- Sustainable social protection programs, particularly for those who are poor and vulnerable.



Poverty Alleviation and Human Rights in China

(Prepared for the GIARI Symposium on Asian Cooperation, Integration and Human Resources) SHU Min Fudan University

I Recasting the Debate on Human Rights and Development Rights

• The debate on human rights in China: a conceptual game? Human rights, development rights, state sovereignty, and more...

- Two characteristics of the Chinese state and society
- 1) Continuous nation-building process
- 2) Economic development process

II Poverty Alleviation and Reduction in China: Achievements and Challenges

- Enormous achievement in poverty reduction in the past three decades of reforms
- 1) According to the World Bank, the proportion of population living in poverty in China fell from 53 percent to 8 percent between 1981 and 2001.
- 2) The implementation of *Household Contract Responsibility System* significantly improved the well-being of the poorest, both in the rural and the urban China.
- Mounting Challenges of poverty alleviation in China
- 1) Half of the poverty reduction in China occurred in the first half of the 1980s. However, the decline of poverty actually was not continual. There were periods of set-backs such as the late 1980s and early 1990s.
- 2) The increasing gap of prosperity and household income between the coastal and inland provinces of China
- 3) The growing inequality has disproportionally hurt the poorest in China. Generally speaking, relative inequality in higher in the rural areas, and absolute inequality is more severe in urban China.

III From State-Dominated Approaches to Society-Centred Strategies

- The role of state-dominated policies in poverty reduction
- 1) China's rural reforms not only reduced the rural poverty rate but also helped the poor employed the secondary or tertiary sectors.
- 2) The impact of industrial policies on the poor is sometimes imbalanced.
- 3) The official development strategies have greatly influenced the process of poverty reduction and alleviation in China.

- The growing significance of society-centred strategies in poverty alleviation
- 1) In recent years various non-governmental organizations have been playing a more important part in fighting poverty.
- 2) As poverty becomes more sensitive to the rising inequality, various programs of social welfare provision have gained importance.
- Plus, the importance of international organizations and regional approaches

IV Conclusion: Reconsidering Human Rights in China

• The multiple dimensions of human rights in developing countries Economic well-being, social welfare entitlement and basic political rights

- A phrased evolutionary process of human rights for China
- 1) The indispensable role of state in the early stage of poverty reduction
- 2) China is building its administrative capacity in public governance.
- 3) The gradually increasing involvement of societal forces in poverty alleviation
- The remaining problems and challenges

Poverty Alleviation and Human Rights in China

(Prepared for the GIARI International Symposium)

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Structure of the Presentation

- Recasting the Debate on Human Rights and Development Rights
- Poverty Alleviation and Reduction in China: Achievements and Challenges
- From State-Dominated Approaches to Society-Centred Strategies
- Conclusion: Reconsidering Human Rights in China

Recasting the Debate on Human Rights and Development Rights

• The debate on human rights in China: A conceptual game?

- Human rights: civil and political rights, economic rights, social and cultural rights...
- Other concepts: development rights, state sovereignty and more...
- Key Issues involved: which kind of right(s)? whose right(s)? how to protect such right(s)?
- Two characteristics of the Chinese state and society
 - A continuous state-building process
 - Enhancing internal administrative and external representative capacity
 - A economic development process
- Using poverty alleviation as a starting point to understand human rights in China

Poverty Alleviation and Reduction in China: Achievements and Challenges

- Remarkable achievements in poverty reduction in the past three decades of reforms
 - According to the World Bank, the proportion of population living in poverty in China fell from 53 percent to only 8 percent between 1981 and 2001.
 - The implementation of *Household Contract Responsibility System* in rural China significantly improved the well-being of the poorest, both in the rural and urban China.
 - The export-oriented economic reform and development policies led to economic prosperity to certain parts of China. (see figure)


- Mounting Challenges of poverty alleviation in China
 - Studies show that half of the poverty reduction in China actually occurred in the first half of the 1980s. (see figure)
 - Moreover, the decline of poverty was not continual. There were periods of set-backs such as the late 1980s and early 1990s.
 - There is also a increasing gap of household incomes between the coastal and inland provinces of China
 - Inequality often disproportionally hurts the poor. In China, growing inequality led to new problems of poverty, such as urban poverty. (see figure)

Uneven progress

The percentage of the population in China living below the poverty line fell more in some periods than others during 1981–2001.



Rising inequality

The gap between rich and poor has risen in China, although more in urban areas than rural areas. (Gini index1; percent) 40 National 35 30 Rura 25 20 15 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000Source: Ravallion and Chen, 2004.

¹The Gini index is a measure of income inequality within a population.

From State-Dominated Approaches to Society-Centred Strategies

- The role of state-dominated policies in poverty reduction
 - China's rural reforms not only reduced the rural poverty rate, but also helped the poor to be employed the secondary or tertiary sectors.
 - However, the impact of state-initiated industrial and development policies on the poor is sometimes imbalanced.
 - On the whole, official development strategies have greatly influenced the process of poverty reduction and alleviation in China.

From State-Dominated Approaches to Society-Centred Strategies

- The growing significance of society-centred strategies in poverty alleviation
 - As the poor become more sensitive to the rising inequality, various programs of social welfare provision (such as education and medical services) have gained attention.
 - In recent years various non-governmental organizations are playing an important part in fighting poverty.
 - Advantages of civil society involvement: special expertise, close partnership, raising awareness, enhancing accountability...
 - Poverty alleviation took about 13.5% of the NGOs activities in Beijing in the year of 2000 (Tsinghua University)
 - China Development Marketplace (DM) Program (2005)

From State-Dominated Approaches to Society-Centred Strategies

- The growing significance of society-centred strategies in poverty alleviation (continued)
 - The increasing private donation from willing individuals and the business sector
- The roles of international organizations and regional approaches
 - UNDP, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, etc.
 - The China-ASEAN Forum on Poverty Reduction, etc.
 - International Poverty Reduction Center in China

Conclusion: Reconsidering Human Rights in China

- The multiple dimensions of human rights in developing countries
 - How to balance the needs of economic well-being, social welfare entitlement and basic political rights?
- An evolutionary approach to human rights in China
 - The indispensable role of **state** in the early stage of poverty reduction
 - The increasing role of **public governance** in fighting poverty
 - The growing involvement of societal forces in poverty alleviation
- The remaining problems and challenges

Institutionalization of Regional Metagovernance Framework to Enhance Human Security in East Asia*

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I . Introduction

With increasing trends of globalization and economic growth evolved a concern of the conflicting nature between economic development and the environment. The Brundtland Commission was created by the UN General Assembly to address issues regarding the human environment and natural resources and its relationship to economic and social development; in 1987 it published a report dealing with the importance of sustainable development, i.e. development that "meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."¹⁷ Today, it is understood that there exist three pillars necessary towards achieving sustainable development, economic, environmental and social spheres, and these three pillars are interrelated and mutually reinforcing.¹⁸

Thus, the significance of alleviating poverty and promoting economic growth in impoverished regions to enhancing sustainable development is evident. Furthermore, the gaining awareness of human rights issues within the realm of social development emphasizes the interrelated nature between poverty alleviation and promoting human rights. While these concerns are a global phenomena, the historical and cultural characteristics of the East Asian region, make the current issue in East Asia distinct from the problems that have been faced in other regions. As such, the solutions to the problem cannot be replicas of successful

^{*}This paper is a draft version for presentation purposes only and should not be used for citation.

¹⁷ United Nations. 1987. *Our Common Future, Report of the Commission on Environment and Development.* General Assembly Resolution 42/187, 11 December 1987.

¹⁸ United Nations. 2005. World Summit Outcome Document. General Assembly Resolution 60/1, 24 October 2005.

frameworks from the West, but a new framework must be constructed that is applicable to the conditions that are characteristic of East Asia.

When East Asian countries experienced fast paced economic growth that shocked the international community, many scholars attempted to explain the causes of the development. However, the historical and cultural characteristics distinguished the region from traditional approaches to understanding the economic development and a new model was developed to promote understanding of the phenomenon. What is interesting is the fact that the ideas and concepts that were widely accepted by the academia came from within East Asia, e.g. the Asian Values idea, although it lost popularity after the financial crisis in 1997, was first introduced by Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, and the Flying Geese Paradigm was developed by Japanese scholars, Akamatsu, Kozima and Ozawa.

As aforementioned, the distinct historical and cultural dimensions within East Asia make it critical that it is studied by academia that can understand these inherent differences. Similar to the development of the frameworks to explain the miraculous economic development in East Asia, the characteristics of the human rights violations and the need to understand and conceptualize human security are also unique within the region and continuous efforts by regional scholars must be made to achieve an understanding of the problem and develop a plausible solution.

This paper will elaborate on the relationship between poverty alleviation and human security, the significance of the concepts, how they are mutually reinforcing and how they can contribute towards achieving sustainable development. In doing so, it will concentrate on East Asia and emphasize the importance of the Millennium Development Goals as a guideline for promoting action within the region. Finally, a

metagovernance¹⁹ framework will be introduced that is based on the collaborative efforts of multilateral actors, including IOs NGOs and nation states, which is applicable to the East Asian region to enhance human security and contribute to poverty alleviation.

II. Conceptualization of Human Security

The traditional views of security were based on the concept of national security, i.e. security that was concentrated within the boundaries of individual populations or people residing in a particular nation state. This was largely due to the power that was possessed by nation states in the international arena, after the development of the sovereign state with the Westphalian Order. A new international order advanced and has radically changed situation since the 17th century when state power and state security was established to sustain order and peace.²⁰

Today, however, there are more internal conflicts within states than international conflicts, and in many cases states were found to threaten the security of its people. Other new threats emerged with trends of globalization; threats to human security were no longer restricted to those within a nation's borders but began to include transboundary issues such as environmental pollution, transboundary terrorism, or infectious diseases. Thus, as the traditional concept of state security diminished, there evolved an interest in the individual persons security, and the concept of human security emerged.

Human security was developed to encompass the limitations of national security, and as such, complements state security. It further protects and enhances human rights and contributes to human

¹⁹ Metagovernance is a newly evolved theory with increasing interests in good governance. It will be explained in detail in **V**. East Asian Metagovernance Structure.

²⁰ Commission on Human Security. 2003. *Human Security Now.*

development. While scholars have not yet found a concrete conceptualization of human security, most studies agree that human security brings together the human elements of security, of rights and of development. Many efforts have been conducted on a global level with the UN leading the progress; in 1994 the UNDP introduced new dimensions of human security in its Human Development Report, and in 1999 the Human Security Network was established by 14 countries from all regions, and in 2003 the Commission on Human Security published a report entitled *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People.*

The Commission on Human Security defines human security as protecting the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance the human freedoms and human fulfillment. In addition the Commission identified four respects in which human security complements state security; first, its concern is the individual and the community rather than the state; second, menaces to people's security include threats and conditions that have not always been classified as threats to state security; third, the range of actors is expanded beyond the state alone; and fourth, achieving human security includes not just protecting people but also empowering people to fend for themselves. Human security attempts to protect individuals from direct threats to their well-being, but a second aspect is the power for people to act on their own behalf, which means that in order to promote human security, individuals must be encouraged to build and develop capabilities and awareness of human dignity, which will lead to avoiding future threats.

While many global level studies on human security have reached a consensus on the comprehensiveness of human security, the concrete conceptualizations must be done on a regional level²¹ to incorporate the conditions and situations that exist within a particular region. For example, Western European

²¹ Ali Kazancigil. 2007. *The Significance of Statehood in Global Governance*. Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance. United Nations University Press.

countries have categorized human security into seven different agendas, socio-economic security, health security, environmental security, migrations security, cultural identity, personal liberty, and political security.²² Similar to these efforts, East Asia must be able to reach a consensus on what constitutes human security within the region.

This paper identifies human security in three regards in light of Kofi Annan's assessment. In 2000, he based the concept of human security on three building blocs, the freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy environment²³ which is relative to the three pillars of sustainable development, i.e. economic development, human rights, and protecting the environment.

The economic development patterns in East Asia differ from those of other regions; the most significant cause being the existence of a strong government which interfered with Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' in the market. While East Asia achieved economic development at miraculous rates, giving birth to the Asian Tigers, Southeast Asian countries continue to suffer from extreme poverty. The income gap among countries in the region is unbelievable, and with the 2000 Millennium Development Goals set to eradicate poverty by 2015, East Asian countries have split into recipient and donor countries. Under this context, it is necessary to understand the poverty issues in the region and constructing a roadmap that will lead to achieving the MDGs will help promote human security in the region.

If economic development relieves the material and temporal dimensions of human security by providing a freedom from want, in order to protect people from fear, enhancing human rights is a method of

²² J. Peter Burgess et al. 2007. Promoting Human Security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in Western Europe. UNESCO 2007.

²³ United Nations. 2000. *We the peoples: the role of the United Nations in the 21st century*. Speech to General Assembly by Secretary-General, Press Release GA/9704, New York, 30 March.

promoting human security.²⁴ Similarly, the need for institutionalizing regional human rights efforts is evident. While many other regions have been successful in establishing human rights regimes, East Asia is still without any specific framework. An inspection of the historical and cultural characteristics of the region that have prevented the establishment of a human rights regime will lead to a possible solution to the problem.

Finally, environmental security is a transnational phenomenon that contributes to degradation of the physical environment on which people depend. It affects individual's well being and health and influences economic productivity which indicates its direct relation to human security. However, efforts of protecting the environment must be differentiated from the above mentioned two pillars of sustainable development since many of the current environmental problems are transborder issues that have no boundaries. For example, recently, the United Nations Climate Change Conference was held in Bali to discuss the global climate change and greenhouse gas emissions. Although some environmental issues are regional issues and emphasize the significance of efforts of direct stakeholders, many are global phenomena and the cooperation and efforts of all countries are necessary; since many emerging phenomena cannot be limited to the regional level, they have gained recognition and global coordination on all levels is necessary to provide a solution.

The scope of this paper is concentrated on the regional institutionalization of a human security framework, therefore, it is limited to socio-economic and human rights aspects of human security. Through a comparative analysis methodology, characteristics that are unique in East Asia will be inspected to identify features that need to be understood before building a possible East Asian framework that will lead to promoting human security in the region.

²⁴ Commission on Human Security. 2003. *Human Security Now*.

III. Regional Efforts to Building Human Security in the International Arena

The debate among universalists and relativists in perspective of human rights has continued over the years. A universal consensus has formulated implying that universal human rights do indeed exist. In the view of Donnelly, he disclaims that human rights can be derived from "God, nature or the physical facts of life"; instead they are said to be grounded in "man's moral nature" in the need for "human dignity."²⁵

However, through these discussions, the study of human rights has continued and with increasing efforts to globalize and institutionalize human rights, a general conceptualization of human rights has developed. Today, about 90 regional and subject-oriented international human rights regimes currently exist around the world. Most of these regimes are state-oriented, or based on mutual agreements among nation states.²⁶

In Europe, a regional human rights regime was created under the Helinski System to promote stability and peace in the context of the post-cold war Europe. The European Human Rights regime was established by 40 member states of the European Council to protect human rights and fundamental freedom.²⁷ The European Human Rights regime extends beyond the boundaries of Europe by including provisions that require member states to suggest human rights conditions when providing overseas assistance to developing countries. In light of these efforts, it is possible to assess that efforts to prevent human rights violations and

²⁵ Fred Dallmayr. 2002. "Asian Values" and Global Human Rights. Philosophy East and West, Vol. 52, No.2.

²⁶ UNESCO Korea. 1995. Principal International Documents Regarding Human Rights.

²⁷ The European Human Rights Regime is headquartered in Strasbourg, France and was established based on the European Convention, ratified in 1950. In addition, the European Social Charter works to induce change in social policies and constitutions in European Countries by introducing clear standards for social and economic rights. Agreements exist regarding gender equality or racial discrimination.

promote human security are coherent with policies that concentrate on economic development within not only member countries but also those of developing countries.

Regional human rights regimes also exist in South America and even Africa.²⁸ In the case of South America, the human rights regime has contributed to political stability and peace, and has promoted human rights, however, in Africa, they have not been as successful with their efforts as in the other regions. Despite the limitations in their achievements, the efforts of Africa to incorporate their needs into developing a unique framework must be valued.

East Asia is the only region that has not constructed human rights regime. The awareness within East Asia of human rights violations and threats to human security has heightened during the past decades, but an effective mechanism structure is still in need of development. Despite the lack of success in implementing a regional framework in East Asia, there have been several significant efforts to promote human security, e.g. several individual states, Japan, Korea, or Thailand are exampled of state level efforts that have made important contributions. More importantly, there have also been regional level efforts within East Asia, i.e. ASEAN.

ASEAN was established in 1967 in Bangkok and currently contains 10 member countries.²⁹ The objectives and purposes of the ASEAN Declaration are stated as accelerating economic growth, social

²⁸ Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court established under the OAS of 1959 form the American Human Rights Regime. The American Human Rights Regime differs from that of the European Human Rights Regime in that it is not based on separate human rights principles. Instead, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights concentrates on increasing awareness of human rights, producing recommendations, reviewing individual petitions as well as conducting investigations of violations. The Human Rights regime in Africa is a part of the African Union(AU), and was established based on the African Charter on Human and People's rights. It is characterized by an emphasis on individual rights, collective rights and people's rights. It also contains rights to development and peace.

²⁹ The original member countries were Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Cambodia have also gained membership as of today.

progress and cultural development in the region, and to promote regional peace and stability.³⁰ Furthermore, three pillars, ASEAN Security Community, ASEAN Economic Community, and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community were established in 2003 by ASEAN leaders. In order to promote security in the region ASEAN understood the necessity of cooperation and dialogue within Asia-Pacific, e.g. in 1994 the ASEAN Regional Forum(ARF) was established in recognition of the importance of security interdependency in the region. Diverse regional security issues were under discussion such as non-proliferation, counter-terrorism, transnational crimes. However, the concept of human security is not at issue within the ARF and the efforts emphasize more traditional security issues and have yet to consider human security that concentrates on the individual persons. Although the efforts to improve dialogues among countries to promote security are critical, ASEAN was unable to incorporate non-state actors into the discussions. Present participants are limited to the state level and also include states that are not geographically located within the region, such as the United States or Canada.³¹

Under such conditions, a constructive framework that implements multilateral dialogues of diverse non-state actors is necessary. However, this framework must be adaptable to the unique conditions that are inherent in the East Asian region. In order to be able to establish a plausible framework within the region, the characteristics of the historical and cultural circumstances that differentiate East Asia from other regions must be analyzed and understood.

³⁰ See http://www.aseansec.org/64.htm

³¹ The present participants include: Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, EU, India, Indonesia, Japan, DPRK, ROK, Lao PDR, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, the Russian Federation, Singapore, Thailand, the US and Vietnam.

IV. Understanding East Asia: Characteristic Threats and Conditions

The situation in East Asia is more complex and must be understood in light of two significant factors. The first, is the threat posed by the North Korean regime. The violations of human rights in North Korea are dire, as is the difficulties faced by the people due to a lack of resources and food. The serious food shortage has led to mass starvation and it is reported that 1~2 million people, which accounts for 10% of the total population died of malnutrition. According to a report by Good Friends, a South Korean NGO devoted to the issues of peace, human rights, and refugees, it is estimated that the mortality rate of children under 9 is 40.5% and that of elderly people who are 60 and over is almost 80%.³² In a 2004 report, UNICEF and WFP research surveyed 4,800 children under 6 years of age and found that 23% were underweight, 37% suffered from malnutrition, and 7% were in the state of extreme malnutrition.³³

Inequalities of distribution of the Northern developed nations compared to the Southern less developed nations has gained recognition within the global arena, but similar to this wide gap of wealth, a difference of wealth exists within East Asian nations, with developed countries like Singapore, Japan and Korea ranking in the top largest economies in the world, while others such as Vietnam and Cambodia continue to struggle to provide necessities to its people.³⁴ This problem is becoming more severe in the region due to the negative aspects of China's economic development. Thus, the second major threat in East Asia is posed by the increasing inequalities persisting in China. China is a developing at a very rapid pace, and despite its

³² Ahn-Sook, Jung. North Korea's Food Shortage Problems and Current Situation of North Korean Refugees. Good Friends.

³³ Changrok, Soh. 2007. Enhancing Human Security in North Korea Through Development of Human Rights Regime in Asia.

³⁴ According to the Global Competitiveness Report conducted by the World Economic Forum(WEF), in the 2007-08 report, Singapore ranked 7th, Japan 8th, and Korea 11th. Compared to these high rankings, Vietnam ranked 68th, while Cambodia ranked 110th.

economic development it has achieved after opening market economy, inequalities of income and wealth is prevalent in the country, which poses another severe problem to the region.

Although China has advanced its economy and showed a strong growth rate of gross domestic product (GDP) 9.37% per year, on average,³⁵ according to its 2005 MDG country report, the population below the international poverty line has shown improvement since 1990, the 85 million suffering from extreme poverty has decreased to 26.1 million in 2004, which is 2.8% of the rural population. In addition, reported cases of HIV infection are close to 50,000 and estimates of HIV/AIDS prevalence range between 650,000 and 1,020,000 million. Nearly 40% of the population in rural areas does not have access to clean drinking water, while under five mortality rate is at 25%. Gender inequality is another direct violation of human rights, with less than 50% of girls participating in primary education in 2002.³⁶

While the 2002 data present that all provinces in China have reached the 0.5 UN global cut-off that indicate 'medium' development; improvements in the Human Development Index have grown from 0.522 in 1975 to 0.726 in 2000, and ranked 96 out of 173 countries in the 2002 Human Development Report. However, the problem is that the inequalities that persist within China are at a difference of 30% among the richest and the poorest. As of 1999, China is no longer a low-income country,³⁷ and although there are continuous discussions as to the nature of China as a threat, or a beneficial factor to the East Asian region, it is evident that the severe inequalities of distribution that are prevalent in the country and further within the region is an issue of utmost concern, within the agenda of promoting human security.

³⁵ Statistical Yearbook 2003, p.57

³⁶ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, United Nations System in China. 2005. *China's Progress Towards the Millennium Development Goals*.

³⁷ In 1999, the World Bank raised China's classification to a lower middle income country when China's per capita income surpassed the \$755 cut-off point for low-income countries. Information is taken from *China's Progress Towards the Millennium Development Goals*, MDG Country Progress Report.

These two significant threats, in the form of individual nation states, North Korea and China, distinguish the East Asian region from that of Europe or the Americas. Nevertheless, the model frameworks that have been studied and advanced in these western societies provide a basic foundation for constructing a framework that is applicable to the East Asian region.

Another distinctive characteristic of East Asia can be analyzed within the success of its fast paced economic development. While the international arena was more oriented towards laissez-faire market policies, many East Asian countries were dominated by strong government policies that monitored and assisted the private sectors market behaviors. Strong states are able to deploy state institutions to perform certain public policy functions despite the existence of other public policy functions,³⁸ as such, they are able to play a significant role in designating the course of the market. Thus, although the effects of the state power on the market economy are still under study, i.e. the positive and negative aspects of state interference, the fact that the market was influenced by the state within East Asian development patterns is undeniable.

The importance of constructing a regime that is applicable to the unique conditions of East Asia can be supported by the difficulties that were faced in explaining the East Asian economic miracle. Literature indicates that the Flying Geese Paradigm, coined by Kojima, a Japanese scholar, is the most widely recognized as explaining the patterns of economic growth in the region. The Flying Geese Paradigm was a development of Akamatsu's³⁹ discussion of industrial diffusion across nations and Vernon's interpretation of

³⁸ Grainsborough, M. (2002). *Political Change in Vietnam: In Search of the Middle-Class Challenge to the State*. Asian Survey, Vol. 42, No. 5.

³⁹ Akamatsu's Flying Geese Paradigm explains the industrial development through analysis of a sequential phenomenon of production related to trade. Akamatsu applied the Flying Geese Paradigm on both domestic and international levels. The "intra-industry" product cycle is made by the emergence of new product groups within each industrial sector. The second

investments made by exporting economies in the form of FDI or ODA which increased trade and economic growth. East Asian countries were identified as following a pattern of growth with less developed countries following precedent forerunners.

The Flying Geese Paradigm, or catching-up product cycle model, identified spillover effects and benefits that neighboring countries received from Japan. This led to a development of the East Asian market, which resulted in increased inflows of capital from Western industrialized economies. Bruce Curnings later interpreted the Flying Geese Model in light of Japanese colonialism. According to Curnings, while most western countries exploited the resources found in their colonies; the inflow of capital was from the colonized country to the colonizer, in the case of Japan, it invested heavily in its colonies. Curnings interprets this by understanding Japanese colonialism in the context of national expansion.

What is significant within these interpretations of East Asian economic growth patterns is the fact that they incorporate the unique conditions that are prevalent in the region. It is evident that the nation-state played a dominant role in undertaking development policies and it is important to recognize such historical and cultural conditions that are characteristic of the region.

It must be recognized that an aspect of concern in the region is the power struggle among the three largest economies, Korea, China and Japan. The political tension that persists among these countries are a

diversification is more important for the analysis of this paper; the "inter-industry" product cycle shows the level of development within a national economy and is characterized by a shift in the relative mass of production from consumer to capital goods.

On the international level, "international economy" implies existence of hierarchies within regional economies. This "international economy" explains that industrial transfers are caused by resources and technological capacities. The Flying Geese Paradigm explains patterns of industrial development on the basis of less-advanced country's economy entering into an international economic relationship with advanced countries.

hindrance to enhancing human security in the region and make it more important to find a method that will encourage these countries to cooperation and collaborate their efforts to promote human development and well being in the region.

Within the sphere of human security, in constructing a new framework that is unique to the East Asian region incorporating its characteristics and conditions, it is important to understand the role that the government played in achieving economic growth. A similar framework that recognizes the possibility of the government can be utilized to construct a metagovernance model that incorporates the historical past of East Asia, while transforming the role that was played by the state into a new more appropriate one.

V. East Asian Metagovernance Structure

Governance was first formed as a mechanism to reliably measure and determine objects of international assistance and promote effective regulation in answer to the MDGs efforts to eradicate poverty by 2015. The UN Millennium Declaration addressed the "collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity"⁴⁰ in light of the MDGs, which explicitly indicates the relationship between poverty and human security.

Efforts to formulate a governance structure at a regional level are important because of the strategic role it can play in democratized multilevel global governance. Two specific reasons are given by Kazancigil, the first being that regional integration efforts and intergovernmental regional organizations are instruments for articulating and defending the interests and policies of governments, and second, to offer a solution to the perennial dilemma of the transnational system and global governance system.⁴¹

⁴⁰ United Nations Millennium Declaration Section 1 Article 2.

⁴¹ Ali Kazancigil. 2007. *The Significance of Statehood in Global Governance*. Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance.

Within the context of the East Asian situation it is necessary to moderate the role of the nation-state and collaborate the efforts on a governmental level with non-governmental efforts. Furthermore, due to the dramatic differences in development among states, a coalition needs to be formed among leading nations, or nations that can provide a leading role in solving the problem, which can moderate and facilitate the actions of other nation states in the region. In short, a Flying Geese Paradigm, must be constructed among the participating nation-states, and the roles of each individual state in promoting human security will differ accordingly.

Although most human rights work has aimed at holding the state accountable for rights violations, especially political and civil violations, which occur within its borders,⁴² while it must be accepted that the state is a major actor of human rights violations, by limiting responsibility to state actors, it is impossible to grasp the entire scope of human security. The view that the state is responsible for human rights violations is more acceptable within the boundaries of the traditional national security concept; human security is a far more complex and comprehensive concept, encompassing violations of not only state actors, within national borders but also the actions of other states, inter-state, and private actors, which contribute directly and indirectly to a wide range of human and environmental rights violations.⁴³

Under such context, although the state must continue to play a significant role in advancing human security, the efforts must be on a multilateral level, including the collaboration of IOs, NGOs, and the private sector; thus a metagovernance system must be created to incorporate these various actors into a well functioning good governance model.

United Nations University Press.

⁴² Grahame Russell. 1998. All Rights Guaranteed, All Actors Accountable: Poverty is a Violation of Human Rights. Development in Practice.

⁴³ Grahame Russell. 1998. All Rights Guaranteed, All Actors Accountable: Poverty is a Violation of Human Rights. Development in Practice.

Global governance is an attempt to effectively functionalize multilateral institutions. "Traditional" multilateralism refers to an exclusively state centric, top-down approach that is focused on inter-state efforts. The limitations of this approach have led to a "bottom-up" or "cosmopolitan" multilateralism, which emphasizes the role of NGOs and civil actors.⁴⁴ Metagovernance incorporates the limitations of both of these approaches and collaborates both the efforts made by nation-states in a top-down approach and civil actors of the bottom-up approach.

Metagovernance attempts to modify the relative balance among various governance mechanisms and modify their relative importance, in short by managing the complexity, plurality, and tangled hierarchies found in prevailing modes of co-ordination and involves the judicious mixing of market, hierarchy, and networks.⁴⁵ It refers to all government arrangements including the containing process of regulations on the supragovernmental level. Through a metagovernance system, new boundary-spanning roles and functions are defined which create linkage devices and sponsor new organizations. Metagovernance functions to facilitate the effective usage of the networks that exist among the diverse actors and arrangements, or objectives. Furthermore, through a metagovernance system it is possible to effectively regulate among governance partners and enhance discussions among political units.

Due to the characteristics of the region, the need for a metagovernance regime is especially important in East Asia. The historically state-centrism that was prevalent in many East Asian countries, the traditional top-down government structure, and the lack of a anti-corruption mechanism has led the state to become a strong player in diverse spheres, and in some cases allowed countries to achieve development.

⁴⁴ Ali Kazancigil. 2007. *The Significance of Statehood in Global Governance*. Regulating Globalization: Critical Approaches to Global Governance. United Nations University Press.

⁴⁵ Bob Jessop. 2003. *The Future of the Capitalist State*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

However, with regard to human security, states must be moderated and monitored by non-governmental actors to prevent threatening human development.

A metagovemance system provides an answer to the cooperation and collaboration of multilateral actors in East Asia. The state will continue to play a strong role within this new framework, but will be assisted by International Organizations such as the UN which provides broad guidelines for action, and evaluation of state behaviors which will act as a monitoring mechanism against individual governments. Furthermore, IOs will be able to monitor general behaviors of the international community and individual states, which will contribute towards achieving policy coherence.

Civil societies must play a crucial role for the metagovernance framework to be successful; the importance of incorporating the bottom-up approach, which will function as a stronger monitoring and checking system must be recognized. The advantage that NGOs and civil society has compared to International Organizations is that they can concentrate their efforts on specific issues and projects. Whereas, IOs provide broad and general guidelines for action, NGOs are able to critically assess a situation and analyze the actual behaviors that are necessary under given conditions.

The future of sustainable development can be enhanced by the private sector. Multinational corporations have expanded their boundaries to encompass the global market, MNC behaviors are no longer limited to national boundaries but production is outsourced globally to increase efficiency. Since, the behaviors of any corporation are founded on the efficiency and effectiveness to increase competitiveness, incorporating the advantages of corporations into the framework to enhance effectiveness.

More important than the allocation of roles to different actors within the metagovernance system is the

effectiveness of relationships among these various actors. All of these actors are interrelated, and must cooperate in order to achieve a functioning good governance system. Since the linkages among multilateral actors are complicated and many networks must be interconnected, a comprehensive and exhaustive study to provide an understanding of the diversity that prevails within the system is critical to its successful implementation. It must also be recognized that the exact roles of each actor is tentative, so that they will change according to the agenda.

VI. Hypothetical East Asian Metagovernance Framework Proposal

Case Study: Towards Achieving the MDGs

The MDGs are a global level effort, but regional efforts to eradicate poverty will lead to promoting human security. As indicated above, in order to be successful, it is necessary to construct a regional metagovernace framework that reflects the historical and cultural characteristics of East Asia. More important than the allocation of roles to the diverse actors within the framework, which will be elaborated in detail, is the collaborative efforts of all of the actors to cooperate and build relationships that are mutually reinforcing. The complexity of the relationships need not be discussed, but it necessary to recognize that the interconnectedness of the networks that exist among the different actors must be comprehensive and exhaustive to function as a successful mechanism.

International Organizations

The Millennium Development Goals were initiated at the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000

and was adopted by 189 nations.⁴⁶ They consist of 8 different goals set for the year 2015, measured by 48 different indicators. The first 7 goals focus on increasing the welfare of less developed nations, whereas Goal 8, Global Partnership, concentrates on the relationship between recipient and donor countries.

While the ultimate goal of the MDGs is poverty eradication, an inspection of the specific goals indicate that many are centered on providing basic human needs, such as providing education opportunities, protecting health or providing sufficient drinking water facilities or infrastructures, and promoting environmental sustainability.⁴⁷ The MDGs were developed to "recognize explicitly the interdependence between growth, poverty reduction and sustainable development"48 and emphasizes respect for human rights, peace and security.

The achievement of the MDGs set by the UN was that they provided substantial guidelines for action and quantified these guidelines to assist practical implementation by the international community. The first step within the proposed metagovemance structure was undertaken by International Organizations, namely the UN in this case, to provide a trigger for action.

⁴⁶ Secretary General K. Annan. *Road Map Towards the Implementation of the Millennium Declaration*. UN Document 56/326.
 ⁴⁷ UN Millennium Development Goals

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger •
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education •
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women ٠
- 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

⁴⁸ See www.undp.org/mdg

Furthermore, as indicated in MDG 8. entitled Global Partnership, by requiring participating countries to report their progress, although non-binding in nature, the UN has implemented an evaluation mechanism. Since it is difficult to establish legally binding legislatives in the case of ODA, peer review among countries was implemented as a possible method of providing evaluation of participation, and to encourage future action. By monitoring the actions of individual countries it will be possible to achieve policy coherence with ODA approaches, e.g. the WTO monitors trade and tariff rates while the UNDP concentrates on analyzing development policies of countries.

State Actors

Under the guidelines set by the UN, individual nations have provided assistance to developing countries. However, the majority of assistance is multilateral and project based. This is because multilateral aid is more effectively utilized than bilateral aid, and project based assistance contributes more towards sustainable development than programme based, which is in many cases one-time assistance. In order to effectively utilize multilateral aid projects, again diverse actors must be able to construct an effective method of cooperation.

Among the countries that have provided ODA in East Asia, the efforts of Japan and Korea as individual countries are especially noticeable. In the case of Japan, in 2000 then Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori, declared at the Millennium Development Summit that Japan will uphold human security as one pillar of Japan's foreign policy, and called for the establishment of an international commission on human security to further and deepen the concept.⁴⁹ Kofi Annan established the "Commission on Human Security" following this proposal in

⁴⁹ Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21st Century*.

2001 and Japan continued its efforts by establishing a Trust Fund for Human Security in the UN, and has continued to hold symposiums, e.g. "Human Security Now(2003)," "Human Security and National Security(2004)," "APEC Human Security Seminar(2005)" and in celebration of the 20th anniversary of Japan's admission to the UN, "50th Anniversary of Japan's Admission to the UN: International Symposium on Human Security."⁵⁰

Japan started the Trust Fund for Human Security with a contribution of ¥500 million in 1999, as of 2006 total contributions exceeded ¥33.5 billion. As identified within the 2007 report, the objective of the fund was to translate the concept of human security into concrete activities implemented by UN agencies through supporting projects that address diverse threats including poverty, environmental degradation, conflicts, health problems to secure people's lives, livelihoods and dignity.

While there was no explicit concentration on East Asian threats, and the effort was based on a global level, an inspection of the actual projects implemented since its initiation present a preference for assistance to East Asian countries. As of February 2007, a total of 139 projects have been approved, of these 35 are in the Southeast Asian region and another 25 are categorized as Asia, other than Southeast Asia.⁵¹ A further inspection of the individual projects in Asia present that they are categorized under 9 different issues, poverty, health, drug, refugees, crime, conflict, disaster, environment and others. Within Southeast Asia 18 of the 35 projects are categorized under poverty, while 7 are health issues, implying the extreme poverty issues that are prevalent in Southeast Asia. In contrast, in Asia, other than Southeast Asia only 7 of the 25 projects were

⁵⁰ Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21st Century.*

⁵¹ See table p. 7 Approved Budget: Region. Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21st Century*.

categorized under poverty.⁵² This gap that exists among Southeast Asian countries and East Asian countries is severe, and so developed countries in the region must work to alleviate the inequality gap before the situation becomes more accentuated.

Japan's efforts towards enhancing human security are evident, on both global and regional levels, thus it is obvious that Japan should play a leading role among the nations within the metagovernace framework so that other countries can follow its example. Although Japan has been the leading country in economic prosperity in East Asia, the case of Korea is different and provides new implications to recipient countries.

As Jefferey Sachs professed during his visit to Korea in 2007, the fact that Korea was able to transform itself from a recipient country to a donor in the course of a few decades is miraculous; Korea is a model case for other developing countries to envy and follow. Although the contributions that Korea has made in the total amount of ODA is minimal compared to that of Japan, the actual amount of ODA in 2006 was over \$450 million, and was over \$750 million in 2005, it is planning to increase its total volume in 2007. Further, due to the traditional zeal for education in Korea, many of the projects funded by Korea are concentrated on increasing education opportunities, which will improve the qualities of lives in developing nations and provide increasing awareness and skills that allow people to work to sustain them.⁵³

More importantly, however, is the fact that the actual implications of Korea as a model country case for developing countries are invaluable. Korea is also distinguishable from other East Asian countries since its democratization process was based on a bottom-up approach. This historical experience will also contribute towards making a well balances effective metastructure that attempts to incorporate the values of top-down

⁵² See List of Projects Supported by the Trust Fund for Human Security(As of February 2007). Global Issues Cooperation Division. 2007. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *The Trust Fund for Human Security For the "Human-centered" 21st Century*.

⁵³ Statistics taken from www.koica.go.kr

and bottom-up approaches.

Furthermore, due to the tension that still exists between Japan and Korea based on their historical ties, the cooperation of Japan and Korea to create a coalition that leads other states within the regime in addition to the symbolic implications of the effort will lead to a stronger and more effective metagovernance framework which could possibly result in providing a substantial halo effect.

NGOs and Civil Societies

Non-governmental actors and civil actors are able to specify their efforts on particular causes and needs; they are more compassionate and committed to the individual tasks and provide the acute personal attention that is needed in many cases.⁵⁴ As mentioned above, if international organizations provide general guidelines for actions, NGOs and civil actors can provide specific action plans. Since their interests are limited to specific issues they are able to effectively analyze characteristic conditions in individual countries to assess the direct needs of recipient countries. This is particularly important since recent ODA practices are project-based and conducted on a case-by-case analysis.

By providing in-depth analysis of the conditions and needs within a specific country, taking into consideration the historical and cultural aspects of the recipient country will facilitate assistance efforts from external sources. In addition, because NGOs are able to work closely with recipient countries, they provide an critical link between the recipient country and the donor partner, and can ease discussions and conflicts that can occur because of a lack of understanding.

In order to effectively utilize ODA in developing countries, there is increasing concern of ownership

⁵⁴United Nations Publication. 2005. A Future Within Reach: Reshaping Institutions in a Region of Disparities to Meet the Millennium Development Goals in Asian and the Pacific. Thailand. ISBN:92-1-120439-9

and partnership. Without recipient countries awareness of responsibility and efficient usage of funds, it will be impossible to achieve the MDGs. Unfortunately, however, many developing countries are suffering from corruption, and lack anti-corruption mechanisms. Civil societies must monitor both recipient and donor partners and act to hinder corruption to increase efficiency.

Another important role that civil societies must play is with regard to the evaluation process. Although a peer review evaluation system and progress reports are implemented by the UN, the progress reports are created by the participating countries, which may result in lack of objectivity.

Private Sector

With globalization and increasing trade and investments, corporations are now operating in a global market, not limited to importing and exporting manufactured goods but expanding the production process over a number on countries to gain efficiency and competitiveness. An important aspect in East Asia is the increasing intra-regional trade and investment that has led to larger market economy for participating countries. With China emerging as a huge potential market, the majority of foreign direct investment from the West has flown into China, which has raised continuous questions about the potential threat that China poses on the regional economy.

Despite these concerns, many private corporations in the region have grown in size to and today many MNCs exist within East Asian countries. With rising interests in Corporate Social Responsibility, e.g. the Global Compact that was initiated by the UN, including corporations in the future metagovernance structure is beneficial. Private operations are more effective at economic tasks, they have the potential capability to innovate new methods of activities. For example, the private sector service was able to expand mobile telephones, which has made phone services more available to the poor. A Bangledashi company, Grameen Phone is the countries largest mobile phone provider; women, by a phone with a loan and then sell calls to users.

Since the basic intention of all corporations is profit, extreme caution is necessary with regard to corporate activities, so that they contain responsibility throughout assistance processes. In the case of ODA, it is crucial to maintain a balance between providing efficiency and being open to the needs of the suffering. This balance must be monitored by both international organizations and civil societies.

VII. Conclusion

Human security is a fairly new concept under study by the academia that has gained recognition largely in answer to the limitations of the traditional state security concept and the increasing interests in achieving sustainable development. Although the current conceptualization of human security is not definitive or concrete, continuous efforts to understand and identify the boundaries of human security are necessary.

Under the context that human security has emerged as a more comprehensive and complicated concept that encompasses state security, and includes newly arising threats that have emerged from the new international order, it is obvious that the solution to providing human security is not possible by the singlehanded effort of the state. The concept of the sovereign state itself has changed since its development, and today the power that the state possesses in the international arena is limited.

Thus, the collaborative effort of diverse actors on all levels is necessary to enhance human security. However, the threats to human security that exist differ from region to region, as the historical and cultural backgrounds differ; by creating effective regional efforts to dissolve of potential threats, increasing human security on regional levels will lead to promoting human security in the global arena. It is also possible for regional efforts to reflect an understanding of characteristic situations and conditions that are unique to a particular region which is precisely why an East Asian human security framework, that incorporates the values and conditions unique to East Asia, must be constructed to protect individuals from threats to their well-being, livelihoods, and human dignity.

By implementing a metagovernace framework in East Asia, it will be possible to form a structure of diverse actors, state and non-state actors, that collaborate and cooperate their efforts to increase efficiency and effectively enhance human security. Since there will be complexities inherent in the networks among these actors, in order for this model to be successful, the traditional role of the strong sovereign state that dominated behaviors within national boundaries must be discarded and the state must transform radically into a new type of state that undertakes the role of managing and moderating the interactions among the diverse actors. By incorporating both the efforts from above and below, the new state role must be able manage effectively to facilitate the efforts of the diverse actors and to further promote efficiency in order to create a strong well-functioning metagovernance framework.

Enhancing Human Security in East Asia through Human Rights & Poverty Eradication

Dean Soh, Changrok Korea University GSIS

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 Human Rights Violations in East Asia
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- East Asian Metagovernance Structure
I. Sustainable Development

Three Pillars of Sustainable Development

development that "meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"



II. Human Security

- Traditional Security
 - State Security
 - Concentrated on the boundaries of populations within a sovereign state

Emerging Global Trends

- Globalization
- Increasing Internal Conflicts

Human Security

- Transboundary Problems
 - environmental pollution
 - transboundary terrorism
 - infectious diseases

II. Human Security

- Protecting the Vital Cores of all human lives in ways that enhance the human freedoms and human fulfillment –Commission on Human Security
- Freedom from Fear, Freedom from Want, and Freedom of Future Generations to Inherit a Healthy Environment –Kofi Annan

III. Regional Efforts To Promote Human Security

- Under Helinski System
- 40 members of European Council
 - Interregional/Intraregional Efforts

East Asia Human Rights Individual Efforts Lack of Institutional Regime

- African Union
- Established Based on
- African Charter on Human and People's Rights
 - Emphasize Individual Rights,
 - Collective Rights,
 - People's Rights.

- American Human Rights Regime
- 1959 Inter-American Court
 - Increasing Awareness
 - Producing Recommendations

III. Regional Efforts To Promote Human Security

- Lack of Human Security in East Asia
 - Need to Establish Regional Framework
 - Understanding of Current Situation in East Asia
 - Human Rights
 - Poverty
 - Analysis of Potential Threats
 - Regional Disparities
 - Incorporation of Unique Characteristics of East Asia
 - Fast-paced Economic Growth
 - State Centrism

IV. East Asian Situation: Human Rights

- Socio-Economic and Political Problems
 - Poverty. Illiteracy. Unemployment. Unequal Treatment of Women. Violence. Pollution. Exploitation of Child Labor. Religious Fundamentalism.
- Refugees
 - armed conflicts displaced 213,000 people in Sri Lanka
 - 16,000 in Myanmar's Karen state
 - 150,000 refugees remained on Thai/Myanmar border
 - 100,000 North Koreans were reportedly in China
 - 7,000 Lao Hmong refugees in a camp in Thailand
- Violence
 - Thailand Muslim Southern Provinces
 - Death threats, Violent attacks

IV. East Asian Situation: Human Rights

- China
 - High-profile cases
 - monitoring, harassment, intimidation and arrest of journalists, Internet writers, religious and social activists, and defense attorneys
 - Government Restrictions on Freedom of Speech
 - Internet, NGOs and non-registered religious groups
- North Korea
 - Refugees
 - 150,000 to 200,000 persons are believed held in detention camps
 - prisoners have died from torture, starvation, disease, exposure
 - prohibited live births in prison, and forced abortions were performed
- Philippines
 - Extra-Judicial Killings
 - Cumulative Death toll 803 (since 2001), 68 (2007)

IV. East Asian Situation: Poverty

- Economic Growth / Poverty Reduction
 - Less than \$2/ day 500 million
- Uneven Rates of Growth
 - Growing Income Disparities
 - Urban Rural divide

ADB : Poverty Reduction Strategy(1999)

Addresses the challenges of income poverty reduction & human poverty reduction.

Main pillars: growth, social development and governance.

IV. East Asian Situation: Threats

- Regional Level Threats
 - East Asia vs. Southeast Asia
 - Inequalities of Wealth
 - Developed vs. Developing Economies
- State Level Threats
 - China
 - 2002 Human Development Report
 - Inequalities 30% difference among richest and poorest
 - North Korea
 - Serious Food Shortage
 - 10% of total population dies of malnutrition
 - Mortality rate under 9, 40.5%

IV. East Asian Situation: Characteristics

- Economic Development
 - Strong Government Policies to Promote Development
 - Monitor/Assist Private Sector
 - Cf. Laissez-faire policies in International Arena
- Flying Geese Paradigm
 - Understanding East Asian Development Patterns
- Incorporates Uniqueness of East Asia
 - Dominant role of State
 - Catching-up Process
 - Forerunner/Follower development patterns
 - Intra-regional Efforts
 - Increased Trade and Investment
 - Increased ODA



V. Metagovernance Framework in East Asia



Incorporation of NGOs

- Gaining Importance of Human Security
 - Diminishing traditional Sovereign State
 - Inability of State to Protect populations
- Significance of Non-State Actors in Human Security
 - Monitor State Violations
- Importance of Governance

V. Metagovernance Framework in East Asia

- Need for a Metagovernance Structure in East Asia
 - New Role of State Actors: Management
 - Incorporation of Non-State Actors
 - Collaboration of Top-Down/Bottom-up Approaches
 - Managing Cooperation among Diverse Actors

Metagovernance	
	 Managing the Complexity, Plurality, Hierarchies found in Prevailing modes of Coordination
	 Involves the Judicious Mixing of Market, Hierarch and Networks

V.	Metagovernance Framework in East Asia			
• Div	erse Multilateral Actors State Actors			
	UN Millennium Development Goals			
IOs	Substantial Guidelines for Action			
	General Achievement Objectives			
	Non-Binding Evaluation			
	Case Making			
NGOs	Monitoring /Evaluation			
	Criticizing Mis-Behaviors			
	Understanding unique country conditions			
	Effectiveness			
Private Sector	Balancing Needs & Efficiency			
	Capabilities			
Innovation, Investments				

ш

V. Metagovernance Framework in East Asia

- Individual State Level ODA
 - Japan
 - Establishment of Trust Fund for Human Security
 - Total Contributions ¥33.5 billion
 - 139 Projects World Wide
 - 60 in Asia
 - 35 Southeast Asia, 15 Other Asia
 - Korea
 - \$159.2 million (1996), \$423.3 million (2004), \$752.32 (2005), \$446.67 (2006)
 - EDCF (1987)
 - $\boldsymbol{\cdot}$ source of loans to developing countries: concessional terms
 - spur industrial growth, improve economic stability, and

V. Metagovernance Framework in East Asia

- Importance of State Level Actors
- Japan
 - Frontrunner Efforts
 - Large Volume of ODA
 - Economic Leader in Region

- Korea
- Model Case
- Recipient turn Donor Example
 - Historical Aspects
 - Conflict with Japan
- Bottom-up Democratic Achievements

Historical Tensions Rivalry Between China/Japan/Korea

Need for Cooperation and Collaboration





Thank You



感染症を巡る地域協力——HIV/エイズ問題を中心に

赤羽 恒雄 (モントレー国際大学)

感染症を巡る地域協力 HIV/エイズ問題を中心に **Regional Cooperation over Contagious Disease: With** Focus on HIV/AIDS

赤羽恒雄 モントレー国際大学

Tsuneo Akaha Monterey Institute of International Studies

感染症=非伝統的安全保障 Infectious Disease as Non-traditional Security Issue

- 「非伝統的安全保障」 Non-traditional Security

 ・非国家主体のもつ価値を脅かす非伝統的(非軍事的)脅
 威(人間安全保障を含む) Non-traditional (non-military)
 threats against the values of non-state actors, including
 human security
 - ○国家と非国家主体の役割と責務 Role and responsibilities of the state and non-state actors
- 先進国と発展途上国における安全保障能力 Security capacity in developed and developing countries

世界HIV感染者数 Number of People Living with HIV in the World

世界総数 Total	33.2 million	[30.6 - 36.1 million]
成人 Adults	30.8 million	[28.2 - 33.6 million]
女性 Women	15.4 million	[13.9 - 16.6 million]
15歳未満 Children under 15 years	2.5 million	[2.2 - 2.6 million]

世界エイズ死者数 2007年 Number of AIDS Deaths in the World, 2007

総数 Total	2.1 million	[1.9 - 2.4 million]
成人 Adults	1.7 million	[1.6 - 2.1 million]
15歳未満 Children under 15 years	330 000	[310 000 - 380 000]

Adults and children estimated to be living with HIV in 2007

North America 1.3 million [480 000–1.9 million] Western and a Central Europe 1 760 000 [1 [600 000–1.1 million]

> Middle East and North Africa 380 000kTime™ and a HFF (Uncompressor) decompressor [270 000 – 500 000]

Caribbean 230 000 [210 000–270 000]

Latin America 1.6 million [1.4–1.9 million] Sub-Saharan Africa 22.5 million [20.9–24.3 million]

Eastern Europe and Central Asia 1.6 million [1.2–2.1 million]

> East Asia 800 000 [620 000–960 000]

South and South-East Asia 4.0 million [3.3–5.1 million]

> Oceania 75 000 [53 000–120 000]

Total: 33.2 (30.6-36.1) million

Estimated number of adults and children newly infected with HIV during 2007

North America 46 000 [38 000–68 000] Western and Central Europe 31 000 [19 000-86 000] Eastern Europe and Central Asia 150 000 [70 000–290 000]

East Asia 92 000 [21 000-220 000]

Caribbean 17 000 [15 000-23 000] Middle East and North Africa 35 000 [16 000-65 000]

> QuickTime™ and a TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor are needed to see this picture.

Latin America 100 000 [47 000-220 000]

Sub-Saharan Africa 1.7 million [1.4–2.4 million] South and South-East Asia 340 000 [180 000–740 000]

Oceania 14 000 [11 000–26 000]

Total: 2.5 (1.8–4.1) million

Estimated adult and child deaths from AIDS during 2007

North America 21 000 [18 000–31 000]

> Caribbean 11 000 [9800–18 000]

Latin America 58 000 [49 000–91 000] Western and Central Europe 12 000 [<15 000]

> Middle East and North Africa 25 000 [20 000–34 000]

> > QuickTime™ and a TIFF (Uncompressed) decompressor are needed to see this picture.

Sub-Saharan Africa 1.6 million [1.5–2.0 million]

Eastern Europe and Central Asia 55 000 [42 000–88 000]

East Asia 32 000 [28 000–49 000]

South and South-East Asia 270 000 [230 000–380 000]

> Oceania 1 400 [<500–2700]

Total: 2.1 (1.9-2.4) million

アジアにおけるHIV感染は東南アジアで最も多く、国により 大きな違いが見られる。カンボジア、ビルマ、タイにおいて は感染が減少しつつあるが、インドネシア(特にパプア地方) とベトナムでは増加している。

"HIV prevalence is highest in South-East Asia, with wide variation in epidemic trends between different countries – Myanmar, Thailand and Cambodia show declines in prevalence, but the epidemic is growing at a particularly high rate in Indonesia and in Viet Nam."

Source: Fact Sheet, 11/07, UNAIDS, WHO

東アジアにおけるHIV感染者、死者推定数、2005年 HIV Carriers, Deaths (Estimates) in Northeast Asia, 2005

	HIV感 染 者HIV-infe ¢ed Person s		死 者 D e a t h s		
		「 最 低 ・ 最 高 推 定 犭		「 最 低 ・ 最 高数 推 定	
国	推定	[Minim um - M aximmu	推定	[Minimum - Maximmu	
Country	Estim a te s	Estim a tes]	Estim a te s	Estim a tes]	
世界総数					
WorldoTtal	38 6 00 0 00	[33 400 000 - 46 000 000]	2 8 00 0 00	[2 4 00 0 00 - 33 00 0 0 0]	
東アジア					
East Asia	3 2 1 2 0 0	[1867100-3655200]	592400	[96530-22280 0]	
内訳					
of wikch:					
北東アジア					
Northea st					
Asia	1 6 20 0 00	[967900 - 2756000	32 4 00	[40830-55700]	
東南アジア					
Southeast					
Asia	1 5 90 2 00	[899200 - 2686200	560000	[55700-16710 0]	

Source: <u>Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic</u>, UNAIDS/WHO, May 2006 <u>http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp</u> (2007年2月1日アクセス) から計算

北東アジア国別HIV感染者、死者推定数、2005年 HIV-infected Persons, Deaths (Estimates) in Northeast Asia, 2005

	HIV感 染 者HIV Carriers		死 者 D e a t h s		
		「 最 低 ・ 最 高 推 定 数		「最低・最高推定	
	推定	[Minimum - Maximmu	推定	[Minimum - Maximmu	
国 Country	Estim a te s	Estim a tes]	Estim a te s	Estim a tes]	
世界総数					
WorldoTtal	38 6 00 0 00	[33 400 000 - 46 000 000]	2 800 000	[2 4 00 0 00 - 33 00 0 0 0]	
北東アジア					
N EA	1 6 20 0 00	[967900 - 2756000]	32 4 00	[40830-55700]	
中 国					
Chin a	650000	[390000 - 1 100000]	31 000	[18 0 00 - 1 0 5 3 00]	
北朝鮮					
North Korea					
日本					
Jap a n	17 000	[10 000 - 29 000]	1400	[830 – 2100]	
モンゴル					
Mongolia	<500	[<2000]	<100	[<200]	
韓国					
Soulh Korea	13 000	[7900 - 25000]	<500	[<1000]	
ロシア					
Russia	940 000	[560000 – 1600000]		[22 0 00 - 56 0 0 0]	

Source: <u>Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic</u>, UNAIDS/WHO, May 2006 http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp(2007年2月1日アクセス)から計算

東南アジア各国HIV感染者、死者推定数、2005年 HIV Carriers, Deaths (Estimates) in Southeast Asia, 2005

		「最低一最高推定数		「最低一最高推定数
	推定	[Minimum - Maximmu	推定	[Minimum - Maximmu
	Estim a te s	Estimates]	Estim a te s	Estim a tes]
東南アジア				
Scuthea stA sia	1 5 90 2 0 0	[899200 - 2686200]	560000	[55700-167100
ブルネイ				
Brunei	<100	[<200]	<100	[<200]
カンボジア				
Cambodia	130 000	[74 000 - 210 000]	16 000	[8500 - 26000]
インドネシア				
In don esia	170 000	[100000 - 290000]	5500	[3300 - 8300]
ラオス				
Lao s	3700	[1800 - 12000]	<100	[<200]
マレーシア				
Mala ysia	69 000	[33 0 00 - 2 20 0 0 0]	4000	[2100-7200]
ビルマ				
Burma	360 000	[200 000 - 570 000]	37 000	[20 000 - 62 000]
フィリピン				
Philippine s	12 000	[7300 - 20000]	<1000	[<1000]
シンガポール				
Singapore	5500	[3100 - 14000]	<100	[<200]
タイ				
Thaila n d	580 000	[330000 – 920000]	21 000	[14 000 - 42 000]
ヴェトナム				
Vietnam	260 000	[150000-430000]	13 000	[7800 - 20000]

Source: Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic, UNAIDS/WHO, May 2006

<u>http://www.unaids.org/en/HIV_data/2006GlobalReport/default.asp</u>(2007年2月1日アクセス)から計算

東アジアにおけるHIV/エイズ を巡る地域協力 Regional Cooperation on HIV/AIDS in East Asia

ASEANにおける協力 Cooperation in ASEAN

- 1992年 ASEAN首脳会談、地域協力に合意
 - 1995年-2000年 第一次HIV/エイズ活動計画
 - 2001年 首脳会談_「HIV/エイズに関する宣言」
- 2002年-2005年 第二次HIV/エイズ活動計画
- 2006年-2010年 第三次HIV/エイズ活動計画
- 1992 ASEAN Summit agrees on regional cooperation
- 1995-2000 First HIV/AIDS Action Plan
- 2001 ASEAN Summit adopts "HIV/AIDS Declaration"
- 2002-2005 Second HIV/AIDS Action Plan
- 2006-2010 Third HIV/AIDS Action Plan

ASEANの国際パートナー ASEAN's International Partners

国連エイズ合同計画事務局 UNAIDS Secretariat

- 米国国際開発庁 US Agency for International Aid
- ロックフェラー財団 Rockefeller

Foundation

●世界保健機関 WHO

アジア太平洋経済協力会議での協力 Cooperation in APEC

- 2001年 閣僚会議_「HIV/エイズ、その他の感染症に対する戦略」
 採択
- 2003年 保健タスクフォース設立
- 2004年 閣僚会議_HIV/エイズの経済や社会に及ぼす影響につい て強い懸念を示す
- 2005年 閣僚会議_地域協力の強化を求める
- 経済発展、協力優先
- 2001 Ministerial meeting adopts 'Strategy on HIV/AIDS and Other Infectious Diseases"
- 2003 Heath Taskforce established
- 2004 Ministerial meeting shows strong concern about HIV/AIDS's economic and social impact
- 2005 Ministerial meeting urges strengthening of regional cooperation
- Economic development and cooperation prioritized

結論 Conclusions

北東アジア Northeast Asia

- 北東アジアにおける安全保障能力 Security Capacity in Northeast Asia
 - ○伝統的安全保障(国家中心) Traditional security (Statecentric)
 - ○非伝統的安全保障(国家と非国家主体)Non-traditional security (State and non-state actors)
 - ○市民社会の発展による能力向上 Growing civil society and capacity
- 地域アイデンティティー確立の遅れ Regional identity slow in formation
- 多国間協力の遅れ Multilateral cooperation slow in developing
東南アジア Southeast Asia

- 東南アジアにおける安全保障能力 Security Capacity in Southeast Asia
 - ○伝統的安全保障(国家能力の限界) Traditional security (limited state capacity)
 - ○非伝統的安全保障(国家への要求>能力) Nontraditional security (demands on the state>capacity)
 - ○市民社会の未発展と脆弱能力 Weak civil society and capacity
- 地域アイデンティティー顕在 Regional identity apparent
- ASEANを通した多国間協力 Multilateral cooperation through ASEAN

地域協力枠組み Framework for Regional Cooperation

- 北東アジアと東南アジアの相違を考慮 Given the disparate situations in Northeast and Southeast Asia
 - ○国家中心的安全保障化 vs 市民社会主導型安全保 障化 State-centric vs civil society-driven securitization
 - ●サブリージョン別枠組 vs 東アジア統一枠組
 Separate subregional frameworks vs unified regional framework for East Asia
 - ○域外協力パートナー_APEC、国際機関 Cooperation partners outside of East Asia_APEC, international agencies
 - リーダーシップ Who will lead? Incentives and rationale for regional leadership?

地域協力のための前提要件 Prerequisites for regional cooperation

- 国家能力向上(国際条約批准・履行、国内法制度整備、 政策決定) Capacity building (international treaty ratification, implementation, domestic legislation, policy making)
- 民主・市民社会の発展 Democratic, civil society development
- 利害関係者(国内、国外、政府、非政府団体、感染者利 害代表者)の参加 Stake-holder participation (domestic, foreign, government, non-governmental organizations, spokespersons for HIV/AIDS carriers)
- 感染者の人権についての国内、国際教育啓蒙運動
 Domestic and international education, enlightenment regarding the human rights of HIV/AIDS carriers)

地域協力の組織化 Institutionalization of Regional Cooperation

- 協力の必要性の認識を共有__東アジアで深まりつつある
- 組織化 (国境を越えた連携)__東南アジアで進行中
- 具体的成果達成__国内状況まちまち、一部の国でより問題深刻化
- 成果・恩恵の公正な分配__東アジア全体では感じられない
- Shared recognition of need to cooperate deepening in East Asia
- Institutionalization (trans-border coordination) in progress in Southeast Asia
- Concrete results vary greatly from country to country
- Fair distribution of results and benefits of cooperation not "felt" at the regional level

巨大な人獣共通感染症『インフルエンザ』

――アジア感染症ネットワークと日本の役割・将来

国立国際医療センター、国際疾病センター長

工藤 宏一郎

巨大な人獣共通感染症『インフルエンザ』 —アジア感染症ネットワークと日本の役割・将来ー



内容

- 1. 最近の世界の主な新興・再興感染症
- 2. 人獣共通感染症とインフルエンザウイルス
- 3. なぜアジアか
- 4. 新型インフルエンザへの対応
- 5. アジア感染症ネットワークの構築と国際連携・競争
- 6. 日本の役割と将来

1. 最近の世界の主な新興・再興感染症

世界の主な新興・再興感染症

2007年12月18日現在



Source3~5: http://www.forth.go.jp/

重症急性呼吸器症候群(SARS)



重症急性呼吸器症候群(SARS)





SARS STATISTICS



2. 人獣共通感染症とインフルエンザウイルス

インフルエンザとかぜ

	インフルエンザ	かぜ
症 状	高熱、頭痛、関節痛、 筋肉痛、せき、のど の痛み、鼻水など	のどの痛み、鼻水、 鼻づまり、くしゃみ、 せき、発熱(高齢者 でないこともある)
発 症	急激	比較的ゆっくり
症状の 部位	強い倦怠感など全身 症状	鼻、のどなど局所的

人獣共通感染症 zoonosis







インフルエンザウイルス

電子顕微鏡写真



国立感染症研究所:感染症情報センター http://idsc.nih.go.jp/idwr/kansen/k05/k05_08/k05_08.html





インフルエンザウィルスの感染宿主(動物)





世界の鳥インフルエンザA(H5N1)累積患者数と致死率 の推移



(致死率)

パンデミックとは

流行が短期的に世界的に拡大し、多数の人々が年齢を問わず感染する状態

20世紀のインフルエンザパンデミック







Credit: US National Museum of Health and Medicine

1918:



鳥インフルエンザウィルスそ のものの変異による出現 1957:

"アジアかぜ" 100~400万人死亡 A(H2N2)

鳥インフルエンザと人インフルエ ンザウィルスの融合による出現 1968:

"香港かぜ" 100~400万人死亡 A(H3N2)

鳥インフルエンザと人インフルエ ンザウィルスの融合による出現

ブタを介した新型ウィルスの出現



Source: WHO/WPRO

ヒトを介した新型ウィルスの出現



Source: WHO/WPRO

ウィルスそのものの変異による 新型ウィルスの出<u>現</u>



厚労省(WHO)のフェーズ分類の概要

フェーズ分類	定義	イメージ	呼称
1	普段と変わりない時期		鳥イ
2			鳥インフルエンザ
3	封じ込め期		ンザ
4			新刑
5			エインフ
6	大流行(パンデミック)期		ルエンザ
後パンデミック期	パンデミックが発生する前の状態へ、急速に回復する 時期。		y
(国立国際医療センター川名明彦)			

予想されているパンデミックのインパクト

- 全人口の25%が新型インフルエンザに罹患
 医療機関を受診する患者数:1,300万人~
 2,500万人
- ・中等度(アジアかぜ並み=致死率0.53%)
 -入院患者数:53万人、死亡者数:17万人
 ・重度(スペインかぜ並み=致死率2%)
 -入院患者数:200万人、死亡者数:64万人
 ・外来患者数:通常の1.7倍



アジア地域家禽の分布



なぜアジア

 ヒトの高病原性鳥インフルエンザの発生 源はアジア地域だった
 ーヒトの住・食と家禽飼育が接近している









なぜアジア





なぜアジア



- アヒルの生血を食する習慣





渡り鳥の飛来ルート



http://www.fao.org/ag/againfo/subjects/en/health/diseases-cards/migrationmap.html

4. 新型インフルエンザへの対応

新型インフルエンザへの対応

- アジアとの協力体制の確立
- アジア感染症ネットワークの構築
- ・臨床と研究との統合
- 対応策の強化
- ・人材の育成
次の新型インフルエンザパンデミック



通常のインフルエンザ H3N2



アジア感染症ネットワークの構築



Medical Conference between Vietnam and Japan via e-medicine











アジア諸国との共同研究

- ・ ヒト鳥インフルエンザ (H5N1) 新治療法の開発
- ヒト鳥インフルエンザ(H5N1)迅速診断キット開発
- 新型インフルエンザ感染防護服の開発
- ・ヒト鳥インフルエンザ(H5N1)迅速診断キット開発
- ヒト鳥インフルエンザ(H5N1)病態解明
- ・ ヒト鳥インフルエンザ(H5N1)へのオセルタミビルの有効性の解明



専門医及び人材育成



専門医養成研修 in ベトナム

ベトナム人医師への研修 by 日本人医師







特別感染症病棟における患者管理

新興感染症に対する 医療チームのシミュレーショントレーニング







高病原性鳥インフルエンザの臨床 - 疫学・病態・治療





南部ベトナムにおけるヒト鳥インフルエンザの臨床疫学調査

- •20症例中15例死亡
- ・18症例はホーチミン熱帯病病院にて治療
- •2004/2月~2005/7月
- ・以後、南部ベトナムにおいては症例なし
- ・(2007年6月北部ベトナムでは5例発生)





発症契機(18症例中)

- 病鳥との直接接触	14/18
・病鳥の屠殺	11/18
・闘鶏の世話	2/18
・子鴨と遊ぶ	
・アヒルの生血料理	0/18

- 病鳥(アヒル)生息水の使用 2/18
- · 契機不明 2/18



V 09.1.05



Pneumothorax

早期診断・早期治療の重要性

外来受診時



感染症(新型インフルエンザ) **臨 床 対 応**







飛沫・接触感染に対して

マスク手洗い手袋



標準的予防策と感染経路別予防策



アウトブレークの際の特別医療チーム体制





感染症指定医療機関の指定状況

	医療機関数(床数)	担当入院患者
特定感染症指定 医療機関	3 <u>医療機関(8床)</u> 国立国際医療センター(4 床) 成田赤十字病院(2床) りんくう総合医療センター市立 泉佐野病院(2床)	特定感染症指定医療機関:新 感染症の所見がある者 又は一類感染症の患者
第一種感染症指 定医療機関	<u>26医療機関(49床)</u>	ー類感染症又は二類感染症 の患者
第二種感染症指 定医療機関	<u>315医療機関 (1,635床)</u>	二類感染症の患者
一類感染症	エボラ出血熱、クリミア・コンゴ熱、重症急性呼吸器症候群(病原体が SARSコロナウイルス)、痘そう、ペスト、マールブルグ病、ラッサ熱	
二類感染症	急性灰白髄炎、コレラ、細菌性赤痢、ジフテリア、腸チ フス、パラチフス	

文部科学省委託事業 新興・再興感染症研究拠点形成プログラム



国内:新興·再興感染症研 究に対する<u>研究機関の研</u> <u>究体制·設備</u>の充実を図る。

国外:新興・再興感染症の 発生国あるいは発生が予 想される国に、海外研究拠 点を設置し、医学・獣医学 などの分野を超えた融合 的な研究を推進するもので す。また緊急時に即戦力と して活躍できる人材の育成 と確保を図る。

臨床医学と病院が直結



5. アジア感染症ネットワークの構築と 国際連携・競争

競争相手 新興感染症への研究ファンド

ウェルカム・トラスト (公益信託団体) 本拠地:イギリス 医学研究支援等を目的 とする 米国出身の製薬長者 サー・ヘンリー・ウェルカ ムの財産を管理する為 1936年に設立 純資産:134億ポンド

醵出先

ウェルカム財団

(ウェルカム株式会社:製薬会社)

\$



日本の遅れを取り戻すには・・・

- アジア人同士としての連携
- 新興・再興感染症拠点形成プログラム
- 拠点の形成 (疫学、基礎研究、臨床、人材養成)
- 世界の医療機関とのネットワークを拡大する
- e-medicineを利用したアジア感染症ネットワーク
- 国際的医療・保健機関との連携(WHO、CDCなど)
- 国立感染症研究所、JICA、ODAなどとの協力体制

6. 日本の役割と将来

提言

- 1. アジアで発生している現場で学ぶ
- 2. 疾患対応、臨床医、看護師養成、アジア諸 国の連帯・連携
- 3. 対応の強化 (国内医療の連携)
- 4. 国際的連携
- 5. 拠点形成
- 6. 人材養成
- 7. 一般国民の意識の向上

参考文献

- 『日本を襲ったスペイン・インフルエンザ 人類とウイルスの第一次世界 戦争』速水融著、藤原書店
- 『史上最悪のインフルエンザ 忘れられたパンデミック』アルフレッド・W・ クロスビー著・西村秀一訳、みすず書房

地球環境問題とアジアの環境ガバナンス 一気候変動への適応対策と国際環境協力を中心に

早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究科

松岡 俊二

地球環境問題とアジアの環境ガバナンス 一気候変動への適応対策と国際環境協力を中心に一

G-COE: GIARI The 1st International Symposium 松岡俊二 Shunji MATSUOKA, Ph.D & Professor <u>smatsu@waseda.jp</u> 早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究科

2008年1月17日

目 次

1 地球環境問題とアジア

II. 国際開発協力とSocial Capacity Development

Ⅲ アジアの環境問題と国際環境協力

IV. アジア環境共同体の構築に向けて

I. 地球環境問題とアジア

背景

- 地球温暖化・砂漠化・生物種多様性危機などの地球環境問題とアジア地域との関連に着目し、地球環境問題へのアジアや日本の貢献のあり方を、環境問題に総合的に対処する=Sustainability実現に向けたキャパシティ・ディベロップメント(CD)と環境ガバナンスの観点から考える。
- アジア途上国における地球温暖化の負の影響への焦点をあて、こうした 負の影響を因果律の観点から、「直接的メカニズム」と「間接的メカニズ ム」に分類し、それぞれの類型における適応(adaptation)政策と国際環境 協力の政策過程を政治的意思決定の構造と要因に焦点を当て分析する。
 - 「直接的メカニズム」とは、地球温暖化が降水量減少や降雨時期変動をまねき、砂 漠化や干ばつなどとして現れ、生態系や人間社会に深刻な負の影響を与える場合。
 - ▶ 「間接的メカニズム」とは、地球温暖化への緩和(Mitigation)策としてのバイオマス 燃料開発を目的とした農地開発により、森林破壊などを進行する場合。
- 社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)手法に基づいて、気候変動に対応する政治的意思決定の構造・要因分析を行い、効果的かつ効率的な適応政策および国際環境協力政策のモデルを研究する。

世界の二酸化炭素排出量



5

地域別の1人あたり温室効果ガス排出量

2004年、UNFCCCの附属書I国は、世界の人口の20%、世界のGDPppp*生産の57%、世界の温室効果ガス排出量の46%を占めている。

出典:AR4 SPM



京都議定書



※6 EUバブル: EU加盟のうち旧15ヵ国(2004.5拡大前)は、共同で-8%の削減約束を負っている。

(個々の国々の総排出量が各国の割当量の合計量を上回らない限り、各国の目標達成の有無によらず、目標が達成されたと見なされる。) ※7 トルコの数値約束は定まっていない。

(出所)環境省http://www.env.go.jp/earth/ondanka/mechanism/kyoto_hijun.pdf

京都議定書の6%削減約束と日本の温室効果ガス排出量



2006年度は二酸化炭素換算で13億4100万トンとなっており、京都議定書の規定による基準年 (原則1990年)の総排出量と比べ、6.4%上回っている。京都議定書では、日本は第一約束期間 (2008年~2012年)に、1990年比で6%の温室効果ガス排出量を削減することとなっているため、 目標達成には12.4%の削減が必要である。

(出所)環境省http://www.env.go.jp/press/file_view.php?serial=9695&hou_id=8433

COP13

2007年12月 COP13(バリ):2013年以降の新たな温室効果ガス削減の枠

組み作りに関し、2009年末までを交渉期限と

する行程表「バリ・ロードマップ」を採択した。

<バリ・ロードマップの骨子>

・ポスト京都議定書は(2009年の)COP15での最終合意と採択が目標。
・温暖化ガスの量的制限・削減を含め、先進国は適度で報告・検証可能な温暖化ガス削減を実施。
・途上国は持続的発展や(先進国による)技術支援、金融、能力開発を考慮に入れ、適度で報告可能な方法で、温暖化ガス削減を実施。
・途上国のために技術開発や技術移転協力。金融ファンド設立や、途上国支援、技術協力のために投資を促進。
・温暖化ガス削減に向け、産業分野別に削減目標を掲げる。「セクターア

プローチ」などを検討。

(出所)「日本経済新聞」2007年12月16日付朝刊

アジア地域における温暖化の影響

- 2050年までに、淡水の利用可能性は、中央・南・東・東南アジア、特に大規模河川の流域において減少すると予測される。
- 沿岸域、特に人口が集中する南・東・東南アジアのメガデルタ地域において、海からの、いくつかのメガデルタ地域においては河川からの、浸水のリスクが最も高くなるだろう。
- 急速な都市化、工業化、経済発展に関連する天然資源・環境への圧力に気候変化が複合されると予測される。
- 主に洪水と旱魃に関連して発生する下痢は、水循環のサイクルにおける 予測される変化によって東・南・東南アジアにおいて罹患率と死亡率を増 加させると予測される。
Mitigation

政策の種類	一般的に判明している利点と欠点		
広範な開発政策の中に	広範な開発政策の中に気候政策を組み込むことによって、容易に実施ができ、障壁も克服できる。		
気候政策を取り込む事			
規制と基準	規制と基準は、通常、ある程度確実な排出削減を可能にする。情報不足や他の障壁により、生産者および消費		
	者が価格シグナルに反応できない場合には、他の手法よりも望ましい手法であろう。		
税金および課徴金	税金および課徴金は、炭素価格を設定することができるが、特定の排出レベルを保証することはできない。文		
	献では、税金は、GHG排出量のコストを内部化させるのに費用効果的な方法であるとみなされている。		
排出権取引制度	排出権取引制度は炭素価格を確立する。排出枠の割当は配分上の影響を与える一方、排出枠の量が、その環境		
	効果を決定する。炭素価格の変動は、排出枠を遵守するための合計コストの推計を困難にする。		
資金インセンティブ	資金インセンティブ(助成金、税控除)は政府が新技術の開発と普及を促進するため、多く用いる政策である。		
	通常、上記の他の手法より経済的コストは高いが、障壁を克服する上で重要な政策である場合が多い。		
自主協定	産業界と政府の自主協定は政治的に魅力ある政策であり、利害関係者間の意識を向上させ、多くの国内政策の		
	進展に貢献してきた。大半の協定は、対策を講じない場合以上の大幅な排出削減をもたらしてはいない。しか		
	し、数カ国における最近の協定の中には、利用可能な最善の技術の採用を加速させ、明らかな排出量の削減を		
	もたらしたものもある。		
情報手法	情報手法(例えば、啓蒙活動)は、十分な説明をよく受けた上での選択を促進したり、場合によっては行動変		
	化に貢献することによって、環境の質にプラスの影響を与えるかもしれないが、排出量に対する影響はまだ評		
	価されていない。		
RD&D	RD&Dは、技術の前進を刺激し、コストを低減させ、安定化に向けた進展を可能にすることができる。		

(出所)環境省(2007), 『IPCC第4次評価報告書 第3作業部会報告書概要(公式版)』

Adaptation

AFRICA			
Egypt	Sea-level rise	Adoption of National Climate Change Action Plan integrating climate change concerns into	
El Raey (2004)		national policies; adoption of Law 4/94 requiring Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for	
		project approval and regulating setback distances for coastal infrastructure; installation of hard	
		structures in areas vulnerable to coastal erosion.	
Sudan	Drought	Expanded use of traditional rainwater harvesting and water conserving techniques; building of	
Osman-Elasha et al.(2006)		shelter-belts and wind-breaks to improve resilience of rangelands; monitoring of the number of	
		grazing animals and cut trees; set-up of revolving credit funds.	
Botswana	Drought	National government programmes to re-create employment options after drought; capacity building	
FAO (2004)		of local authorities; assistance to small subsistence farmers to increase crop production.	
ASIA & OCEANIA			
Bangladesh	Sea-level rise;	Consideration of climate change in the National Water Management Plan; building of flow	
OECD (2003a);	salt-water	regulators in coastal embankments; use of alternative crops and low-technology water filters.	
Pouliotte(2006)	intrusion		
Philippines	Drought; floods	Adjustment of silvicultural treatment schedules to suit climate variations; shift to drought	
Lasco et al. (2006)		resistant crops; use of shallow tube wells; rotation method of irrigation during water shortage;	
		construction of water impounding basins; construction of fire lines and controlled burning;	
		adoption of soil and water conservation measures for upland farming.	
	Sea-level rise;	Capacity building for shoreline defence system design; introduction of participatory risk	
	storm surges	assessment; provision of grants to strengthen coastal resilience and rehabilitation of	
		infrastructures; construction of cyclone-resistant housing units; retrofit of buildings to improved	
		hazard standards; review of building codes; reforestation of mangroves.	
	Drought; saltwater	Rainwater harvesting; leakage reduction; hydroponic farming; bank loans allowing for purchase	
	intrusion	of rainwater storage tanks.	





日本の中国への環境協力

D



公害問題から地球環境問題への変化? `武内·住·植田(2002)「環境学序説」、岩波書店, p.190 1. 全員が加害者、全員が被害者 被害者・加害者の対立した構図が崩れる 2.世代内→世代間の問題 環境問題は次世代へも影響する問題 3.汚染は局所型→越境型に変化 地球温暖化,オゾン層の破壊,生物多様性の減少, 海洋汚染,砂漠化,熱帯林の減少,広域大気汚染 等

- 公害⇒地球環境問題の単なるIssueの変化ではない

-環境問題全体を捉え、対処する社会システムの創造が必要 ⇒Social Capacity Development

従来型アプローチの限界=環境問題の変容

環境基準達成率の推移 (COD,広島県海域)

広島県におけるCOD発生負荷量 の推移(総量規制、指定地域分)



(出所)広島県環境審議会 2006年11月21日資料



鐘賛 UNEP/ROAP、東京大学サステナビリティ学連携研究機構(IR3S)

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II. 国際開発協力とSocial Capacity Development

Capacityとは何か?



Source: UNDP/WHO (1996)

従来型CD論の問題点

- GEMSリポートは政府・行政による環境管理能力のみを対象にしており、 実際に汚染削減を行う「企業の能力」や企業や行政に社会的圧力をかける「市民の能力」は対象外となっている。
 - 環境問題に対処する社会的能力は、「政府の能力」だけでなく、「企業の能力」 や「市民の能力」も含めて議論しなければならない
- > さらにGEMSリポートの環境管理能力の4要素についても政府のみを対象にしたため、行政のモニタリング能力などに重点がおかれ、環境政策過程(政策の立案・実施・評価という一連の政策サイクル)における政府以外の企業や市民の能力を構成する要素を十分に把握できないという限界があった。

社会的能力(SCD)論の展開

政府、企業、市民の3者を基本的な社会的アクター(social actor)とし、それぞれの能力水準と3つのアクターの相互関係により規定された環境管理能力が社会的環境管理能力である。

1.	どのような環境政策・環境対策をそれぞれのアクターがもっている のかという「政策・対策」要素。
2.	こうした政策や対策の実施を規定する「人的・組織的資源」という要素。
3.	政策・対策要素や人的・組織的資源という要素を規定する「知識・ 情報・技術」という要素。

政府・企業・市民という主体に着目するアクター・アプローチに対して、社会的能力を要素から定義するのが要素アプローチである。アクター・アプローチと要素アプローチ組み合わせることによって、社会的環境管理能力の具体化が可能となる。

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CDの3原則

- CDの3原則
 - 1. オーナーシップ
 - 2. 包括性
 - 3. 持続性
- CDの議論においては、単なる能力形成だけでなく、制度変化との関係を みることが重要である。
- いわば、能力形成と制度変化は、開発(発展)という車の両輪である。従 来のCDの議論もこうした点へ言及しているが、まだ不十分である。
- 現実の国際援助におけるキャパシティ・ディベロップメントも、政策支援・ 制度形成と有機的に連携できていない。

社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)

- 社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)手法の実際の使用においては、対処能力の前提となる課題の設定やCDをめぐるトータルなシステムの諸要因(社会的環境管理システム、社会経済状態、環境パフォーマンス、外部要因)に十分な配慮が必要である。
- SCAは途上国が自ら参加型で行うことが基本であり、そのため、科学的研究にもとづきながら安価で簡便な手法開発が重要である。さらに、途上国が自らの社会的能力を自らアセスメントする自己診断能力(Self Assessment Capacity)の形成支援も検討すべきである。

社会的環境管理システム(SEMS)とトータル・システム



社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)手法



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社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)手法

1. アクター・ファクター分析 (Actor-Factor Analysis)

- アクター分析は、現在の社会的能力のレベル(Indicatorと関連)・状態 を、それぞれの社会的アクター(政府・企業・市民)の能力状態および 相互の関係性という視角から分析し、どのアクターの能力が強いか弱 いのか、関係性はどうかなどを明らかにする。
- 2. 指標化(Indicator Development)
 - 社会的能力を計測する尺度(指標)を用いた分析である。指標は、上述 したアクター・ファクターの分析から得られた社会的能力を規定する基本的変数にもとづき、能力の蓄積レベルを表現するものである。特に、 SCEMおよび社会的アクターの能力や各アクターの能力を構成してい る各ファクターの能力水準をいかに測るかが重要となる。

Actor-Factor Analysis: Actor-Factor Matrix

Factors Actors	Policy & Measure	Human & Organizations	Knowledge & Technology
		↓Critical Minimum	
Gov.	Existing Capacity		Project
Firms	Capacity Gap		Project
Citizens			
G-F			
G-C			
F - C			
G-F-C			

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社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)手法

- 3. 制度分析(Institutional Analysis)
 - 現在の社会的アクター(プレイヤー)の行動を規制するルールとしての 制度、あるいは社会的能力の容器としての制度を分析し、現在の社会 的能力を規定する制度の束と次の社会的能力の形成に必要な制度変 革は何かを明らかにする。
- 4. **経路分析**(Path Analysis)
 - 現在の社会的能力水準に至った経路を分析し、次に目標とすべき能力水準の合理的設定とその経路(戦略、プログラム)策定の前提となる情報・条件を明らかにする。トータルシステム分析の課題である、能力水準(制度分析含む)、社会経済水準、環境パフォーマンス水準と3者の相互関係性の発展(外部条件分析含む)経路をみる。さらに、各社会的アクターの能力水準とその関係性の発展経路などを分析することにより、能力の形成過程を明らかにする。

社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)手法

5. 発展ステージ分析 (Development Stage Analysis)

問題に対処する社会的能力形成の発展ステージを、システム形成期、 システム稼働期、自律期という3期間に分け、現状の社会的能力水準 がどのステージにあたるのか。また、そこにどのように至ったのか(経 路分析の結果を踏まえて)、可能な次の能力目標とそこにいたる経路 はいかなるものかなどを分析し、開発政策や援助政策のプログラム化 にとって必要となる、適切な投入の量と質、タイミングなどを明らかにす る前提を構築する。

The indicates of the stages and the benchmarks of SEMS

	System-making stage	System-working stage	Self-management stage
Definition	Period in which the bases of SEMS, especially governmental institutions, are developed.	Period in which the regulations between the government and firm sectors become stronger through the setting the incentives for pollution abatement and industrial pollution improves after reaching its peak.	Period in which a comprehensive environmental policy is needed, since new types of environmental issues emerge, and the firms and citizens sectors take leading roles through voluntary approaches for environmental management. Harmonious relations between government, firms, and citizens accelerate the efficient social environmental management.
Environmental Issues	Poverty related issues and issues related to industrial pollution.	Issues related to Industrial pollution.	Consumption-related issues.
Issues related to Industrial Pollution	Degradation.	Turning point (peak of the Environmental Kuznets Curve).	Improvement.
The Role of the Three Actors	-Government (system-making) -Firms (efforts for pollution reduction) -Citizens (pressure on the government and firms and research cooperation)	-Government (pollution control regulation) -Firms (pollution reduction) -Citizens (pressure on the government and firms and research cooperation)	-Government (proposal of comprehensive policy) -Firms (voluntary approach) -Citizens (voluntary approach)
The Relationship between the Three Actors	Government - Firms Government - Citizens	Government - Firms Government - Citizens Firms - Citizens (through government)	Firms - Citizens Government - Firms Government - Citizens
Benchmarks (Essential)	-Environmental Law -Environmental Administration -Environmental Information (Monitoring Data)	-Regulation -Reaching the peak of pollution level and improvement	<first phase=""> (In the case of developing countries) -Graduation / Independence from ODA <second phase=""> -Comprehensive Environmental Management</second></first>
Benchmarks (Important)	- Negotiations between Government-Firms, Government-Citizen - Mass media	- Negotiation, adjustment, and cooperation between Firms and Citizens	Voluntary approach of Firms and Citizens (Environmental Accounting, Environmental Reporting, Green Consumption, and Advocacy Planning)

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Ⅲ アジアの環境問題と国際環境協力 Indonesia & Mongolia

Indonesia

- インドネシアの分権型環境管理システムと社会的能力アセスメント:インドネシアの水質汚濁対策を中心に調査。 (2006年11月~2007年7月)
 - インドネシアの河川水質汚濁対策を中心とした環境政策の実施状況に関する 現地調査に基づき、途上国における環境政策の実施能力とは何か、について 考察。
 - 研究対象とした州は、社会経済状況や地理的状況を勘案してランプン州(スマトラ島)、南スラウェシ州(スラウェシ島)、東ジャワ州(ジャワ島)とした。
 - これら3州を対象に、社会的能力アセスメント(SCA)手法を応用し、政府・企業・ 市民組織という3つの社会的アクターから構成されたラウンド・テーブル(RT)を 組織し、2006年11月から2007年7月にかけて5回のRTを実施し、参加型の社会 的環境管理能力アセスメントにより、インドネシアの河川水質汚濁対策の現状 を評価・分析し、その改善方向の提言を行った。

Mongolia

- 2. 北東アジアにおける気候変動の影響を勘案した砂漠化・干ばつ対策 (環境省)(2007年~2010年)
 - 温暖化の影響に脆弱な地域であり、黄砂の発生源地域でもあるモンゴルを調査地とする。
 - 地球温暖化の進行による影響、黄砂発生による域内、域外への影響等の砂 漠化に関する新たな課題を踏まえて、対策を実施すべき優先地域の特定、効 果的な対策の実践と対策の持続性の確保。
 - その対策の効果をより広い地域へ波及させるためのキャパシティ・ディベロップ メント手法についての検討を行い、普及を図ることにより、黄砂発生源対策に も貢献することを目的とする。

環境問題

Indonesia

- 主にスマトラ島やカリマンタン島で、温暖化への緩和策としての再生可能燃料 としてサトウキビやキャッサバなどからのバイオマス燃料開発が促進され、新たな森林伐採と森林火災を引き起こしている。
- インドネシア政府は、環境影響評価(AMDAL)の強化や保護地域の拡大を行い、またJICAやGTZなどの国際的な森林火災防止プロジェクトが行われている。しかし、2001年の地方分権実施により、行政権限の多くが、県・市政府に委譲され、約440の県・市政府の多くの行政能力は低く、実行ある政府実施は難しい状況にある。

Mongolia

- 地球温暖化がゴビ地域における降水量減少や降雨時期変動をまねき、干ばつにより十分な草が春先にはえず、遊牧民たちは北部の草の多い地域への長距離移動を余議なくされている。
- モンゴル政府は、禁牧区設定、井戸改修、植林、僕民のグループ化、半定住型 農業普及などの対策を講じているが、政府の一貫性に欠け、中央政府や地方 政府の政策の実施能力も十分ではなく、有効な適応政策とはなっていない。

Indonesia: Target Provinces



The Sekampung River in Lampung



Lampung Province, Round Table









The Jeneberang River in South Sulawesi



South Sulawesi Province, Round Table







The Brantas River in East Java



East Java Province, Round Table









Jakarta, POKJA









インドネシアにおける社会的環境管理システムの アセスメント結果

インドネシアの社会的環境管理システムに係る法制度整備や組織整備は、スハルト開発独裁体制のもとで1980年代から形成されてきた。

1982	環境管理基本法制定
1983	人口環境省設置
1988	産業排水基準および大気環境基準公布
1989	Clean River Program (PROKASIH)
1990	Bapedal·環境影響評価庁設置
1992	the Blue Sky Program (LANGIT BIRU)
1993	環境影響評価政令およびPROPER PROKASIH開始など
1994	環境省設置
1997	Environmental Management Law
1998	スハルト政権崩壊
2001	Enactment of two Decentralization Laws (Law No.22 & 25)

インドネシアにおける社会的環境管理システムの アセスメント結果

- このように1990年代半ば、インドネシアは社会的環境管理システムの形成において、システム形成期の最終段階であったと考えられる。
- しかし、1997年のアジア通貨危機と経済危機、さらには、その後の政治危機とスハルト体制の崩壊(1998年)により、急激な地方分権化(1999年分権化2法と2001年1月実施)による分権型環境管理システムへと移行することになった。このことは2002年のBapedalと環境省との統合なども含め、社会的環境管理システムの再形成期にあると考えることが出来る。

モンゴル·砂漠化対策のSCA: Target Aimag



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State of Desertification, Mongolia



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Pastureland in Umnugobi, Mongolia



Fieldwork in Mandal Govi



Mandal Govi, Round Table (RT)



Ulaanbaatar, Steering Committee (SC)









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IV アジア環境共同体の構築に向けて

アジア環境共同体形成と日本の国際環境協力

- 地球温暖化・砂漠化・生物種多様性危機などの地球環境問題とアジア地域との関連に着目し、地球環境問題へのアジアや日本の貢献のあり方を、環境問題に総合的に対処(グローバル・サステイナビリティ)するキャパシティ・ディベロップメント(CD)と地域協力の観点から考える必要性がある。
- 従来の日本の環境協力は、政府(行政)部門の環境モニタリング能力などの限られた能力要素に焦点を当てた支援が多く、実際の環境改善には効果的ではなかった。現在の途上国の温暖化支援策においても、こうした過去の日本の国際協力の弱点が繰り返される可能性が大きい。
- 途上国への有効な温暖化対策支援を行うためには、CDの3原則(オーナ ーシップ、包括性、持続性)を具体化しうるプログラム・アプローチが必要 である。その際、政府だけでなく、企業や市民社会といった多様なアクタ ーを対象とし、また、モニタリング能力だけでなく、政策形成能力や政策実 施能力の向上を支援することが重要である。

おわりに:アジア環境共同体をめぐって

- 1.環境政策の歴史的展開とアジア

 ①負の価値(社会的費用)の発生抑制(公害対策)
 ②価値の保全(自然環境保全)
 ③正の価値の創造(環境創造・環境修復・環境再生)
- セステイナビリティの空間的階層性とアジア地域環境の価値
 ①Global ②Regional ③National ④Local
- 3. 国際開発協力の変容とアジア

援助の失敗→CDへの着目→ 効果的援助 ←開発援助への懐疑論 伝統的ドナー(ブレトンウッズ体制・DAC)と新興ドナーの登場 ブレトンウッズ体制と日本の国際開発協力の特殊性(援助理念の模索)

アジア環境共同体における関係性
 アジアの歴史的停滞の突破→豊かになりつつある地域
 豊かになりつつある地域における「協力」とは何か?



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