

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Views of the Government of Japan on the Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council (General Assembly Resolution 47/62), 6 July 1993, in *Security Council Reform. Basic Documents*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy Division, 23 January 1996.
- 2 Hanns Maull, 'Germany and Japan: The new civilian powers', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 5, 1990, pp.91–106; Yoichi Funabashi (ed.), *Japan's international agenda*, New York: New York University Press, 1994.
- 3 For the main lessons from the experience with the League of Nations, see Ron Dore, *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*, London: Routledge, 1997, pp.26–8. For a Japanese discussion of these lessons, see Sugiyama, Shinsuke 'Kokuren kaikaku e no rekishiteki shiten' (A historical perspective of UN reform) *Kokuren*, no. 8, 1997, pp.9–17.
- 4 Ian Hurd, 'Security Council reform: Informal membership and practice', in Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*, Houndmills: Macmillan, 1997, pp.135–52.
- 5 Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat (Juridical aspects of permanent membership in the Security Council by Germany)', *Zeitschrift für Rechtspolitik*, Munich, September 1994, p.361.
- 6 For details, see Mohammed Bedjaoui, *The new world order and the Security Council. Testing the legality of its acts*, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1994.
- 7 John Foster Dulles, *War or peace*, New York: Macmillan, 1950, p.194–5.
- 8 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council: What American interests?*, New York: United Nations Association of the United States of America, 1997, p.6.
- 9 Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*, Houndmills: Macmillan, 1997, pp.3ff.
- 10 The states concerned by these clauses are Austria, Bulgaria, Burma, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Romania and Siam (now Thailand).
- 11 For the English language literature on UN reform, see <http://www.global.policy.org/reform/index.htm> which contains three large bibliographies.
- 12 John Michael Peek, 'Japan and the United Nations: International cooperation and world order', PhD thesis, Ann Arbor: University Microfilm International, 1985.
- 13 Robert M. Immerman and Toby Trister Gati, 'Japan in a multilateral dimension', Institute Reports, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, New York, May 1992; Robert M. Immerman, 'Japan in the United Nations', in Craig Garby and Mary Brown Bullock (eds), *From Japan: A new kind of superpower?*, Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1994, pp.181–92; Ron Dore, *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*.

- 14 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron. Kokusai heiwa no tame no Kokuren to Nihon no yakuwari* (A new UN discussion. The UN for international peace and Japan's role), Osaka: Osaka Daigaku Shuppankai, 1995.
- 15 One representative is Kawabe Ichiro, *Kokuren to Nihon* (The UN and Japan), Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1994.
- 16 Asai Motofumi, *Taikoku Nihon no sentaku. Kokuren Anzen hosho Rijikai to Nihon* (The choice of the great power Japan. The UN Security Council and Japan), Tokyo: Rodo Junpo Sha, 1995.
- 17 Kawamura Yukio *Nihonjin no shiranai Kokuren* (The UN which the Japanese do not know), Tokyo: Daiyamondosha, 1995. Yoshida Yasuhiko, *Kokuren no shikumi, 'Kyodai soshiki no shinwa' to genjitsu* (The setup of the UN. The myth and reality of the 'super organization'), (Tokyo: Nihon Jitsugyo Shuppansha, 1995, 1998).
- 18 Dennis T. Yasutomo, *The new multilateralism in Japan's foreign policy*, London: Macmillan, 1995, p.48.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p.54.

1 The Security Council issue in Japan's UN policy, 1956–89

- 1 On remembering the League of Nations' Council, see, for example, the reminiscences of Nishibori Masahiro, Japan's UN ambassador 1979–83, in Kokuren Joho Centa (ed.), *Kaiso. Nihon to Kokuren no sanju nen* (Reminiscences. 30 years Japan and the UN, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986, p.238.
- 2 Report of a Study Group set up by the Japanese Association of International Law, prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Japan and the United Nations*, New York: Manhattan Publishing Co., 1958, p.17.
- 3 *Ibid.* ch. 11.
- 4 Koji Sato, 'The pursuit of the principle of international cooperation in the Constitution of Japan', *The Japanese Journal of International Law*, no. 36, 1993, pp.13–4.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p.15.
- 6 Ron Dore, *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*, pp.57–8.
- 7 *Ibid.* p.81.
- 8 'Defining UN security role problematic for Japan', *Japan Times*, 20 October 1990. See also Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.103, fn. 13. For further accounts of debates on constitutional compatibility, see Report of a Study Group, *op. cit.*, n. 2 above.
- 9 Ron Dore, *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*, p.55.
- 10 Report of a Study Group, *op. cit.*, p.36.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p.227.
- 12 Quoted in Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's foreign policy in the 1990s: From economic super-power to what power?* London/Oxford: Macmillan/St Antony's College, 1996, p.27.
- 13 Report of a Study Group, *op. cit.*, p.80.
- 14 On this issue, see Reinhard Drifte, John Chapman and Ian Gow, *Japan's quest for comprehensive security: defence, diplomacy & dependence*, London: Frances Pinter, 1983, pp.81–97.

- 15 Martin E. Weinstein, *Japan's postwar defense policy, 1947–1968*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971, p.57. A reference to the UN is also used to make the 'Basic Policy for National Defense' of 20 May 1957 more acceptable: It states at the beginning, 'to support the activities of the UN, and promote international cooperation, thereby contributing to the realization of world peace', and in the fourth principle, 'to deal with external aggression on the basis of the Japan–US security arrangements pending more effective functioning of the UN in future in deterring and repelling such aggression'. Quoted in Milton Leitenberg, 'The participation of Japanese military forces in United Nations peacekeeping operation', *Asian Perspective*, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring–Summer 1996, p.9.
- 16 Quotes from the texts of both treaties as reproduced in Appendix A and B in Martin E. Weinstein, *Japan's postwar defense policy, 1947–1968*.
- 17 For Japan's involvement in the Korean war, see Reinhard Drifte, 'Japans Verwicklung in den Koreakrieg' (Japan's involvement in the Korean War), *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*, 1979, pp.416–34.
- 18 This is argued by Peek, *Japan and the United Nations*, p.40.
- 19 One-third of public opinion supported reliance on the UN for Japan's security in 1949. For details see Peek, *ibid.*, pp.26–7.
- 20 Even the Japanese translation of United Nations into 'Kokusai Rengo' which literally means 'International Union' (instead of using the characters 'lian he guo' as it is done correctly in Chinese) fosters the idealistic perception of the UN. For a discussion of the origins of the Japanese translation, see Yoshida Yasuhiko, *Kokuren no shikumi*, p.23, and Kawabe Ichiro, *Kokuren to Nihon*, pp.35–40.
- 21 *Mainichi Shimbun*, 13 March 1952, quoted in Report of a Study Group, *op. cit.*, p.94.
- 22 Quoted in Kenneth B. Pyle, *The Japanese question. Power and purpose in a new era*, Washington, DC: AEI Press, 1992, p.28, from Yoshida Shigeru, *Sekai to Nippon*, (Tokyo: Bancho shobo, 1963, pp.202–3.
- 23 For an account of Japan's admission, see Nagano Nobutoshi, *Niju seki no Nihon gaiko. Kobo to zaisei no rekishi* (Japan's diplomacy in the 20th century. A history of rise and fall), Tokyo: Koken, 1997, pp.91–100. For an eyewitness account, see Kase Toshikazu in *Kaiso. Nihon to Kokuren no sanju nen*, pp.16–46.
- 24 Anjali V. Patil, *The UN veto in world affairs 1946–1990. A complete record and case histories of the Security Council's veto*, London: UNIFO/Mansell, 1992, pp.39–42.
- 25 The deletion of the enemy clauses is already proposed in the Report of a Study Group, *op. cit.*, p.132.
- 26 Not only was the government not clear about this point, but also the study group initiated by the Carnegie Foundation was evenly split on the issue of military contribution to UN enforcement actions: *ibid.*, p.209.
- 27 In fact, unmobilized members of the Imperial Japanese Navy did take part in the Korean War, being mostly involved in minesweeping operations off the Korean coast. See Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's involvement in the Korean War*.
- 28 *Wağa Gaiko* (Japan's diplomacy), Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1957.
- 29 Sadako Ogata, 'The changing role of Japan in the United Nations', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 37, no. 1, Summer 1983, p.29. See also the frank

- comments by Tsuruoka Senjin on the unclear use of kokuren chushin in *Kaiso. Nihon to Kokuren no sanju nen*, p.89.
- 30 “‘Kokuren gaiko kyoka”. Shusho no omowaku’ (‘Strengthening of UN diplomacy’. The view of the Prime Minister) *Asahi Shimbun*, 21 February 1961, p.2. ‘Big politician suggested for UN job’, *Japan Times*, 19 February 1961, p.1. ‘Ministerial post for UN only “idea”’, *Japan Times*, 21 February 1961. See also Tsuruoka Senjin’s reminiscences in *Kaiso. Nihon to Kokuren no sanju nen*, p.89.
- 31 Kawabe Ichiro, *Kokuren to Nihon*, p.68. Okazaki had twice been Vice Foreign Minister under Yoshida Shigeru in 1947–8, and become Foreign Minister under Yoshida. After retirement he had become a member of the Lower House.
- 32 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.265.
- 33 Quoted in Nagano Nobutoshi, op. cit., p.97.
- 34 Kono Tsutomu Tom. ‘Japan’s role in the UN: Change and continuity.’ The Ralph Bunche Institute on the United Nations. *The US and Japan in the changing environment for multilateral organizations. Papers and Workshop Summaries*, New York: City University of New York, 1993, p.31.
- 35 Nagano Nobutoshi, p.95.
- 36 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, pp.265–6.
- 37 Interview with Edamura Sumio, 20 November 1997 (he was in the UN Political Affairs Division, 1958–1961). This strategy is also mentioned in ‘New UN strategy prepared by gov’t’, *Japan Times*, 22 September 1969, pp.1, 4.
- 38 Kajima Morinosuke, *Nihon no gaiko. Kako to genzai* (Japan’s diplomacy. Past and present), Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyusho Shuppankai, 1967, pp.267–8. The translation is in *The diplomatic theses and documents of Dr. Morinosuke Kajima*, Tokyo: The Japan Times Ltd. 1969, p.91.
- 39 Address by His Excellency Aiichiro Fujiyama, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Chief Delegate of Japan, 10 September 1957, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during XIIth Regular Session of General Assembly, United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1958, p.2.
- 40 Statement by His Excellency Mr Aiichiro Fujiyama, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan on 17 September 1959, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during XIVth Regular Session of General Assembly, United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1960, p.5.
- 41 Statement by Ambassador K. Matsudaira, 25 November 1959, on ‘Amending the Charter to increase the membership of the Security Council, Economic and Social Council and the number of judges of the International Court of Justice’, in *Statements*, 1960, p.10.
- 42 Amou Tamio, *Takokukan gaiko ron. Kokuren gaiko no jisso* (On multilateral diplomacy. The reality of UN diplomacy), Tokyo: PMC Shuppan, 1990, p.86.
- 43 Statement by His Excellency Mr Z. Kosaka, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan on 22 September 1961, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during XVIth Regular Session of General Assembly, United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1962, pp.9–10.
- 44 Statement by His Excellency Mr M. Ohira, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan on 21 September 1962 (General Debate, agenda item 9), in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during XVIIth Regular Session of General*

- Assembly, United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1963, p.5.
- 45 Statement by Mr B. Hoshi, 5 September 1962, in *Statements*, 1963, p.29.
- 46 Interview with Sam Daws, 30 October 1998.
- 47 Statement by His Excellency Mr M. Ohira, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan on 20 September 1963 (General Debate, agenda item 9), in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during XVIIIth Regular Session of General Assembly, United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1964, p.9.
- 48 Iguchi Sadao, (ed.), *Nihon gaikoshi, Kowago no gaiko III Kokusai Rengo* (Diplomacy after the Peace Treaty III United Nations), Tokyo: Kajima Peace Research Institute, 1972, p.86.
- 49 Mr H. Hitomi, Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter of the United Nations, in *Statements*, 1963, pp.23–4.
- 50 Kajima Morinosuke, *Nihon no gaiko*, p.270.
- 51 Statement by His Excellency Mr E. Shiina, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan on 4 December 1964, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during XIXth and XXth Regular Sessions of General Assembly, United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1966, p.13.
- 52 Statement by Foreign Minister Mr T. Miki, 22 September 1967, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during Fifth Special Session, and the XXIIInd Regular Session of General Assembly, United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1968, p.33.
- 53 Interview with his son, Tsuruoka Koji, 28 August 1997.
- 54 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 1 May 1998.
- 55 See his recollections in *Kaiso. Nihon to Kokuren no sanju nen*, p.113.
- 56 Interview with the diplomat Aoki Morihisa, 20 November 1997.
- 57 For Amou Eiji's curriculum vitae, see Gaimusho gaikoshiryokan. *Nihon gaikoshi jiten hensan iinkai*, (ed.) *Nihon gaikoshi jiten* (Directory of Japan diplomatic history), Tokyo: Okurasho Inseikyoku, 1979, p.17.
- 58 This evaluation is based on various interviews with former diplomats who had known him.
- 59 Interview with a former senior Japanese diplomat, 7 September 1997.
- 60 Interview with Enoki Yasukuni, Director-General, Cultural Affairs Department, 4 August 1997.
- 61 “‘Seiji taikoku’ e no iyoku’ (Ambitions for ‘political superpower’), *Asahi Shimbun*, 20 September 1969, p.3.
- 62 Kyodo News Agency microfilm archive, untitled, Kyo 47 gai 16, 1969.
- 63 ‘Tsuruoka Senjin. Kokuren taishi’ (Tsuruoka Senjin. UN ambassador), *Asahi Shimbun*, 28 October 1968. According to the head of the UN Bureau at that time, Shigemitsu Akira, who was close to Tsuruoka, the speech was a private opinion and did not need clearance: interview, 7 October 1997. Since Amou Tamio was political officer at the UN Mission, he was probably involved in writing the speech. (Interview with a senior diplomat who was at the Mission at the time. Interview 1 May 1998.)
- 64 ‘Japanese seeking full Council seat. US delegate says Tokyo wants permanent role’, *New York Times*, 18 October 1968. It is surprising that both the then Director of the UN Bureau, Shigemitsu Akira, and the UN Policy

- Division head, Okawa Yoshio, do not remember this incident. (Interview with Shigemitsu Akira, 7 October 1997; interview with Okawa Yoshio, 2 September 1997.)
- 65 Statement by Foreign Minister K. Aichi, 19 September 1969, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXIVth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1970, p.9.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Interview, 25 August 1997, with Muraoka Kunio, who coached Aichi's English for the speech.
- 68 'Ampori joninrijikoku ni. Nihon no sanko mochidasu' (Towards permanent Security Council membership. Realize Japan's participation), *Asahi Shimbun*, 16 September 1969; 'Ampojoniniri ni Nihon koso tekinin' (Japan is indeed competent for permanent membership in the Security Council), *Asahi Shimbun*, 19 September 1969 (evening edition); 'Need for permanent UNSC seat indicated', *Japan Times*, 20 September 1969. See also Aichi's relevant statements in 1970 in the Upper House and in a meeting with U Thant. Kie-Pyung Oh, 'The United Nations and contemporary Japan's foreign policy', University of Minnesota, PhD thesis, University Microfilms International: Ann Arbor, 1971, p.151, fn 48.
- 69 'Kokuren heiwa kino no kyoka teisho' (Proposal to strengthen the peace-making capability of the UN), *Asahi Shimbun*, 20 September 1969, p.1; 'Kensho kaisei o teian' (Proposal to change the Charter), *Mainichi Shimbun*, 20 September 1969, p.1; 'Kokuren kino no kyoka teian' (Proposal to strengthen the functions of the UN), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 20 September 1969, p.1. This is also the understanding of Saito Shizuo, the leading UN specialist at the time and former UN ambassador of Japan: Saito Shizuo, *Kokusai Rengo ron josetsu* (Introduction to the issue of the UN), Tokyo: Shinyudo, 1977, 87–8.
- 70 Kiichi Aichi, 'The United Nations and Japan's position' in Kajima Institute of International Peace (ed.), *Japan in Current World Affairs 1970–1972*, Tokyo: The Japan Times Ltd., 1972 (translation of an article in *Kokusai Jihyo* June 1971), p.34.
- 71 'Kokuren ni sagyo bukai' (To a UN working committee), *Asahi Shimbun*, 19 September 1970; 'Nihon o joninri' (Ampori) ni' (Japan to become Security Council member), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 19 September 1970, p.1; 'Ampojoniniri o shucho' (Proposal to become Security Council member), *Mainichi Shimbun*, 19 September 1970, p.1.
- 72 Interview with Muraoka Kunio, 25 August 1997.
- 73 'UN charter revision being pushed by Japan', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969.
- 74 Statement by Foreign Minister K. Aichi, 18 September 1970, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXVth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1971, p.21.
- 75 This argument is for example expressed in a collection of newsletters for his electoral constituency in Aichi Kiichi, *Tenjincho hodan. Nenpu. Aichi Kiichi* (Tenjincho chats. Annual chronology. Aichi Kiichi), Tokyo: Aichi Kiichi Ikoshu Kankokai, 1974, pp.130–31.

- 76 Yasushi Akashi, 'Japan in the United Nations', *Japanese Annual of International Law*, vol. 15, 1971, p.29.
- 77 Statement by Ambassador Tsuruoka, 30 October 1969, *Statements*, 1970, pp. 13-14. See also the report of Tsuruoka's intervention in 'Japan has eye on seat in UNSC', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969.
- 78 'Need for permanent UNSC seat indicated', *Japan Times*, 20 September 1969. This was repeated in Kiichi Aichi, 'The United Nations and Japan's position', p.35.
- 79 Statement by Foreign Minister K. Aichi, 18 September 1970, in *Statements*, 1971, p.20.
- 80 *Ibid.*, p.21.
- 81 It was noted in the Japanese press that Aichi did not mention the NPT: 'Ampori kakudai nado' (Enlargement of the Security Council and so on) *Asahi Shimbun*, 20 September 1969. Japan signed the NPT in 1970 and ratified it in 1976 after a long and tortuous debate. For details, see Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's rise to international responsibilities: The case of arms control*, London: Athlone Press, 1990.
- 82 'Need for permanent UNSC seat indicated', *Japan Times*, 20 September 1969.
- 83 'Tekikoku joko no sakujo Gaisho Kokuren ensetsu de kyochō' (Foreign Minister to demand the elimination of the enemy clauses), Kyodo News Agency, 15 September 1969, microfilm Kyo 43 gai 11 (60).
- 84 'Japan has eye on seat in UNSC', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969.
- 85 'New UN strategy prepared by gov't', *Japan Times*, 22 September 1969, pp.1, 4.
- 86 Interview with Shigemitsu Akira, 7 October 1997.
- 87 Kiichi Aichi, 'The United Nations and Japan's position', p.36.
- 88 It is reported that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs drafted in 1966 a UN cooperation bill enabling SDF personnel to participate in peace-keeping operations, but the draft was never presented to the Diet: Yasuhiko Yoshida, 'The role of the United Nations Security Council in conflict resolution in the new global system', *Saitama Daigaku Kiyo* (Kyoyo gakubu), vol. 33, no. 1, 1997, p.150.
- 89 Statement by Foreign Minister K. Aichi, 19 September 1969, in *Statements*, 1970, p.3.
- 90 'New UN strategy prepared by gov't', *Japan Times*, 22 September 1969, pp.1, 4.
- 91 Masahiro Nishibori, 'Confidence in the world organization', *Review of International Affairs*, 20 June 1970, p.15. Quoted by Peek, *Japan and the United Nations*, p.265.
- 92 *Ibid.*
- 93 'Need for permanent UNSC seat indicated', *Japan Times*, 20 September 1969. He made this point also in Kiichi Aichi, 'The United Nations and Japan's position', p.36.
- 94 'Suji no toranu hahei kyohi' (Illogical refusal of troop deployment), *Asahi Shimbun*, 22 February 1961, p.1.
- 95 'Envoy retracts press statement about SDF duty', *Japan Times*, 24 February 1961, p.1.
- 96 'Use of SDF for peace missions ok: Ikeda', *Japan Times*, 25 February 1961.
- 97 'Japan's status in UN', *Japan Times*, 25 February 1961.
- 98 Kie-Pyung, Oh, 'The United Nations and contemporary Japan's foreign policy', p.148.

- 99 Ibid., p.149.
- 100 Milton Leitenberg, 'The participation of Japanese military forces in United Nations peacekeeping operation', *Asian Perspective*, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring-Summer 1996, p.11.
- 101 Peek, *Japan and the United Nations*, p.176.
- 102 'UN charter revision being pushed by Japan', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969. The dislike of the veto was strongly argued by Shigemitsu Akira. (Interview 7 October 1997.)
- 103 Report of a Study Group, pp.104ff and pp.133ff.
- 104 Statement by Ambassador G. Hattori on 27 November 1963, in *Statements*, 1964, p.115.
- 105 Kiichi Aichi, 'The United Nations and Japan's position', p.38.
- 106 'Japan has eye on seat in UNSC', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969; Peek, *Japan and the United Nations*, pp.173-4.
- 107 Statement by Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito, 23 September 1980, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXVth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p.32.
- 108 'UN charter revision being pushed by Japan', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969.
- 109 'Need for permanent UNSC seat indicated', *Japan Times*, 20 September 1969.
- 110 The issue is also raised in Kiichi Aichi, 'The United Nations and Japan's position', p.33. Muraoka Kunio, the Private Secretary of Foreign Minister Aichi Kiichi at the time, explained that the enemy clauses were then the biggest issue. (Interview 25 August 1997.)
- 111 Statement by Foreign Minister K. Aichi, 18 September 1970, in *Statements*, 1971, p.22; speech of 27 September 1971 in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXVth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1972, p.9.
- 112 'Aichi planning to urge UN Charter revision in assembly address', *Japan Times*, 17 September 1969. See also 'UN charter revision being pushed by Japan'. *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969.
113. 'UN charter revision being pushed by Japan', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969. This was also confirmed by Aoki Morihisa, interview 11 October 1997.
- 114 'UN charter revision being pushed by Japan', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969.
- 115 'New UN strategy prepared by gov't', *Japan Times*, 22 September 1969, pp.1, 4.
- 116 Shizuo Saito, *Kokusai Rengo ron josetsu*, p.89.
- 117 *Zenkoku yoron chosa no genkyo*, Tokyo: Prime Minister's Office, 1971, p.103. Quoted in Peek, *Japan and the United Nations*, p.185.
- 118 'Aichi "Kokuren kyoka" ensetsu no jakuten' (Several issues of Aichi's speech on 'strengthening the UN'), *Maimichi Shimibun*, 20 September 1970.
- 119 'UNGA faces world problems', *Japan Times*, 18 September 1969.
- 120 See Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's rise to international responsibilities*.
- 121 Address by Prime Minister Eisaku Sato at the plenary meeting of the Commemorative Session of the General Assembly for the Celebration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the United Nations on 21 October 1970,

- in *Statements*, 1971, pp.5–12. The speech was written by Okazaki Hisahiko (interview 20 January 1988). Aoki Morishisa explained the absence of any mention of the bid by ‘division of labour’ between the foreign minister and prime minister, but stated that Sato was in favour of the bid, being strengthened in his self-confidence by the successful negotiation on the reversion of Okinawa. (Interview with Aoki Morihisa 11 October 1997.) This is confirmed by a report on Sato’s meeting with Secretary General U Thant in 1970, where Sato expressed interest in the bid. (*Asahi Shimbun* 15 April 1970.)
- 122 ‘Gaimusho Kokusai Rengokyoku’, *Kokuren Joho*, vol. 1, March 1970, pp.298–9. In contrast to the usual procedure, the preface of this publication is signed by the head of the UN Policy Division, Amou Tamio.
- 123 Foreign Minister Ohira Masayoshi was quoted in an interview in September 1972 as having said that nobody would consider it presumptuous if Japan aimed at permanent Security Council membership. (Interview with *Australian Financial Review*, quoted in Fritz van Briessen, *Die Politik Japans in den Vereinten Nationen* (Japan’s policy in the UN), Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 1975, p.56.
- 124 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 15 July 1997.
- 125 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 20 November 1997.
- 126 Interview with Aoki Morihisa, 20 November 1997.
- 127 Ogata Sadako, ‘Nihon no Kokuren gaiko no hensen’ (The vicissitudes of Japan’s UN diplomacy), in *Sato Eisaku Kinen. Kokuren Daigaku Kyosan Zaidan*, ed. Kokuren o kaizo suru (Remodelling the UN) Tokyo: Sekai no Ugokisha, 1986, p.285.
- 128 See, for example, Louis B. Sohn and Richard N. Swift, *Modernizing the Security Council Commission to Study the Organization of Peace*, New York, 1974.
- 129 UN document A/8746. Hereafter referred to as Secretary-General’s Report 1972.
- 130 UN document GA 3349-XXIX of 17 December 1974.
- 131 Ogata Sadako, ‘The changing role of Japan in the United Nations’, p.31.
- 132 Statement by H. Yokota, 21 November 1975, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1976, p.154–5; Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Charter of the United Nations, UN document Supplement No. 33 (A/10033) 1975, p.53.
- 133 This care was not always taken, as proved by the ministerial statement in 1976 which speaks of the need to review the composition of the Security Council: statement by Foreign Minister Kosaka Zentaro, 27 September 1976, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXIst Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1977, p.12.
- 134 For a mention of the trusteeship issue in this context, see, for example, statement by Mr H. Shigeta, 11 November 1976, in *Statements*, 1977, p.173. On 19 November 1975, Soviet ambassador Malik surprised everyone by stating, ‘let neither the two Germanies nor Japan identify themselves with these enemy states’; quoted in statement by H. Yokota, 21 November 1975, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXth Session*

- of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1976, p.155.
- 135 Statement by H. Yokota, 21 November 1975, in *Statements*, 1976, p.152.
- 136 For example, in 1976, Japan co-sponsored, together with the Philippines, a draft resolution to renew the mandate of the Committee.
- 137 Secretary-General's Report 1972, p.55.
- 138 Statement by H. Yokota, 21 November 1975, in *Statements*, 1976, p.153.
- 139 On Charter review, see statement by Abe Isao, 26 October 1977, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXIInd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1978, p.384. On the better representation of Asia, see statement by Foreign Minister I. Hatoyama, 27 September 1977, *ibid.*, p.16.
- 140 Draft Resolution UN document A/34/L.57 of 11 December 1979. See Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era. Recent developments in the discussion on the reform of the Security Council', *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law*, vol. 1, 1997, ed. by Jochen A. Frowein and Rüdiger Wolfrum, London: Kluwer Law International, 1997, p.41.
- 141 Sally Morphet, 'The influence of states and groups of states on and in the Security Council and General Assembly, 1980-94', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4, October 1995, p.439.
- 142 Statement by His Excellency Yasuhiro Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, 21 September 1987, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXIInd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1988, p.384.
- 143 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 24 November 1978; *Japan Times*, 11 January 1979.
- 144 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 13 August 1997.
- 145 Statement by Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito, 23 September 1980, in *Statements*, 1981, pp.9-10.
- 146 The first such plan, to double ODA between 1978 and 1980, was announced in 1978. For further details on these consecutive plans, see Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's foreign policy in the 1990s*, p.111. The first plan was also mentioned in Foreign Minister Hatoyama's General Assembly address in 1978, in *Statements*, 1978, p.14.
- 147 See, for example, statement by Foreign Minister Kosaka Zentarō, 27 September 1976, in *Statements*, 1977, p.11.
- 148 Statement by Foreign Minister Kosaka Zentarō, 27 September 1976, in *Statements*, 1977, p.12.
- 149 *Yearbook of the United Nations*, 1979, vol. 33, New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations, 1980, p.1205.
- 150 Statement by M. Nisibori 21 October 1980, in *Statements*, 1981, pp.362-9; Working Paper on the strengthening of the fact-finding functions of the UN, UN document A/AC.182/WG.441, Rev 1, 12 February 1980.
- 151 For a summary of Japan's attitude over the years, see statement by His Excellency Mr Hideo Kagami, Permanent Representative of Japan, 17 October 1988, in *Statements*, 1989, pp.377-8.
- 152 Statement by His Excellency Mr Hideo Kagami, Permanent Representative of Japan, 17 October 1988, in *Statements*, 1989, p.345.

- 153 Statement by Foreign Minister Mr Yoshio Sakurauchi, 1 October 1982, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXVIIIth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1983, p.16.
- 154 *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 28 October 1980 (evening edition); *Japan Times*, 1 November 1980.
- 155 *Japan Times*, 18 August 1982.
- 156 *Japan Times*, 23 September 1978.
- 157 *The Daily Yomiuri*, 21 July 1982.
- 158 Peek, *Japan the the United Nations*, p.268.
- 159 Akihiko Tanaka, 'The domestic context: Japanese politics and UN peace-keeping', in Selig S. Harrison and Nishihara Masashi (eds), *UN peacekeeping. Japanese and American perspectives*, Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1995, p.91.
- 160 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 13 May 1998.
- 161 Thomas M. Franck, *Nation against nation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, p.109.
- 162 Sadako Ogata, 'The changing role of Japan in the United Nations', p.33.
- 163 UN document A/52/580 of 6 November 1997, Human Resources Management. Composition of the Secretariat. Report of the Secretary-General.
- 164 Robert M. Immerman and Toby Trister Gati, *Japan in a multilateral dimension*, p.11.
- 165 Morinosuke Kajima, *History of modern Japan*, Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969, p.195.
- 166 *Kaiso. Nihon Kaiso to Kokuren no sanju nen*, p.113. This must have been between 1967 and 1969, when Tsuruoka's ambassadorship overlapped with the Johnson Administration.
- 167 Interview with an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1 November 1996.
- 168 UN document A/PV. 2042, p.7.
- 169 *Ibid.* pp.5–6.
- 170 *Japan Times*, 2 August 1973.
- 171 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.295.
- 172 Statement by Foreign Minister M. Ohira, 25 September 1973, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXVIIIth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1974, p.19.
- 173 Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Jimmy Carter 1977, Book I-January 20 to June 24, 1977, Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1977, p.481.
- 174 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 1 May 1998. Although the official refused to say by which side it was raised, this author assumes that it was done by the Japanese side.
- 175 Interview with a former high official of the Carter administration, 30 April 1998.
- 176 Interview with Kawakami Takao, Director of Political Affairs in the UN Bureau, 2 June 1980.
- 177 Urano Kio, *Kokusaishakai no henyo to Kokuren tohyo kodo 1946–1985* (Changes in international society and UN voting behaviour 1946–1985), Tokyo: Kokusai Chiiki Shiryo Centa, 1989.

- 178 Report to Congress on Voting Practices in the United Nations, February 24, 1984, Washington: United States Department of State, 1984.
- 179 See Statement by Prime Minister Mr Y. Nakasone, 23 October 1985, in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXXXth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1986, p.2, and Statement by His Excellency Yasuhiro Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, at the 42nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations 21 September 1987, in *Statements*, 1988, p.368. The expression was also used by Ambassador Kuroda Mizuo in an interview in 1985: *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 May 1985.
- 180 For this device to cut down on bureaucratic proliferation, see T.J. Pempel, *Policy and politics in Japan. Creative Conservatism*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982, ch. 7.
- 181 Statement by Foreign Minister Mr S. Abe, 24 September 1985, in *Statements*, 1986, pp.18–19.
- 182 'UN Wise Men's Council', *The Daily Yomiuri*, 23 December 1985.
- 183 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat who was a member of Japan's UN Delegation 1984–7, 20 November 1997.
- 184 *Diplomatic Bluebook 1987*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p.178.
- 185 For more details on the new arrangements between the major donors and the non-aligned members, see Sally Morphet, 'The influence of states and groups of states', p.444.
- 186 Robert M. Immerman, 'Japan in the United Nations', p.189.
- 187 Interview with Edward Luck, 30 April 1998. For a critical assessment, see also Yoshida Yasuhiko. *Kokuren kohokan* (UN Public Relations officer), Tokyo: Chuiko Shinsho, 1991, p.216–7.
- 188 *Nakasone naikaku shi, Shiryohen ichi zoku*, Tokyo: Sekai Heiwa Kenkyusho, 1995, p.21. (This information was provided by Kobayashi Katsumi, a close collaborator of Nakasone, on 13 November, 1997).
- 189 'Nakasone shusho no koen no yoshi' (Gist of PM Nakasone's speech), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 18 September 1984.
- 190 Interview with Nakasone Yasuhiro by his former Private Secretary from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Hasegawa Kazutoshi, 6 February 1993. This interview has never been published before.
- 191 Interview with Hasegawa Kazutoshi, 7 April 1998.
- 192 This was reflected, for example in an interview of the UN ambassador Kuroda Mizuo, *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 May 1985, as well as the distancing of the Gaimusho from Fujio Masayuki's request for Indonesia's support (see later), 'Nihon no Ampori joninrijikoku iri kyoryoku o' (Demands for support of permanent Security Council membership), *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 May 1985.
- 193 Interview with Nakasone Yasuhiro by Ambassador Hasegawa Kazutoshi, 6 February 1993.
- 194 Interview with a former Japanese UN ambassador to the UN, 15 January 1998.
- 195 Interview with Hasegawa Kazutoshi, 7 April 1998.
- 196 *Japan Times*, 9 May 1985, p.3; *Tonan Ajia Geppo*, May 1985.
- 197 *Japan Times*, 9 May 1985, p.3; *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 May 1985. This is also confirmed by a Kyodo report of 7 May 1985 from Jakarta which said that,

- according to a source travelling with Fujio Masayuki, becoming a permanent Security Council member had been Japan's foreign policy aim for a long time, and the proposal (for support from Southeast Asian countries) came from the fact that Prime Minister Nakasone in particular had been very keen to realize this goal (Kyodo Microfilm no. 35).
- 198 Interview with Fujio Masayuki, 19 January 1998, and interview with Nakasone Yasuhiro by Ambassador Hasegawa Kazutoshi, 6 February 1993.
- 199 Robert M. Immerman, 'Japan in the United Nations', p.188.
- 200 'A greater UN role for Japan', *Japan Times*, 29 October 1986. On Nakasone's statement, see William Wetherall, 'Nakasone promotes pride and prejudice', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 19 February 1987, pp.86–7.
- 201 Statement by Prime Minister Mr Y. Nakasone, 23 October 1985, in *Statements*, 1986, p.9.
- 202 Interview with a former senior Japanese diplomat, 14 January 1998.
- 203 Statement by His Excellency Yasuhiro Nakasone, Prime Minister of Japan, 21 September 1987, in *Statements*, 1988, p.384.
- 204 According to Nakasone's published six volumes, he met Sigur on 28 May 1987 from 11.22 to 11.55 am: *Nakasone naikaku shi, Shiryohen*.
- 205 'Japan eyes seat with Big Five for Gulf talks', *Daily Yomiuri*, 8 June 1987; 'Nihon o jun Joninkoku atsukai ni' (Japan wishes to be treated as associate Permanent Security Council member), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 7 June 1987. The report was only in the *Yomiuri*, which is explained by the good relationship which the head of the newspaper had with Nakasone.
- 206 Interview with Nakasone Yasuhiro by Ambassador Hasegawa Kazutoshi, 31 March 1998.
- 207 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 20 November 1997.
- 208 For details, see Jukka Shihvo, 'Pandora's Box: Reviewing the composition of the UN Security Council in the light of British and French experience 1945–1963', *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 66, 1997, p.283.
- 209 'Jun kameikoku ijiji wa doi' (Quasi membership temporarily accepted), *Asahi Shimbun*, 14 September 1979. For a critical comment on quasi membership by Foreign Minister Okazaki in February 1953, see Report of a Study Group, p.95.
- 210 UN document A/8746 22 August 1972, p.10.

2 Japan's multilateral record and the rationale for the bid

- 1 Yasushi Akashi, 'Problems of Japan's United Nations diplomacy', *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. IV, no. 1, 1966, p.18.
- 2 For a discussion of the various criteria for new Security Council members, see Volker Rittberger and Martin Mogler, 'Reform des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen und ständige Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands' (Reform of the Security Council and permanent membership of Germany), in *Die Reform des UN-Sicherheitsrates. Ein ständiger Sitz für Deutschland?*, Blaue Reihe, Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Vereinten Nationen, No. 70 October 1997, pp.19–20.

- 3 Karl Kaiser, 'Die ständige Mitgliedschaft im Sicherheitsrat. Ein berechtigtes Ziel der neuen deutschen Außenpolitik' (Permanent Security Council membership. A justified goal of the new German foreign policy), *Europa-Archiv*, Folge 19/1993, p.541.
- 4 Hanns Maull, 'Germany and Japan', p.92–3; Yoichi Funabashi, (ed.), *Japan's international agenda*.
- 5 *Responsible partner*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1990, p.2.
- 6 Statement by His Excellency Mr Michio Watanabe, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the 47th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 22 September 1992, p.7.
- 7 Liberal Democratic Party (ed.), *Foreign Policy Part 1 Japan's strategy towards the Asia-Pacific Region*, Tokyo: LDP, 1997, p.5.
- 8 John Gerard Ruggie, *Winning the peace: America and world order in the new era*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, p.22.
- 9 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 27 November 1996, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 10 Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, p.73. For an excellent and critical discussion of Japan's official response to US demands for burden sharing, that is international contribution (Kokusai Koken), see Yoshida Yasuhiko, *Yameru Kokuren* (The ailing UN), Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1995, ch. 6.
- 11 See John Chapman, Reinhard Drifte and Ian Gow, *Japan's quest for comprehensive security: defence, diplomacy & dependence*, London/New York: Frances Pinter/St Martin's Press, 1983.
- 12 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, p.13.
- 13 *Asahi Shimbun*, 19 June 1998. According to the government's own ODA report for 1997, the amount was \$9.436 billion or 1.14 trillion yen. In yen terms it amounted to an increase of 9.2 per cent, and in dollar terms, a decrease by 1.8 per cent from a year ago. *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 September 1998.
- 14 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, p.138.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p.9.
- 16 *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 September 1998.
- 17 *Asahi shimbun*, 19 June 1998 (based on DAC statistics).
- 18 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, p.130.
- 19 *Sankei Shimbun*, 25 August 1998.
- 20 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, p.109.
- 21 Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's foreign policy for the 21st century. From economic power to what power?*, London/New York: Macmillan/St Martin's Press, 1998, pp.121–3. For the ODA Charter, see *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, pp.64–6.
- 22 Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's foreign policy for the 21st century*, pp.128–32.
- 23 Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's rise to international responsibilities*, p.77.
- 24 *Asahi Shimbun*, 13 December 1997; *Financial Times*, 13–14 December 1997.
- 25 Sadako Ogata, 'Japan and the United Nations. Japan's global commitments and public attitude', *Studia Diplomatica*, 1997, p.198.
- 26 Statement by His Excellency Mr Taro Nakayama, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the 44th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 26 September 1989, p.25 (Japanese and English version provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

- 27 'kamei irai Kokuren o kiwamete jushi shita gaiko' (Japan has made the UN an extremely important part of its foreign policy), followed at the end of the speech by 'Kamei irai, ikkan shite Kokuren chushin shugi no tachiba o tori' (Having made the United Nations a central focus of its foreign policy even since being accepted as a member). Both versions supplied by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Statement by His Excellency Mr Taro Nakayama, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the 45th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 25 September 1990.
- 28 'It's time for Japan to take a stronger role'. *Asahi Evening News*, 1 January 1992; Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.265. Tamba Minoru was Director General of the UN Bureau from 8 June 1992 to 3 January 1996 (heading from 1 April 1994 the Foreign Policy Bureau in which the UN Bureau was subsumed), and before that Director General of the Treaty Bureau from January 1991 until his next post in 1992.
- 29 Owada Hisashi, *Gaiko to wa nanika* (What is diplomacy?), Tokyo: NHK Shuppansha, 1996, p.73.
- 30 'Tayumazaru kaikaku, sekinin aru seiji no jitsugen! Shinshinto 95 nen sangiin senkyo seisaku, Tokyo 1995 Shinshinto seisaku bangikai'. The term 'Kokuren o chushin to shita heiwa gaiko' (Peace diplomacy which centres on the UN) is used in Shinshinto (ed.), *Nihon zai kochiku sengen*, 1 October 1997, p.74.
- 31 Ozawa Ichiro, *Nihon kaizo no keikaku* (Plan to reform Japan), Tokyo: Kodansha, 1994, p.127ff.
- 32 Shinshinto ketto taikai (Congress for the formation of Shinshinto), 10 December 1994.
- 33 Prime Minister Miyazawa Kiichi, 24 January 1992, Lower House address, in *Gaiko Seisho 1992*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1993, p.354. The expression is translated as 'Japan which has long made the UN a central focus of its foreign policy efforts', in *Diplomatic Bluebook 1992*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1993, p.340.
- 34 'Heisei gonen toundo hoshin', *Gekkan Jiyu Minshu* (3) Tokyo, 1993, p.72-110.
- 35 *Gaiko Seisho 1995*, vol. 1 Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995, p.155.
- 36 See Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council: A Japanese perspective', in Ramesh Thakur (ed.), *Past imperfect, future UNCertain. The United Nations at fifty*, London: Macmillan, 1998, p.148; Kazuo Ogura, 'Challenges for Japanese diplomacy in the Twenty-First century', *Japan Review of International Affairs*, vol. 11, no. 4, Winter 1998, pp.324-5.
- 37 Interview 20 January 1998.
- 38 Figures supplied by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo.
- 39 'ODA cutbacks cause global repercussions', *Japan Times*, 2 October 1997, p.10.
- 40 Interview with a former senior Japanese diplomat, 30 July 1997.
- 41 Figures as of March 1997, supplied by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 42 *Asahi Shimbun*, 8 May 1985; Permanent Missions to the United Nations no. 279 October 1997, New York: Executive Office of the Secretary-General, Protocol and Liaison Service, 1997.
- 43 Sonoda Sunao, *Sekai. Nihon. Ai* (The world. Japan. Love) Tokyo: Daisan Seikei Kenkyukai, 1981, p.158. This was also confirmed in an interview with a retired former ambassador in 1997.

- 44 Interview with a retired journalist who was for over 20 years attached to the 'Kasumigaseki Club' of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 12 August 1997.
- 45 On the latter, see *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 18 and 20 April 1997. The proposal for an Afghanistan conference was made by Ambassador Owada in October 1996 at the UN: the following March three factions (without the Taliban) went to Tokyo, and the government announced a peace conference in Tokyo during 1997.
- 46 For an excellent analysis of Japan's reaction, see Takashi Inoguchi 'Japan's response to the Gulf crisis: An analytical overview', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, Summer 1990, pp.257-74.
- 47 Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei. Gaimusho no shoso' (Joining the Security Council. Impatience of the Gaimusho), *Bungei Shunju*, November 1994, pp.120-26.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p.123.
- 49 Quoted in Hoshino Toshiya, 'Kokuren to Nihon - "Kokueki" to "Kokusai koken" no aida de' (The UN and Japan - Between 'national interest' and 'international contribution'), *Sogo Kenkyusho Ho*, no. 176, October 1995, Fukuoka University, p.7. This is also mentioned by Deputy Vice-minister Yanai Shunji in Nagano Nobutoshi, *Niju seki no Nihon gaiko*, p.322. It was also confirmed by Kakizawa Koji, then Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, who told the author about his impression when he visited New York in 1990. (Interview 30 July 1997.)
- 50 Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri. Gaimusho no shunen' (Becoming a 'Permanent Member'. The ardent wish of the Gaimusho), *Sekai*, January 1993, p.230. This experience is echoed by most non-permanent Council members. See, for example, the comment by the Columbian ambassador to the UN, Jaramillo of Columbia, as quoted in Paul James, 'Security Council Reform: Arguments about the Future of the United Nations System', revised, February 1995, downloaded from <http://globalpolicy.org/reform/index.htm>, 29 June 1998.
- 51 See, for example, Anonymous, 'Jieitai no seimei yori "Joninrijikoku ga daiji"', *Themis*, November 1994, p.94; Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei', p.123.
- 52 Hatano interview in *Kokuren-Jin*, vol. 2, April 1994, p.57. See also Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.15.
- 53 Sato Kazuo, 'Fukuzatsu ni hairi irikunda rigai do chosei suru ka. Nihon Kokuren gaiko mo yama' (How to harmonize complex interests? Climax of Japan's UN diplomacy), *Ronza*, February 1998, p.49. Yoshida Yasuhiko is also sceptical about the official argument of getting more information through permanent Council membership and doubts that Japan has the necessary ability to collect and analyse information. See Yoshida, *Yameru Kokuren*, p.6.
- 54 One of the few accounts is Kawabe Ichiro, *Kokuren to Nihon*, ch. 5, which offers a critical evaluation of Japan's positions during the periods 1975-6 (East Timor, Western Sahara) and 1992-3 (Somalia, Angola).
- 55 The website of Japan's UN Mission in New York began only in August 1998. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs published only in the 1970s two volumes about the work of the Security Council, one covering a year as non-permanent member: *1972 nen anzen hoshō rijikai shingi gaiyō* (Summary of the deliberations of the Security Council in 1972), Tokyo: UN Bureau,

- Policy Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1973. Belgium and Austria have, for example, published booklets on their country's activities during their non-permanent membership periods: *Österreichische Mitgliedschaft im Sicherheitsrat. Bericht 1991–1992*, Vienna: Bundesministerium für auswärtige Angelegenheiten, *Belgium in the UN Security Council 1991–92*, Brussels: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, External Trade and Development Cooperation, January 1993).
- 56 The only document known to the author outlining Japan's activities during its first seven terms is 'Ampori hijoninrijikoku to shite no waga kuni no kore made no koken' (Japan's contributions so far as non-permanent Security Council member), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy Division, December 1994, 8 pages.
- 57 Peek, *Japan and the United Nations*, p.187.
- 58 See Kweku Ampiah, *The dynamics of Japan's relations with Africa. South Africa, Tanzania and Nigeria*, London: Routledge, 1997. For a Japanese account and a table of voting, see Kawabe Ichiro, *Kokuren to Nihon*, pp.179–81.
- 59 Yoshida Yasuhiko, 'Joninrijikoku iri wa tozen no gimu' (Security Council membership is a natural duty), *Sansara*, March 1994, p.226.
- 60 *Japan Times*, 29 October 1986, p.16. See also Jun Morikawa, *Japan and Africa. Big business and diplomacy*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1997, p.87.
- 61 *Financial Times*, 18 October 1996; *International Herald Tribune*, 3 August 1998; 'Non-permanent UNSC states picked', *Japan Times*, 10 October 1998. According to the latter report, Canada's campaign for non-permanent Security Council membership in 1998 involved inviting delegates to a circus performance in New York and the Netherlands invited diplomats to a boat trip around the harbour of New York.
- 62 Interview with a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 25 October 1996.
- 63 Without giving the year, Thomas Franck wrote that Japan promised foreign aid to micro-nations such as the Solomon Islands in explicit exchange for an agreement to support Japan's campaign for election to the Security Council. As a pro bono delegate for the Solomon Islands, Franck himself cast those votes for the Solomon Islands: Thomas M. Franck, *Nation against nation*, p.256.
- 64 Shiro Saito, *Japan at the summit. Japan's role in the Western alliance and Asian–Pacific cooperation*, London: Routledge, 1990, p.74–5.
- 65 Robert M. Immerman, 'Japan in the United Nations', p.187.
- 67 Yukio Imagawa, 'The recent situation in East Asia and Cambodia', *Asia–Pacific Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring Summer 1998, p.131.
- 68 Yasuhiro Ueki, 'Japan's approach to UN peacekeeping and peacekeeping', in *The US and Japan in the changing environment for multilateral organizations. Papers and Workshop Summaries*, New York: City University of New York, 1993, p.59.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Robert M. Immerman and Toby Trister Gati, *Japan in a multilateral dimension*, pp.6–7.
- 71 'Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku' (Reform of the UN Security Council), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy Division, 3 July 1996, p.3.
- 72 Ibid., p.4.

- 73 See Damien Healy, 'Japan's contribution to UNTAC', in Alex Morrison and James Kira (eds), *UN Peace Operations and the role of Japan*, Clementsport: The Canadian Peacekeeping Press, 1996, p.85.
- 74 *Japan Times*, 13 June 1997.
- 75 See Tomoda Seki, 'Cambodia de ki o Fuku Nihon gaiko', *Chuokoron*, October 1998, pp.90–91.
- 76 Speech by Ambassador Hayashi Akira to the Conference on Disarmament, UN document CD/PV.780, 22 January 1998.
- 77 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 September 1998, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 78 Information provided by the Press Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Numata Sadaaki.
- 79 There were, however, reports that Japan's reason for initially opposing the use of force was also motivated by its concern that the Nagano winter olympics might be hurt by any military action against Iraq: 'Tokyo with US on Iraq', *Asahi Evening News*, 14 February 1998.
- 80 'Iraku, Ampori kaikaku...Nihon wa do suru' (Iraq, UN Security Council reform... what should Japan do?), *Asahi Shimbun*, 11 February 1998.
- 81 Interview with a senior member of the British Mission to the UN, 5 May 1998.
- 82 *Mainichi Shimbun*, 25 March 1998 (translation provided by the US Embassy). This issue of 'automacity' (that is, failure on the part of Iraq to abide by this would automatically mean the use of force) was also denied by the Press Secretary Numata Sadaaki in his news conference: Press Conference by the Press Secretary March 6, 1998: Website of the press conferences of the Press Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press>.
- 83 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 24 April 1998.
- 84 Interview with the representative of one of the non-permanent members on the Security Council, 12 May 1998. This was confirmed in the interview with a senior British diplomat, 17 December 1998.
- 85 *Japan Times*, 2 March 1998.
- 86 Apart from wanting to be seen as a good ally of the US and the futility of opposing an action which had been started without renewed consultation with the Security Council, the Japanese government appreciated the signal which the raids sent to North Korea: *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 December 1998.
- 87 Yasuhiro Ueki, 'Japan's UN diplomacy: Sources of passivism and activism', in *Japan's foreign Policy. After the Cold War. Coping with change*, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1993, p.62.
- 88 Figures provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 89 Speech by Tokinoya Atsushi, Japanese ambassador to the EU, Brussels 6 November 1996.
- 90 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, p.85.
- 91 Sydney Bailey and Sam Daws (eds), *The procedure of the UN Security Council*, 3rd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, p.380.
- 92 Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.365.
- 93 The Responsibility of the Security Council in the Maintenance of International Security, UN document S/PV. 3946, 31 January 1992.

- 94 Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping, Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to the Statement Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on January 31, 1992*, New York: United Nations, 1992.
- 95 Michael Schaefer, 'Die neue Rolle des Sicherheitsrates – Warum soll Deutschland ständiges Mitglied werden?' (The new role of the Security Council – Why should Germany become a permanent member?), in Eltje Aderhold et al. (eds) *Festschrift für Hans Hanisch*, Cologne: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1994, p.204.
- 96 See, for example, Sato Seizaburo, 'Joninirijikoku ni narou to shinai no wa musekinin' (Not wanting to become a Permanent member is irresponsible). *Nihon Kokusai Foramu Kaiho*, vol. 1, no. 4, Fall 1994, p.3.
- 97 *International Herald Tribune*, 7–8 May 1994, p.3. See also the document 'The Clinton Administration's Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations' (Bureau of International Organization Affairs, Department of State Publication No. 10161, 1994. Directive 25 of 25 May 1994.
- 98 'Winds of change: The UN at 50', *New Internationalist*, December 1994.
- 99 UN figures as of 31 December 1997.
- 100 Samuel S. Kim, 'China and the United Nations', in Michael Oksenberg and Elizabeth Economy (eds), *China joins the world – progress and prospects*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1998, p.11 (chapter manuscript before publication).
- 101 UN figures as of 31 December 1997.
- 102 In a document of the Ministry, any obligation to contribute troops as a permanent Security Council member is refuted, quoting Boutros-Ghali in support. See *Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku*, p.3.
- 103 See interview with him in Nagano Nobutoshi, *Niju seki no Nihon gaiko*, p.296.
- 104 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.61.
- 105 'Ampori Joninriiri (Membership in the Security Council) Dialogue between Kamo Takehiko and Hatano Yoshio', *Nikkei Shimbun*, 25 September 1994.
- 106 Interview with Kakizawa Koji, 30 July 1997.
- 107 This view was also presented by Prime Minister Murayama in a parliamentary interpellation on 25 January 1995: "Kokuren gun" de junan taio' (Soft reaction to 'UN Force'), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 27 August 1997.
- 108 *Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku*, p.3.
- 109 For the public stance of the Ministry, see Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council', p.154.
- 110 Owada Hisashi, 'Nihon ga Amporijoninrijikoku ni hairu no wa tozen to iu beki kuki desu' (It is natural that Japan should become a permanent member of UN Security Council) (Interview), *Economisuto*, 28 March 1995, p.776. See also Owada Hisashi, *Gaiko to wa nanika*, p.97.
- 111 *Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku*, p.3.
- 112 Aurelia George, 'Japan's participation in UN peacekeeping operations', *Asian Survey*, vol. XXXIII, no. 6 June 1993, p.563.
113. 'Saki isogu Gaimusho ni ayausa' (The danger to the Gaimusho of moving fast forward), *Asahi Shimbun*, 15 July 1993, p.7.

- 114 See, for example, the quote of an unnamed official of the Administration, in 'US opposes Japan's bid for Security Council', *Asahi Evening News*, 8 January 1992.
- 115 Amendment of 15 July 1994, provided by the office of Sen. Roth. See also similar comments in 'Reshaping the US-Japan alliance: From containment to regional stability, May 1998', by the Ralph Bunche Institute of the UN (City University of New York) and the Research Institute for Peace and Security, Tokyo, pp.15-17.
- 116 For the latter, see for example, John Ruggie, 'Japan had to join UN peace-keeping effort (Letter to the Editor)', *New York Times*, 18 June 1992; also Roger A. Coate (ed.), *US policy and the future of the United Nations*, New York: The twentieth Century Fund Press, 1994, p.241.
- 117 See, for example, 'Enlarge the Security Council', *New York Times*, 15 August 1997. In this editorial, the extension of the veto right even to Japan and Germany is dismissed on the grounds of the two countries' lack of commitment to PKO. The writer of the editorial obviously was ignorant of Germany's removal of constitutional obstacles to fully-fledged PKO contributions in July 1994, when the Federal Constitutional Court pronounced itself positively on the compatibility of the Fundamental Law and PKO contribution.
- 118 Kydo News Service file t-950818.033, 1 August 1995, quoted in Hugo Dobson, 'Japan and United Nations Peacekeeping: Foreign Policy Formulation in the Post-Cold War World', PhD thesis, Sheffield, May 1998, p.240.
- 119 Akashi Yasushi, 'Sengo Nihon to Kokuren' (Postwar Japan and the UN), *Gakushi Kaiho*, no. 821, October 1998, p.7.
- 120 'UN chief's advice stirring Japanese criticism', *New York Times*, 7 February 1993; 'Boutros-Ghali presses nation to join armed peace effort', *Japan Times*, 5 February 1993.
- 121 Interview with a Japanese academic, 10 October 1998. For the denial, see 'UN head requests further peace efforts', *Japan Times*, 17 February 1993.
- 122 Quoted in Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council', p.154. He repeated this later. See 'No need for Japan to get UNSC seat, UN chief says', *Japan Times*, 12 August 1994, p.1.
- 123 *Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku*, p.4. See also former Foreign Minister Kakizawa Koji in Kokuren Ampori Joninrijikoku iri mondai (Kakizawa Koji-Tanaka Shusei), *Asahi Shimbun*, 23 August 1994.
- 124 *Nikkei Shimbun*, 22 October 1994.
- 125 'Kokuren kamei 40 shu nen kinen Symposium' (Symposium on the occasion of Japan's 40th anniversary of joining the UN), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 22 December 1996.
- 126 *Asahi Shimbun*, 5 May 1991.
- 127 *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 5 September 1997.
- 128 *Los Angeles Times*, 8 September 1992.
- 129 Even prior to this judgement, Germany had participated in several UN PKO missions: in Cambodia (where Germany had its first casualty), in Somalia and in the former Yugoslavia.
- 130 Karl Kaiser, 'Die ständige Mitgliedschaft im Sicherheitsrat', p.550.
- 131 Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.361.

- 132 UN document Resolution 781 of 9 October 1992.
- 133 Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.361.
- 135 *Asahi Shimbun*, 2 April 1994.
- 136 Prime Minister's Office, Public opinion poll on the SDF and defence problems, February 1997.
- 137 Prime Minister's Office, October 1997, 'Gaiko ni kansuru yoron chosa' (Public opinion on diplomacy).
- 138 Prime Minister's Office, Public opinion poll on the SDF and defence problems, February 1997.
- 139 Quoted in Tamura Shigenobu, 'Soto kara mita Gaimusho to seiji', speech delivered at the Research Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 22 August 1996 (received from the author).
- 140 For writings of some supporters arguing in favour of military PKO contributions, see, for example, Komuro Naoki, 'Higunji sanko nado shoshi. Kokuren wa ima mo gunji domei de aru koto o ninshiki seyo' (Non-military participation is ridiculous. Let's recognize that the UN is still a military alliance), in *Nihon no ronten '96*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1995, pp.202-7.
- 141 *Asahi Shimbun*, 6 September 1994.
- 142 Interview with Sugiyama Shinsuke, *Foresight*, November 1995, p.102. This is also an argument proposed by Horiguchi Matsushiro, who was at the Japanese UN Mission in New York in 1994; Kawabe Ichiro, 'Joninka o meguru Gaimusho no ugoki', (The moves of the Gaimusho on permanent membership), *Gunshuku Mondai Shiryō*, November 1994, p.57.
- 143 For example, Sakaguchi Akira, 'Gunji gimu ga nai joninriyokoku ga aru ka' (Is there a permanent membership without military obligations?), *Zenei*, November 1994, pp.31-47. See also Asai Motofumi, 'Kokuren Ampori Joninriyokoku iri wa kaigai hahei o kyoko suru tame no kakuremino de aru' (Becoming permanent member of the UN Security Council is an invisible cloak to force the deployment of troops abroad), in *Nihon no ronten '96*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, pp.116-21.
- 144 Koizumi Junichiro, 'Kokuren joninriyokoku iri' (Becoming a member of the UN Security Council), *Nihon Kokusai Foramu Kaiho*, vol. 1, no. 4, Fall 1994, p.4.
- 145 'Simply contributing financially is not enough. It must provide more human resources, technology and knowledge. If it contributes generously, no one is likely to criticize it for not playing enough of a military role'; Hiroshi Fujita, 'UN reform and Japan's permanent Security Council seat', *Japan Quarterly*, October-December 1995, p.442.
- 146 Selig S. Harrison and Masashi Nishihara (eds), *UN peacekeeping. Japanese and American perspectives*, Washington: Carnegie Endowment Foundation, 1995, p.7.
- 147 Yoshida Yasuhiko, 'Ampori joninriyokoku iri' (Becoming a member of the Security Council) *Mainichi Shimbun*, 24 October 1993, Yoshida Yasuhiko, 'Ampori joninriyokoku iri o meguro dai gokai' (Big misunderstandings concerning becoming a permanent Security Council member), *Jikyoku*, January 1994, pp.28-9.
- 148 See for example, Yayama Taro, 'Kokuren Ampori joninriyokoku iri. "Joken" o tsukeru hijoshiki' (Becoming a permanent member of the UN Security

- Council. It is absurd to attach 'conditions'), *This is Yomiuri*, November 1994, pp.126–33; Shikata Toshiyuki, 'Kempo to Kensho no kugeki o ume-nakereba, Kokuren Ampori joninrijikoku iri wa imi nashi' (Without filling the gap between the Constitution and the Charter, it makes no sense to become permanent member of the UN Security Council), in *Nihon no ron-ten '96*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, 1995, p.114.
- 149 'Akashi Jimujicho tainin o mae ni kataru' (Under-Secretary-General Akashi talks before his retirement), *Asahi Shimbun* (Nagano edition), 26 December 1997, p.8. See also similar statements by Akashi in *Japan Times*, 4 January 1993, and Ushiba Akihiko, 'Joninrijikokuiri no taimingu' (The timing of becoming a permanent Security Council member), *Voice*, November 1994, p.39.
- 150 For a discussion of opinions in Japan concerning the use of force by the UN, see Ron Dore, *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*, pp.100–5.
- 151 Notes by the author of a speech by Hatano Yoshio at the Joint Japan Association for International Relations/ISA conference in Makuhari, 22 September 1996. See also Hatano Yoshio, 'Nihon wa Kokuren joninrijikoku iri o mezasu beki ka' (Should Japan aim for UN Security Council membership?) in *Imidasu*, 1997, p.8.
- 152 Statement at the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, Ambassador Hisashi Owada, 11 April 1997, Source: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/un/pko/committee.html>, downloaded on 21 July 1998. For this line of argument, see also Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council', pp.152–3.
- 153 UN document 47/454, 23 December 1992, quoted in Anthony McDermott, 'Japan's financial contribution to the UN system – in pursuit of acceptance and standing', paper prepared for the 23rd Annual Conference of the British International Studies Association, University of Sussex, 14–16 December 1998.
- 154 Statement by Ambassador Owada Hisashi, Special Committee on PKO, 1 April 1996. Provided by the Japanese UN Mission, New York.
- 155 Answer given to the author on 6 September 1996 in writing by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 156 See, for example, Tomoda Seki, 'Cambodia enjo seisaku no atarashisa' (The novelty of the policy of assistance to Cambodia), *Gaiko Foramu*, no. 54, March 1993, pp.28–34.
- 157 Interview in *Japan Economic Institute Report*, no. 12A, March 1994, p.3.
- 158 Hatano Yoshio, 'Nihon wa Kokuren joninrijikoku iri o mezasu beki ka', p.8.
- 159 Nagano Nobutoshi, *Niju seki no Nihon gaiko*, pp.322–3. The Japanese government did, however, oppose on one occasion the stress on 'non-military' aspects of PKO when it argued in 1992 vehemently against a Finnish statement proposing more police involvement rather than troops in the UN PKO Committee. See Hosoya Tatsuyuki, 'Ozawa ryu "futsu no kuni" o utagau' (Questioning the 'normal country' thesis a la Ozawa), *Voice*, April 1994, p.203; Kawabe Ichiro, *Kokuren to Nihon*, p.133. At that time, the government was concerned about any 'confusion' which may have distracted from passing the PKO law of June 1992.
- 160 Milton Leitenberg, 'The participation of Japanese military forces in United Nations peacekeeping operations', Occasional Paper 27 March 1996, Center

- for Pacific Asia Studies at Stockholm University, pp.33–4. For a criticism of UNTAC's non-use of force, see Michael W. Doyle, *UN peacekeeping in Cambodia. UNTAC's civil mandate*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995, pp.67–8.
- 161 For an excellent discussion, see Asada Masahiko, 'Peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace enforcement: Conceptual and legal underpinnings of the UN role', in Selig S. Harrison, and Masashi Nishihara (eds), *UN peacekeeping. Japanese and American perspectives*, Washington: Carnegie Endowment Foundation, pp.31–70.
- 162 Shunji Yanai 'UN peace operation and the role of Japan: The Japanese view', in Alex Morrison and James Kira (eds), *UN Peace Operations and the role of Japan*, p.81.
- 163 Akihiko Tanaka, 'UN peace operations and Japan-US relations', in P. Gourevitch, Takashi Inoguchi and C. Purrington (eds), *United States-Japan relations and international institutions after the Cold War*, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego: August 1995, pp.70–1. See also Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, pp.55–6.
- 164 Statement by His Excellency Mr Ryutaro Hashimoto, Prime Minister of Japan at the 51st General Assembly of the United Nations, 24 September 1996.
- 165 In his speech to the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations on 31 March 1998, Ambassador Owada Hisashi had raised the issue again, illustrating the problem of safety and security of such UN personnel by recalling an earlier incident in Tajikistan in November 1997. Speech provided by the Japanese UN Mission to the UN. On becoming Prime Minister just after the death of several UN observers in Tajikistan, including Professor Akino Yutaka, Obuchi announced a donation to the UN to help the UN with measures for the safety of UN personnel. Policy speech by Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi to the 143rd session of the Diet, 7 August 1998.
- 166 Interview with Hatano Yoshio, 17 July 1997.
- 167 Koizumi Junichiro and Nakanishi Keisuke, *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 November 1994. Yoshida Yasuhiko uses the expression 'Nihon tokushuron' (view of Japan's specialness) to describe this exceptionalism. See Yoshida, *Yameru Kokuren*, p.42.
- 168 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.61.
- 169 Interview with Marrack Goulding, Under Secretary-General for PKO from January 1986 to March 1993, 15 September 1998.
- 170 Austria changed its constitution in order to accommodate fully-fledged participation in PKO.
- 171 For the most prominent proponent of this view, see Ozawa Ichiro, *Nihon kaizo no keikaku*, ch. 2.
- 172 For an analysis of this domestic group, see Aurelia George, 'Japan's participation in UN peacekeeping operation', pp.565–6. For an advocacy of a greater role for the SDF in PKO, see also 'The modality of the security and defense capability of Japan. The outlook for the 21st century', Advisory Group on Defense Issues, chaired by Higuchi Hiroto, 12 August 1994 (paper received from a member of the group).
- 173 For a critical analysis of the genesis of the International Peace Cooperation Law, see Kenichi Ito, 'The Japanese state of mind: Deliberations on the

- Gulf crisis', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, Summer 1991, pp.275–90.
- 174 Akihiko Tanaka, 'The domestic context', p.93.
- 175 *Diplomatic Bluebook 1992*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1992, p.53.
- 176 For a report on this mission, see Andrew H.N. Kim, 'Japan and peace-keeping operations', *Military Review*, April 1994, pp.22–33.
- 177 *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 27 March 1993, p.2, quoted in Richard D. Leitch, Akira Kato and Martin E. Weinstein, *Japan's role in the post-Cold War world*, Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1995, p.48.
- 178 *Asahi Shimbun*, 3 April 1996.
- 179 'Buki shiyo muzukashii ronri' (Difficult discussion about the use of weapons), *Asahi Shimbun*, 6 June 1998.
- 180 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 15 July 1997.
- 181 *Korea Times*, 5 January 1994. See also 'Akashi asks Japan to send personnel to ex-Yugoslavia', *Japan Times*, 10 January 1994, p.4. In another interview he encouraged Japan also to send infantry: 'Bigger UN responsibility needed, Akashi tells nation', *Japan Times*, 4 January 1994, p.2. There was also a report that UK Defence Secretary Michael Portillo wanted to ask Japan to police the peace treaty in Bosnia alongside NATO forces as part of developing closer defence links with Japan. (*Daily Telegraph*, 18 December 1995.)
- 182 *The Washington Post*, 19 February 1993.
- 183 Andrew H.N. Kim, 'Japan and peacekeeping operations', p.28. Ronald Dore mentions that doctors attached to the SDF contingent of UNTAC required a cabinet order before they could treat soldiers of others contingents. (Ron Dore, *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*, p.xv.)
- 184 According to Uesugi Yuji, who visited the Japanese UNDOF contingent when he was staff researcher of the Research Institute for Peace and Security in Tokyo, the SDF do not carry weapons and rely instead on an agreement with the Austrian infantry unit to protect them in case of an attack. Communication from Uesugi Yuji, 11 December 1998.
- 185 United Nations, Department of Peace-Keeping Operations, 'General Guidelines for Peace-Keeping Operation of October 1995', p.13. These Guidelines are provided to all troops involved in UN PKO.
- 186 This was pointed out to the author by Marrack Goulding. Letter to the author 1 December 1998.
- 187 Interview with Marrack Goulding, 15 September 1998. See also note 184 on the Japanese–Austrian agreement for UNDOF.
- 188 This concern was also strongly expressed when a few Japanese electoral observers took part in UNAVEM II in September–October 1992, and the Japanese government demanded special treatment of their citizens, in contrast to all the other 398 observers; Margaret Joan Anstee, *Orphan of the Cold War. The inside story of the collapse of the Angolan peace process, 1992–93*, London: Macmillan, 1996, pp.187–8.
- 189 Interview with a senior official of the UN Department of Peace-Keeping Operations, 8 May 1998. The Golan Mission was first considered by the Hata cabinet when it sent an investigation team to Syria in June 1994, but it was only in January 1996 that the first group of Ground Self-Defense Force soldiers was deployed to provide secondary support for staff and

- transport for UNDOF. For the special treatment of the Japanese Golan detachment, see, for example, *Sankei Shimbun*, 5 July 1998.
- 190 Okazaki Hisahiko, 'Nihon no joninrikoku iri to Ajia' (Japan as permanent member in the Security Council and Asia), *Shokun*, November 1994, p.31.
- 191 'Japan calls to revamp UN', *Japan Times*, 1 March 1992.
- 192 Interview with Hatano Yoshio, 17 July 1997. See also interview by Roy K. Akagawa with him: daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 December 1996. <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 193 Richard N. Haass, *Intervention: the use of American military force in the post-Cold War world*, Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment, 1994, p.17.
- 194 Mayumi Itoh, *Globalization of Japan. Japanese sakoku mentality and US efforts to open Japan*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1998, p.172.
- 195 The concern about sanctions leading to Japan having to use force is mentioned, for example, by Tanaka Shusei as an argument against permanent Security Council membership: Tanaka Shusei and Hatano Yoshio discussion, *Kobe Shimbun*, 29 July 1997.
- 196 Quoted in Emma Matanle, *The UN Security Council. Prospects for reform*, London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1995, p.23.
- 197 Ian Hurd, 'Security Council reform', pp.148–9.
- 198 Ron Dore, *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*, pp.96–7.
- 199 Robert M. Immerman, 'Japan in the United Nations', p.186.
- 200 One of the earliest public mentions of this rationale is in Gaimusho Kokurenkyoku Seijika (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Bureau, Political Department), 'Ampori joninrijikoku no tokken ni tsuite' (On the special rights of the Permanent Members of the Security Council), Kokuren, September 1970, p.30–31.
- 201 See, for example, Kawakami Yoichi, 'Kokuren ampори to Nihon' (The UN Security Council and Japan), *Choken Shippo*, no. 100, January 1993, p.53; Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, pp.55–6. See also the interview with Deputy Vice-minister Yanai Shunji in Nagano Nobutoshi, *Niju seki no Nihon gaiko*, p.322.
- 202 Richard D. Leitch, Akira Kato and Martin E. Weinstein, *Japan's role in the post-Cold War world*, p.45.
- 203 For Japanese official opinions on this matter, see Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council', p.206.
- 204 Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri', p.230.
- 205 Interview with Kakizawa Koji, 30 July 1997.
- 206 Opinion Poll 1994, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo.
- 207 *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 14 December 1996.
- 208 Interview with Aichi Kazuo, 10 September 1997.
- 209 Remarks by Ambassador H. Owada, 8 February 1995, in *Security Council Reform Basic Documents*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy Division, Tokyo, 23 January 1996, p.68.
- 210 Owada Hisashi, *Gaiko to wa nanika*, p.97.
- 211 Kenichi Ito, 'A rightful place. Why Japan should push to become a permanent member of the Security Council', *Look Japan*, February 1997, p.3.
- 212 Okazaki Hisahiko, 'Nihon no joninrikoku iri to Ajia', p.31.

- 213 Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei', p.120. Tanaka Shusei, Takano Hajime and Kawabe Ichiro, 'Igi ari!! Nihon no "Joninrijikokuiru"' (We have objections to 'Japan becoming a permanent member of the Security Council!'), Tokyo: Daisanshokan, 1994, pp.56–9.
- 214 Tamura Shigenobu, 'Soto kara mita Gaimusho to seiji'.
- 215 *Asahi Shimbun*, 19 December 1996, <http://www.asai.com/enews/enews.html>.
- 216 'Shinshinto ketto taikai' (Congress for the formation of Shinshinto), 10 December 1994.
- 217 *Asahi Shimbun*, 26 June 1991.
- 218 UN Doc. A/50/803, 5 December 1995.
- 219 See, for example, Sakaguchi Akira, 'Gunji gimu ga nai joninrijikoku ga aru ka', p.45.
- 220 Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri', p.230.
- 221 In 1995 the General Assembly finally agreed on a resolution to accept a report to consider the elimination of the enemy clauses (Resolution 50/52 of the Sixth Committee adopted on 6 December 1995), saying that it 'recognizes ... that the "enemy State" clauses in Articles 53, 77 and 107 of the Charter of the United Nations have become obsolete'. The resolution expresses the intention of the General Assembly to 'initiate the procedure set out in Article 108 of the Charter ... to amend the Charter'. However, it never went further than this intention. See Paul Taylor, Sam Daws and Ute Adamczick-Gerteis (eds), *Documents on reform of the United Nations*, Aldershot: Dartmouth; 1997, p.553.
- 222 Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri' p.230.
- 223 Stanley Meisler, 'Japan's thorny U.N. bid', *Japan Times*, 18 May 1991.
- 224 Ibid. (quoting UN Ambassador Detlev Graf zu Rantzau). The most recent mention found by this author was by Ambassador Tono Eitel on 21 March 1997: Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations (ed.), *The UN reform. Reform of the Security Council. The German position, vol. II. Statements and talking points June 1996–October 1997*, New York: Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, November 1997, p.17.
- 225 Figures from the website of Global Policy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/tab1998.htm>, as of 17 November 1998.
- 226 'Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku' (Reform of the UN Security Council), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy Division, 25 April 1997.
- 227 Letter to the Editor by Kazuo Watanabe, Permanent Mission of Japan to the UN, *The Economist*, 31 January–6 February 1998, p.4.
- 228 For an analysis of the new scale, see Jeffrey Laurenti, 'The new UN assessment scale', 28 January 1998, Website of the UN Association of the US: <http://www.unausa.org/Programs/scale.htm>.
- 229 This can be extrapolated from 'Administrative and Budgetary Coordination of the United Nations with the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency', UN document A/51/505, 18 October 1996 with A/51/505 Corr.1, 1 December 1996. The author owes knowledge of this document to Anthony McDermott, researcher at the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO), Oslo.
- 230 UN document A/49/588.
- 231 Asakai Kazuo, 'Yobo, kyuen, fukko. Nihon ga torikumu beki mitsu no kadai' (Prevention, relief, reconstruction. Three areas that Japan should

- tackle) *Gaiko Forum*, no. 103, March 1997, p.43 (contains a table on contributions to UNHCR, WFP, ICRC, IOM and UNRWA).
- 232 Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/UNJ/reform.html>, downloaded 24 February 1997.
- 233 'ODA cutbacks cause global repercussions', *Japan Times*, 2 October 1997, p.10.
- 234 *Sankei Shimbun*, 25 August 1998.
- 235 'Kyoshutsu kin sakugen zai ko o' (Cut in voluntary contributions to be reconsidered) *Asahi Shimbun*, 22 September 1997.
- 236 On its website the Ministry of Foreign Affairs claims that Japan pays its assessed contribution 'promptly, in full and without condition', a claim which cannot be fully substantiated. See website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, www.mofa.go.jp/UNJ/reform.html, downloaded 24 February 1997.
- 237 Geoff Simons, *UN malaise*, p.131. This calculation applies to payments up to 30 January 1993.
- 238 For an excellent overview of the payments due to the UN for peacekeeping accounts from 1995 to 1998, see Global Policy Forum, website <http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/pckep95.htm>, downloaded 17 November 1998.
- 239 Such suspicions are mentioned in Geoff Simons, *UN malaise*, pp.128–9. See also James Paul, 'UN Reform – An Analysis', 27 December 1996, Website of Global Policy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/SCreform>.
- 240 Interview with Kakizawa Koji, 30 July 1997.
- 241 Quoted in Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri', p.230.
- 242 Nihon Keizai Chosa Hyogikai hokoku, 'A grand design for the world', April 1992, quoted in Kawakami Yoichi, 'Kokuren ampori to Nihon', p.46.
- 243 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 14 January 1998.
- 244 *Sankei Shimbun*, 25 August 1998.
- 245 Interview with Oe Hiroshi, Director of the UN Policy Division, 6 October 1998.
- 246 Interview with Tanaka Nobuaki, Deputy Director-General, North American Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 13 August 1997.
- 247 See, for example, *Mainichi Shimbun*, 7 July 1993.
- 248 Tanaka Shusei, "'Atarashii Kokuren" no shudo koku e' (Towards a country advocating a 'New UN'). *Seikai*, March 1993, p.46. See also the same accusation in his dialogue with Hatano Yoshio, *Kobe Shimbun*, 29 July 1997.
- 249 Tadokoro Masayuki, 'Kokuren zaisei to Kokuren kaikaku' (UN finances and UN reform), *Jijo*, January 1998, p.59.
- 250 'Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon' (UN reform and Japan), *Mainichi Shimbun*, 10 August 1997. See also Yoshida Yasuhiko, "'Ampojonin Rijikoku" no hiyo tai koka' (Costs versus results of 'Permanent membership in the Security Council'), *Bungei Shunju*, February 1993, p.307.
- 251 'Ampori joninriiri' (Membership in the Security Council), dialogue between Kamo Takehiko and Hatano Yoshio, *Nikkei Shimbun*, 25 September 1994.
- 252 'Kokuren anzen hoshu, rijikai no kaikaku', p.3.
- 253 See, for example, *Mainichi Shimbun*, 28 September 1994 and Tanaka Shusei, "'Atarashii Kokuren" no shudo kokue', *Sekai*, March 1993.
- 254 Robert M. Immerman, 'Japan in the United Nations', p.184.
- 255 Yoshida Yasuhiko, "'Ampojonin Rijikoku" no hiyo tai koka', pp.306–14.

- 256 Interview with Hatano by Roy K. Akagawa, daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 December 1996, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 257 Tanaka Shusei, “‘Atarashii Kokuren’ no shudo koku e’, p.46.
- 258 Ibid., p.47. The following article documents such feelings even in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Anonymous, ‘Jieitai no seimei yori “Joninrijikoku ga daiji”’ p.95.
- 259 Tanaka Shusei, “‘Atarashii Kokuren’ no shudo koku e’, p.46.
- 260 Kenichi Ito, ‘A rightful place’, p.3.
- 261 Ibid.
- 262 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, pp.55–6.
- 263 ‘Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku’, p.3.
- 264 Nagano Nobutoshi, *Niju seki no Nihon gaiko*, p.322.
- 265 Anonymous, ‘Joninrijikokuiri ni “akashingo” gosan ga tsuzuku Nihon Kokuren gaiko’ (‘Red light’ for Japan’s permanent membership. The miscalculation of Japan’s UN policy continues), *Foresight*, December 1994, p.15.
- 266 Saito Shizuo, ‘Ima koso Kokuren o baponteki kaikaku seyo’ (This is the time to radically reform the UN!), *Ekonomisuto*, 18 February 1992, p.37.
- 267 ‘Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon’ (UN reform and Japan), *Mainichi Shimbun*, 10 August 1997.
- 268 Tanaka Shusei, Takano Hajime and Kawabe Ichiro, *Igi ari!! Nihon no ‘Joninrijikokuiri’* p.24. See also Kawabe, Ichiro, *Kokuren to Nihon*, p.iii.
- 269 Hiroshi Fujita, ‘UN reform and Japan’s permanent Security Council seat’, p.439, quoting from *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 23 May 1995.
- 270 The argument is used in Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, pp.55–6; interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Yanai Shunji, in Nagano Nobutoshi, *Niju seki no Nihon gaiko*, p.322. See also the Ministry’s official publication, ‘Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku’, p.3; Akihiko Tanaka, ‘UN peace operations and Japan–US relations’, p.70.
- 271 On Japan’s unilateral arms control policies, see Reinhard Drifte, *Japan’s rise to international responsibilities*.
- 272 See, for example, ‘Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku’, p.3.
- 273 Akihiko Tanaka, ‘UN peace operations and Japan–US relations’, p.70.
- 274 Hatano Yoshio, ‘Nihon wa Kokuren joninrijikoku iri o mezasu beki ka’, p.9.
- 275 Takahiro Shinyo, ‘Reforming the Security Council’, p.157.
- 276 Prime Minister Hashimoto on 30 January 1996 in the Budget Committee of the Lower House: ‘If Japan would join the permanent Security Council members who are all nuclear powers, it could display original and positive activities in the area of nuclear disarmament from the position of the only nuclear bombed country and as a non-nuclear state’ (‘Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon’, *Mainichi Shimbun*, 5 August 1997). This line of argument was also given in the interviews of the author with LDP Upper House member Takemi Keizo, 30 June 1997 and Endo Otohiko, 1 July 1997.
- 277 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 May 1998, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 278 Kawabe Ichiro, ‘Nihon wa Kokuren joninrijikoku iri o mezasu beki ka’ (Should Japan aim for UN Security Council membership?), in *Imidasu*,

- 1997, p.9. For a list of the major resolutions on 'freezing of nuclear armament', 'the non-use of nuclear weapons' and 'Zone of peaceful cooperation in the South Pacific' and the voting pattern by Japan, the US and Finland, see 'Heiwa sozo e koken o' (Towards a contribution to peace making), *Tokyo Shimbun*, 17 December 1996.
- 279 The expression is used in Richard D. Leitch, Akira Kato and Martin E. Weinstein, *Japan's role in the post-Cold War world*, p.5.

3 Gathering support at the domestic and international level

- 1 Senior diplomat, quoted in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 17 March 1988, p.34.
- 2 For a general survey of the new activism of the Security Council, see David M. Malone, 'The UN Security Council in the post-Cold War world: 1987-97', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp.393-408.
- 3 James Paul, 'Security Council Reform: Arguments about the Future of the United Nations System', revised, February, 1995, website of Global Policy Organization, <http://globalpolicy.org/>.
- 4 UN Doc A/53/2 21 October 1998.
- 5 Sally Morphet, 'The influence of states and groups of states on and in the Security Council and General Assembly, 1980-94', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4, October 1995, p.447.
- 6 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council*, p.7.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Sally Morphet, 'The influence of states and groups of states', p.447.
- 9 Figures from the UN PKO Department, as well as Samuel S. Kim, 'China and the United Nations', p.45, fn 3 (manuscript) and *United Nations Handbook 1997*, ed. New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, Wellington, 1997, pp.39-41. For a general overview of PKO and observer missions, see Davis B. Bobrow and Mark A. Boyer, 'Maintaining system stability. Contributions to peacekeeping operations', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 41, no. 6, December 1997, pp.723-48.
- 10 Figures from the website of Global Policy Forum, [http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/pko\\$.htm](http://www.globalpolicy.org/finance/tables/pko$.htm), downloaded on 17 November 1998.
- 11 On the Third World in the UN, see Sally Morphet, 'The influence of states and groups of states', pp.435-62.
- 12 Wolfgang Wagner, 'Der ständige Sitz im Sicherheitsrat. Wer braucht wen: Die Deutschen diesen Sitz? Der Sicherheitsrat die Deutschen?' (Permanent Security Council seat. Who needs whom? The Germans the seat? The Security Council the Germans?), *Europa-Archiv Folge 19/1993*, p.534.
- 13 Walter Hoffmann, *United Nations Security Council reform and restructuring*, Livingston, NJ: The Center for UN Reform Education, 1994, pp.32-9. For Third World concerns about the US-led task force to Somalia in December 1992, see also Mats Berdal, 'The United Nations in international relations', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1, January 1996, p.105.
- 14 Interview with Antonio de Aguiar Patriota, senior diplomat at the UN Mission of Brazil in New York, 12 May 1998.

- 15 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 1 November 1996.
- 16 These opinions are contained in UN document A/48/264 of 20 July 1993.
- 17 Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era', p.41.
- 18 See, for example, Patrick A. McCarthy, 'Positionality, tension and instability in the UN Security Council', EUI Working Paper RSC No. 97/12, European University Institute, Florence, 1997, p.12, fn. 20. Bailey and Daws do not consider it to be a Charter amendment: Sydney Bailey and Sam Daws (eds), *The procedure of the UN Security Council*, p.381.
- 19 Shizuo Saito, 'Ima koso Kokuren o baponteki kaikaku seyo', p.38.
- 20 Harada Katsuhiko, *Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon no yakuwari* (UN reform and Japan's role), Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha, 1995, p.149.
- 21 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.49.
- 22 Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei', p.122.
- 23 *Diplomatic Bluebook 1992*, p.401; 'Japan calls to revamp UN', *Japan Times*, 1 March 1992.
- 24 'Japan calls to revamp UN', *Japan Times*, 1 March 1992; 'Japan expected to seek Security Council seat', *The Independent*, 31 January 1992; 'Japan calls on UNSC to reflect new realities', *Financial Times*, 1–2 February 1992; Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri, Gaimusho no shunen', p.231.
- 25 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 8 September 1997.
- 26 Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei', p.121.
- 27 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 1 November 1996. Nakasone gave a speech at Stanford University on 28 February 1992 in which he said that he thought that Japan and Germany had the ability (shikaku) to become permanent members, and expressed the hope that this day would come as early as possible. (Quoted in Asai Motofumi, 'Joninrijikokui ni aete hantai suru ronkyo' (The reasons for brave opposition to membership in the Security Council), *Sansara*, December 1994, p.148.)
- 28 *The Japan Times*, 1 March 1992 and *International Herald Tribune*, 29 February–1 March 1992 (Hatano quote); *Financial Times*, 1–2 February 1992 (Hanabusa quote).
- 29 'Tokyo pushes to win entry to bigger security council', *Financial Times*, 7 July 1993.
- 30 For a bibliography on the Security Council discussion in Germany, see Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era', p.42, fn. 31.
- 31 *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 4 August 1992, p.1. Quoted in Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.359. Another newspaper reported earlier a leak from the German Foreign Ministry, which said that, if Japan asked for a permanent Security Council seat, Germany would do the same: *Welt am Sonntag*, 2 August 1992. See also Kawakami Yoichi, 'Kokuren ampore to Nihon', pp.41–62.
- 32 Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era', p.42, fn. 31. For the text of Kinkel's speech, see *Europa-Archiv*, Folge 20/1992, pp.D 597 ff.
- 33 Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri', p.231. During his visit to Japan in February 1993, Kohl said that the UN should be strengthened, but he did not strongly demand permanent Security Council membership: Sotooka

- Hidetoshi, *Kokuren shinjidai* (The new age of the UN), Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 1994, p.131.
- 34 See, for a full discussion, Karl Kaiser, 'Die ständige Mitgliedschaft im Sicherheitsrat'.
- 35 Quoted in Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.359.
- 36 Statement by His Excellency Mr Michio Watanabe, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the 47th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 22 September 1992.
- 37 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 1 November 1996. This is also confirmed in Thomas Schuler, 'Probezeit. Deutschland im Sicherheitsrat (1995/96)', (Trial time. Germany in the Security Council), *Vereinte Nationen*, no. 1 February 1997, p.8.
- 38 On the paper, see S. J. Nutall, 'Japan and Europe: Policies and initiatives', in Bert Edström (ed.), *Japan's foreign and security policies in transition*, Stockholm: The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 1997, p.113.
- 39 'Japan aspires to permanent UNSC seat', *Asahi Evening News*, 24 September 1990.
- 40 Statement by His Excellency Mr Taro Nakayama, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the 45th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 25 September 1990.
- 41 See, for example, the diplomatic historian Nishizaki Fumiko, quoted in Richard D. Leitch, Akira Kato and Martin E. Weinstein, *Japan's role in the post-Cold War world*, p.48. The same opinion was also expressed by the academic Nakanishi Terumasa in Yoshida Yasuhiko and Nakanishi Terumasa, 'Kokuren Gari kozo to Nihon no moso', (The concept of Ghali and Japan's foolish imaginings), *Shokun*, April 1993, p.132.
- 42 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 1 May 1998.
- 43 Anonymous, 'Hidenka no chichi. Amporijoninrijikokuiri mezashi. Shin Kokuren taishi no Owada Hisashi', (The father of Her Imperial Highness. Aiming at becoming a permanent member of the Security Council. The new UN ambassador Owada Hisashi), *Seiron*, 5 April 1994, p.55.
- 44 Quoted in Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri. Gaimusho no shunen', p.232.
- 45 'Domestic support for UNSC seat lacking', *Japan Times*, 25 September 1993, p.3.
- 46 Anonymous, 'Hidenka no chichi', p.55.
- 47 Interview with Hatano Yoshio, 17 July 1997.
- 48 Hatano Yoshio and Moroi Ken, 'Nihon no joninrijikoku iri o dou kangaueru ka' (What to think about Japan becoming a permanent member of the Security Council?), *Gaiko Forum*, September 1994, p.41.
- 49 Anonymous, 'Hidenka no chichi', p.55.
- 50 'Saki isogu Gaimusho ni ayausa' (The danger for the Gaimusho of moving fast forward), *Asahi Shimbun*, 15 July 1993, p.7. For the role of Koizumi, see 'Shinchoha no kai hossoku de ronso sara ni hageshiku' (Debate sharpens with launch of group of cautious faction), *Asahi Shimbun*, 10 August 1994.
- 51 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.51. See also 'Saki isogu Gaimusho ni ayausa' (The danger for the Gaimusho of moving fast forward), *Asahi Shimbun*, 15 July 1993, p.7.

- 52 Ishihara Nobuo, *Shusho kantei no ketsudan* (Decisions at the residence of the Prime Minister), Tokyo: Chuo Koron sha, 1997, p.118.
- 53 Takemura also argued for Japan to be invited to the Security Council, and then to act as a unique voice for Asia and taking care of the interests of poor countries: Takemura Masayoshi, *Chiisakutomo kirarito hikaru kuni* (Japan: a small but outshining nation), Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1994, p.209.
- 54 Ishihara Nobuo, *Shusho kantei no ketsudan*, p.119.
- 55 'Views of the Government of Japan on the Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council' (General Assembly Resolution 47/62), 6 July 1993, in *Security Council Reform. Basic Documents*; referred to in the following as '1993 Views of the Government'.
- 56 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.51.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 '1993 Views of the Government'.
- 59 *Mainichi Shimbun*, 7 July 1993; *Nikkei Shimbun*, 13 July 1993.
- 60 Takahiro Shinyo, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.51.
- 61 A representative example of this criticism is by Suzuki Yoshikatsu: 'Ampori kamei', pp.120–26.
- 62 Statement by His Excellency Mr Morihiro Hosokawa, Prime Minister of Japan, at the 48th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 27 September 1993, p.2.
- 63 Ishihara Nobuo, *Shusho kantei no ketsudan*, p.119.
- 64 Tanaka Shusei, 'Kokuren kaikaku ga honsuji "Joninka gaiko" ni kago ari' (The right course for the reform of the UN and the error in the 'Diplomacy of permanent membership in the UN Security Council') *Ronza*, December 1994, p.27.
- 65 Ishihara Nobuo, *Shusho kantei no ketsudan*, p.119.
- 66 Yukio Hatoyama 'My administration's political principles', *Bungei Shunju*, November 1996 (US embassy translation).
- 67 *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 October 1996.
- 68 Statement by His Excellency Mr Morihiro Hosokawa, 27 September 1993.
- 69 'Japan and Germany show no zeal for Council seats', *New York Times*, 28 September 1993, p.A4.
- 70 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.53. Prime Minister Hosokawa was hardly clearer when he declared at a meeting of the Lower House Budget Committee on 6 December 1993 that he had made clear 'on various occasions Japan's intention towards the Security Council': *Selection of statements prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 25 December 1996. (Japanese original: 'Tozen arayuru kikai o tsujimashite, joninriyokoku no mondai ni tsukimashite wa Nihon ni sono ishi ga aru koto wa meikaku ni moshite orimasu').
- 71 Kawakami Yoichi, 'Ampori joninriyokokuiri no seihi', *Gunshuku Mondai Shiryō*, March 1994, p.18.
- 72 Ibid., p.19. For a slightly different wording of this amazing example of incoherence, see Sotooka Hidetoshi, 'Kokuren shinjidai', pp.132–3.
- 73 Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei', p.121. Sotooka reports that Prime Minister Hosokawa first denied having heard of the speech, and later said that it was the same as the '1993 Views of the Government': Sotooka Hidetoshi, 'Kokuren shinjidai', p.151.

- 74 *Security Council Reform Basic Documents*, p.25.
- 75 Interview with Alan Song, who was involved in the programme, 5 May 1998.
- 76 Kawabe Ichiro, 'Joninka o meguru Gaimusho no ugoki', p.57.
- 77 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, pp.53 and 294.
- 78 'Japan states bid for UNSC seat', *Japan Times*, 10 June 1994, p.1.
- 79 Kawabe Ichiro, 'Joninka o meguru Gaimusho no ugoki', p.57.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid. p.57, quoting a statement by Owada Hisashi on 7 July 1994.
- 82 Tanaka Shusei, 'Kokuren kaikaku ga honsuji', p.29.
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 Kyodo, 2 September 1994, quoted in C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making. The issue of permanent membership in Japan's foreign policy-making', *Asian Survey*, vol. XXXVII, no. 4, April 1997, p.371. A UN Reform Council (Kokuren kaikaku kondankai) was established under Prime Minister Murayama, but it was disbanded after Murayama fell from power and never issued a report.
- 85 C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making', p.372.
- 86 Tanaka Shusei, 'Kokuren kaikaku ga honsuji', pp.29-30.
- 87 C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making', p.377.
- 88 At the LDP Party Congress on 1 September 1994, the majority was in favour of the bid: Kawabe Ichiro, 'Joninka o meguru Gaimusho no ugoki', p.57.
- 89 C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making', pp.376-7. This is based on a poll in *Asahi Shimbun*, 6 September 1994.
- 90 C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making', p.377.
- 91 'Japan opens campaign for Security Council', *International Herald Tribune* 14 September 1994.
- 92 C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making', p.380.
- 93 Tanaka Shusei, 'Kokuren kaikaku ga honsuji', p.30.
- 94 C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making', p.373. Several versions of the speech went back and forth: Anonymous, 'Jieitai no seimei yori "Joninrijikoku ga daiji"' p.95.
- 95 Anonymous, 'Jieitai no seimei yori "Joninrijikoku ga daiji"' p.95.
- 96 Statement by His Excellency Mr Yohei Kono, Deputy Prime Minister of Japan and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 27 September 1994.
- 97 For an overview, see Ishimura Zenji, 'Nihon no media no gaiyo' (Synopsis of the Japanese media), *Sogo Kenkyusho Ho*, no. 176, October 1995, Fukuoka University, pp.157-8. For an overview of interpretations among UN delegations in New York, see Harada Katsuhiko, *Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon no yakuwari*, pp.85 ff.
- 98 C. S. Ahn, 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making', p.374.
- 99 Tanaka Shusei, 'Kokuren kaikaku ga honsuji', p.30.

- 100 Statement by His Excellency Mr Yohei Kono, Deputy Prime Minister of Japan and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, at the 50th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 26 September 1995.
- 101 Statement by His Excellency Mr Tomoiichi Murayama, Prime Minister of Japan at the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations, 22 October 1995.
- 102 *Selection of statements prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 25 December 1996.*
- 103 It was still mentioned, for example, in the editorial of the *Asahi Shimbun*: *Asahi Shimbun*, 18 October 1996.
- 104 Statement by His Excellency Mr Ryutaro Hashimoto, Prime Minister of Japan, at the 51st General Assembly of the United Nations, 24 September 1996.
- 105 Statement by Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi at the 52nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 23, 1997.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Statement by H.E. Keizo Obuchi, Prime Minister of Japan at the Fifty-Third Session of the General Assembly of the UN, September 1998, website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mofa.go.jp>.
- 108 See for example, Sakaguchi Akira, 'Gunji gimu ga nai joninrijikoku ga aru ka', pp.31-47.
- 109 27 April 1998, 'Our Basic Philosophy and Policies, Building a Free and Secure Society', The Democratic Party of Japan.
- 110 See Mayumi Itoh, 'Fallen political leadership in Japan: Will a new party eventually emerge?', JPRI Working Paper no. 49, September 1998. See also 66.
- 111 Minshato, 'Dai 37 kai Zenkoku taikai kettei shu' (Resolutions of the 37th National Party Congress), 21-3 April 1992.
- 112 *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 13 May 1997.
- 113 Outline of the programme, 23 May 1997. Received from Yamamoto Ichita.
- 114 Interview 24 April 1998.
- 115 'Joninrijikokuiiri uttae' (Appealing for permanent Security Council membership), *Sankei Shimbun*, 9 May 1998.
- 116 There are indications that other countries have done so as well. The author was told by a Latin American delegate that Honduras changed its conciliatory position suddenly and adopted the Italian stance after Italy 'used ODA'. Interview with a senior official from a major Latin American country, 12 May 1998.
- 117 Interview, 23 April 1998. This author personally did not get this impression because the Mission had been very cooperative in its availability for interviews and providing documents.
- 118 'Japan's foreign minister active in campaigning for Japan's becoming a UN non-permanent member', daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 26 September 1996, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 119 Interview, 30 July 1997. Among the countries he visited were Syria, Kenya and Peru.
- 120 *Sankei Shimbun*, 17 August 1997.

- 121 'Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon' (UN reform and Japan), *Mainichi Shimbun*, 7 August 1997.
- 122 Yamada Tsutomu, "'Joninrijikoku" iri', p.230.
- 123 'US opposes Japan's bid for Security Council', *Asahi Evening News*, 8 January 1992.
- 124 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat who was closely involved in the matter, 13 August 1997.
- 125 *New York Times*, 8 January 1992, p.1.
- 126 Kawakami Yoichi, 'Ampori joninrijikoku iri no zehi', p.20.
- 127 'US opposes Japan's bid for Security Council', *Asahi Evening News*, 8 January 1992.
- 128 Robert M. Immerman and Toby Trister Gati, *Japan in a multilateral dimension*, p.11.
- 129 Patrick A. McCarthy, *Positionality, tension and instability in the UN Security Council*, p.13.
- 130 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council: What American interests?*, p.13.
- 131 Kawakami Yoichi, 'Kokuren ampore to Nihon', p.46.
- 132 Geoff Simons, *UN malaise, Power, problems and Realpolitik*, p.182. All Japanese newspapers on 27 April 1993.
- 134 Robert M. Immerman, 'Japan in the United Nations', p.184; *Independent*, 11 June 1993.
- 135 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council: What American interests?*, p.13.
- 136 Stephanie A. Weston, 'Beikoku no masu media to gaiko seisaku: Wareware no chosa ni suite no kosatsu' (US mass media and foreign policy: Remarks on our investigation), *Sogo Kenkyusho Ho*, no. 176, October 1995, Fukuoka University, pp.73–81.
- 137 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council: What American interests?*, p.14. With his son being married to a Korean and his frequent visits to Korea, the senator is particularly sensitive to the war legacy of Japan in Asia.
- 138 *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 17 March 1997, pp.16–17.
- 139 Interview with a diplomat from a major Latin American country, 12 May 1998.
- 140 For an early overview, see Emma Matanle, *The UN Security Council. Prospects for reform*, pp.31–3.
141. 'Tokyo pushes to win entry to bigger Security Council', *Financial Times*, 7 July 1993.
- 142 *The Independent*, 9 July 1993, p.10, quoted in Patrick A. McCarthy, *Positionality, tension and instability in the UN Security Council*, p.14.
- 143 Patrick A. McCarthy, *Positionality, tension and instability in the UN Security Council*, pp.12–13.
- 144 Website of the UK's Foreign & Commonwealth Office:
<http://www.fco.gov.uk/un/un6.html>, downloaded 27 December 27 1996.
- 145 For an overview, see Reinhard Drifte, *Japan's foreign policy for the 21st century*, ch. 3.
- 146 UN Press Release GA/9374 of 64th Meeting (AM) 5 December 1997.
- 147 Patrick A. McCarthy, *Positionality, tension and instability in the UN Security Council*, p.15.

- 148 Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.359.
- 149 G. Rozman, *Japan's response to the Gorbachev era: A rising superpower views a declining one*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1991. Former ambassador to Moscow, Edamura Sumio, told this author that there were no formal approaches during his time as ambassador (until 1993) to ask Russia for support for Japan's bid, but just casual ones. Interview with Edamura Sumio, 20 November 1997.
- 150 *Foresight*, December 1994, pp.16–17.
- 151 'Kozyrev urges KEDO to use Russian reactors', *Japan Times*, 5 March 1995.
- 152 'Rußland: Kein Sitz für Deutsche im Weltsicherheitsrat' (No seat for Germans in the Security Council), *Bild am Sonntag*, 28 September 1997, p.4.
- 153 See, for example, 'Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon' (UN reform and Japan), *Mainichi Shimbun*, 8 August 1997.
- 154 *Commerzants Daily*, 24 June 1998.
- 155 *Asahi Shimbun*, 21 June 1997 (evening edition); *Japan Times*, 3 November 1997, p.1.
- 156 Valeriy Kistanov, 'Japan turns from a defeated nation into a world leader', *Nezavisimaia Gazeta*, 24 February 1998, carried in Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report for Tuesday, 3 March 1998.
- 157 For a discussion of the Russian position, see 'Do The Permanent Members Really Want Reform?: A Speech by Ambassador Kausikan of Singapore Presented on 5 May 1997': <http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform>.
- 158 For the Russian position, see also Emma Matanle, *The UN Security Council*, p.29.
- 159 For this incident, see S.J. Nutall, 'Japan and Europe: Policies and initiatives', p.113.
- 160 European Parliament, Report on the Communication from the Commission to the Council on Europe and Japan: The next steps (COM (95)0073-C4-0147/95), Committee on External Economic Relations, PE 220. 136/fin, 12 August 1997. See also the support by the Parliament's President, Klaus Hänsch, for Japan's bid: 'EU official supports UN set bid', *Japan Times*, 4 December 1996, p.2.
- 161 'UK calls for new Security Council', *Financial Times*, 24 September 1997.
- 162 Italy's candidature is contained in its response to the Resolution 47/2, contained in UN Document A/48/264, pp.51–2.
- 163 Whatever the sincerity and realism of this Italian proposal, the idea of an EU seat goes back to before 1982 at least: Davidson Nicol, *The UNSC: towards greater effectiveness*, New York: UN Institute of Training and Research, 1982, p.14.
- 164 *Asahi Evening News*, 24 September 1990, p.3. On the EU seat, see Emma Matanle, *The UN Security Council*, p.26, and Kawakami Yoichi, 'Kokuren ampori to Nihon', p.46.
- 165 *Asahi Evening News*, 24 September 1990, p.3.
- 166 'Obuchi seeks Italy support on UN seat', *Japan Times*, 10 May 1998.
- 167 Tadokoro Masayuki, 'Kokuren zaisei to Kokuren kaikaku', p.59.
- 168 *Shaping the 21st century: The contribution of development cooperation*, Paris: OECD, May 1996.

- 169 Interview with Kawada Tsukasa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Director of the UN Administration Division, 1 September 1997. See also Okinawa Declaration, the Okinawa Conference on Development, 24–5 July 1997, Handout of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1997.
- 170 'Joninriji jitsugen e senjutsu zaikento mo' (Strategy to realize permanent membership to be reviewed) *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 26 November 1997.
- 171 For more details on this matter, see Kweku Ampiah, *The dynamics of Japan's relations with Africa*.
- 172 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, p.90.
- 173 *Ibid.*, p.134.
- 174 *Ibid.*, p.113.
- 175 *Ibid.*, p.138.
- 176 *Ibid.*, p.137.
- 177 Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/>, downloaded on 24 August 1998.
- 178 See Kweiku Ampiah, *The dynamics of Japan's relations with Africa*.
- 179 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*, pp.216–23.
- 180 *Ibid.*, p.355. See also Kweku Ampiah, *The dynamics of Japan's relations with Africa*, pp.58–60.
- 181 For the link between TICAD and the bid, see Jun Morikawa, *Japan and Africa*, p.206.
- 182 Interview with a former Japanese ambassador, 14 January 1998.
- 183 This point is made, for example, in *Asian Security 1997–98, Research Institute for Peace and Security*, Oxford: Brassey's, 1997, p.117.
- 184 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 20 October 1998, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 185 'Nikokukan iinkai Minami A to setchi e' (Towards the establishment of a bilateral committee with South Africa) *Asahi Shimbun*, 9 April 1998, evening edition, p.1.
- 186 'Japan seeks African support on Security Council bid', *Kyodo*, 1 May 1996.
- 187 'Nihon no joninri iri o Nan A fuku daitoryo "shiji"' (South Africa's Vice President supports Japan's Security Council membership), *Asahi Shimbun*, 9 April 1998.
- 188 Press Conference by the Press Secretary, 6 June 1997: Website of the Press conferences of the Press Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press>.
- 189 For a recent criticism of Japan's attitude towards the past and the link to the legitimacy of its bid, see an editorial in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 29 May 1997, p.5.
- 190 *Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997*.
- 191 See Hideo Sato, 'Japan's China perceptions and its policies in the alliance with the United States', *Journal of International Political Economy*, vol., 2 no. 1, March 1998, pp.1–24.
- 192 Samuel S. Kim, 'China and the United Nations', p.15.
- 193 The Chinese opposition to Japanese leadership in Asia in connection with the bid is, for example, strongly expressed in Zhu Feng, 'Kokuren kaikaku. Chugoku no shiten' (The reform of the UN. The Chinese perspective), in Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kokusai Heiwa Kenkyusho, Mushakoji Kinhide (ed.), *Kokuren no zaisei to chikyu minshushugi*, Tokyo: 1995, pp.219–41.

- 194 Chao Guisheng, 'Guidelines for UN restructuring', *Beijing Review*, 17–23 May 1993, pp.8–9.
- 195 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 15 October 1997.
- 196 For South Korea's UN representative, see 'Reform of the Security Council', by Ambassador Park Soo Kil, *Joongang Ilbo*, 19 September 1997. See also 'Ampori kaikaku to kokueki' (The reform of the UN SC and the national interest) (Interview with Ambassador Park) *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 October 1997.
- 197 Sato Kazuo, 'Fukuzatsu ni hairi irikunda rigai do chousei suru ka', p.47. See also 'Joninri e towareru shidoryoku' (Which leadership ability for permanent membership?), *Asahi Shimbun*, 16 November 1998.
- 198 *Korea Times*, 5 January 1995.
- 199 'Kankoku de hantai no ketsugian' (Bill for opposing in South Korea), *Asahi Shimbun*, 7 March 1995, evening edition.
- 200 *Korea Times*, 4 August 1996.
- 201 See, for example, the report in the *China Daily*, 16 February 1997: 'DPRK opposes Japan to be a permanent member of UNSC'. For an overview of North Korean comments, see Kawakami Yoichi, *Kokuren ampори to Nihon*, p.48.
- 202 Letter dated 19 October 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires of the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations addressed to the President of the General Assembly (refuting North Korean comments) A/49/551.
- 203 *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 24 February 1997.
- 204 Harada Katsuhiko, *Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon no yakuwari*, p.83.
- 205 *Ibid.*
- 206 *Asahi Shimbun*, 25 October 1994, quoted in Tanaka Shusei, 'Kokuren kaikaku ga honsuji', p.32.
- 207 Kawakami Yoichi, 'Kokuren ampори to Nihon', pp.44–5.
- 208 'Ampори no kaikaku shiji o seimei e' (Declaration supporting Security Council reform), *Asahi Shimbun*, 25 July 1997 evening edition; full text of the Declaration in *Asahi Shimbun* 26 July 1997.
- 209 Okazaki Hisahiko, former Policy Planning Chief in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, considers that Southeast Asian countries favour Japan to counterbalance China: Okazaki Hisahiko, 'Nihon no Joninrikoku iri to Ajia', p.30.
- 210 Steven, Holloway, 'Japan and East Asia at the UNGA: Region without leaders or leaders without followers?'. draft paper for presentation at the 1996 JAIR-ISA conference in Makuhari, Chiba prefecture.

4 Japan's participation in the working group on Security Council reform

- 1 The full name of the group is 'Open-Ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters Related to the Security Council', referred to in the following as 'Working Group'.
- 2 Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.365, fn 123.
- 3 Samuel S. Kim, 'China and the United Nations', p.14.

- 4 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council*, p.6. The figures for the use of the veto are from footnotes 10, 12 and 13.
- 5 Samuel S. Kim, 'China and the United Nations', p.19. For the procès-verbal of the meeting on Guatemala of the Security Council, see UN document S/PV.3730, 10 January 1997.
- 6 Winrich Kühne and Katja Baumann, *Reform des VN-Sicherheitsrats zum 50jährigen Jubiläum. Auswertung und Analyse der Stellungnahmen der Mitgliedstaaten im Überblick* (Reform of the Security Council on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. Evaluation and analysis of a survey of member states' positions), Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, July 1995, SWP-AP 2919, p.21.
- 7 Sam Daws, 'Seeking seats, votes and vetoes', *The World Today*, vol. 53, no. 10, October 1997, p.257.
- 8 "'Kokuren Joho" (Dai ichi kan)', UN Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, March 1970, p.292; Saito Shizuo, *Kokusai Rengo ron josetsu*, p.252.
- 9 *The New York Times*, 3 April 1945, p.3, quoted in James E. Todd, 'The United Nations Security Council Part, 1 & 2', PhD thesis, 1967 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, 1997), p.112.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp.112–13.
- 11 Jukka Shihvo, 'Pandora's Box', p.282.
- 12 The following account relies heavily on James E. Todd, 'The United Nations Security Council', pp.378 ff.
- 13 Iguchi Sadao (ed.), *Nihon gaikoshi*, pp.86–7. This is confirmed by Amou Tamio, *Takokukan gaiko ron*, p.86. See also John Michael Peek, *Japan and the United Nations*, p.188, quoting *Statements Delivered by the Delegate of Japan at the 35th Session*, p.73.
- 14 Gundolf Fahl, *Der UNO-Sicherheitsrat. Analyse und Dokumentation nach dreißigjährigem Bestehen*, Berlin: Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz, 1978, p.22.
- 15 Sydney Bailey and Sam Daws (eds), *The procedure of the UN Security Council*, p.153.
- 16 Hanna Newcombe, 'Reform of the U.N. Security Council', *Peace Research Reviews*, vol. VIII, no. 3, May 1979, p.1.
- 17 "'Kokuren Joho" (Dai ichi kan)', p.294 ff.
- 18 Iguchi Sadao (ed.), *Nihon gaikoshi*, p.88.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p.92. This is Resolution 2697 (XXV), submitted by Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Haiti, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua and the Philippines.
- 20 UN document A/8746, and Add. 1 and 2.
- 21 T. Nakagawa statements on Charter review on 23 September 1972 and 30 November 1972 in *Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the XXVIIth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1973, pp.177–81.
- 22 For the background, see UN document A/52/100 of 15 July 1997, pp.223–4.
- 23 Interview with a senior diplomat of the German Mission to the UN, 24 April 1998.
- 24 UN document A/48/264/Ad. 1, p.1, para 1.
- 25 Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*, p.154.
- 26 These groups are: Ad Hoc Open-ended Working Group on an Agenda for Development; High-level Open-ended Working Group on the Financial

- Situation of the United Nations; Informal Open-ended Working Group on an Agenda for Peace and the Consultations on Prospective New Modalities for Financing Operational Activities for Development; Open-ended High-level Working Group on the Strengthening of the United Nations System (set up 14 September 1995). See *United Nations Handbook 1997*, ed. by New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, Wellington 1997, pp.39–41.
- 27 Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era', p.43, fn. 36; Harada Katsuhiro, *Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon no yakuwari*, p.74.
 - 28 Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, p.76.
 - 29 Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era', p.48. He notes that, during the 49th, 50th and 51st General Debates, 13, 19, and 31 member states, respectively, referred to Germany and Japan by name.
 - 30 See, for example, 'Kokuren ni miru Nihon zo' (The image of Japan in the UN), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 23 May 1995; 'No need for Japan to get UNSC seat, UN chief says', *Japan Times*, 12 August 1994, p.1.
 - 31 For a comment by Ambassador Hatano in this direction, see Kawakami Yoichi, 'Kokuren ampori to Nihon', p.42. This was also confirmed to me in an interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 8 September 1997.
 - 32 It was, for example, positively noted in Japan that he went to Sumo competitions and always paid a visit to the shrine of General Nogi, who, as the leader of Japan's Imperial Army in 1905, inflicted in the Russo-Japanese War the first defeat on the West by a non-Western country, a circumstance very much appreciated by many leaders of the developing world.) Harada Katsuhiro, *Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon no yakuwari*, p.8.
 - 33 For the inconclusive discussion on this issue, see, for example, Volker Rittberger and Martin Mogler, 'Reform des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen und Ständige Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands', pp.22–3.
 - 34 Paul Taylor, Sam Daws and Ute Adamczick-Gerteis (eds), *Documents on reform of the United Nations*, p.566.
 - 35 See, for example, Japan's opinion on Security Council reform in UN document A/8746 of 1 July 1972, which mostly reproduces long extracts from Foreign Minister Aichi's speech in September 1970.
 - 36 Germany also referred in the working group discussion to its non-nuclear status. See, for example, Statement by Ambassador Tono Eitel 25 March 1996, in Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations (ed.), *The UN reform. Reform of the Security Council. The German position. Statements and speeches held between 1994 and 1996*, New York: Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, 1996, p.60. This collection is referred to in the following as 'Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, 1996'.
 - 37 *Views of the Government 1993*.
 - 38 For a German definition of efficiency and effectiveness, see Ambassador Detlev Graf zu Rantzau, 22 April 1994, in Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, 1996, pp.20–21.
 - 39 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 August 1994, p.23.
 - 40 Statement by Ambassador Yoshio Hatano at the 5th meeting of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council of the Security Council,

- 16 March 1994, in *Security Council Reform Basic Documents*, p.25. The slogan was repeated in a letter to the editor of the *Economist* by Kazuo Watanabe, Permanent Mission of Japan to the UN: *The Economist*, 31 January–6 February 1998, p.4.
- 41 Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei', p.121.
- 42 *Reform of the United Nations*, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 13 February 1996.
- 43 'UN leader to visit Tokyo and Beijing', *Japan Times*, 14 March 1997, p.3.
- 44 Statement by H. E. Mr Hisashi Owada, Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations on Agenda Item 120: Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations, 5th Committee, 52nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 20 October 1997, Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations (Text provided by the Japanese UN Mission).
- 45 *Sankei Shimbun*, 13 March 1997.
- 46 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 14 January 1998.
- 47 James Paul, Security Council Reform: Arguments about the Future of the United Nations System, Globalpolicy Forum Website.
- 48 Globalpolicy Forum, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/security/reform>.
- 49 UN document GA/AB/3210, 5th Committee, 22 December 1997. Another Chinese comment opposing economic power as a criterion is made by Chao Guisheng, 'Guidelines for UN restructuring', *Beijing Review*, 17–23 May 1993, p.9.
- 50 Statement by His Excellency Mr Ryutaro Hashimoto Prime Minister of Japan at the 51st General Assembly of the United Nations, 24 September 1996.
- 51 UN documents GA Res. 2961 B (XXVII) 13 December 1972, quoted in Bruno Simma, (ed.), *The Charter of the United Nations: A Commentary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, p.310. Before that, the US paid around 40 per cent!
- 52 Tadokoro Masayuki, 'Kokuren zaisei to Kokuren kaikaku', p.59. Japan proposed in March 1996 a ceiling of 20 per cent or less for permanent Security Council members, and 15 per cent for other UN members, but dropped this proposal at the beginning of 1997: 'Japan fears rise in UN budget', *Japan Times* 28 May 1997, p.3.
- 53 'Japanese proposal on financial reform', document of the Japanese Mission to the UN, August 1996.
- 54 Jens Martens, 'Aussitzen oder mitgestalten? Deutschland in der Debatte um die Reform der UNO' (Hanging in or shaping the UN? Germany in the debate about UN reform), in *UN-williges Deutschland. Der WEED-Report zur deutschen UNO-Politik*, Bonn: Dietz Verlag, 1997, p.234. According to Ingo Winkelmann, the reason for this German position was above all the common EU position on financial reform which demands first US payment of its arrears and then a more equitable assessment ratio. Letter to the author 8 December 1998.
- 55 Letter to the Editor by Kazuo Watanabe, Permanent Mission of Japan to the UN, *The Economist*, 31 January–6 February 1998, p.4.
- 56 'UN charter revision being pushed by Japan', *Japan Times*, 1 November 1969.

- 57 According to a report in the *Financial Times*, the problem was the number of seats: 'Tokyo pushes to win entry to bigger security council', *Financial Times*, 7 July 1993. This was also confirmed to the author in an interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 13 May 1998.
- 58 'Kyohiken o motsu joninrijikoku ni' (Becoming Security Council member with veto right) *Asahi Shimbun*, 15 June 1994.
- 59 This is also apparent in Ambassador Hatano's statement on 16 March 1994, p.25. See also Statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada at the 18th meeting of the Open-Ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council, 8 June 1994, in *Security Council Reform Basic Documents*, p.33; remarks by Ambassador Hisashi Owada (Open-Ended Working Group on the restructuring of the Security Council), 8 February 1995, in *Security Council Reform Basic Documents*, p.65.
- 60 This was confirmed by Kohara Masahiro of the Japanese UN Mission, 5 May April 1998.
- 61 Statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada, 8 June 1994, p.32.
- 62 'Talking points on the Reform of the Security Council', Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2 pp, Tokyo 1995. This is also repeated in a Fact Sheet distributed on the occasion of the G-7 Summit meeting in Halifax, June 1995. Also repeated in statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada at the 50th session of the General Assembly, on Item 47: Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and related matters, 13 November 1995, in *Security Council Reform Basic Documents*, p.121. The 'low twenties' is also mentioned on the website of the Ministry: <http://www.nttts.co.jp/infomofa/refer/positn.html>, downloaded on 12 July 1996.
- 63 Statement by Ambassador Dr Gerhard Henze, 17 May 1994, in Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, 1996, p.24.
- 64 Statement by Ambassador Tono Eitel, 23 April 1996, *ibid.*, p.65.
- 65 Statement by Dr Gerhard Henze, 17 May 1994, *ibid.*, p.24
- 66 Remarks by Ambassador Hisashi Owada, 8 February 1995, p.67.
- 67 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 15 March 1996, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 68 Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/unj/reform.html>, downloaded 24 February 1997. This wording is repeated in the latest handout of the Ministry: 'Ampori kaikaku no genjo' (The situation of Security Council reform) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo October 1998.
- 69 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 10 May 1997, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 70 Statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada, Representative of Japan, at Working Group on Security Council Reform, 10 June 1997 (text provided by the Japanese UN Mission).
- 71 Statement by H. E. Mr Masaki Konishi, Deputy Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations at the Open-Ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and other Matters Related to the Security Council, New York, 5 May 1998, Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations (text provided by the Japanese UN Mission).
- 72 Interview with a delegate from the UN Mission of Brazil, 12 May 1998.

- 73 Interview with a diplomat from the German UN Mission, 24 April 1998.
- 74 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 6 March 1997.
- 75 According to a Western delegate in New York, Japan made this switch to please the US, but was fundamentally convinced that only 24 seats was acceptable to the Third World. (Interview 24 April 1998.)
- 76 This was explained to the author by a senior diplomat in the US embassy in Tokyo, 17 November 1997. See also Sato Kazuo, 'Fukuzatsu ni hairi irikunda rigai do chousei suru ka', p.48. Assistant Secretary of State Reimen explained in an interview that the US stance is based on the four-year experience of Secretary of State M. Albright as UN ambassador; 'Ampori kaikaku to kokueki' (The reform of the UN SC and the national interest) (Interview with Reiman and Uibisono) *Asahi Shimbun*, 3 October 1997.
- 77 Statement by Ambassador Yoshio Hatano, 16 March 1994, p.25; see also Fact Sheet distributed on the occasion of the G-7 Summit meeting in Halifax, June 1995.
- 78 *Asahi Shimbun*, evening edition, 28 March 1996.
- 79 <http://www.mofa.go.jp/unj/reform.html>, downloaded 24 February 1997.
- 80 'Ampori kaikaku do naru' (What happens to the reform of the Security Council?) *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 25 May 1998. Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 10 May 1997, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>. However, the *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 May 1997, reports on Japan wanting only 21 seats.
- 81 Statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada, 10 June 1997. It is repeated in the statement by H. E. Mr Masaki Konishi, 5 May 1998.
- 82 Lecture by a top official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo 21 November 1997. The Japanese pressure was also confirmed by a senior diplomat in the US embassy in Tokyo, 17 November 1997.
- 83 'Ampori kaikaku nennai goi o' (Agreement on UN Security Council reform within this year) *Asahi Shimbun*, 24 September 1997.
- 84 Statement by H. E. Mr Masaki Konishi, 5 May 1998. According to a senior official of the Japanese Mission, that was the first time Japan did so. (Interview, 8 May 1998.)
- 85 'Ampori kaikaku no genjo' (The situation of Security Council reform) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, October 1998.
- 86 'US eyes UNSC seats for developing nations', *Japan Times*, 18 July 1997.
- 87 *Asahi Shimbun*, 27 July 1997.
- 88 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 13 August 1997. This bargaining was denied by Ambassador Richardson in an interview: 'Shin joninri, rai nen ni mo senshutsu' (New Security Council members. Election also possible next year) *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 29 August 1997, evening edition.
- 89 Korea Times, 13 March 1997: 'US Says Security Council Expansion must include Japan, Germany', 11 March 1997, Agence France Presse. See also 'Do The Permanent Members Really Want Reform?'
- 90 Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council' p.158.
- 91 'Ampori kaikaku to kokueki' (The reform of the UN SC and the national interest) (Interview with Reiman and Uibisono), *Asahi Shimbun*, 3 October 1997.
- 92 UN document GA/9374, 5 December 1997.
- 93 UN document GA/9373, 4 December 1997.

- 94 UN document GA/9374, 5 December 1997.
- 95 Interview with a senior diplomat of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 5 May 1998. See also Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat', p.359.
- 96 Tatsuro Kunugi, Makoto Iokibe, Takahiro Shinyo, and Kohei Hashimoto, *Towards a more effective UN*, Tokyo PHP Research Institute: 1996, p.26.
- 97 Japan Economic Research Institute (Nikkeicho) (ed.), *United Nations reform and Japan*, Tokyo: August 1994 (Chairman: Moroi Ken). p.9.
- 98 A/AC.247/1 997/CRP.8 Conference Room Paper by the Bureau of the Working Group on the Security Council, 29 May 1997. The paper also gives a summary of all proposals to find a compromise on the veto. For an excellent overview of proposals to abolish and rationalize the veto, see Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era', pp.77-84.
- 99 Barry O'Neill, 'Power and satisfaction in the Security Council', in Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1997, p.65.
- 100 Interview with Hatano Yoshio, 17 July 1997.
- 101 See, for example, the extensive statement by US Minister Counsellor Cameron R. Hume to the Open-Ended Working Committee on 23 May 1996, USUN Press Release #74-(96) on the website of the US Mission to the UN, <http://www.undp.org/missions/usa/>. For an equally firm statement by Russia which excludes any limitation on the veto right of the P5, see Sergey Lavrov, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the UN, Statement to the General Assembly Working Group on the Security Council, 22 May 1996, website of globalpolicy.org/security/reform.
- 102 This absence of a position on the veto was reconfirmed in July 1997 after Richardson's declaration: 'US supports Third World seats on Security Council', *Japan Times*, 19 July 1997.
- 103 Interview with a senior diplomat at the US embassy in Tokyo, 17 November 1997.
- 104 On the opposition to the extension of the veto to any other country, see, for example, Democratic Representative Robert Torricelli, quoted in Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council*, p.14. See the opposition of the *New York Times* editorial to an extension of the veto right: 'Enlarge the Security Council' *New York Times*, 15 August 1997. Two other American UN specialists also want to keep the veto restricted to the P5: Edward C. Luck and Toby Trister Gati, 'Whose collective security?', *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 1992, p.47.
- 105 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council* p.13.
- 106 'Shin Joninri, rai nen ni mo senshutsu' (New Security Council members. Election also possible next year), *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 29 August 1997, evening edition.
- 107 Interview with a senior diplomat at the US embassy in Tokyo, 17 November 1997.
- 108 Interview with a senior diplomat of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 5 May 1998. See also Horst Heberlein, 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands in UN-Sicherheitsrat', p. 359; Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, 1 November 1996; 'UN veto a

- divisive reform issue. Canada opposed to extending power', *Toronto Globe & Mail*, 19 July 1997.
- 109 See, for example, Foreign Minister Obuchi's statement to this effect in 'Ampori kaikaku nennai goi o' (Agreement on UN Security Council reform within this year), *Asahi Shimbun*, 24 September 1997.
- 110 51st UN General Assembly. Japan's goals and objectives, 10 September 1996 (issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but not identified as such on the memo!).
- 111 Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council', p.156.
- 112 Sotooka Hidetoshi, *Kokuren shinjidai*, p.149.
- 113 'In den Sicherheitsrat nur mit Veto-Recht' (Into the Security Council only with veto right), *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10–11 July 1993, p. 1. This news item was apparently misunderstood by the *International Herald Tribune* because it reported that Kohl had rejected a Japanese suggestion to have new permanent members without veto right: 'Germans push for UN Veto', *International Herald Tribune*, 10–11 July 1993, p.2. According to Kohl, the issue was no item at the G-7 summit.
- 114 'Shinchoha no kai hossoku de ronso sara ni hageshiku' (Debate sharpens with launch of group of cautious faction), *Asahi Shimbun*, 10 August 1994. I am grateful to Kawabe Ichiro for having provided the full quote from the records of the Upper House interpellation where this answer was given.
- 115 Quoted in Emma Matanle, *The UN Security Council*, p.23.
- 116 *Korea Times*, 23 March 1997; *Japan Times* 22 March 1997; Ambassador Owada expressed in 1994 Japan's dislike of becoming a second-class Council member: 'Japanese UN envoy bids for stronger global role', *Reuters*, 9 July 1994.
- 117 Daily electronic edition of *Asahi Shimbun*, 10 May 1997, <http://www.asahi.com/english/enews/enews.html>.
- 118 'Food aid option pending Seoul request', *Japan Times*, 30 May 1997.
- 119 Hisashi Owada, 'Diplomacy of Japan in the post-Gulf-crisis world', *Business & The Contemporary World*, Winter 1992, p.74.
- 120 Statement by Ambassador Dr Gerhard Henze, 17 May 1994, in Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, 1996, p.26.
- 121 See, for example, Foreign Minister Kinkel's statement on the principle of being given the veto right: 'Ampori kakudai gutaika no ugoki' (Concrete steps towards enlargement of Security Council), *Sankei Shimbun*, 24 September 1997. According to Wolfgang Wagner, Foreign Minister Kinkel proposed at another time to leave the old veto rights but in case of new permanent members to create no new veto rights, effectively creating a three-class society in the Security Council. Wolfgang Wagner, 'Der Ständige Sitz im Sicherheitsrat', p.536.
- 122 Statement by Ambassador Dr Gerhard Henze, 23 May 1996, p.76.
- 123 'Doku wa kyohiken tsukawanu' (Germany not to use veto right), *Asahi Shimbun* 22 May 1997, evening edition. German UN Ambassador Eitel later further elaborated that it could be possible that only the new permanent Security Council members would unilaterally renounce the use of their veto right. (Interview with Ambassador Eitel, *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 October 1997.) For an exhaustive explanation on the issue see his

- statement on 11 July 1997 to the Working Group, Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations 1996, p.35. According to Ingo Winkelmann, this would be done independently of whether the P5 would follow or not. (Letter to the author, 8 December 1998.)
- 124 Radio programme transcript 1997, downloaded from <http://globalpolicy.org/reform/>. It should be added that Germany has always declared as most desirable the creation of an EU seat, and a German seat as an interim solution. See Volker Rittberger and Martin Mogler, 'Reform des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen und ständige Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands', p.33, fn 22. However, an EU seat is not conceivable for the present owing to French and British resistance, notably in the absence of a true common foreign and security policy. It would also raise a constitutional issue for the Charter because the EU is not a state.
- 125 UN document A/AC.247/1998/CRP.8, 21 April 1998.
- 126 See, for example, 'Ima naze joninri hari' (Tanaka Shusei and Matsunaga Nobuo interview), *Asahi Shimbun*, 29 May 1997.
- 127 Sato Kazuo, 'Fukuzatsu ni hairi konda rigai do chousei suru ka', p.48.
- 128 Interview with a senior UN official, 13 May 1998.
- 129 Presentation by Ambassador Hatano at the Joint Conference between the International Studies Association and the Japanese Association for International Studies, Makuhari, 22 September 1996.
- 130 Saito Shizuo, 'Ima koso Kokuren o baponteki kaikaku seyo', p.38
- 131 Ueki Yasuhiro, 'Ko sureba Nihon wa Joninrijikoku ni nareru' (Done this way Japan can become a permanent Security Council member), *Sekai Shuho*, 31 January 1995, pp.65–6.
- 132 Japan Economic Institute (Nikkeicho), p.10.
- 133 *Asahi Shimbun*, 3 May 1995.
- 134 Okazaki Hisahiko, 'Nihon no Joninrikoku iri to Ajia', p.32.
- 135 Yoshida Yasuhiko, 'Ampori joninrijikoku iri' (Becoming a member of the Security Council), *Mainichi Shimbun*, 24 October 1993.
- 136 For a list of decisions by the Security Council related to its working methods and procedures from 1993 to 1998, see <http://globalpolicy.org/security/reform/decision.htm>. See, for example, Conference Room Paper by the Bureau of the Working Group of 29 May 1997, where these issues take by far the largest space, but also in all working group reports to the General Assembly which have been written so far. The Conference Room Paper contains an excellent summary of all proposals on working practices. See also Ingo Winkelmann, 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era', pp.51–8.
- 137 For a good summary of various proposals, see Winrich Kühne and Katja Baumann, *Reform des VN-Sicherheitsrats zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, pp.25–31.
- 138 Foreign Affairs Committee, House of Commons, London: HMSO, 1993, p.169, Statement no. 361.
- 139 G. R. Berridge, *Return to the UN. UN diplomacy in regional conflicts*, Houndmills: Macmillan, 1991, p.3
- 140 Berridge, quoting Sydney Bailey, *The procedure of the UN Security Council*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p.42.
- 141 Ian Hurd, 'Security Council reform', p.137.

- 142 For Japan on this matter, see Chapter 2. For a German comment on this issue, see Ambassador Dr Gerhard Henze, 17 April 1994, in Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations 1996, p. 18.
- 143 For a general statement on various aspects of working practices, see the statements by Ambassador Shunji Maruyama to the Working Group on the 8 April 1994 and 8 March 1995, in *Security Council Reform Basic Documents*, pp.27–31 and 70–77.
- 144 Statement by H. E. Ambassador Hisashi Owada on the Report of the Security Council, 31 October 1994, in *Statements delivered by Delegates of Japan during the 49th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995, p. 23.
- 145 Statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada, 10 June 1997.
- 146 See, for example, statement by H. E. Mr Hisashi Owada, Permanent Representative of Japan to the UN at the Working Group on the Strengthening of the UN System, New York 26 June, 1996, p.2 (text provided by the Japanese UN Mission).
- 147 UN document S/1997/451.
- 148 Memorandum by the Non-Permanent Members on Transparency in the Security Council. <http://globalpolicy.org/security/docs/memo1297.htm>.
- 149 Interview with a senior Japanese diplomat, New York 8 May 1998.
- 150 51st UN General Assembly, Japan's goals and objectives, 10 September 1996, p.1.
- 151 Paper by the Chairman of the Open-Ended Working Group On The Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and Other Matters Related to the Security Council, 20 March 1997. Website of the UN: <http://www.un.org>.
- 152 Statement by Ambassador Dr Gerhard Henze, 23 May 1996, in Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations 1996, p.75. For an exhaustive explanation of this issue, see Talking Points by Ambassador Tono Eitel, 9 July 1997, in Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations, 1997, pp.37–40.
- 153 Thomas Schuler, 'Probezeit', p.8.
- 154 Statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada, 10 June 1997.
- 155 Reuters, 16 April 1997, by Fiona Fleck, from Global Policy Forum. <http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/>. Boutros-Ghali said the same in April 1996 to Nakasone Yasuhiro (*Japan Times*, 5 April 1996).
- 156 Statement by Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi, 23 September 1997.
- 157 'Nennai goi hageshiku' (Agreement within this year difficult), *Asahi Shimbun*, 26 September 1997, evening edition.
- 158 Declaration on Security Council Reform by the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement New Delhi, 8 April 1997.
- 159 Statement Ambassador Hisashi Owada, 10 June 1997.
- 160 UN document A/52/L.7, 22 October 1997.
- 161 Interview with a senior diplomat from a major Latin American country, 12 May 1998.
- 162 Letter by Owada Hisashi, Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations, 23 October 1997 (text provided by one Mission to the UN in New York).

- 163 Letter by Ambassador Tono Eitel, 24 October 1997 (text provided by the German UN Mission).
- 164 H. E. Mr Hisashi Owada, Permanent Representative of Japan on Item 59: Question of Equitable Representation and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council and related Matters, General Assembly, 4 December 1997 (text provided by the Japan UN Mission).
- 165 Takahiro Shinyo, 'Reforming the Security Council: A Japanese perspective', p.158.
- 166 Statement by US State Department Spokesman James Rubin, USIA Transcript, 21 July 1998. Samuel Berger, an assistant to the US President, declared that permanent Security Council membership for India would be abnormal since India put itself outside of the mainstream ('Ampori kaikaku do naru' [What happens to the reform of the Security Council?], *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 25 May 1998).
- 167 Just before going into retirement, Germany's UN ambassador Graf Rantzau criticized UN ambassador Albright's arrogance towards the Third World and obstruction of Security Council reform. He accused the P5 of using the Security Council for national interest policies. See Thomas Schuler, 'Profillose Mitläufer? Wie deutsche UN-Politik in New York gesehen wird' (How German UN policy is viewed in New York), in *UN-williges Deutschland. Der WEED-Report zur deutschen UNO-Politik*, Bonn: Dietz Verlag, 1997, p.249.

Conclusions

- 1 Suzuki Yoshikatsu, 'Ampori kamei', p.120.
- 2 'Kokuren ni miru Nihon zo' (The image of Japan in the UN), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 23 May 1995.
- 3 Milton Leitenberg, 'The participation of Japanese military forces in United Nations peacekeeping operations', p.34.
- 4 Hendrik Spruyt, 'A new architecture for peace? Reconfiguring Japan among the great powers', *The Pacific Review*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1998, p.375.
- 5 Karl Kaiser, 'Die Ständige Mitgliedschaft im Sicherheitsrat', p.546.
- 6 Masayuki Tadokoro, 'A Japanese view on the restructuring of the Security Council', in Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*, Houndmills: Macmillan, 1997, p.131.
- 7 See, for example, Hendrik Spruyt, 'A new architecture for peace?', p.379.
- 8 Jeffrey Laurenti, *Reforming the Security Council: What American interests?*, p.8, fn 18.
- 9 This 'outcome' optimism is very much supported by diplomats. See, for example, 'Ima naze joninri iri' (Tanaka Shusei and Matsunaga Nobuo interview), *Asahi Shimbun*, 29 May 1997; Shinyo Takahiro, *Shin Kokuren ron*, pp. 55–6.

Bibliography

Journals

- Ahn, C. S. (1997) 'Government-party coordination in Japan's foreign policy-making. The issue of permanent membership in Japan's foreign policy-making', *Asian Survey*, vol. XXXVII, no. 4, April, pp. 368–81.
- Akashi, Yasushi (1966) 'Problems of Japan's United Nations diplomacy', *Journal of Social and Political Ideas in Japan*, vol. IV, no. 1, pp. 13–19.
- Akashi, Yasushi (1971) 'Japan in the United Nations', *Japanese Annual of International Law*, vol. 15, pp. 23–37.
- Akashi, Yasushi (1998) 'Sengo Nihon to Kokuren' (Postwar Japan and the UN), *Gakushi Kaiho*, no. 821, October, pp. 4–18.
- Alley, Roderic (1994) 'The United Nations and Asia-Pacific: An overview', *The Pacific Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 245–60.
- Anonymous (1994) 'Gaimusho Sogo Gaiko Seisaku Kyoku' (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs' General Foreign Policy Bureau), *Foresight*, February, pp. 28–31.
- Anonymous (1994) 'Hidenka no chichi. Amporijoninrijikokui mezashi. Shin Kokuren taishi no Owada Hisashi' (The father of Her Imperial Highness. Aiming at becoming a permanent member of the Security Council. The new UN ambassador Owada Hisashi), *Seiron*, 5, April, pp. 54–5.
- Anonymous (1994) 'Jieitai no seimei yori "Joninrijikoku ga daiji"' (Becoming a permanent member is important, more than fate of the SDF), *Themis*, November, pp. 94–5.
- Anonymous (1994) 'Joninrijikokui ni "akashingo"', gosan ga tsuzuku Nihon Kokuren gaiko ('Red light' for Japan's permanent membership. The miscalculation of Japan's UN policy continues), *Foresight*, December, pp. 14–15.
- Anonymous (1998) 'Nihon no "Joninrijikoku iri" wa maboroshi ni' (Japan becoming a permanent Security Council member ends as an illusion), *Sentaku*, December, pp. 22–3.
- Asai, Motofumi (1994) 'Joninrijikokui ni aete hantai suru ronkyo' (The reasons for brave opposition to membership in the Security Council), *Sansara*, December, pp. 146–55.
- Asakai, Kazuo, Yobo, Kyuen, Fukko (1997) 'Nihon ga torikumu beki mitsu no kadai' (Prevention, relief, reconstruction. Three areas that Japan should tackle), *Gaiko Forum*, no. 103, March, pp. 40–5.
- Berdal, Mats (1996) 'The United Nations in international relations', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1, January, pp. 95–106.
- Bobrow, Davis, B. and Boyer, Mark, A. (1997) 'Maintaining system stability: Contributions to peacekeeping operations', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 41, no. 6, December, pp. 723–48.
- Calder, Kent E. (1988) 'Japan's foreign economic policy formation: Explaining the reactive state', *World Politics*, vol. 40, no. 4, July, pp. 517–41.
- Chao, Guisheng (1993) 'Guidelines for UN restructuring', *Beijing Review*, 17–23, May, pp. 8–9.

- Cox, Robert W. (1992) 'Multilateralism and world order', *Review of International Studies*, vol. 18, no. 2, April, pp. 161–80.
- Daws, Sam (1997) 'Seeking seats, votes and vetoes', *The World Today*, vol. 53, no. 10, October, pp. 256–9.
- Fujita, Hiroshi (1995) 'UN reform and Japan's permanent Security Council seat', *Japan Quarterly*, October–December, pp. 436–42.
- Fukai, Shigeko N. (1982) 'Japan's North–South dialogue at the United Nations', *World Politics*, vol. XXXV, no. 1, October, pp. 73–105.
- Fukuda, Kiku (1982) 'Nihon no sekkyokuteki shisei ni kitai', *Sekai Shuho*, 2 November, pp. 36–43.
- Fukushima, Akiko (1998) 'Atarashii Kokuren to Nihon' (The new UN and Japan), *Kaigai Jijo*, January, pp. 61–76.
- George, Aurelia (1993) 'Japan's participation in UN peacekeeping operations', *Asian Survey*, vol. XXXIII, no. 6, June, pp. 560–75.
- Hasenclever, Andreas, Mayer, Peter and Rittberger, Volker (1996) 'Interests, power, knowledge: The study of international regimes', *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40, pp. 177–228.
- Hatano, Yoshio and Moroi, Ken (1994) 'Nihon no joninrijikoku iri o do kangaeru ka' (What to think about Japan becoming a permanent member of the Security Council?), *Gaiko Forum*, September, pp. 40–55.
- Heberlein, Horst (1994) 'Rechtliche Aspekte einer ständigen Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands im UN-Sicherheitsrat' (Juridical aspects of permanent membership in the Security Council by Germany), *Zeitschrift für Rechtspolitik*, (Munich), September, pp. 358–65.
- Hirobe, Kazuya (1993) 'Article 98 Paragraph 2 of the Constitution of Japan and the domestic effects of resolutions of the United Nations Security Council', *The Japanese Journal of International Law*, no. 36, pp. 17–32.
- Hoshino, Toshiya (1995) 'Kokuren to Nihon- "Kokueki" to "Kokusai koken" no aida de' (The UN and Japan-Between 'national interest' and 'international contribution'), *Sogo Kenkyusho Ho*, no. 176, October, Fukuoka University, pp. 55–69.
- Hoshino, Toshiya (1997) 'Kurinton seiken no Kokuren seisaku' (The Clinton Administration and UN policy), *Kokusai Mondai*, February, pp. 52–65.
- Hoshino, Toshiya (1998) 'Beikoku seiji to Kokuren gaiko' (American politics and UN diplomacy), *Kaigai Jijo*, pp. 30–42.
- Hoshino, Toshiya and Watanabe, Akio (1997) 'Kokuren to Ajia taiheiyo no anzen hoshō', *Kokusai Seiji*, March, pp. 57–71.
- Hosoya, Tatsuyuki (1994) 'Ozawa ryū "futsu no kuni" o utagau' (Questioning, the 'normal country' thesis à la Ozawa), *Voice*, April, pp. 196–205.
- Imagawa, Yukio (1998) 'The recent situation in East Asia and Cambodia', *Asia-Pacific Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring/Summer, pp. 127–38.
- Inoguchi, Takashi (1990) 'Japan's response to the Gulf crisis: An analytical overview', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, Summer, pp. 257–74.
- Iriye, Akira and Funabashi, Yoichi (1993) 'Nihon no "Kokuren gaiko" to rekishi no kyōkun' (Japan's 'UN diplomacy' and the lessons of history), *Ushio*, November, pp. 72–83.
- Ishikawa, Yoshimi (1994) 'Gaimusho yo sonna ni isoide doko e iku' (Hey Gaimusho, why so fast, where do you go?), *Gendai*, December, pp. 144–52.

- Ishimura, Zenji (1995) 'Nihon no media no gaiyo' (Synopsis of the Japanese media), *Sogo Kenkyusho Ho*, no. 176, October, Fukuoka University, pp. 117–58.
- Ito, Kenichi (1991) 'The Japanese state of mind: Deliberations on the Gulf crisis', *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, Summer, pp. 275–90.
- Ito, Kenichi (1997) 'A rightful place. Why Japan should push to become a permanent member of the Security Council', *Look Japan*, February, p. 3.
- Jarvis, David (1995) 'Beikoku to Kokuren' (The US and the UN), *Sogo Kenkyusho Ho*, no. 176, October, Fukuoka University, pp. 31–41.
- Kaiser, Karl (1993) 'Die ständige Mitgliedschaft im Sicherheitsrat. Ein berechtigtes Ziel der neuen deutschen Außenpolitik' (Permanent Security Council membership. A justified goal of the new German foreign policy), *Europa-Archiv*, Folge 19, pp. 541–52.
- Kakizawa, Koji (1994) 'Planning for the Twenty-first century: A personal view of possible United Nations reform', *Japan Review of International Affairs*, vol. 8, no. 3, Summer, pp. 263–72.
- Kakizawa, Koji (1995) 'Kokuren kaizo keikaku' (Reform plan for the UN), *Voice*, September, pp. 196–205.
- Kawabe, Ichiro (1994) 'Joninka no mokuteki' (The aim of becoming a permanent member), *Gunshuku Mondai Shiryō*, October, pp. 43–4.
- Kawabe, Ichiro (1994) 'Joninka o meguru Gaimusho no ugoki' (The moves of the Gaimusho on permanent membership), *Gunshuku Mondai Shiryō*, November, pp. 56–7.
- Kawakami, Yoichi (1993) 'Kokuren ampōri to Nihon' (The UN Security Council and Japan), *Choken Shippo*, no. 100, January, pp. 41–62.
- Kawakami, Yoichi (1994) 'Ampōri joninrijikokuiri no zehi' (The right and wrong of becoming a permanent Security Council member), *Gunshuku Mondai Shiryō*, March, 18–23.
- Kim, Andrew H. N. (1994) 'Japan and peacekeeping operations', *Military Review*, April, pp. 22–33.
- Kim, Samuel S. (1997) 'China as a great power', *Current History*, vol. 96, no. 611, September, pp. 246–51.
- Kühne, Winrich (1994) 'Erweiterung und Reform des UN-Sicherheitsrats: keine weltpolitische Nebensache' (Expansion and reform of the UN Security Council: no side show of world politics), *Europa-Archiv*, 24, pp. 685–92.
- Leigh-Phippard, Helen (1994) 'Remaking the Security Council: the options', *The World Today*, no. 8/9, August–September 1994, pp. 167–71.
- Leitenberg, Milton (1996) 'The participation of Japanese military forces in United Nations peacekeeping operation', *Asian Perspective*, vol. 20, no. 1, Spring– Summer, pp. 5–50.
- Lind, Michael (1992) 'The catalytic state', *The National Interest*, no. 27, Spring, pp. 3–12.
- Luck, Edward C. and Gati, Toby Trister (1992) 'Whose collective security?', *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 2 (spring), pp. 47.
- Malone, David M. (1997) 'The UN Security Council in the post-Cold War world: 1987–97', *Security Dialogue*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 393–408.
- Matsuda, Takeo (1995) 'Kokuren to wa do iu kikan nano ka' (What sort of organisation is the UN?), *Hogaku Semina*, no. 482, February, pp. 26–9.
- Mauil, Hanns (1990) 'Germany and Japan: The new civilian powers', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 69, no. 5, pp. 91–106.

- Mogami, Toshiki (1994) 'Posto reisen no Kokuren to Nihon no yakuwari' (The UN after the end of the Cold War and Japan's role), *Gekkan Shakaito*, March, pp. 46–57.
- Mogami, Toshiki (1995) 'Kokuren no "200 nen"' ('The 200 years' of the UN), *Horitsu Jiho*, vol. 67, no. 6, pp. 44–51.
- Mori, Hideki (1994) 'Kempo no heiwa shugi o do toriatsukau beki ka' (How do we have to deal with the pacifism of the Constitution?), *Zenei*, November, pp. 13–30.
- Mori, Hideki (1995) 'Kempo no heiwashugi to Kokuren no "Gunji ni yoru heiwa"' (The pacifism of the Constitution and the 'peace dependence of the military' of the UN), *Hogaku Semina*, February, pp. 20–25.
- Morphet, Sally (1993) 'The Non-Aligned in "the New World Order"': The Jakarta summit, September 1992, *International Relations*, vol. XI, no. 4, April, pp. 359–80.
- Morphet, Sally (1995) 'The influence of states and groups of states on and in the Security Council and General Assembly', 1980–94, *Review of International Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4, October, pp. 435–462.
- Morphet, Sally (1996) 'The Non-Aligned and their 11th summit at Cartagena', October 1995, *The Round Table*, no. 340, pp. 455–463.
- Nagahama, Takayuki (1993) 'Sanpi ga wakareta Kokuren Ampori kaimei no kakukoku kenkai' (The various opinions of countries on reform of the UN Security Council are divided between approval and disapproval), *Sekai Shuho*, 10 August, pp. 51–9.
- Nagahama, Takayuki (1994) 'Kokuren de hataraku Nihonjin no seikatsu to iken', *Ushio*, February, pp. 254–63.
- Newcombe, Hanna (1979) 'Reform of the UN Security Council', *Peace Research Reviews*, vol. VIII, no. 3, May, pp. 1–104.
- Ogata, Sadako (1983) 'The changing role of Japan in the United Nations', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 37, no. 1, Summer, pp. 29–42.
- Ogata, Sadako (1997) 'Japan and the United Nations. Japan's global commitments and public attitude', *Studia Diplomatica*, pp. 195–204.
- Ogura, Kazuo (1998) 'Challenges for Japanese diplomacy in the Twenty-First century', *Japan Review of International Affairs*, vol. 11, no. 4, Winter, pp. 321–3.
- Okazaki, Hisahiko (1994) 'Nihon no joninrikoku iri to Ajia' (Japan as permanent member in the Security Council and Asia), *Shokun*, November, pp. 26–33.
- Owada, Hisashi (1992) 'Diplomacy of Japan in the post-Gulf-crisis world', *Business and the Contemporary World*, Winter, pp. 69–80.
- Owada, Hisashi (1995) 'Nihon ga Ampori Jonin Rijikoku ni hairu no wa tozen to iu beki kuki desu' (It is natural that Japan should become a permanent member of the UN Security Council), *Economisuto*, 28 March, pp. 74–7.
- Pleuger, Gunter (1998) '25 Jahre Mitgliedschaft in den Vereinten Nationen' (25 years' UN membership), *Deutschland*, no. 4, August, pp. 12–15.
- Saito, Shizuo (1992) 'Ima koso Kokuren o baponteki kaikaku seyo' (This is the time to radically reform the UN!), *Economisuto*, 18 February, pp. 36–9.
- Sakaguchi, Akira (1994) 'Gunji gimu ga nai joninrijikoku ga aru ka' (Is there a permanent membership without military obligations?), *Zenei*, November, pp. 31–47.
- Sato, Hideo (1998) 'Japan's China perceptions and its policies in the alliance with the United States', *Journal of International Political Economy*, vol. 2, no. 1, March, pp. 1–24.

- Sato, Kazuo (1998) 'Fukuzatsu ni hairi irikunda rigai do chousei suru ka. Nihon Kokuren gaiko mo yama' (How to harmonize complex interests? Climax of Japan's UN diplomacy), *Ronza*, February, pp. 46–9.
- Sato, Kikuo (1994) 'Ampori iri to tamerau na' (Don't hesitate about entering the Security Council), *Sekai Shuho*, 9 August, pp. 6–7.
- Sato, Koji (1993) 'The pursuit of the principle of international cooperation in the Constitution of Japan', *The Japanese Journal of International Law*, no. 36, pp. 5–16.
- Sato, Seizaburo (1994) 'Jonin rijikoku ni narou to shinai no wa musekinin' (Not wanting to become a Permanent Member is irresponsible), *Nihon Kokusai Foramu Kaiho*, vol. 1, no. 4, Fall, p. 3.
- Schuler, Thomas, Probezeit (1997) 'Deutschland im Sicherheitsrat (1995/96)' (Trial time. Germany in the Security Council [1995/96]), *Vereinte Nationen*, no. 1, February, pp. 1–9.
- Shihvo, Jukka (1997) 'Pandora's Box: Reviewing the composition of the UN Security Council in the light of British and French experience 1945–1963', *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 66, pp. 273–300.
- Shimura, Hisako (1996) 'Should Japan participate in UN peacekeeping operations?' *Asia-Pacific Review*, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring/Summer, pp. 137–44.
- Spruyt, Hendrik (1998) 'A new architecture for peace? Reconfiguring Japan among the great powers'. *The Pacific Review*, vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 364–88.
- Sugiyama, Shinsuke (1997) 'Kokuren kaikaku e no rekishiteki shiten' (A historical perspective of UN reform), *Kokuren*, no. 8, pp. 9–17.
- Suzuki, Yoshikatsu (1994) 'Ampori kamei "Gaimusho no shoso"' (Joining the Security Council. Impatience of the Gaimusho), *Bungei Shunju*, November, pp. 120–26.
- Tadokoro, Masayuki (1998) 'Kokuren zaisei to Kokuren kaikaku' (UN finances and UN reform), *Jijo*, January, pp. 43–60.
- Takubo, Tadae (1994) 'Kokuren Ampori Joninrijikoku iri rongi ni kakete iru mono' (What is missing in the discussion about becoming a permanent member of the Security Council), *Seiron*, December, pp. 98–106.
- Tamba, Minoru and Kusaka, Kimindo (1994) 'Nihon ga nozomu Kokusai Rengo' (The UN which Japan hopes for), *Voice*, June, pp. 192–201.
- Tanaka, Hitoshi (1996) 'Kenshiki aru yoron keisei no tame ni' (Moulding of a more farsighted public opinion), *Gaiko Forum*, no. 97, September, pp. 21–7.
- Tanaka, Shusei (1993) '"Atarashii Kokuren" no shudo koku e' (Towards a country advocating a 'New UN'), *Sekai*, March, pp. 42–9.
- Tanaka, Shusei (1994) 'Kokuren kaikaku ga honsuji: "Joninka gaiko" ni kago ari' (The right course for the reform of the UN and the error in the 'Diplomacy of permanent membership in the UN Security Council'), *Ronza*, December, pp. 27–32.
- Tanaka, Shusei (1994) 'Let's read the fine print before we sign the UNSC contract', (interview), *Tokyo Business*, December, pp. 18–19.
- Taylor, Paul (1991) 'The United Nations system under stress: financial pressures and their consequences' *Review of International Studies*, vol. 17, no. 4, October, pp. 365–82.
- Tomoda, Seki (1993) 'Cambodia enjo seisaku no atarashisa' (The novelty of the policy of assistance to Cambodia), *Gaiko Forum*, no. 54, March, pp. 28–34.

- Ueki, Yasuhiro (1995) 'Ko sureba Nihon wa Joninriyokoku in nareru' (Done this way, Japan can become a permanent Security Council member), *Sekai Shuho*, 31 January, pp. 62–8.
- Ushiba, Akihiko (1994) 'Joninriyokokuiri no taimingu' (The timing of becoming a permanent Security Council member), *Voice*, November, pp. 38–47.
- Wagner, Wolfgang (1993) 'Der ständige Sitz im Sicherheitsrat. Wer braucht wen: Die Deutschen diesen Sitz? Der Sicherheitsrat die Deutschen?' (Permanent Security Council seat. Who needs whom? The Germans the seat? The Security Council the Germans?), *Europa-Archiv*, Folge 19, pp. 533–40.
- Weston, Stephanie A. (1995) 'Beikoku no masu media to gaiko seisaku: Wareware no chosa ni tsuite no kosatsu' (US mass media and foreign policy: Remarks on our investigation), *Sogo Kenkyusho Ho*, no. 176, October, Fukuoka University, pp. 73–81.
- Yamada, Tsutomu (1993) "'Joninriyokoku" iri Gaimusho no shunen' (Becoming a 'Permanent Member'. The ardent wish of the Gaimusho), *Sekai*, January, pp. 229–33.
- Yanai, Shunji (1993) 'Law concerning cooperation for United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations, and other operations', *The Japanese Journal of International Law*, no. 36, pp. 33–75.
- Yayama, Taro (1994) 'Kokuren ampōri joninriyokoku iri. "Joken" o tsukeru hijoshiki' (Becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council. It is absurd to attach 'Conditions'), *This is Yomiuri*, November, pp. 126–33.
- Yokota, Yozo (1993) "'Joninriyokoku" Nihon no joken' (The conditions under which Japan could become a 'Permanent Security Council member'), *Kikan Asuteion*, no. 30, Autumn, pp. 52–9.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1993) "'Ampōjonin rijikoku" no hiyo tai koka' (Costs versus results of 'Permanent membership in the Security Council'), *Bungei Shunju*, February, pp. 306–14.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1993) 'Moving forward on "International contributions"', *Journal of Japanese Trade and Industry*, no. 5, pp. 36–8.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1994) 'Ampōri joninriyokoku iri o meguro dai gokai' (Big misunderstandings concerning becoming a permanent Security Council member), *Jikyoku*, January, pp. 28–9.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1994) 'Nihon no ampōri joninriyokoku iri wa sude ni sekaichu kara mitomerarete iru ga' (But Japan becoming permanent Security Council member is already accepted worldwide), *Themis*, February, pp. 74–5.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1994) 'Jonin rijikoku iri wa tozen no gimu' (Security Council membership is a natural duty), *Sansara*, March, pp. 223–6.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1994) "'Ampōri mondai" o seiso no gu' (Don't make the issue of the Security Council a tool of political strife!), *Gendai*, November, pp. 112–13.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1997) 'The role of the United Nations Security Council in conflict resolution in the new global system, *Saitama Daigaku Kiyo'*, (Kyoyo gakubu), vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 147–67.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko and Nakanishi (1993) 'Terumasa Kokuren Gari kozo to Nihon no moso' (The concept of Ghali and Japan's foolish imaginings), *Shokun*, April, pp. 122–32.

Yoshikawa, Motohide (1995) 'Kokuren kaikaku e no futatsu no teigen' (Two proposals for UN reform), *Gaiko Forum*, no. 84, September, pp. 61–4.

Books, theses and conference papers

- Aichi, Kiichi (1972) 'The United Nations and Japan's position', in Kajima Institute of International Peace (eds), *Japan in Current World Affairs, 1970–1972* (translation of an article in *Kokusai Jihyo*, June 1971), Tokyo: The Japan Times Ltd., pp. 26–39.
- Aichi, Kiichi (1974) 'Tenjincho hodan. Nenpu. Aichi Kiichi' (Tenjincho chats. Annual chronology. Aichi Kiichi), Tokyo: Aichi Kiichi Ikoshu Kankokai.
- Amou, Tamio (1990) 'Takokukan gaiko ron. Kokuren gaiko no jisso' (On multi-lateral diplomacy. The reality of UN diplomacy), Tokyo: PMC Shuppan.
- Ampiah, Kweku (1997) *The dynamics of Japan's relations with Africa. South Africa, Tanzania and Nigeria*, London: Routledge 1997.
- Anstee, Margaret Joan (1996) *Orphan of the Cold War. The inside story of the collapse of the Angolan peace process, 1992–3*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Asada Masahiko (1995) 'Peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace enforcement: Conceptual and legal underpinnings of the UN role', in Selig S. Harrison and Masashi Nishihara (eds), *UN peacekeeping. Japanese and American perspectives*, Washington: Carnegie Endowment Foundation, pp. 31–70.
- Asai, Motofumi (1991) 'Atarashii sekai chitsujo to Kokuren. Nihon wa nani o nasubeki ka' (The new world order and the UN. What has Japan to do?), Tokyo: Iwanami Seminar Books.
- Asai, Motofumi (1995) 'Kokuren ampori joninrijikoku iri wa kaigai hahei o kyoko suru tame no kakuremino de aru' (Becoming permanent member of the UN Security Council is an invisible cloak to force the deployment of troops abroad), *Nihon no ronten '96*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, pp. 116–21.
- Asai, Motofumi (1995) 'Taikoku Nihon no sentaku'. *Kokuren Anzen hoshō rijikai to Nihon* (The choice of the great power Japan. The UN Security Council and Japan), Tokyo: Rodo Junpo Sha.
- Bailey, Sydney (1998) *The procedure of the UN Security Council*, 2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bailey, Sydney and Daws, Sam (eds) (1998) *The procedure of the UN Security Council*, 3rd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bedjaoui, Mohammed (1994) *The new world order and the Security Council. Testing the legality of its acts*, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Berridge, G. R. (1991) *Return to the UN. UN diplomacy in regional conflicts*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Chapman, John, Drifte, Reinhard and Gow, Ian (1983) *Japan's quest for comprehensive security: defence, diplomacy & dependence*, London/New York: Frances Pinter/St Martin's Press.
- Coate, Roger A. (ed.) (1994) *US policy and the future of the United Nations*, New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press.
- Dobson, Hugo (1998) 'Japan and United Nations Peacekeeping: Foreign Policy Formulation in the Post-Cold War World', PhD thesis, Sheffield, May.
- Dore, Ron (1997) *Japan, Internationalism and the UN*, London: Routledge.
- Doyle, Michael W. (1995) *UN Peacemaking in Cambodia. UNTAC's civil mandate*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Drifte, Reinhard (1979) *Japans Verwicklung in den Koreakrieg* (Japan's involvement in the Korean War), Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung 1979, Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer, pp. 416–34.
- Drifte, Reinhard (1990) *Japan's rise to international responsibilities: The case of arms control*, London: Athlone Press.
- Drifte, Reinhard (1996) *Japan's Foreign Policy in the 1990s: From economic superpower to what power?* (Macmillan/St Antony's Series/St Martin's Press, Houndmills/Oxford/New York); updated version in Japanese, *21 seki no Nihon no gaiko*, Tokyo: Kindai Bungeisha, 1998; and in English, as an updated paperback, *Japan's Foreign Policy for the 21st Century*, Houndmills/New York: Macmillan/St Antony's Series/St Martin's Press, 1998.
- Dulles, John Foster (1950) *War or peace*, New York: Macmillan.
- Fahl, Gundolf (1978) 'Der UNO-Sicherheitsrat. Analyse und Dokumentation nach dreißigjährigem Bestehen' (The UN Security Council. Analysis and documentation after 30 years of existence), Berlin: Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz.
- Franck, Thomas M. (1985) *Nation against nation*, Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Funabashi, Yoichi (ed.) (1995) *Japan's international agenda*, New York: New York University Press.
- Gregg, Robert W. (1993) *About face? The United States and the United Nations*, Boulder/London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Haass, Richard N. (1994) *Intervention: the use of American military force in the post-Cold War world*, Carnegie Endowment: Washington, DC.
- Han Sung-Joo (ed.) (1996) *The United Nations: The next fifty years*, Seoul: Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University.
- Harada, Katsuhiko (1995) 'Kokuren kaikaku to Nihon no yakuwari' (UN reform and Japan's role), Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha.
- Hatano, Yoshio (1997) 'Nihon wa Kokuren joninrijikoku iri o mezasu beki ka?' (Should Japan aim for UN Security Council membership?), in *Imidasu*, Tokyo: Shinsho.
- Healy, Damien (1996) 'Japan's contribution to UNTAC, in Alex Morrison and James Kira (eds), *UN peace operations and the role of Japan*', The Canadian Peacekeeping Press: Clementsport.
- Hoffmann, Walter (1994) *United Nations Security Council reform and restructuring*, Livingston, NJ.: The Center for UN Reform Education.
- Holloway, Steven 'Japan and East Asia at the UNGA: Region without leaders or leaders without followers', draft paper for presentation at the 1996 JAIR-ISA conference Makuhari, Japan.
- Hopkinson, Nicholas (1993) 'The United Nations in the new world disorder', Wilton Park Paper 75, July.
- House of Commons, Foreign Affairs Committee (1993) *Third Report. The expanding role of the United Nations and its implications for United Kingdom policy*, vols 1 and II, London: HMSO.
- Hume, Cameron R. (1994) *The United Nations, Iran and Iraq*, Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.
- Hurd, Ian (1997) 'Security Council reform: Informal membership and practice, in Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*', Houndmills: Macmillan, pp. 135–52.
- Iguchi, Sadao (ed.) (1972) 'Nihon gaikoshi, Kowago no gaiko III Kokusai Rengo' (Diplomacy after the peace III United Nations), Tokyo: Kajima Peace Research Institute.

- Immerman, Robert M. (1994) 'Japan in the United Nations, in Craig Garby and Mary Brown Bullock (eds), *From Japan: A new kind of super power?*', Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, pp. 181–92.
- Immerman, Robert M. and Gati, Toby Trister (1992) *Japan in a multilateral dimension*, Institute Reports. East Asian Institute, New York: Columbia University, May.
- Inoguchi, Takashi (1996) 'Envisioning the UN in the 21st century, in Han Sung-Joo (ed.), *The United Nations: The next fifty years*, Seoul: Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University.
- Ishihara, Nobuo (1997) 'Shusho kantei no ketsudan' (Decisions at the residence of the Prime Minister), Tokyo: Chuo Koron sha.
- Itoh, Mayumi (1998) 'Fallen political leadership in Japan: Will a new party eventually emerge?', JPRI Working Paper, no. 49, September.
- Itoh, Mayumi (1998) *Globalization of Japan. Japanese sakoku mentality and US efforts to open Japan*, New York: St Martin's Press.
- Japan Economic Institute (Nikkeicho) (ed.) (1994) *United Nations reform and Japan*, Tokyo, August.
- Japanisch-Deutsches Zentrum Berlin (ed.) (1991) *Symposium 'The role of the United Nations in the 1990s', 27–31 August 1990*, vol. 4, Berlin: Japanese-German Center.
- Kajima, Morinosuke (1967) 'Nihon no gaiko. Kako to genzai' (Japan's diplomacy. Past and present), Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyusho Shuppankai.
- Kajima, Morinosuke (1969) *History of modern Japan, 3rd printing*, Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Vermont.
- Kase Toshikazu in Kokuren Joho Centa (ed.) (1986) *Kaiso. 'Nihon to Kokuren no sanju nen'* (Reminiscences. 30 years, Japan and the UN), Tokyo: Kodansha, pp. 16–46.
- Kawabe, Ichiro (1994) 'Kokuren to Nihon' (The UN and Japan), Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho.
- Kawabe, Ichiro (1997) 'Nihon wa Kokuren joninriyokoku iri o mezasu beki ka' (should Japan aim for UN Security Council membership?) in *Imidasu*, Tokyo: Shinsho, p. 9.
- Kawamura, Yukio (1995) 'Nihonjin no shiranai Kokuren' (The UN which the Japanese do not know), Tokyo: Daiyamondosha.
- Kim, Samuel S. (1998) 'China and the United Nations', in Michael Oksenberg and Elizabeth Economy (eds), *China joins the world – progress and prospectus*, New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.
- Kokuren Joho Centa (ed.) (1986) 'Kaiso. Nihon to Kokuren no sanju nen', (Reminiscences. 30 years, Japan and the UN), Tokyo: Kodansha 1986.
- Komuro, Naoki (1995) 'Higunji sanko nado shoshi. Kokuren wa ima mo gunji domei de aru koto o ninshiki seyo' (Non-military participation is ridiculous. Let's recognise that the UN is still a military alliance), *Nihon no ronten '96*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, pp. 202–5.
- Kono, Tsutomu, Tom (1993) 'Japan's role in the UN: Change and continuity', The Ralph Bunche Institute on the United Nations, *The US and Japan in the Changing Environment for Multilateral Organizations. Papers and Workshop Summaries*, New York: City University of New York, pp. 21–43.
- Kühne, Winrich (1996) 'Multinationale Friedenmissionen und nationale Interessen, in Karl Kaiser and Joachim Krause (eds), *Deutschlands neue*

- Aussenpolitik*, vol. 3: Interessen und Strategien', Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, pp. 15–28.
- Kühne, Winrich and Baumann, Katja (1995) *Reform des VN-Sicherheitsrats zum 50jährigen Jubiläum. Auswertung und Analyse der Stellungnahmen der Mitgliedstaaten im Überblick* (Reform of the Security Council on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. Evaluation and analysis of survey of member states' positions), Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik July 1995, SWP-AP 2919.
- Kunugi, Tatsuro (ed.) (1995) *Working with the UN to Build a New Era: Japan's Role and Approach*, Tokyo: Simul Press.
- Laurenti, Jeffrey (1997) *Reforming the Security Council: What American interests?*, New York: United Nations Association of the United States of America.
- Leitch, Richard D., Kato Akira and Weinstein, Martin E. (1995) *Japan's role in the post-Cold War world*, Conn: Greenwood Press.
- Leitenberg, Milton (1996) 'The participation of Japanese military forces in United Nations peacekeeping operations', Occasional Paper 27, March, Center for Pacific Asia Studies at Stockholm University.
- Martens, Jens (1997) 'Aussitzen oder Mitgestalten? Deutschland in der Debatte um die Reform der UNO' (Hanging in or shaping the UN? Germany in the debate about UN reform), *UN-williges Deutschland. Der WEED-Report zur deutschen UNO-Politik*, Bonn: Dietz Verlag, pp. 220–44.
- Matanle, Emma (1995) *The UN Security Council? Prospects for reform*, London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- McCarthy, Patrick A. (1997) 'Positionality, tension and instability in the UN Security Council', EUI Working Paper RSC, no. 97/12, Florence, European University Institute.
- McDermott, Anthony (1998) 'Japan's financial contribution to the UN system – in pursuit of acceptance and standing', paper prepared for the 23rd Annual Conference of the British International Studies Association, University of Sussex, 14–16 December.
- Morikawa, Jun (1997) *Japan and Africa. Big business and diplomacy*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Morrison, Alex and Kira, James (eds) (1996) *UN Peace Operations and the the role of Japan*, Clementsport: The Canadian Peacekeeping Press.
- Müller, Joachim (ed.) (1997) *Reforming the United Nations. New initiatives and past efforts*, vols I-III, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
- Nagano, Nobutoshi (1997) 'Niju seki no Nihon gaiko. Kobo to zaisei no rekishi' (Japan's diplomacy in the 20th century. A history of rise and fall), Tokyo: Koken.
- Nicol Davidson (1982) *The United Nations Security Council. Toward greater effectiveness*. A Report on the Proceedings of a UNITAR Seminar and subsequent discussions involving former Presidents of the Security Council, senior international officials and scholars, 1977–80, New York: UNITAR.
- Nutall, S. J. (1997) 'Japan and Europe: Policies and initiatives, in Bert Edström (ed.), *Japan's foreign and security policies in transition*', The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, Stockholm, pp. 113–19.
- Ogata, Sadako (1986) 'Japan's United Nations policy in the 1980s', conference paper for 'Making the United Nations work: Initiatives for the industrial

- democracies', Deutsche Gesellschaft für die Vereinten Nationen/United Nations Association of the United States of America, Bonn 6 October.
- Ogata, Sadako (1986) *Nihon no Kokuren gaiko no henshen* (The vicissitudes of Japan's UN diplomacy), in Sato Eisaku Kinen. Kokuren Daigaku Kyosan Zaidan, ed. Kokuren o kaizo sura (Remodelling the UN), Tokyo: Sekai no Ugoikisha 1986, pp. 281–306.
- Oh, Kie-Pyung (1971) 'The United Nations and contemporary Japan's foreign policy', University Minnesota, PhD thesis, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor.
- O'Neill, Barry (1997) Power and satisfaction in the Security Council, in Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*, New York: St Martin's Press, pp. 59–82.
- OWada, Hisashi (1996) 'Gaiko to wa nanika' (What is diplomacy?), Tokyo: NHK Shuppansha.
- Ozawa, Ichiro (1994) 'Nihon kaizo no keikaku' (Plan to reform Japan), Tokyo: Kodansha.
- Patil, Anjali V. (1992) *The UN veto in world affairs 1946–1990. A complete record and case histories of the Security Council's veto*, London: UNIFO/Mansell.
- Peek, John Michael (1985) 'Japan and the United Nations: International cooperation and world order', PhD thesis, University Microfilm International, Ann Arbor.
- Pellicer, Olga (1994) 'Some recent problems in the functioning of the Security Council: Proposals for research activities', United Nations University, Second meeting of the UNU Advisory Team on Peace and Global Governance, 24–25 October, Barcelona.
- Pempel, T. J. (1982) *Policy and politics in Japan. Creative Conservatism*, Temple University Press: Philadelphia.
- Rapkin, David P. (1990) Japan and world leadership, in David P. Rapkin (ed.), *World leadership and hegemony*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 191–212.
- Report of a Study Group set up by the Japanese Association of International Law, prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Japan and the United Nations (1958), New York: Manhattan Publishing Co.
- Research Institute for Peace and Security. (1997) *Asian Security 1997–98*, Oxford: Brassey's.
- Rittberger, Volker and Mogler, Martin (1997) 'Reform des Sicherheitsrats der Vereinten Nationen und Ständige Mitgliedschaft Deutschlands' (Reform of the Security Council and permanent membership of Germany), *Die Reform des UN-Sicherheitsrates. Ein Ständiger Sitz für Deutschland?*, Blaue Reihe, Deutsche Gesellschaft Für die Vereinten Nationen, no. 70, October, pp. 18–40.
- Rozman, G. (1991) *Japan's response to the Gorbachev era: A rising superpower views a declining one*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ruggie, John Gerard (1996) *Winning the peace: America and world order in the new era*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Russett, Bruce (ed.) (1997) *The once and future Security Council*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Saito, Shiro (1990) *Japan at the summit. Japan's role in the Western alliance and Asian-Pacific cooperation*, London: Routledge.
- Saito, Shizuo (1977) 'Kokusai Rengo ron josetsu' (Introduction to the issue of the UN), Tokyo: Shinyudo.

- Schaefer, Michael (1994) 'Die neue Rolle des Sicherheitsrates-Warum soll Deutschland ständiges Mitglied werden?' (The new role of the Security Council – Why should Germany become a permanent member?), in Eltje Adherhold *et al.* (eds), *Festschrift für Hans Hanisch*, Köln: Carl Heymanns Verlag 1994.
- Schuler, Thomas (1997) 'Profillose Mitläufer? Wie deutsche UN-Politik in New York gesehen wird' (How German UN policy is viewed in New York), *UN-williges Deutschland. Der WEED-Report zur deutschen UNO-Politik*, Bonn: Dietz Verlag, pp. 245–63.
- Shikata, Toshiyuki (1995) 'Kempo to Kensho no kugeki o umenakereba, Kokuren Ampori Jonin Rijikoku iri wa imi nashi' (Without filling the gap between the Constitution and the Charter, it makes no sense to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council), *Nihon no ronten*, '96, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, pp. 112–15.
- Shinyo, Takahiro (1995) 'Shin Kokuren ron. Kokusai heiwa no tame no Kokuren to Nihon no yakuwari' (A new discussion. The UN for international peace and Japan's role), Osaka: Osaka Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Shinyo, Takahiro (1998) 'Reforming the Security Council: A Japanese perspective', in Ramesh Thakur (ed.), *Past imperfect, future Uncertain. The United Nations at fifty*, Houndmills: Macmillan, pp. 147–62.
- Simma, Bruno (ed.) (1994) *The Charter of the United Nations: A Commentary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Simons, Geoff (1995) *UN malaise. Power, problems and Realpolitik*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Sohn, Louis B. and Swift, Richard N. (1974) *Modernizing the Security Council*, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, New York, September.
- Sonoda, Sunao (1981) 'Sekai. Nihon. Ai' (The world. Japan. Love), Tokyo: Daisan Seikei Kenkyukai.
- Sotooka, Hidetoshi (1994) 'Kokuren shinjidai' (The new age of the UN), Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho.
- Tadokoro, Masayuki (1997) 'A Japanese view on the restructuring of the Security Council', in Bruce Russett (ed.), *The once and future Security Council*, Houndmills: Macmillan, pp. 119–33.
- Takemura, Masayoshi (1994) 'Chiisakutomo kirarito hikaru kuni' (Japan: a small but outshining nation), Tokyo: Kobunsha.
- Tanaka, Akihiko (1995) 'The domestic context: Japanese politics and UN peace-keeping', in Selig S. Harrison and Masashi Nishihara (eds), *UN peacekeeping. Japanese and American perspectives*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, pp. 89–105.
- Tanaka, Akihiko (1995) UN peace operations and Japan–US relations, in P. Gourevitch, Takashi Inoguchi and C. Purrington (eds), *United States–Japan relations and international institutions after the Cold War*, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego: August, pp. 59–83.
- Tanaka, Shusei (1995) 'Tanaka Shusei no ronseki' (The trace of Tanaka Shusei's arguments), Tokyo: Kindai Bungeisha.
- Tanaka, Shusei, Takano, Hajime and Kawabe, Ichiro (1994) 'Igi ari!! Nihon no "Joninrijikokui" (We have objections to 'Japan becoming a permanent member of the Security Council!'), Tokyo: Daisanshokan.

- Taylor, Paul, Daws, Sam and Adamczick-Gerteis, Ute (eds) (1997) *Documents on reform of the United Nations*, Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Todd, James E. (1997) 'The United Nations Security Council, Parts 1 and 2', PhD thesis, University Microfilms international, Ann Arbor.
- Tomuschat, Christian (1996) 'Deutschland und die Vereinten Nationen', in Karl Kaiser and Joachim Krause (eds), *Deutschlands neue Aussenpolitik*, vol. 3: Interessen und Strategien, Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, pp. 97–106.
- Ueki, Yasuhiro (1993) 'Japan's approach to UN peacekeeping and peacemaking', *The US and Japan in the changing environment for multilateral organizations. Papers and Workshop Summaries*, New York: City University of New York.
- Ueki, Yasuhiro (1993) 'Japan's UN diplomacy: Sources of passivism and activism', *Japan's foreign policy. After the Cold War. Coping with change*, New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Urano, Kio (1989) 'Kokusai shakai no henyō to Kokuren tohyō kōdō 1946–1985' (Changes in international society and UN voting behaviour 1946–1985), vols 3, Tokyo: Kokusai Chiiki Shiryo Centa.
- van Briessen, Fritz (1975) 'Die Politik Japans in den Vereinten Nationen' (Japan's policy in the UN), Ebenhausen: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.
- Weinstein, Martin E. (1971) *Japan's postwar defense policy, 1947–1968*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Winkelmann, Ingo (1997) 'Bringing the Security Council into a new era'. Recent development in the discussion on the reform of the Security Council, *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law*, vol. 1, ed. Frowein, Jochen A. and Wolfrum, Rüdiger, London: Kluwer Law International 1997.
- Yasutomo, Dennis T. (1995) *The new multilateralism in Japan's foreign policy*, Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Yoshida, Shigeru (1963) *Sekai to Nippon*, Tokyo: Bancho shobo.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1991) 'Kokuren kohokan' (UN Public Relations officer), Tokyo: Chuko Shinsho.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1995) 'Nihon no joninri jikoku iri wa kenri de ari, gimu de aru'. 'Buryoku fukoshi', wa jiko mojun, in: *Nihon no ronten*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunju, pp. 198–201.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1995) *Yameru Kokuren* (The ailing UN), Tokyo: Bungei Shunju.
- Yoshida, Yasuhiko (1995, 1998) 'Kokuren no shikumi, 'Kyodai soshiki no shinwa', to genjitsu' (The setup of the UN. The myth and reality of the 'super organization'), Tokyo: Nihon Jitsugyo Shuppansha.
- Zhu, Feng (1995) 'Kokuren kaikaku "Chugoku no shiten"' (The reform of the UN. The Chinese perspective) in Kinhide Mushakoji (ed.), *Kokuren no zaisei to chikyu minshushugi*, Tokyo: Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kokusai Heiwa Kenkyusho, pp. 219–41.

Documents

Japanese documents

- '1972 nen anzen hoshō rijikai shingī gaiyō' (Summary of the deliberations of the Security Council in 1972 (1973) UN Bureau, Policy Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo.

- 'Ampori hijoninriijikoku to shite no waga kuni no kore made to koken', (Japan's contributions so far as non-permanent Security Council member) (1994) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy Division, December, 8 pages.
- Diplomatic Bluebook*.
- 'Gaiko Seisho'.
- Gaimusho gaikoshiryokan. Nihon gaikoshi jiten hensan iinkai*, (ed.) (1979) Nihon gaikoshi jiten (Dictionary of Japan diplomatic history), Tokyo: Okurasho Inseikyoku.
- Gaimusho Kokurenkyoku Seijika (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Bureau, Political Department) (1970) 'Ampori Joninriijikoku no tokken ni tsuite' (On the special rights of the Permanent Members of the Security Council), *Kokuren*, September, pp. 26–31.
- Gaimusho Kokusai Rengokyoku (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Bureau) (1970) 'Kokuren Joho', vol. 1, March.
- 'Japan and the US: Is our friendship stronger than our problems?' (1992) remarks by Ambassador Kuriyama at the Japan Society of Boston, Mass., 2 December.
- Japan Economic Research Institute (Nikkeicho) (ed.) (1994) 'United Nations reform and Japan', Tokyo, August.
- Japan's official Development Assistance, Annual Report 1997* (1998) Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Kokuren anzen hoshō rijikai no kaikaku (Reform of the UN Security Council) (3 July 1996 and 25 April 1997) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy Division.
- Liberal Democratic Party (ed.) (1997) 'Foreign Policy Part 1 Japan's strategy towards the Asia-Pacific Region', Tokyo.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Policy division (1996) *Security Council Reform, Basic Documents*, 23 January.
- Minshato to Kataru Kai (ed.) (1994) 'Minshato e no teigen. "Sekai heiwa to Kempo mondai" ni kansuru teigen. Kokuren no heiwa, anzenhoshō kino kyōka ni kasuru Nihon no koken ni tsuite no teigen', Tokyo, 1 February.
- Nakasone naikaku shi, Shiryōhen ichi zoku (1995) Tokyo: Sekai Heiwa Kenkyūsho.
- Series of 'Statements Delivered by Delegates of Japan during the Regular Session of the General Assembly, United Nations by the United Nations Bureau', (1958–89) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo.
- Shinshinto, (ed.) (1997) 'Nihon zai kochiku sengen', 1 October.
- Tamura Shigenobu (1996) 'Soto kara mita Gaimusho to seiji', speech delivered at the Research Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 22 August.
- 'Waga kuni no joninriijikoku iri ni kansuru hoteki ronten no seiri', (1994) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UN Political Affairs Division, 22 August.

UN documents

- Africa* (1998) Secretary-General's Report to the United Nations Security Council April 1998. Briefing and Summary of the Report on the Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa, New York: UN Department of Public Information.
- Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992) *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to the

- Statement Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on January 31, 1992, New York: United Nations.
- The United Nations in its second half-century*, (1995) A Report of the Independent Working Group of the Future of the United Nations, chaired by Moeen Qureshi and Richard von Weizsäcker, New York: Ford Foundation (also <http://www.library.yale.edu/un/home.htm>).
- Yearbook of the United Nations 1979* (1980) vol. 33, New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations.
- Yearbook of the United Nations 1987* (1987) vol. 41, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Other documents

- Belgium in the UN Security 1991–92* (1993) Brussels: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, External Trade and Development Cooperation, January.
- House of Commons. Foreign Affairs Committee (1993) *Third Report. The expanding role of the United Nations and its implications for United Kingdom policy*, vols 1 and II, London: HMSO.
- OECD (1996) *Shaping the 21st century: The contribution of development cooperation* (May).
- Österreichische Mitgliedschaft im Sicherheitsrat. Bericht 1991–1992 (1993) Vienna: Bundesministerium für auswärtige Angelegenheiten.
- Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations (ed.) (1996) *The UN reform. Reform of the Security Council. The German position. Statements and speeches held between 1994 and 1996*, New York: Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations.
- Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations (ed.) (1997) *The UN reform. Reform of the Security Council. The German position vol. II. Statements and talking points June 1996–October 1997*, New York: Permanent Mission of Germany to the United Nations.
- Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Jimmy Carter 1977 Book I – January 20 to June 24, 1977 (1977) Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- Report to Congress on Voting Practices in the United Nations, February 24, 1984* (1984) Washington: United States Department of State.

Index

- Abe, Shintaro 46, 49
Afghanistan 41, 55, 65
Agenda for Peace 75, 85, 87, 162
Ahn, C. S. 132
Aichi, Kazuo 97
Aichi, Kiichi 23–30, 32–6, 40,
42–3, 51, 95, 99, 159, 177,
188
Akashi, Yasushi 28, 42, 71, 84,
92, 98, 194
Albright, Madeleine 56, 94, 139,
171
Algeria 38
Amou, Eiji 24
Amou, Tamio 21, 24–5, 29, 35
Andreotti, Julio 144
Annan, Kofi 101, 183
Ansari, Mohammad Hamid 167
Anti-mine convention 72
Aoki, Morihisa 25
ARF 55
Argentine 137
Asahi Shimbun 82, 109, 126–7,
131, 170, 172, 176–7, 179
Asai, Motofumi 7, 108
ASEAN 152
Asian Development Bank 25
Australia 22, 71, 157, 162, 173,
175
Austria 88
Axis Agreement 24

Bangladesh 38–9, 68, 150
Beijing Review 151
Berridge, G. R. 180
Bhutan 38
Bosnia-Herzegovina 74, 82
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros 79–80,
86, 108, 124, 162, 167
Brazil 2, 67, 115, 137, 162, 170,
182

Bush, George 31, 42, 50, 116,
137–8, 140
Cambodia 55, 64–5, 70–2, 74,
77, 81, 86–7, 90, 94, 96, 105,
110, 113, 139, 150, 152, 162,
189, 194
 Khmer Rouge 70–1, 87
Canada 37, 50, 63, 71, 79, 157,
162, 175, 184
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique
170
Carter, Jimmy 44
Center for Global Partnership
 (Japan Foundation) 129
Chile 137
China (People's Republic of
China) 4–5, 15, 17, 68,
71–2, 83, 100, 102, 107,
113–14, 139, 150–1, 153,
156, 164, 173, 178, 180, 185,
193–5
 Japan's support for Chinese
 WTO membership 58
 on Japan's Security Council bid
 98, 131, 143, 150–1
 on Japan's budgetary
 contribution 81, 167
 PKO contribution 76–7, 100
 UN representation issue
 (Taiwan) 5, 23, 27–8, 33,
 36, 43, 116, 157
Christopher, Warren 139
Civilian power 2, 54, 56, 58, 88,
110, 193
Clinton, William 45, 139–140,
167, 182
Columbia 37, 159–60
Commission on Global
 Governance 178
Comprehensive National Security
57

- Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty 68
- Conference of the Committee on Disarmament 24–5, 63
- Congo 30
- Conlon Report 43
- Convention of the Safety of the UN & Associated Personnel 87
- Costa Rica 162
- Council on Foreign Relations 139
- Croatia 162
- Cuba 38
- Cyprus 88
- Dacca hijacking 87
- Daws, Sam 22, 157
- Dejammet, Alain 142
- Democratic Party of Japan 135
- Democratic Socialist Party 90
- Development 19, 28, 52, 54, 57–8, 68, 145–50, 164–5, 187, 192, 194
- DAC 58, 145–7
- Dini, Lamberto 79, 145, 167
- Disarmament (arms control) 19, 34, 59–60, 62–3, 109
- Dore, Ronald 7, 95
- Dulles, John Foster 5
- ECOSOC 41
expansion 20–3, 156, 158
- Ecuador 137
- Egypt 73, 147, 184
- Eitel, Tono 185
- El Salvador 21
- Enemy clauses 6, 16, 19, 21, 26–7, 32, 35–8, 47–8, 50, 98–9, 135, 182, 187
- EPA 125
- European Common Market (EU) 25, 55, 71, 74, 144, 168, 177
- CFSP 144, 182
- European Parliament 144
- EU Security Council seat 119, 144, 183
- Exceptionalism (Japan's) 3, 28, 108–11, 187, 190
- Falkland/Malvinas islands 69
- Foreign Policy Association 139
- Foreign Press Center 130
- France 4–5, 33, 36, 48, 58, 63–4, 70, 76, 100, 102, 110, 118, 139, 141–2, 144, 146, 156, 158, 162, 173, 177, 179, 182, 194
- Franck, Thomas M. 42
- Fujio, Masayuki 48–9
- Fujita, Hiroshi 84
- Fujiyama, Aiichiro 20
- Fukuda, Takeo
Carter–Fukuda summit 1977
44
- Fulci, Francesco Paolo 182
- Funabashi, Yoichi 54
- G8 (G7) 55, 67, 69, 136, 141, 143–5, 168, 176, 196
- GATT 25, 58
- General Assembly 4–5, 20, 32, 34–5, 37–8, 40, 43–4, 46, 64, 69, 72, 79, 86, 116, 118, 134, 136, 152–3, 156–7, 159, 161–2, 173, 179–80, 185
- Asian group 17, 38, 136, 151–3, 162, 170–1, 173, 185, 193
- African group 22, 33, 38, 67, 136–7, 145–50, 154, 158–9, 163, 170–1, 173, 175, 192
- Committee 1 63
- Committee 6 24, 32, 159
- Japanese speeches 13, 20–49, 55, 61, 64, 87, 99, 119, 121, 126–128, 130–2, 137
- Latin American group 38, 136–7, 145, 147, 157–9, 163, 170–1, 173, 184
- Genscher, Hans-Dietrich 118
- Germany 2, 5–6, 9, 25, 32, 37, 45, 47–9, 52–4, 56, 59, 63, 68, 70–1, 88, 98–100, 110, 115, 118–20, 137, 139–40, 146, 162–3, 165–7, 170–3, 180, 182–6, 191, 193, 195

- Germany – (continued)
 bid for a Security Council seat
 2, 48, 53, 75, 81, 98,
 118–20, 139–44, 149,
 168–9, 171, 175–6, 183
 enemy clauses 6, 47–8, 98–9
 Ostpolitik 48
 PKO contribution 75, 79,
 81–2, 90, 102
 veto 177–8
 Ghana 146–8, 162
 Global Policy Forum 166
 Golan Heights *see* UNDOF
 Goldberg, Arthur 43
 Gorbachev, Mikhail 113
 Gotoda, Masaharu 125
 Graf zu Rantzau, Detlev 166
 Granada 38
Guardian 82
 Guatemala 156, 184
 Guyana 38
- Hahei 31
 Haken 31, 41
 Hanabusa, Masamichi 117, 119
 Hasegawa, Kazutoshi 48
 Hashimoto, Ryutaro 73, 87, 103,
 133–4, 137, 143, 167, 170, 176
 Hata, Tsutomu 61, 102, 129–30,
 176
 Hatano, Yoshio 66, 77, 85–7, 94,
 99, 104–5, 109, 117, 119–20,
 124, 128, 130, 147, 165, 172,
 174, 178, 191
 Hatoyama, Ichiro 38
 Hatoyama, Yukio 127
 Hattori, G. 32
 Henze, Gerhard 177
 Hiroshima 68
 Historical legacy 54–5, 60, 84,
 98–9, 123, 140, 150–2, 167
 Holloway, Steven 153
 Horiguchi, Matsuhiko 86, 94
 Hosokawa, Morihiro 121, 125–9,
 133, 166, 190
 Hungarian uprising 20
 Hun Sen 71
 Hurd, Douglas 141, 180
 Hurd, Ian 95
- Igarashi, Kozo 133
 Iguchi, Sadao 22
 Ikeda, Hayato 16–17, 30–1
 Ikeda, Yukihiko 137, 148–9
 Imagawa, Yukio 71
 IMF 59
 Immerman, Robert 7, 46, 69,
 95, 105, 138
 Imperial Diet 12
 India 22, 38, 43, 49, 65, 68, 103,
 109, 115, 150, 153, 157–8,
 161, 166, 175, 182, 185, 194
 Indonesia 70–1, 150, 152–3,
 162, 173, 185, 194
 International Court of Justice 5,
 35, 37
 International House of Japan 17
 International Law Commission
 24
 International Registry for the
 Transfer of Arms 55
 International Whaling
 Commission 59–60
 Iran–Iraq war 49, 55, 70
 Iraq 41, 114
 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (Gulf
 War) 3, 53–5, 65–7, 74,
 77, 89, 95–6, 110, 113,
 122, 125, 132, 171
 Japan's financial contribution
 54, 65, 96, 139
 UNSCOM crisis 1998 73, 111,
 194
 Ishihara, Nobuo 127
 Israel 69, 72
 Italy 37, 63, 70, 72, 115,
 119–20, 144–5, 152, 162,
 182–5, 195
 Ito, Kenichi 97, 106
 Ito, Masayoshi 32, 39
 Ivory Coast 147
- Japan Economic Research
 Institute 173, 179
Japan Times 30–1, 34, 168
 Japanese Association for
 International Law 31
 JCP 129, 134
 Jordan 50, 162

- JSDP 131
 JSP 84, 129–30, 133–4
 Juppé, Alain 142

 Kaifu, Toshiki 66, 89
 Kaiser, Karl 53, 81, 195
 Kajiyama, Seiryoku 176
 Kakizawa, Koji 77, 80, 96, 102,
 129, 137, 169, 176
 Kambukai 29
 Kanamori, Tokujiro 12
 Kase, Shunichi 48
 Kassebaum amendment 46
 Kawakami, Yoichi 128
 Kawabe, Ichiro 108
 Kawamura, Yukio 7
 Kazakhstan 162
 KEDO 74
 Kenya 147–8
 Kim, Samuel 151
 Kim, Young-Sam 151
 Kinkel, Klaus 118
 Kishi, Nobusuke 16
 Kissinger, Henry 44
 Kistanov, Valeriy 143
 Kohl, Helmut 47–8, 118, 176
 Koizumi, Junichiro 84, 88, 125,
 130–1
 Komura, Masahiko 149
 Komeito 90
 Kono, Taro 103
 Kono, Tsutomu Tom 17
 Kono, Yohei 103, 129–34, 137
 Korea (North) 81, 87, 98, 105,
 107, 113, 146, 150–2
 Korea (South) 17, 83, 94, 107,
 113, 131, 146, 150–1, 181
 Korean War 15–16, 18, 94
 Kosaka, Zentaro 21, 40, 166
 Kozyrev, Andrei 143
 Kühne, Winrich 157
 Kuwait *see* Iraq–Iraqi invasion of
 Kuwait
Kyodo 25
 Kyoto 68

 Laurenti, Jeff 6, 139–40, 163,
 175, 197
 League of Nations 4, 10, 24, 187

 Lebanon 30, 184
 Leitenberg, Milton 194
 Lew, Kuan Yew 80
 Liberal Democratic Party 47–8,
 55, 66, 77, 88–90, 97–8, 102,
 117, 121–2, 125, 129–34,
 166, 189
 Liberal Party 134
 Libya 73, 114
 Lithuania 162

 MacArthur, Douglas 13
 Macedonia 92
 Mahathir, Mohammed 80
Mainichi Shimbun 15, 33, 126
 Major, John 141
 Malawi 147
 Malaysia 80, 152
 Maldives 38
 Maritime Safety Agency 89
 Matsudaira, Koto 21, 30
 Matsumoto, Shigeharu 17
 Matsunaga, Nobuo 177
 Maull, Hanns 54
 Mauritius 38
 Mbeki, Thabo 149–50
 McCarthy, Patrick 142
 Meiji Restoration 26
 Mexico 182, 184
 Michelsen, Alfonso Lopez 159
 Middle East 57, 65, 69, 72–3, 77,
 79, 136, 158
 Miki, Takeo 23
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 (Gaimusho)
 Gaimusho dokuso 126, 130,
 191
 Staffing 63
 UN Bureau restructuring 62–3
 UN Mission (Geneva) 136
 UN Mission (New York) 16,
 24–5, 27, 63, 66, 70, 73,
 86, 120, 135–7, 181, 186
 Mitterrand, François 142
 Miyazawa, Kiichi 61, 81, 99,
 116–17, 121, 125, 138, 176
 Mongolia 152
 Moroi, Ken 173
 Mozambique 90

- Muraoka, Kunio 27
 Murayama, Tomoiichi 130–3, 152
 Muto, Kabun 118
- Nakasone, Yasuhiro 39, 45–51, 68–9, 117, 188
 Nakayama, Taro 55, 61, 121
 Namibia 41, 77
 NATO 55, 82, 86, 118
 Nehru, Jawaharlal 157
 Nepal 38
 Netherlands 162
 New International Economic Order 63
 New Paltz University 26
New York Times 26
 New Zealand 175
 NGOs 114, 132, 137, 166, 179, 181
 Nigeria 37–8
 Nihonjinron 190
Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Nikkei Shimbun) 90, 126
 Nishibori, Masahiro 30, 35
 Non-aligned movement 33, 115, 145–7, 149, 152, 183–5
 Non-nuclear status of Japan 28–30, 108–9, 111, 165, 187
 Norway 72, 162
 NPT 29, 34, 109–10
- Obuchi, Keizo 72, 134–6, 144, 149, 167, 172, 183
 OAU 86, 150, 171, 183
 ODA (*see also* development) 1, 4, 8, 39, 41, 54, 58–60, 62, 64, 68, 101–3, 112, 123, 136, 142, 145–50, 154, 184, 189–92, 196
 ODA Charter 59
 OECD 25, 45, 58, 120, 145
 Ogata, Sadako 37, 61, 178
 Ogura, Kazuo 149
 Ohira, Masayoshi 20–3, 44, 50
 Okawa, Yoshio 29, 36
 Okazaki, Hisahiko 93, 97, 179
 Okazaki, Katsuo 13, 17, 126
 Okinawa reversion 25, 28, 34, 36
 O'Neill, Barry 174
- ONUMOZ 90
 OSCE 74
 Owada, Hisashi 24, 35, 61, 73, 78–9, 86, 97, 117, 120, 123–5, 130, 137, 145–6, 149, 166, 170–2, 176, 183–5
 Ozawa, Ichiro 61, 134–5
- Qatar 162, 184
 Quellet, André 79
- P5 4–6, 15, 25–6, 28, 31, 33, 42, 66–7, 70, 76–7, 88, 96, 99–100, 115–16, 118, 138, 140–3, 150–1, 156, 158–60, 163, 168–9, 173–4, 176–7, 179–81, 186–7
 Pakistan 55, 65, 103, 115–16, 150, 153, 182, 184–5
 Palestine 57, 72–3, 194
 Palme, Olof 167
 Panama 162
 Paul, James 166
 Peace Constitution 3, 12–13, 16, 28, 30–1, 61, 80, 89, 91, 108, 122, 125–6, 131, 133–5, 187
 Article 9 12, 14, 31, 84, 109, 131, 176
 compatibility with UN Charter 12–16, 77–8
 Preamble 13
 Peace Treaty 1951 11–14
 Peru 162
 Philippines 150, 152, 160
 Pickering, Thomas 171
 PKO 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 29–31, 36–7, 40–1, 52–4, 57, 60, 66, 74–94, 108–11, 114, 117, 132, 135, 150, 164, 176, 179, 191
 budgetary contribution 74, 76–8, 94, 102, 117
 Cambodia deployment 55, 70–2
 General Guidelines for PKO 92, 195
 International Peace Cooperation Headquarters 87

PKO – (continued)

- International Peace Cooperation Law 54–5, 61, 65, 74–5, 78, 81, 88–93, 110, 121–2, 124, 139, 153, 189, 193–4
- link with Security Council bid 74–94, 121–2, 134, 142, 189–90, 192
- Military Staff Committee 75–7
- multinational forces 86
- Peace Keeping Reserve Fund 86
- public opinion on PKO 82–5, 91, 109
- Rapid Reaction Force 86
- revisionism 85–8, 192, 194
- Somalia deployment 76–7
- Special Committee on PKO 76, 85–86
- UN Department of Peace-Keeping 93
- Portugal 158
- Preparatory Committee for the 25th UN Anniversary 28
- Prestige 3, 9, 11, 16, 19, 52, 57, 95–9, 122, 164, 187
- Preventive diplomacy 143
- Primakov, Jevgeni 143
- Ralph Bunche Institute 56
- Ranariddh 65, 71
- Razali, Ismail 80, 134, 151, 176, 181–5
- Reagan, Ronald 45, 49
- Republic of China (Taiwan) 17–18, 28, 113
- Richardson, Bill 172, 175, 183
- Rivlin, Benjamin 56
- Rogers, William P. 43
- Romania 160, 162
- Roth, William 79, 140
- Royama, Michio 13
- Russia 5, 63, 100, 102, 114, 141–4, 173, 185, 194–5
 - PKO contribution 76–7
- Rwanda 85, 92
- SADC 149
- Saito, Kazuo 66, 151

- Saito, Kunihiko 77, 191
- Saito, Shizuo 17, 33, 108, 116, 178
- Sakigake 84, 125, 127, 130, 132–4
- Sakurauchi, Yoshio 40
- Sato, Eisaku 31, 34
 - Sato–Nixon summit 1969 17
- Scalapino, Robert 43
- Schaefer, Michael 75
- Scheel, Walter 119
- Schmidt, Helmut 98
- Schuler, Thomas 182
- Security Council
 - Agreement of the Three Parties 130
 - expansion of activities 113–14
 - fact-finding functions 32, 36, 40, 55
 - Japan as a non-permanent member 2, 5, 9, 17, 20, 23, 29, 35, 39, 49, 55, 60, 62, 67–74, 86, 94, 104, 110, 116, 133–4, 137, 146, 149, 170, 179–80, 191
 - non-permanent members 5, 19, 27, 38, 39, 66, 151–2, 158, 161, 181, 187
 - Provisional Rules of Procedure 181
 - public opinion in Japan 33, 96, 103, 105–6
 - ‘quasi’-permanent membership 46–50, 187
 - reform 1965 21–3, 156, 158, 160–1, 163
 - regional (equitable) representation 26, 28–9, 144, 163–4, 170, 173, 193
 - Resolution 47/62 1, 115, 118, 121, 125–6, 130, 141, 161–97, 190
 - review clause 182–3, 185, 195
 - rotational seats 171–3, 175, 185
 - size 32, 144, 168–73
 - Study Group on Japan’s contribution to the UN 103, 135

- Security Council – (*continued*)
 Study Group on Permanent Security Council Membership 130–1, 135
 trusteeship 38, 46
 veto issues 4–6, 15, 19, 31–2, 48, 113, 138, 143, 151–3, 156–7, 172–9, 182–3, 185, 193, 195
 views of the Government (*see also* Resolution 47/62) 118, 125–6, 141, 169, 175
 voting method 26
 Working Group on Security Council reform 3, 9, 97, 128, 130, 137, 140–2, 161–197
 working practices (transparency) 6, 128, 144, 163, 179–81, 186
 Security Treaty 1951 12–16
 Article IV 14
 Security Treaty 1960 14, 18
 Article VII 14
 Sejima, Ryuzo 48
 Self Defence Forces (SDF) 31, 41, 60, 70, 74, 81, 83, 89–92, 109–10
 SDF Law 30, 41, 89
 Senegal 147–8, 175
 Seychelles 147
 Shidehara, Kijuro 12–13
 Shigemitsu, Akira 29, 35
 Shigemitsu, Mamoru 13, 17
 Shihanouk 72
 Shiina, Etsusaburo 23, 31, 41
 Shindo, Yoshitaka 103
 Shinshinto 61, 98, 134
 Shinyo, Takahiro 7, 17, 61, 77, 88, 107, 109, 116–17, 125–6, 128, 173, 175, 185
 Sigur, Gaston 50
 Simons, Geoff 102
 Singapore 46, 145, 152
 Somalia 76–7, 81, 85, 92, 114, 139
 Sonoda, Sunao 39–40
 Sotooka, Hidetoshi 176
 South Africa 33, 68, 146–50, 158
 Apartheid 33, 49, 68, 147
 South Korea 48, 50
 Soviet Union 4–5, 15, 23, 27, 32–3, 36, 40, 43, 46, 48, 53, 76, 113, 156–8
 Northern Territories 36, 60, 142–3
 transfer of UN seat to Russia 116–17, 141
 Spain 72, 158
 Spiegel 82
 Spruyt, Hendrik 195
 Sri Lanka 38, 150
 St Vincent and Grenadines 162
 Struggle for Peace 27
 Sugiyama, Shinsuke 62, 84
 Suharto 48, 152
 Suzuki, Yoshikatsu 117
 Suzuki, Zenko 48, 69
 Sweden 72, 181
 Switzerland 13, 24
 Syria 38, 184
 Tadokoro, Masayuki 104, 195
 Takano, Hajime 108
 Takasu, Yukio 120
 Takemura, Masayoshi 125, 130
 Takeshita, Noboru 41, 54
 Tamazawa, Tokuichiro 79
 Tamba, Minoru 61, 117
 Tanaka, Akihiko 84, 89
 Tanaka, Nobuaki 42
 Tanaka, Kakuei
 Tanaka–Nixon summit 1973 44
 Tanaka, Shusei 103, 105–6, 108, 125, 127, 130–2, 135
 Tanzania 145, 147–8
 Thailand 71, 150, 152
 Thatcher, Margaret 69
 Third World 11, 17–19, 21, 31–2, 39, 44, 49, 60, 68, 103, 135, 145–54, 156, 169–71, 176–8, 185–6, 190–1
 TICAD 147–9
 Tsuruoka, Senjin 24–5, 28–9, 35, 43
 Turkey 184

- Ueki, Yasuhiro 70, 178
 Uganda 37
 UK (Britain) 4–5, 22, 33, 36, 46,
 48, 59, 63–4, 69, 76, 100,
 102, 110, 116–18, 139,
 141–2, 144, 156, 158–9, 177,
 179–80, 182, 194
 UN admission (Japan's) 10–16,
 33, 50, 126
 UN budget 1, 4, 6, 25, 27, 36,
 39, 43, 45–6, 94, 99–104,
 123, 163–8, 189–90, 196
 Japanese cuts 101–2
 UN centrism (Kokuren chushin
 shugi) 16–17, 30, 45, 49,
 61–2
 UN Charter 4–6, 12–14, 17,
 31–6, 75–7, 99, 116, 121,
 128, 138, 162, 188
 Ad Hoc Group 1974 (later
 Special Group) 37–8, 40,
 160
 Article 23 50, 116, 157, 163,
 169, 195
 Article 43 12, 75
 Article 51 12, 14
 Article 108 116, 132, 156, 184
 Chapter VI 4–5, 87, 94, 194
 Chapter VII 4–5, 31, 75, 78–9,
 81, 85, 94, 114, 132, 194
 Charter revisionism 16,
 18–21, 34–6, 51
 UNCTAD 63, 148–9
 UNDOF (Golan Heights) 83, 90,
 93
 UNDP 101, 148
 UNEP 101
 UNFPA 101
 UN Good Office Mission 55
 UNESCO 46
 UNHCR 101
 UNICEF 101
 UNIDO 42
 UNIKOM 76
 UNMOT 87
 UNPROFOR 73–4
 UN Secretariat 30, 55, 78, 88
 UN Secretary-General 5, 36, 40,
 79–80, 92, 115, 125–6, 159,
 162, 168, 180, 182–3
 Report 1972 36–7, 160
 UN staff (German) 42
 UN staff (Japanese) 39, 41–2, 64,
 95
 UNTAC 71, 77, 81, 86, 90, 92,
 96, 139, 194
 UNTAG 77
 UNTSO 41, 77
 US 5, 16, 33–4, 37, 39–46,
 56–8, 68–9, 74, 76–77, 83,
 108, 110, 113, 146, 158–9,
 171–2, 179, 181, 185–6, 190,
 195–196
 alliance with Japan 10, 12, 16,
 18, 48, 53, 56–7, 60–2, 84,
 108, 110, 151, 164
 burden-sharing demands 2,
 39, 47, 56–7, 62, 64, 108,
 192
 Common Agenda 57, 138
 Japan's vote coincidence 45
 Nixon doctrine 57
 support conditional on
 Japanese PKO participation
 79, 140
 support of Japan's bid 2, 11,
 35, 42–6, 56, 79, 111, 123,
 137–41, 162, 168, 173,
 188, 191, 193
 UN Association of the US 129,
 139
 UN budgetary arrears 94, 100,
 102, 167–8, 173, 197
 UN budgetary reduction 140,
 167, 173
 veto 5–6, 15, 19, 31, 32, 114,
 138–9, 141, 156, 175,
 177–8
 Uzbekistan 162
 Vietnam War 28, 57, 107
 Watanabe, Michio 55, 102,
 118–19, 123

- WFP 101
WHO 60
Wisemen's Group 46, 49, 58
World Bank 59
WTO 58
- Yamamoto, Ichita 103
Yanai, Shunji 87, 107
Yasutomo, Dennis 8
Yeltsin, Boris 116, 143
Yomiuri Shimbun 96, 108, 126, 172
- Yoshida, Shigeru 12, 14–15, 77
Yoshida, Yasuhiko 7, 84, 98,
104–5, 179
Yugoslavia (*see also* Bosnia-
Herzegovina) 73–4, 85, 92,
118, 194
- Zaire 90, 92
Zambia 147
Zimbabwe 147–8