

# International Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Studies



ISSN Print: 2664-8652  
ISSN Online: 2664-8660  
Impact Factor: RJIF 8.31  
IJAHSS 2025; 7(2): 215-223  
[www.socialstudiesjournal.com](http://www.socialstudiesjournal.com)  
Received: 17-07-2025  
Accepted: 19-08-2025

**Dr. Sushma**  
Jawaharlal Nehru University,  
New Delhi, India

## The evolutionary road of Japanese peacebuilding efforts: Challenges and prospects

**Sushma**

**DOI:** <https://www.doi.org/10.33545/26648652.2025.v7.i2c.304>

### Abstract

This article examines the capacity of Japan's peacebuilding activities within United Nations peacekeeping, counter-terrorism, and disaster relief. Japan has made advancements in its peacebuilding activities for United Nations (UN) missions, but there is still room for improvement. There have been changes in Japan's approach to peacekeeping and peacebuilding under the UN flag due to evolving international political conditions and increased demands for conflict resolution. The Shinzo Abe administration implemented a more proactive security policy focusing on contributing to peace. This shift led to changes in Japan's security policy, including an expanded role for the Japanese Self-Defence Force (SDF) in peacebuilding efforts internationally. This article evaluates Japan's involvement in various initiatives and examines the challenges and opportunities it faces in supporting peacebuilding endeavors.

**Keywords:** Japan, united nations, peacebuilding, self-defence force, peacekeeping operations, international peace and security

### 1. Introduction

In the period following the end of the Cold War and later after 9/11, global security has been under strain due to a range of conflicts between and within states, as well as low-intensity disputes. Following that, organizations like the UN have been advocating for foreign military forces to be deployed in fragile or failed states impacted by internal conflicts, terrorist incidents, or natural disasters. This demonstrates a conscious endeavor by the international community, often spearheaded by Western democracies and developed nations, to aid peace operations in these susceptible and debilitated states. These peace operations, often referred to as peacebuilding endeavors, seek to establish stability, safety, and support for the reconstruction of institutions and infrastructure. For example- these nations have introduced the concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in security, while terms like 'human security' and 'humanitarian intervention' have gained recognition and are commonly used in peacebuilding as well as in peacekeeping missions. The shift in language and approach reflects a growing awareness of the importance of protecting civilians and addressing the root causes of conflict. Several peacebuilding missions have faced challenges, such as strain on globally deployed forces, leading to limited military capacity for new missions. Japan has been urged to enhance the capabilities of its SDF for international peacebuilding operations due to its advanced technology and expertise.

In recent times, there has been a greater focus on the involvement of non-Western countries in peace operations including peacebuilding, and Japan's participation in peacebuilding has started to receive more attention. Within Japanese peacebuilding research, there is active discussion about Japan's role in international peace efforts, its approach to peacebuilding activities, and how it compares or contrasts with Western perspectives (Tatsumi and Kennedy, 2017) <sup>[31]</sup>. The expanding body of literature on Japanese peacebuilding emphasises the importance of addressing basic human needs, socio-economic and infrastructural development, national ownership, state sovereignty, and achieving peace through development. Recently, the official doctrine of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) promotes 'building a resilient state' as their key goal for peacebuilding while seeking stronger engagement with conflict-affected states (Shinoda, 2018) <sup>[29]</sup>. This shift in focus towards non-Western

**Corresponding Author:**  
**Dr. Sushma**  
Jawaharlal Nehru University,  
New Delhi, India

countries, such as Japan, in peace operations highlights the recognition that effective peacebuilding requires diverse perspectives and approaches that incorporate the unique experiences and strengths of different nations. Research has extensively explored the Japanese concepts, standards, and principles of peacebuilding and their intellectual and material underpinnings. However, a notable gap still exists in understanding of the original roots of these concepts and guidelines. Current research on norms in International Relations tends to view them as pre-determined rather than critically examining the broader politico-historical forces that have shaped these norms over time. In essence, norms not only impact development cooperation policies but also reflect an accumulation of historical knowledge and processes. Hideaki Shinoda argues that Japan's approach to peacebuilding has been influenced by its experiences during the civil war and Meiji Restoration in 1868 as well as after the World War II defeat in 1945 with subsequent American occupation (Shinoda, 2018) <sup>[29]</sup>. This perspective aligns with John Ruggie's belief that states often project their domestic experiences outwardly (Ruggie, 1982) <sup>[28]</sup>. Although cautioning against directly applying Japan's postwar experiences to other post-conflict states, Shinoda stressed how Japan successfully reconstructed itself post-war by establishing a peaceful society under transitional authority aided by foreign intervention. This historical context of Japan's own post-conflict reconstruction has played a significant role in shaping its approach to peacebuilding (Shinoda, 2018) <sup>[29]</sup>.

This article examines the effectiveness of Japan's peacebuilding efforts within UN peacekeeping missions, counter-terrorism activities, and disaster relief operations. It also discusses the challenges and opportunities faced by Japan in aligning its peace support activities with the agenda of Western powers, while also highlighting Japan's increasing contributions. This article initially discusses Japan's approach to peacebuilding diplomacy. Furthermore, it also provides a brief study of Japan's peacebuilding assistance to Afghanistan and South Sudan. This article also tackles three key questions: (1) What is the basis of Japan's "proactive contribution to peace" concept? How is it related to Japanese peacebuilding contributions? (2) What is the impact of Peace and Security Legislation on Japan's contribution to global peacebuilding? (3) What are the contemporary obstacles of peacebuilding Japan is facing and how could these obstacles be tackled? This article asserts that the Japanese government and the SDF must confront these challenges in order to enhance their readiness to promptly respond to crisis situations demanding SDF personnel deployments.

### 1.1 Theoretical framework

This article discusses Japan's peacebuilding efforts, which incorporate liberal peacebuilding theory, state-oriented peacebuilding, or state-building, and human security. It emphasises the importance of promoting democracy, good governance, and market economics for sustainable peace. Contemporary strategies for building peace underscore the multifaceted nature of maintaining peace in post-conflict societies by addressing various social, economic, and institutional needs. Peacebuilding operations now involve engaging with a broader array of organizations, including non-governmental organizations, humanitarian groups, and commercial entities. Edward Newman contends that while

peacebuilding is commonly discussed as a "liberal" endeavor focused on addressing the root causes of conflict, it often actually aims to manage or suppress conflict in favor of international stability and specific hegemonic strategic interests, aligning with the "new" security agenda (Newman et al., 2009) <sup>[22]</sup>. Peacebuilding efforts involve significant implications for resolving civil conflicts. The involvement of international organizations in promoting specific political and economic models raises questions about their impact on sustainable peace. Roland Paris has noted that liberalisation processes can create upheaval, potentially undermining stability in post-civil war countries (Newman et al., 2009) <sup>[22]</sup>. Additionally, democratisation efforts have shown mixed results in conflict-affected regions like Afghanistan, Kosovo, Bosnia, Burundi and Iraq due to their connection with sectarianism.

Additionally, Japan's peacebuilding efforts are analysed within the framework of state-oriented peacebuilding or state-building. State-building is carried out through international aid from leading donor nations or global organizations in vulnerable states that receive assistance, aligning with domestic peacebuilding initiatives and contributing to upholding global order. It presents a paradox as independent states seek external intervention for the dual purpose of achieving independence and building/establishing peace. Hideaki Shinoda suggests this situation presents a conflict between upholding worldwide order in the international community, rooted in autonomy of each independent state, and acknowledging vulnerabilities of numerous developing countries needing outside help (Shinoda, 2018) <sup>[29]</sup>. Peacebuilding through state-building encompasses efforts aimed at addressing the challenges stemming from this dilemma within global society. He further contends that finding a simple solution to these challenges is not straightforward. In today's global community, we engage in building and limiting state capacity while promoting liberal peacebuilding, despite disliking this form of practice. What is essential is achieving a nuanced comprehension and execution of these significant dilemmas (Shinoda, 2018) <sup>[29]</sup>. Alina Rocha Menocal's analysis emphasises that peace and state-building involve not only enhancing the technical capacities of state institutions, but also reviving the dynamic political process of re-establishing the social and political agreement between state and society to ensure long-term resilience (Menocal, 2011) <sup>[14]</sup>. This has significant implications for the international community, which have yet to be fully implemented in practice.

Moreover, Japan's peacebuilding efforts are also aligned with human security principles, addressing basic needs, promoting human rights, and fostering inclusive societies. These efforts also focus on socio-political factors, gender equality promotion, and the inclusion of marginalised groups. Edward Newman suggests that a human security approach recognises the complex relationship between peace building and international order, emphasising the importance of making improvements at the grassroots level (Newman, 2011) <sup>[23]</sup>. While it offers critical perspectives on the challenges of peacebuilding and the roles of local and international organizations, it does not explicitly advocate for emancipation or social justice as essential components for progress in conflict-affected societies. Despite criticising existing peacebuilding approaches, a human security approach can still be implemented within this framework by

leveraging international resources to support traumatised or conflict-prone societies (Newman, 2011) <sup>[23]</sup>.

Additionally, this article fills the gap of comprehensive assessment regarding the alignment of Japan's peacebuilding activities with the principles of human security and social justice, which are essential for addressing the root causes of conflicts and promoting inclusive peace processes. Also, while filling the gap, it explores challenges and dilemmas faced by Japan in balancing the promotion of liberal peacebuilding with the autonomy and vulnerabilities of conflict-affected states. Thus, this article on Japan's peacebuilding efforts reflect a comprehensive approach that recognises the importance of international cooperation, addressing root causes of conflict, and promoting sustainable peace.

## 1.2 Methodology

This article has utilised a deductive analytical approach to understand the function, organization, and limitations of Japan's SDF as it increasingly participates in global peacebuilding operations. In order to examine Japan's role in peacebuilding, a comprehensive approach is taken, which includes analysing Japan's participation in international forums such as the United Nations and the UN Peacebuilding Commission, as well as Japan's financial contributions to peacebuilding initiatives. The analysis also takes into account Japan's policy statements and its conceptualisation of peacebuilding as conflict prevention, reconciliation, and post-conflict reconstruction. Furthermore, an examination of Japan's peacebuilding activities in specific regions such as the Middle East, Asia, and Africa provides insights into the country's priorities and strategies in different contexts. The study also utilises primary sources such as speeches and policy briefs from Japanese government officials, as well as academic articles and reports on Japan's peacebuilding efforts. The key factors examined in this paper include laws and revisions related to international peace cooperation, legislation for peace and security, and reinterpretation of constitutional protocols; while the focus is on the Japanese SDF.

## 2. Japan's approach to peacebuilding diplomacy

Japan's approach to peacebuilding focuses on addressing the multifaceted nature of maintaining peace in post-conflict societies and engaging with diverse organizations, including non-governmental organizations, humanitarian groups, and commercial entities. It aligns with evolving liberal ideals by aiming to promote peace within and among states based on principles of democracy and market economics. Japan has developed its own unique approach to peacebuilding since around 2002 (post 9/11), balancing domestic pacifist norms with active involvement in global security affairs. This allows Japan to play a proactive role while respecting principles of pacifism and avoiding tensions due to historical conflicts. Japan's peacebuilding initiatives raise important questions and challenges, including the ongoing debate on the impact of specific political and economic models. The promotion of neo-liberal economic policies and democracy may have both positive and negative effects, while alignment with human security and social justice principles requires further examination. Comprehensive assessment is needed to understand the long-term outcomes and societal resilience resulting from Japan's efforts in peacebuilding.

In addition, Japan's peacebuilding diplomacy presents dilemmas in balancing the promotion of liberal peacebuilding with the autonomy and vulnerabilities of conflict-affected states. This complex interplay underscores the need for nuanced exploration of the challenges faced by Japan in its peacebuilding endeavors. A central principle of Japan's peacebuilding and development strategy is the concept of 'human security' that is discussed in the 2013 National Security Strategy of the nation and in the 2015 Cabinet decision on the Development Cooperation Charter of the nation (MOFA, 2015) <sup>[17]</sup>. It should be noted, however, that the concept of human security, which focuses on freedom from fear, disenfranchisement, and hunger, has already been used as a key principle to make sustainable development and peacekeeping operations, especially in peacebuilding operations (Dewi, 2017) <sup>[37]</sup>. In spite of this, Japan has not explicitly explained what the idea entails, creating confusion in the process (Iwami, 2016) <sup>[10]</sup>. To better understand and enhance Japan's role in international peacebuilding, it is important to clarify the concept of Japan's human security in peacebuilding. This approach focuses on addressing underlying causes of conflict using peaceful means and stresses the root motivations behind such conflicts. Japan places great importance on participating in global peacebuilding efforts and providing assistance to those affected by conflict. Peacebuilding in Japan involves strengthening political, economic, and social frameworks while promoting peace and stability through nation-building efforts (Kobayashi, 2020) <sup>[12]</sup>.

Moreover, Japan has actively participated in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) discussions on global peace and security as a non-permanent member. The Japanese government has been involved in various peace-supporting activities abroad, including participating in UN peacekeeping operations and providing humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation support, and nation-building aid after conflicts. Over the past fifteen years, Japan has deployed contingents to around fifteen peace operations across several countries such as Cambodia, Mozambique, and Nepal along with taking steps to foster peace in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, Somalia, Cambodia, Kosovo, Timor Leste, Palestine, and others.

## 3. Japanese Peacebuilding Support and Assistance to Afghanistan and South Sudan: a brief study

Japan has played a significant role in promoting international peace through the United Nations, building strong ties and engaging in peacekeeping operations, non-proliferation efforts, and disarmament. Moreover, Japan's aid to conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction in developing countries has notably increased. Integration of human security is crucial for post-conflict reconstruction and development to protect and empower individuals (Dewi, 2017) <sup>[37]</sup>. A part of Japan's development cooperation charter points out that peacebuilding is one of its priority issues, which is added to Japan's basic policy as an aspect of Human Security.

By the late 1990s, Japan had become the top provider of official Development assistance (ODA) globally. Following the events of 9/11, major nations ramped up both military and non-military aid to countries like Iraq and Afghanistan. A significant shift took place in 2003 when there was a substantial revision of the Japanese ODA Charter to ensure that peacebuilding became and stayed an essential objective

of ODA, alongside goals such as poverty reduction, sustained growth, and global concerns. Since then, Japan has explicitly pledged support for international peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations through initiatives in nations like Iraq and Afghanistan. In 2005, operational guidelines were issued under the ODA Mid-Term Policy which defines peacebuilding as a process “to prevent conflicts from occurring or recurring,” placing emphasis on “human security”. A strong argument in favor of this is the notion that Japan’s contribution to peace building through ODA maintains both Japan’s security and prosperity. Increasing mutual interdependence means that conflicts far from Japan may pose a threat to the security and well-being of Japan in the future (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>. As stated in the basic policy of Japan’s Development Cooperation Charter on the perspective of human security, Japan’s peacebuilding is a priority issue (MOFA, 2015) <sup>[17]</sup>. In addition to helping to prevent conflict, the program promotes humanitarian assistance in support of and as an aid to end conflicts as well as consolidated peace and nation-building in the aftermath of conflicts (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>.

### 3.1 Afghanistan

Since the fall of the Taliban regime in December 2001, a coalition of international stakeholders and diverse Afghan political groups has come together to endorse the Bonn Agreement, aiming to support Afghanistan’s reconstruction efforts (JICA, 2005) <sup>[11]</sup>. This led to continued global assistance for multiple initiatives by the Afghan government, such as establishing temporary governance structures, crafting a constitution, and conducting democratic elections, all geared towards achieving the goals outlined in the Bonn Agreement.

Japan’s involvement in Afghanistan began after the US intervention in 2001. Essentially, Japan assumed an economic role as a US ally and had pragmatic reasons to support the United States due to the influence of the 9/11 terrorist attacks where 24 Japanese citizens lost their lives out of a total of 2,977 victims (Nagao, 2022) <sup>[20]</sup>. This tragic event played a significant part in Japan’s decision to support its ally. Since then, Japan has been actively involved in supporting the international community’s aid initiatives for Afghanistan. Japan’s involvement in peacebuilding in Afghanistan has been a significant aspect of its broader peacebuilding diplomacy. The Japanese government assigned Ms. Sadako Ogata, formerly the co-chair of the Commission on Human Security, as the Special Representative of the Prime Minister of Japan overseeing reconstruction aid to Afghanistan (JICA, 2005) <sup>[11]</sup>. The concept of human security was incorporated into talks at the Tokyo Conference of January 2002, on Reconstruction Assistance and in shaping Japan’s support for Afghanistan. With this perspective in mind, to facilitate a seamless shift from emergency humanitarian aid to reconstruction and development assistance, the Japanese government initiated a comprehensive regional development project known as “Ogata Initiative” through collaboration with UN agencies (JICA, 2005) <sup>[11]</sup>. In 2008, JICA took on the exclusive role of implementing Japanese ODA under the guidance of Ms. Ogata. Since then, she helped in expanding the idea of peacebuilding to encompass different types of humanitarian aid for developing nations, labeling it as human security (Daimon-Sato, 2021) <sup>[5]</sup>. Additionally, since then,

peacebuilding has also been focused on implementing political and security measures to tackle conflicts.

JICA has provided assistance to Afghanistan in three main areas: “comprehensive regional development with a focus on agriculture and rural advancement”, “fundamental human necessities such as education and healthcare”, and “the improvement of infrastructure, including transportation networks” (JICA, 2005) <sup>[11]</sup>. Furthermore, the Japanese government has earmarked resources for promoting democratic processes and governance (such as election aid), enhancing security measures (including disarmament, demobilisation, reintegration, dissolution of illegal armed groups, police force support, border management) as well as contributing to reconstruction endeavors. As a major donor to the reconstruction and development efforts in Afghanistan, Japan has played a crucial role in supporting the country’s stability and sustainable peace. Japan has contributed 759 billion yen (approximately USD6.9 billion) to global reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan, offering support in three key areas: security, economic assistance, and value-related initiatives (Nagao, 2022) <sup>[20]</sup>. These initiatives include supporting the Afghan National Police and Afghan National Army, promoting infrastructure development, agriculture, education, and health care, as well as fostering cultural exchanges and people-to-people connections.

In 2012, the highest amount of assistance provided totaled \$873.6 million, with the majority of \$790 million consisting of grant aid (Nippon, 2021) <sup>[24]</sup>. Approximately 80% (\$646 million) was contributed through international organizations, and Japan also allocated \$83.6 million for special technical cooperation initiatives. Notably, no government loans were extended for the last two decades. This raises inquiries about the utilisation of Japan’s aid in Afghanistan. The ODA Mieruka website by Japan International Cooperation Agency displays 61 projects aimed at enhancing transparency regarding ODA usage (Nippon, 2021) <sup>[24]</sup>. Grant aid has supported a wide range of ventures, including constructing schools and hospitals and developing social infrastructure such as airports, highways, and irrigation systems. Support also extended to peacebuilding and security measures like police vehicle maintenance and the provision of police radios; while technical cooperation spanned areas such as education through teacher training programs, literacy enhancement initiatives, urban health system improvement for tuberculosis concerns, transportation advancement, and rural development efforts.

NGOs originating from Japan have also been instrumental in efforts to rebuild the administrative capabilities of Afghanistan. These include the Association for Aid and Relief, Japan, which has been involved in educating about mine risks and clearing mines, as well as Peace Japan Medical Services or Peshawaru-kai, which has participated in activities such as distributing food, carrying out irrigation projects, providing medical care, among others (Austin, 2023) <sup>[2]</sup>. The leader of PMS, Dr Tetsu Nakamura, tragically lost his life along with five others in Jalalabad in December 2019 and was posthumously honored with the Order of the Rising Sun (Nagao, 2022) <sup>[20]</sup>. Another Japanese citizen working in aid relief, Kazuya Ito, was killed after being abducted over a decade earlier in August 2008 (Austin, 2023) <sup>[2]</sup>.



Japan has invested approximately \$6.9 billion in reconstruction endeavors in Afghanistan (Nagao, 2022) <sup>[20]</sup>. However, there is growing concern about the future of those who supported Japan's initiatives, particularly now that the Taliban has regained control of Afghanistan since August 2021. Due to the delicate nature of this situation, Japan has refrained from officially criticising the Taliban's assumption of power. Following the return of the Taliban, Japan closed its embassy and relocated it to Qatar. Around 500 Afghans who had collaborated with Japanese projects sought to leave Afghanistan (Nagao, 2022) <sup>[20]</sup>. However, it took eight days after Kabul fell on August 23 for Japan to decide to send a transport plane. They managed to evacuate only 15 individuals by August 31 before concluding their evacuation mission and opting for third-party planes instead. Subsequently, Japan has been negotiating with representatives of the Taliban based in Qatar for additional evacuations.

Furthermore, on December 20<sup>th</sup>, 2021, the Japanese government formally announced its intention to offer approximately \$109 million in aid to assist Afghanistan, and its neighboring countries. The Japanese government plans to allocate the funds for healthcare, food and nutrition, protection, water supply and sanitation, as well as improving living conditions in Afghanistan. Despite not acknowledging the Taliban government, Japan has partially reopened its embassy in Kabul and aims to increase assistance (Austin, 2023) <sup>[2]</sup>.

### 3.2 South Sudan

Japan has played a key role in peacebuilding efforts in South Sudan by contributing through the UNPKO and ODA projects. Various organizations, including Japanese SDF and JICA, have worked together on implementing projects to address the significant peacebuilding needs of South Sudan. Japan's peacebuilding support in South Sudan was initiated in 2011, as part of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS). This effort followed South Sudan's independence from Sudan, which occurred after a referendum aimed at laying the groundwork for the nation's progress. Initially, Japan sent Two SDF staff officers to Juba in November, 2011, followed by an engineering unit of 300 Ground SDF personnel. Over a period of six years, Japan contributed over 4000 Ground SDF troops to UNMISS in Juba, until they were eventually withdrawn by the Japanese government in 2017 (Kolmas, 2019) <sup>[13]</sup>. The majority of these troop members served as engineers and logistics personnel with specific limitations on their mandate and rules of engagement. Japan's decision to deploy them aligned with its enduring dedication to advancing human security and peacebuilding efforts.

Recognising the political and economic significance of supporting peace efforts in South Sudan, Japan joined UNMISS to demonstrate the SDF's high morale and capacity, ultimately enhancing Japan's reliability (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>. Moreover, with South Sudan's abundant natural resources, including oil, diamonds, iron, and other minerals, there was an economic interest for Japan in contributing to the country's peace and state-building (MOD, 2014) <sup>[15]</sup>. The main goal of SDF engineering unit was to build infrastructures such as roads and water facilities in Juba and its surrounding areas. Alongside the UN, local governmental agencies, and Maritime and Air SDF, other soldiers worked on facilitating transportation and supplying provisions for

different units. The mission's scale and prolonged duration were unique, especially in a region of Africa that had previously received limited focus. This deployment reflected Japan's international contributions and marked a new initiative on the global stage.

In January 2012, a Coordination Centre was set up to help identify projects for joint efforts between UNMISS and Japan (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>. The creation of the Coordination Centre backed the "All Japan" approach, which entails strategically aligning SDF with ODA projects and JICA/non-governmental organizations activities (Uesugi, 2014) <sup>[34]</sup>. For instance, following consultations with UNMISS, under which the JSDF engineering unit operates, the unit demolished a rundown building in a purification plant while JICA improved the plant's capabilities. This approach sought to strengthen the link between short-term peacekeeping measures and long-term development assistance, resulting in improved civil-military cooperation and heightened recognition of Japan's involvement in the field (Uesugi, 2014) <sup>[34]</sup>. However, joint projects are currently limited and more collaboration is needed to bolster Japan's contributions.

After the adoption of Resolution 2155 by the UNSC in May 2014, the main focus of UNMISS changed to emphasise the protection of civilians during the process of nation building (UNSC, 2014). Consequently, the engineering unit has been directed towards activities aimed at guaranteeing civilian security. Moreover, Former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's security reforms from 2013 had a significant impact on Japan's international peace cooperation policy. These reforms led to the establishment of new security institutions and practices, with the aim of further enhancing the role of the SDF in Peacekeeping operations.

The 2015 peace and security legislation brought amendments to the 1992 PKO Act for the third time. These amendments relaxed the conditions for using weapons and broadened the range of possible activities for the SDF. Previously, SDF personnel participating in UN peacekeeping operations were not allowed to rescue peacekeepers or civilian staff from other countries or NGOs in areas where the SDF was not deployed. However, with the new legislation, geographical restrictions were eased, allowing Kaketsuke-keigo <sup>[1]</sup> to be conducted by the SDF. This change transformed the role of SDA from being solely defensive to a more proactive one, prompting government enthusiasm to implement a new mandate that would effectively reequip military forces. As a result, South Sudan mission served as a tangible example of increased involvement by The Self-Defence Forces and set a precedent for future participation in peacekeeping operations. Later in September 2016, a total of 350 troops were deployed in South Sudan under the new legislation, with an expanded Kaketsuke-keigo mandate (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>. However, this unit of soldiers did not receive proper training for the ongoing mission.

As the conflict situation in South Sudan escalated into a civil war, Japanese government got concerned that the SDF personnel might get caught into it while performing the newly mandate. Moreover, back at home, Japanese public was already protesting against the newly enacted peace and security legislation. The Japanese Ministry of Defence and

<sup>1</sup> Coming to the aid of a geographically distant unit or personnel under attack.

Defence Minister Tomomi Inada were accused of concealing important information about the true conditions in South Sudan, which could indicate that the deployment of the SDF personnel was breaching the PKO Law (Kolmas, 2019) <sup>[13]</sup>. There were repeated calls for Inada's resignation and even for Shinzo Abe to step down, as well as demands to withdraw the SDF from South Sudan, amidst widespread protests and criticisms (Kolmas, 2019) <sup>[13]</sup>. Consequently, on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the Japanese government ultimately decided to end the operations of the SDF engineering units in UNMISS.

Furthermore, when the large-scale conflicts erupted in South Sudan in 2013 and 2016, it prompted the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to initiate peace mediation in the country. This resulted in the formation of a peace agreement called the "Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan"(R-ARCSS) in 2018 (MOFA, 2021) <sup>[19]</sup>. Current efforts focus on implementing this Agreement, including preparing facilities for re-educating and retraining opposition forces' soldiers. Japan has been supporting these initiatives through IGAD since 2017. In January 2020, Japan provided tents, blankets, and other assistance under its PKO Act to help establish temporary shelters through IGAD as well as dispatching four staff officers to UNMISS (MOFA, 2021) <sup>[19]</sup>. Acknowledging that peace is crucial for development, Japan continues its commitment to supporting peacebuilding endeavors in South Sudan.

At the latest, in March 2024, the IGAD and the Japanese government officially agreed to provide a 500,000 USD grant to aid ongoing peacebuilding and conflict resolution efforts in the Republic of Sudan (Lisa, 2024) <sup>[4]</sup>. This financial assistance is expected to play a crucial role in maintaining stability within the region. Kentaro Mizuuchi, the current representative of Japan in Sudan, has conveyed Japan's significant apprehension regarding the ramifications of the political strife that has transformed into armed conflict in Sudan (Lisa, 2024) <sup>[4]</sup>. He stressed that this crisis has resulted in internal displacement and refugees seeking safety in neighboring nations, leading to a deteriorating humanitarian predicament. Additionally, Mr. Mizuuchi pointed out that Japan is urging all involved parties to diligently work towards achieving a meaningful ceasefire and putting an end to the suffering of innocent civilians. Japan strongly supports local, regional, and international peace-building efforts, including those led by IGAD (Lisa, 2024) <sup>[4]</sup>. This reflects Japan's confidence in IGAD's commitment to addressing African issues within the continent itself.

#### **4. The Evolutionary road of Japanese Peacebuilding: Proactive contribution to peace**

Japan has increasingly contributed to global peace and security over the past two decades, providing financial support and in-kind contributions. This shift occurred after the Gulf War, although these contributions were not officially labeled as such. Japan has supported anti-piracy activities in the Gulf of Aden, helped reconstruction efforts in Iraq, refuelled coalition ships engaged in operations in Afghanistan, provided humanitarian and disaster relief, and participated in UN-sanctioned peacekeeping operations (Ogawa, 2011) <sup>[25]</sup>. In reality, these scenarios were the exceptions, rather than the rule, and when it came to enabling these kinds of missions, the legislative process often took an excruciating amount of time as Diet

deliberations focused more on minute details than on national interests and broad policy objectives (The Diplomat, 2015) <sup>[32]</sup>.

Despite the fact that Japan is constitutionally prohibited from using force by the Japanese SDF, it engages in peacebuilding efforts with international partners. The Japanese government, rather than refrain from contributing due to this unique limitation, is forging a new path to peace by expanding its work in peacebuilding, a wide range of strategies and activities that aim to achieve lasting peace without necessarily resorting to military force. A revision of the Development Cooperation Charter was carried out in February 2015 by the Japanese government in order to emphasise the importance of economic development as a tool of peacebuilding and to strengthen synergies between peace promotion and developmental assistance (Nasu, 2016) <sup>[21]</sup>. Japan's engagement with the United Nations is considered as one of the key elements of the country's postwar foreign policy. As of late, the Japanese government has begun actively participating in various peacekeeping operations, such as post-conflict reconstruction and related works. It is one of the fastest growing sectors for Japanese diplomacy (Shinoda, 2018) <sup>[29]</sup>. A key part of the former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's speech emphasised that Japan's ongoing engagement with the United Nations, especially as it relates to peacekeeping, is one of the highest priorities of Japan's foreign policy (Iwami, 2016) <sup>[10]</sup>.

On the occasion of Japan's participation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Leaders' Summit on Peacekeeping in September 2015, former Prime Minister Abe reiterated Japan's commitment to expanding its peacekeeping commitments, highlighting the successful passage of the Peace and Security legislation, the diversification of Japan's international partnerships, and the enhancement of training programs to transfer the expertise of the country's peacekeepers (Cabinet Secretariat, 2015). As a result of his emphasis on the need to develop peacekeeping in order to improve and meet new challenges, Abe drew a direct line between the development of peacekeeping and Japan's own efforts to contribute meaningfully. In his speech to the Japanese House of Representatives, Abe set forth Japan's vision of being a proactive force in international affairs. Essentially, the conclusion is that Japan hasn't done much to date; therefore, the emphasis is on the need to play an even more proactive role going forward (The Diplomat, 2015) <sup>[32]</sup>. The Japanese SDF is now able to expand its activities that were previously confined to logistical support in a qualitative manner. With greater flexibility being allowed to the SDF in emergencies, as well as an increased collaboration between peacekeeping and humanitarian aid, Japan is now likely to continue to expand its ability to work with partners, including the United States, as well as with the UN to strengthen the peace process (Kobayashi, 2020) <sup>[12]</sup>. During his term as Prime Minister, Abe's objective regarding 'Proactive Contribution to Peace', was to change this situation and make Japan less of a security consumer and more of a security provider (Hornung, 2021) <sup>[8]</sup>.

Normally, when Japan talks about proactive contribution to peace, it focuses on the expansion of the JSDF's involvement in the peacekeeping operations or other overseas operations. However, former Foreign Minister Taro Aso made it clear that it is the civilians that the Japanese government wishes to increase the number of (Hoshina, 2017) <sup>[9]</sup>. Accordingly, the Japanese government created the human resources development program for human resources development and peacebuilding as a result of this statement. As Shinzo Abe stated in 2013 at the UN

General Assembly that Japan must continually develop the skills of our human resources so that they will be able to meet the challenges posed by the UN (Hornung, 2021) <sup>[8]</sup>. During his speech at the UN, he endorsed publicly the human resource development program. On a similar note, he also mentioned that the role of human resource development in peacebuilding is one of the special activities related to the proactive contribution in making peace (Iwami, 2016) <sup>[10]</sup>.

According to the Peace and Security Legislation of 2016, which revises the Act on International Peace Cooperation Act, the deployment of SDF personnel's is also permitted for peace operations made outside the UN's framework (Tatsumi, 2017) <sup>[31]</sup>. Thus, it has now become evident that the role of UN peacekeeping missions can now expand well beyond the traditional duties of peacekeeping and cover a broader range of political, economic and humanitarian activities (Uesugi, 2018) <sup>[35]</sup>. Although this indicates that UN peacekeeping missions are better equipped to deal with the challenges presented by post-conflict contexts, it also raises questions regarding the ability of peacekeeping missions to handle peacebuilding assignments (Fujishige, 2017) <sup>[6]</sup>. Also, in spite of the fact that it does not appear to be clear in what kind of frameworks the peace operations will be conducted, the possibility that Japan can play a leading role in another framework than the UN is worth exploring (Uesugi, 2018) <sup>[35]</sup>.

Peacebuilding is a conflict resolution approach that is separate from and complements development and humanitarian assistance, both of which Japan has made significant contributions in (UN, 2006). Non-violent conflict resolution focuses on understanding and resolving the long-term and underlying causes, drivers, and determinants of conflicts through the use of non-violent means. As indicated in the survey report 2020 by Conciliation Resources, a majority of respondents (77 percent) agreed that peacebuilding plays a major role in ending conflicts around the world (SPF, 2020). A majority of respondents (63 percent) stated that they supported the use of traditional peacebuilding methods, such as facilitating dialogue between the parties. On the other hand, only 43 percent of respondents believed that Japan should contribute to peace through military power. As a result, key stakeholders such as the Japanese government, as well as all the stakeholders generally, agreed that in pursuit of peace, there was a need for them to engage actively with armed groups (SPF, 2020). In the long-running debate on whether to revise Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which renounces war as a means of settling the state's international disputes, the results of this survey have some notable implications for the long-standing debate in Japan. According to the survey, there is substantial public support for non-military options, peacebuilding policies and Programs; there are opportunities for better public education and information about what this work entails and what it can achieve. The survey findings reflect the pattern of public support for peacebuilding that has been also observed in other countries such as United Kingdom, United States, and Germany (SPF, 2020).

## 5. Challenges, Prospects and Limitations for Japanese Peacebuilding

While peacebuilding is a long and complex process, it is nevertheless important to have an idea of how it has affected the region so far, what challenges it faces, and the prospects for success for the future (Hoshina, 2017) <sup>[9]</sup>. The Japanese assistance to UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations has been very beneficial to African countries, as it has created opportunities for conflict resolution as well as

the availability of humanitarian assistance. The UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) for instance assisted the two major parties to meet the conditions in order to implement the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), including preserving the peace and guaranteeing rights outlined in the agreements as well as promoting socioeconomic development, in 2005 (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>. The current state of peace and security within Sudan remains tenuous as a result of the complexity of the conflict, and because international assistance is also targeted at Darfur. Similarly, Sierra Leone, Burundi, the Ivory Coast and the Central African Republic have all been experiencing hard times recently. Compared to the situation in Liberia, post-conflict reconstruction, political governance, and the repatriation and re-integration of refugees has been progressing at a steady pace. The achievement of sustainable peace in Africa seems to be facing considerable difficulties, despite the huge sums of money that have been invested in peacebuilding in Africa. Despite the positive impact of aid on recipient's countries, conflict is still raging, as seen in Cote d'Ivoire in the aftermath of their November 2010 elections (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>.

Despite the comprehensive nature of Japan's peacebuilding efforts, there are challenges and limitations that need to be addressed in the contemporary era. Japan's primary constraint is its reputation for being seen as non-threatening. Japanese peacebuilders are limited to participating only in non-aggressive permissive environments, a principle that also governs the activities of Japanese SDF personnel due to the pacifist doctrine enshrined in the Japanese Constitution. This commitment to avoiding coercive actions has reassured aid-recipient governments of Japan's benevolent intentions, but it has significantly constrained the range of operations permitted for Japanese peacebuilders. As a result, Japan focuses on non-military peacebuilding strategies, utilising diplomatic and humanitarian missions to contribute to international affairs (Hook & Son, 2013) <sup>[17]</sup>.

The second constraint is connected to the idea that Japanese assistance depends on requests made by the aid-receiving government. This allows the aid-recipient government to have decision-making authority over which projects are undertaken and their locations, thus hindering Japanese entities from engaging with parties who are in direct opposition to the aid-recipient government's decisions and policies (Ashizawa, 2014) <sup>[1]</sup>. Additionally, this approach limited Japan's ability to influence project selection and implementation based on its own priorities or interests. Japan's approach to peacebuilding reflects its commitment to respecting the sovereignty and authority of the aid-recipient government. However, this approach has also been criticised for limiting Japan's ability to engage with all relevant parties in conflict areas. Some argue that by strictly adhering to the requests of the aid-recipient government, Japan may miss opportunities to address root causes of conflict and engage with marginalised or opposition groups (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>. Despite these criticisms, Japan's dedication to upholding the decisions of the aid-recipient government remains a defining feature of its peacebuilding efforts.

Implementing proper training programs is another crucial issue that needs to be addressed. Since the majority of training facilities are based in Asia, the area that is of the greatest concern, and are often unsuitable for African conditions as well, implementation has been stymied (SPF, 2020). Furthermore, public support for peacebuilding aid is declining and particularly for aid for democracy. As a result, there has been pressure on the foreign aid budget to be reduced. Consequently, the actual funding for ODA and



public support has been on a downward trend since 2001 (Uesugi, 2018) <sup>[35]</sup>. As a result of the global economic downturn as a result of the 2008 global financial crisis, future peacebuilding initiatives would be concerned as well. For instance, between 2003 and 2008, Japan's annual real growth rate was more than 2 percent, while in 2009 and 2010 it slowed to just 0.7 percent and 5 percent respectively (MOFA, 2019) <sup>[18]</sup>. Therefore, the amount of foreign aid Japan receives would be negatively affected as well. In order to develop an appropriate domestic-external interaction, Japan has to become receptive to indigenous peacebuilding methods, including indigenous norms and institutions such as chiefs, in order to establish a proper intercultural dialogue.

What is most important in peacebuilding is the involvement of the local population, who must be empowered to avoid the reliance on external sources. The process of peacebuilding has to be steered by the local governed in order to ensure a lasting peace (SPF, 2020). It is also believed that the best approach to peacebuilding is one that is holistic, incorporating all perspectives and including all organizations. It is also necessary to take steps to enhance local processes of peacebuilding, for example, by empowering indigenous institutions and by using dialogue as a tool (Kobayashi, 2020) <sup>[12]</sup>.

The prospects for Japanese peacebuilding are promising because Japan has strategically positioned itself to play a greater role in international affairs through its comprehensive and non-military-oriented approach. By focusing on training civilian peacebuilders at the local level, providing foreign aid, participating in multilateral peacekeeping operations at the national level, and taking a diplomatic lead in international forums, Japan demonstrates its commitment to promoting global peace and stability. Moreover, the recognition of peacebuilding as a key component of Japan's security strategies reinforces its dedication to assuming higher expectations in international affairs. Other than that, as the largest economy in Asia, Japan has made a major contribution to the discussions on peacebuilding in the international community by promoting the principles of human security in various form, including the UN, and advocating that peacebuilding be a result of the consolidation of peace and the nation-building process. Moreover, Japan has played a constructive role in the UNSC's PKO Working Group and made substantial contributions to the UN Peacebuilding Fund. It is an active member of the UN Peacebuilding Commission, participating in coordination and management and most likely Japanese government will continue to use its expertise in major international forums like the UN, G8 Summit and Development Assistance Committee (DAC) to contribute to peacebuilding (Tana, 2021) <sup>[30]</sup>.

## 6. Conclusion

This article has discussed and examined Japan's comprehensive approach to peacebuilding, which comprises three tiers: peacekeeping, disaster relief and counter terrorism. Furthermore, it has also examined Japan's ODA policy towards national and international peacebuilding initiatives.

First of all, Japan has made significant contributions to peacebuilding efforts worldwide, signifying a notable and evolutionary shift in this area. It has actively promoted the principles of human security at national and global levels, playing a positive role in international organizations like the United Nations and advocating for peacebuilding through activities that strengthen peaceful conditions and support

nation-building processes. Additionally, Japan has provided substantial support to the UN Peacebuilding Fund and was one of the founding members of the UN Peacebuilding Commission. Utilising its expertise, Japan has been an active participant in major international forums such as the United Nations, G8 Summit, and DAC to contribute further toward peacebuilding endeavors. Moving forward, Japan aims to continue its engagement in peacebuilding through regional cooperation demonstrated by its participation in conferences like Tokyo International Conference on African Development and East Asia Summit. These sustained efforts demonstrate Japan's dedication to promoting tranquility both regionally and globally.

While Japan has made commendable contributions to peacebuilding efforts, some argue that its engagement in peacebuilding is often motivated by its own national interests rather than a genuine commitment to global peace. Critics assert that Japan has strategically used peacebuilding activities as a means to expand its influence and economic interests in various regions, especially in Africa and Southeast Asia. They argue that Japan's involvement in peacebuilding initiatives is driven by the desire to secure access to natural resources and new markets, rather than a selfless dedication to fostering peace and stability. However, proponents of Japan's peacebuilding efforts argue that the country's approach is comprehensive and multifaceted, addressing various levels of peacebuilding. It is important to critically assess Japan's motivations and actions in the context of peacebuilding, taking into account the complexities of global geopolitics and the potential for mixed motives in international engagements.

Keeping all that into account, it can be concluded that Japan's comprehensive approach to peacebuilding, coupled with its active participation in international forums, demonstrates the country's ongoing commitment to promoting peace and stability worldwide. In addition, it is imperative for Japan to continue leveraging its expertise and experience to foster partnerships and contribute to sustainable peacebuilding efforts in the years to come.

## References

1. Ashizawa K. Japan's approach to peacebuilding in Afghanistan: money, diplomacy and the challenges of effective assistance. *J Peacebuild Dev.* 2014;9(3):1-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2014.984555>
2. Austin L. Japan's Afghanistan policy: ambitions and strategies in the graveyard of empires. *Hum Secur Cent.* 2023. [www.hscentre.org/asia-and-pacific/japans-afghanistan-policy-ambitions-strategies-graveyard-empires/](http://www.hscentre.org/asia-and-pacific/japans-afghanistan-policy-ambitions-strategies-graveyard-empires/)
3. Call CT. Building states to build peace? A critical analysis. *J Peacebuild Dev.* 2008;4(2):60-74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2008.395667984152>
4. Lisa. Japan financially supports IGAD 'peacebuilding process' in Sudan. *Dabanga Radio TV Online.* 2024 Mar 29. <https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/japan-financially-supports-igad-peacebuilding-process-in-sudan>
5. Daimon-Sato T. Nexus of military and economic cooperation: Japanese challenges in Afghanistan and Iraq. *J US-China Public Adm.* 2021;18(1). <https://doi.org/10.17265/1548-6591/2021.01.001>
6. Fujishige HN. A new horizon for Japan's "armed peacebuilders"? *Stimson Cent.* 2017;4(1):29-39.
7. Hook GD, Son KY. Transposition in Japanese state identities: overseas troop dispatches and the emergence



- of a humanitarian power? *Aust J Int Aff.* 2013;67(1):35-54.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2013.748274>
8. Hornung JW. Abe Shinzō's lasting impact: proactive contributions to Japan's security and foreign policies. *Asia-Pac Rev.* 2021;28(1):22-48.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13439006.2021.1921356>
  9. Hoshina T. Japan's policies on conflict prevention and international peace cooperation activities. *Japan and the World*, Japan Digital Library. 2017.  
[http://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/digital\\_library/world.php](http://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/digital_library/world.php)
  10. Iwami T. Understanding Japan's peacebuilding in concept and practice. *East Asia.* 2016;33(2):111-32.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12140-016-9255-9>
  11. Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Annual evaluation report. 2005.  
[https://openjicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/11826799\\_01.pdf](https://openjicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/11826799_01.pdf)
  12. Kobayashi K. Japanese pathways to peacebuilding: from historical legacies to contemporary practices. *Puti K Miru I Bezopasnosti.* 2020;1:9-25.  
<https://doi.org/10.20542/2307-1494-2020-1-9-25>
  13. Kolmaš M. Japan's security and the South Sudan engagement: internal and external constraints on Japanese military rise reconsidered. *Cent Eur J Int Secur Stud.* 2019;13(1):61-85.  
<https://doi.org/10.51870/cejiss.a130103>
  14. Menocal AR. State building for peace: a new paradigm for international engagement in post-conflict fragile states? *Third World Q.* 2011;32(10):1715-36.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.610567>
  15. Ministry of Defence (Japan). SDF's contribution to UNMISS - UN mission in the Republic of South Sudan. 2014. <http://www.mod.go.jp/e/about/answers/sudan>
  16. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan). ODA white paper 2014. 2014.  
<https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000118826.pdf>
  17. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan). Cabinet decision on the development cooperation charter. 2015.  
<https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000067701.pdf>
  18. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan). ODA white paper 2019. 2019.  
<https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/files/100161448.pdf>
  19. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan). Peacebuilding assistance: Japan's action. 2021.  
<https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/sector/conflict/action.html>
  20. Nagao S. Japan's stakes in the Afghanistan crisis. *Observer Res Found.* 2022.  
<https://www.orfonline.org/public/uploads/posts/pdf/20230530175740.pdf>
  21. Nasu H. The legal quagmire of civilian protection in peacekeeping under Japan's new security legislation. *J Int Peacekeep.* 2016;20(1-2):37-48.  
<https://doi.org/10.1163/18754112-02001004>
  22. Newman E, Paris R, Richmond OP. New perspectives on liberal peacebuilding. Tokyo: United Nations University Press; 2009.  
[http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/sample-chapters/liberalPeacebuilding\\_sample\\_chapter.pdf](http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/sample-chapters/liberalPeacebuilding_sample_chapter.pdf)
  23. Newman E. A human security peace-building agenda. *Third World Q.* 2011;32(10):1737-56.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.610568>
  24. Nippon.com. Japan provided ¥750 billion in aid to Afghanistan over two decades. 2023 Jul 1.  
<https://www.nippon.com/en/japan-data/h01105/>
  25. Ogawa A. Peace, a contested identity: Japan's constitutional revision and grassroots peace movements. *Peace Change.* 2011;36(3):373-99.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2011.00703.x>
  26. Paris R. Saving liberal peacebuilding. *Rev Int Stud.* 2010;36(2):337-65.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210510000057>
  27. United Nations. Progress report on the prevention of armed conflict (Report of the Secretary-General). 2006 Jul.  
<https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/progressreportpreventionofarmedconflict.pdf>
  28. Ruggie JG. International regimes, transactions, and change: embedded liberalism in the postwar economic order. *Int Organ.* 1982;36(2):379-415.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818300018993>
  29. Shinoda H. Peace-building and state-building from the perspective of the historical development of international society. *Int Relat Asia Pac.* 2018;18(1):25-43. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcx025>
  30. Tana MTC. Aid, peacebuilding, and human security: Japan's engagement in South Sudan, 2011-2017. *J Peacebuild Dev.* 2021;16(3):289-302.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/154231662111014811>
  31. Tatsumi Y, Kennedy P, eds. *Peacebuilding and Japan*. Washington DC: The Stimson Center; 2017. (No. 4)
  32. The Diplomat. Gauging Japan's 'proactive contributions to peace'. 2015 Oct 27.  
<https://thediplomat.com/2015/10/gauging-japans-proactive-contributions-to-peace/>
  33. The Sasakawa Peace Foundation. Public attitudes in Japan towards peacebuilding and dialogue with armed groups. *Conciliation Resources.* 2017 Sep 1.  
<https://www.c-r.org/learning-hub/public-attitudes-japan-towards-peacebuilding-and-dialogue-armed-groups>
  34. Uesugi Y. All-Japan approach to international peace operations. *J Int Peacekeep.* 2014;18(3-4):214-35.  
<https://doi.org/10.1163/18754112-1804006>
  35. Uesugi Y. The UNPKO — surging trends and Japan. *Waseda Online.* 2018.  
[https://yab.yomiuri.co.jp/adv/wol/dy/opinion/international\\_171002.html](https://yab.yomiuri.co.jp/adv/wol/dy/opinion/international_171002.html)
  36. United Nations Security Council. Resolution 2155 (2014). UN Doc S/RES/2155. 2014 May 27.
  37. Dewi KU. Addressing human security in Japan's foreign policy towards the developing countries. *Glob South Rev.* 2017;1(2):139.  
<https://doi.org/10.22146/globalsouth.28835>