

April 2002

BUYING A RETURN TO COMMERCIAL WHALING

HOW THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN USES FISHERIES GRANT AID TO SECURE PRO-WHALING VOTES IN THE IWC

'In a bid to gain support for commercial whaling, Japan hopes to coax developing countries to join the International Whaling commission by giving them financial assistance, officials said...' Associated Press report (June 1999)

'Because anti-whaling countries' attitude are stubborn, it is judged that to dig up supporting votes by increasing member countries is more advantageous for future negotiations rather than trying to split opposing votes.' Kyodo News Online (June 1999)

"Japan does not have military powers, unlike the US or Australia. You may dispatch your military power to East Timor..Japanese means are simply diplomatic communication and ODAs...So, in order to get appreciation of Japan's position, of course, that is natural we must resort to those two major tools...I think there is nothing wrong." - Mr. Maseyuku Komatsu, alternate Commissioner for Japan to the IWC (ABC TV, July 2001)

"Quite frankly I make no bones about it...if we are able to support the Japanese, and the quid pro quo is that they are going to give us some assistance, I am not going to be a hypocrite; that is part of why we do so". - Lester Bird, Prime Minister of Antigua & Barbuda, (CANA News Agency, July 2001)

"They [Japan] make it clear, that if you don't vote for them, they will have to reconsider the aid. They use money crudely to buy influence." - Atherton Martin, Dominica's past Environment and Fisheries Minister (The Observer , May 2001)

"I refused to discuss grants in the context of whaling because the two are totally separate." - The Hon Samiu K Vaipulu, the Tongan delegate at a workshop on the proposed South Pacific Whale Sanctuary in Samoa (April 2001)

TRANSLATION OF AN ARTICLE FROM THE SUISAN KEIZAI SHINBUN, 24TH JUNE 1999**The whaling issue, solution with unity of all Japan by using of the ODA**

Mr. Hiroaki Kameya, Vice Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries said in the press club of the Ministry on 22 June that it was essential for us, in dealing with the whaling issue, to increase the number of nations supportive to Japan by making efforts in promoting the membership of countries to the IWC. This issue should be tackled by making use of the ODA and by uniting every energy of the nation including all Ministries and Agencies and the Japanese people, he added.

Summary of his speech on the whaling issue.

The representative of Morocco whom I met at the IWC annual meeting in May told me that he was of the opinion that it was inappropriate to exclude whales for a proper management and utilisation of marine resources, although Morocco is not a whaling country, and that his country was seriously studying to join the IWC. I got the same opinion from the representative of Trinidad and Tobago of the Caribbean Sea. Fisheries-related facilities, built by grants in Caribbean countries such as Grenada, St Vincent and St Lucia I visited recently, are playing important roles in these countries that have difficult economic conditions.

It is necessary to couple effectively the ODA and the promotion of the IWC membership. At present, IWC has 40 member states and only 34 were present at the IWC meeting. If the decision would be taken from the organisation of 80 nations, for example, it (the decision) could be regarded as a world opinion. I think it is important to increase the number of member states in order to realise an organisation that can function in accordance with its original purpose concerning proper management, conservation and utilisation of whale resources.

I would like to make efforts to increase the number of countries that are cooperative with Japan by uniting the people of Japan and all Ministries and Agencies - not only the FAJ (Fisheries Agency of Japan) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN'S VOTE BUYING IN THE IWC

1986 Shortly after a visit of their Prime Ministers to Japan, requesting aid, St Lucia and St Vincent make an abrupt policy U-turn and begin voting with Japan. The next year they receive their first fisheries aid grants.

1992 Dominica rejoins the IWC and votes in line with Japan and subsequently receive fisheries grant aid to develop a new fishing port and market in Roseau.

1993 Japanese press reports that Government and industry are undertaking a 'vote consolidation operation'. Grenada joins the IWC and makes explicit its opposition to the Southern Ocean Sanctuary - it too becomes the recipient of fisheries grant aid.

1996 Antigua and Barbuda, which from the early 1980s through to 1995 had been a staunch advocate of conservation, reverses its position with a change of delegate.

1998 St Kitts and Nevis which joined the IWC in 1992 but attended only one meeting attends again but due to unpaid fees cannot vote. In subsequent years it votes exactly in line with Japan.

1999 Bought countries in the East Caribbean join Japan in a staged walkout over Dall's porpoise resolution. Following the IWC meeting, Associated Press in Tokyo reported Japanese officials as saying "Japan hopes to coax developing countries to join the IWC by giving them financial assistance". The Japanese domestic press reported on a drive to persuade a number of African countries, including Guinea and Morocco to join the IWC.

2000 Atherton Martin, Dominica's Minister of Environment, Planning and Agriculture and Fisheries resigns over the way his country has been held to ransom in the IWC by Japan. Guinea joins IWC and votes exactly in line with Japan. The proposal for a South Pacific Whale Sanctuary is defeated by Japan's blocking minority.

2001 Antigua and Barbuda's PM, Lester Bird admits that his country's vote is linked to the receipt of Japanese aid and a senior Japanese official, Mr. Komatsu, admits on Australian TV to buying votes. Panama and Morocco join the IWC. Panama's vote exactly matches Japan's, Morocco abstains on a few votes for tactical reasons. Namibia and Gabon both attend IWC 53 as observers.

2002 IWC 54 to be held in Shimonoseki, home port of the Japanese whaling fleet in May. A number of new countries are expected to join the IWC and vote with Japan in favour of commercial whaling.

VOTE BUYING - THE GOVERNMENT OF JAPAN'S STRATEGY TO SECURE A RETURN TO LARGE-SCALE WHALING

The Government of Japan's agenda within the International Whaling Commission (IWC) is self-evident - it wants a return to large-scale commercial whaling and is prepared to go to extreme lengths to achieve its goal. Unable to persuade the IWC to lift the current moratorium on commercial whaling, the Japanese Government has, since the early 1990s, been openly operating a "vote consolidation operation".¹ The primary purpose of this operation is to recruit new member states to the IWC that will vote with Japan in favour of commercial whaling. By targeting poor developing countries and offering substantial sums of fisheries development aid in exchange for votes at the IWC, Japan has already secured the support of ten countries.

Six East Caribbean states, (Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, St Kitts and Nevis), the Solomon Islands, Guinea, Morocco and Panama have all been successfully recruited and speak in favour of a resumption of commercial whaling and vote in line with Japan.

As a result of this strategy, Japan has already assembled a blocking minority within the IWC and so is now able to prevent the implementation of any further conservation initiatives. For example the proposal to create a South Pacific Whale Sanctuary (SPWS) failed to achieve the 3/4 majority required at the 2001 meeting of the IWC due to the votes cast against the proposal by the above countries. (Because of the requirement for a three quarter majority, each extra vote acquired by Japan neutralises three pro-sanctuary votes). The SPWS proposal has the support of all the range states in the region, i.e. all the countries in the area covered by the proposed sanctuary, as well as the support of the intergovernmental group representing countries of the area, the Pacific Island Forum. As a result of the Japanese Government's vote buying, the South Pacific countries have been effectively denied the right to determine whether whales are protected in the South Pacific or not.

This situation is now getting worse - as a result of having stepped up its vote buying offensive, the Government of Japan is on the verge of securing a majority at the IWC, which would allow it to sweep away all the current provisions that protect the world's remaining whales and reintroduce large-scale factory ship whaling.

AID-FOR-VOTES

Japan is the world's largest aid donor, giving loans and grant aid to countries around the world. Japanese grant aid is classified into ten different categories. It appears that only one of the categories, fisheries grant aid, is used as a tool for vote buying. Fisheries grant aid disbursements are to a large degree under the control of the Fisheries Agency of Japan (FAJ) which has been given a high degree of discretion over this area of aid policy. Spokesmen for Japan's IWC delegation point out that Japan gives aid to more than 140 countries and that not all of these support Japan in the IWC, but this is just an attempt to mislead. Only about 10-20 countries a year receive fisheries grant aid and every one of the vote bought countries has received a substantial package of this aid in recent years or, in the case of the Solomon Islands, is highly dependent on Japanese aid in its fisheries sector.

HOW JAPAN BOUGHT THE EAST CARIBBEAN

The evidence which shows that the FAJ's granting of fisheries aid is directly linked to securing votes in the IWC has built up over time, and the linkage is most apparent in the case of the Eastern Caribbean countries. Here follows a country by country history of Japan's vote buying activities in the region.

In their first years of membership in the IWC, Antigua and Barbuda, St Lucia and St Vincent and the Grenadines were directly pitted against Japan, arguing for increased conservation and indeed all three countries voted in favour of the worldwide moratorium on commercial whaling in 1982.

St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines

On the eve of the 1986 IWC meeting and five years after they had first joined the IWC, St Lucia and St Vincent made an abrupt policy U-turn by deciding to support Japan and vote in favour of whaling. This occurred two weeks after Prime Ministers John Compton of St Lucia and James Mitchell of St Vincent had been guests of the Japanese Government in Tokyo reviewing the economic relations between Japan and their respective countries and urging Japanese aid and investment.² These two countries have been unflinching in their support of Japan ever since.

The following year both countries received fisheries grant aid of approximately 290 million yen and many million more in the form of technical co-operation. Japan's granting of fisheries aid to these countries has continued in subsequent years. For instance, in 1995, St Vincent received 731 million yen for the construction of a fishery complex and a further 776 million yen in 1998 for another fishery construction project. From 1994 -1998 St Lucia received 2,938 million yen in grant aid for fisheries projects including the construction of the Viex Fort Fisheries Complex.³

During a 1990 visit to Japan for the enthronement of the new Emperor, Prime Minister Mitchell of St Vincent met with Fisheries Agency Director, General Kyotani. The Suizan Keizai reported that Mr. Kyotani told Prime Minister Mitchell " We are grateful that your country takes the same standpoint as Japan within the International Whaling Commission (IWC)', and asked that they continue to maintain the same position in the future. In response to this, Prime Minister Mitchell replied, 'In 1987-88 Japan provided us with free fisheries aid for construction of a fish market in our country's capital city Kingstown. This is still highly appreciated in our country', adding that on the whaling issue as well, 'we intend to continue asserting our present position by all means.'⁴

As Japan has continued to provide fisheries aid to St Lucia and St Vincent so have these countries continued to vote in line with Japan in the IWC.

However the position adopted by these countries in the IWC has not passed without criticism in the region. The Editor/Publisher of the Grenadian Voice, Leslie Pierre, has made the following statement on the whaling issue:

"The sad thing is that in their continuing effort to overturn the moratorium and sanctuary, the determined Japanese appear to have found more leaders than they have had previously at their beck and call to achieve their base end - leaders like those in the Windwards who have failed to say to the predators 'Yes we are in need, but we will not allow you to trample on the national pride of which we are only temporary custodians. We are not for sale for a few dollars more to build this fisheries complex or that road. Give us aid without forcing us to compromise our dignity'⁵.

Dominica

The next country to join Japan's voting block in the IWC was Dominica, joining in 1992 just as France first introduced its proposal to establish the Southern Ocean whale sanctuary.

A member of the Commission in the early 1980s, Dominica had never participated in the meetings and had subsequently withdrawn. On rejoining in 1992, Dominica had to pay the IWC more than £25,000 in order to cover the debt accrued from non-payment of membership fees from its previous years as a member, in addition to the fees to give it voting rights at the 1992 meeting. When Dominica came to cast its vote at the meeting, it voted in line with Japan on all four votes that had a direct bearing on Japan's interests and abstained on the other four.

Two months later, in early September 1992, Dominica's then Prime Minister Dame Eugenia Charles paid an official visit to Japan where she was thanked during a meeting with her Japanese

counterpart, Prime Minister Miyazawa, " for supporting Japan's bid to end a whaling ban". During the same meeting it was also announced that " Japan will dispatch a mission to the Caribbean island nation later this month to study contributing several hundred million worth of grant aid toward building a fishing complex"⁶, according to a Japanese foreign Ministry spokesman.

A year later, a Japanese fisheries newspaper reported that "free capital co-operation" of up to 617 million yen would be given towards "carrying out coastal fisheries development plans", primarily a new fishing port and market in Dominica's capital city Roseau.⁷

Another Japanese press article in 1993 recounted the visit of a "government representative of Dominica" (the IWC Commissioner that year) to the Japanese whaling town of Oshika. In the article the Dominican was reported as having "expressed support for Japan, saying, 'a small country like ours has occasion to request economic assistance from Japan, but at the IWC, we have a vote equal to a big country,' and made the townspeople happy."⁸

Japan has continued to give substantial sums in fisheries and other aid to Dominica, including 510 million yen in 1998 for the rehabilitation of the Roseau Fishery Facility.⁹

Dominica's voting history in the IWC since 1992 shows that it has consistently voted in favour of commercial whaling and in line with Japan. In fact, since 1997 Dominica's voting tally has exactly matched Japan's. In 1999 Dominica together with the other Caribbean countries even joined Japan in a staged walkout over a resolution which invited Japan to reconsider a quota of Dall's porpoise despite the fact that this cold water species does not occur in the waters of any of these Caribbean states.

The extent of Japan's leverage over Dominica was made explicit by events at the 2000 IWC meeting in Adelaide. Prior to the meeting, the Dominican Cabinet had agreed to abstain on the proposal to establish a South Pacific Whale Sanctuary, a position reflecting that there was a difference of opinion within the Government at that time. However when it came to the actual vote the Dominican delegate voted with Japan against the sanctuary having received direct instructions from the then Prime Minister, the late Roosevelt Douglas overruling the Cabinet decision. This led to the immediate decision of the Minister of Environment, Planning and Agriculture and Fisheries, Atherton Martin, to resign. A note, dated 4th July 2000, from Atherton Martin, explaining his resignation stated that he believed that the Dominican government was being held to ransom by Japan.

"I am also alarmed at the fact that the Japanese appear to be using the SAME promise of aid that held the James Administration ransom, to manipulate this government's voting at the IWC. This is undignified and unacceptable and must be resisted."¹⁰

Mr. Martin subsequently told the Times newspaper that Japanese officials had visited Dominican Prime Minister in the lead-up to the Adelaide meeting and had threatened to withdraw aid for a new fisheries complex if Dominica abstained on the crucial sanctuary vote. He also added that the other five eastern Caribbean islands had "succumbed to the same extortionary tactics of Japan".¹¹

Despite the furore surrounding Atherton Martin's resignation, the Japanese press reported in September 2000 that Prime Minister Douglas had, on a visit to Japan promised the then Japanese Prime Minister, Yoshiro Mori, that Dominica would continue to support Japan over its position on whaling. The same article also reported that when the Prime Ministers had met, Douglas had asked for Japan's assistance in boosting Dominica's economy, particularly in the areas of agriculture, tourism and fisheries.¹²

Grenada

Grenada didn't join the IWC until just before the 1993 meeting. At that meeting Grenada made its position crystal clear. Despite not having any previous involvement in discussions concerning the creation of the Southern Ocean Sanctuary, Grenada's opening statement stated categorically that

"Grenada is...strongly opposed to the establishment of a specific sanctuary in the Antarctic." Fifteen votes were taken at the 1993 meeting and Grenada cast the same vote as Japan on all fifteen.

According to one of Grenada's weekly newspapers, The Grenadian Voice, before the 1993 meeting, Japan had "about 30 people in the Eastern Caribbean region lobbying for support for overturning the moratorium on whaling...spreading their largesse around."¹³

Grenada, like the other Caribbean countries in Japan's voting block, has been a recipient of large quantities of fisheries aid and other forms of technical assistance from Japan's ODA. The most recent statistics available show that Grenada received 299 million yen in 1994 towards the St George's Artisanal Fisheries Complex and a further 502 million yen towards the same project in 1995. In 1998 Japan gave Grenada 605 million yen for the construction for the Melville Street fish market.¹⁴

Grenada has continued to vote in step with Japan and the 2001 IWC meeting in London was no exception, with Grenada's voting record exactly matching that of Japan.

Antigua and Barbuda

From the early 1980s right through to 1995, Antigua and Barbuda was a staunch supporter of most conservation proposals put forward in the IWC and along with the overwhelming majority of IWC members voted in favour of the creation of the Southern Ocean sanctuary in 1994. All this was to change in early 1996 with a change of delegate.

Daven Joseph, Antigua and Barbuda's IWC Commissioner since 1996, is well known to regular attendees of Commission meetings for his frequent interventions in support of resumed whaling.

For instance when the Southern Ocean Sanctuary agenda item came up for discussion at the 52nd IWC meeting, the Antigua and Barbuda Commissioner began to berate the Australian and New Zealand proposal for the creation of a South Pacific Sanctuary and continued in this vein even when it was pointed out that the Commission was not discussing the proposed sanctuary but an existing sanctuary.

"We are debating the Southern Ocean Sanctuary, we are debating the Pacific Sanctuary. Anyway a sanctuary is a sanctuary, that is what Antigua is trying to come from and that brings me to the third point on my submission Mr. Chair where we have established so many sanctuaries around to protect whales that it is confusing us as to what these sanctuaries are actually doing...We further went on to ask how will this effect our goal of sustainable utilisation of the whale resources and these questions so far have not yet been addressed so we do not believe that we are even in a position to discuss this matter."¹⁵

Not surprisingly Antigua and Barbuda has also received considerable fisheries aid from Japan. In 1997, the year after it began voting with Japan, Japan gave 1,286 million yen for the construction of fish landing and distributing facilities in Saint John's.¹⁶

Just prior to the 2001 IWC, Daven Joseph spoke about the link between Japanese aid and the IWC. The St Vincent Herald quoted the Antigua and Barbuda Commissioner as saying that Antigua has been benefiting since 1996 from major Japan-funded projects, including a fisheries complex and a bus terminal, with feasibility studies in progress for a new sewerage system for St John's. He claimed that Dominica's problem in receiving Japanese aid stemmed from the wavering (in relation to IWC) position of successive governments: "Dominica's problem is that with every change of government they start to bob and weave. Nobody has focus, everybody wants to out-do the other. It can't work so. You want development, you have to be stable and you have to be consistent," said the Antigua and Barbuda official.¹⁷

Not long after the Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda, Lester Bird, admitted in an interview with the Caribbean news agency CANA that his administration was indeed supporting whaling because of aid received from Japan. In the interview he said, "Quite frankly I make no bones about it...if we are

able to support the Japanese, and the quid pro quo is that they are going to give us some assistance, I am not going to be a hypocrite; that is part of why we do so".¹⁸

St Kitts and Nevis

In 1998 St Kitts returned to the IWC having been absent since 1992, but it was unable to vote as it was still in arrears to the Commission. Its account settled, St Kitts attended the 1999, 2000 and 2001 meetings and cast its vote in identical fashion to Japan.

INAPPROPRIATE AID

Much of the fisheries aid supplied to the Caribbean has been of little use to the islanders. One Japanese-built fisheries complex on St Vincent has been empty for more than four years. Similarly the Roseau fish factory on Dominica is underused.

In an interview conducted by the BBC for its esteemed Newsnight programme, Lipson Tavernier, a Dominican fisherman expressed his opinion regarding this kind of aid from Japan.

"The Japanese doesn't benefit nothing. To me, I never see anything Japanese before. We need a place where we can get our things, we need ropes and things we can buy. We are looking for something we can go on and develop ourselves."¹⁹

Given the dubious value of the Japanese fisheries aid, the question remains why do the eastern Caribbean countries continue to vote with Japan in the IWC? Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that Japan regularly pays for officials from the islands to travel to Japan. A point elaborated by Atherton Martin when interviewed by the BBC:

"We are aware that there are several senior members of the fisheries divisions throughout the Caribbean who have developed 'a special relationship' with Japan. They travel to Japan. They are on the receiving end of enormous amounts of information..."²⁰

STEPPED-UP OFFENSIVE - AFRICA AND BEYOND

Following the 1999 IWC meeting, Japan's Vice Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Hiroaki Kameya, announced that Japan was starting a program to use its Official Development Assistance (ODA) to assist developing countries to join the IWC to support Japan's position on whaling. Wire services reported on 3rd June:

'In a bid to gain support for commercial whaling, Japan hopes to coax developing countries to join the International Whaling Commission by giving them financial assistance, officials said Thursday.'²¹

The program was already underway at that time, following a visit by Vice Minister Kameya to Trinidad and Tobago earlier in the week. A week later, on 10th June 1999, a meeting of pro-whaling Diet members from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party agreed to focus on Trinidad and Tobago, Fiji, Zimbabwe and South Pacific countries. The meeting agreed a target of adding 13 more pro-whaling countries to the IWC so that countries favouring whaling would outnumber those who were opposed.²²

Vice Minister Kameya visited 3 African countries in August of 1999: Zimbabwe, Namibia and Guinea. A report of a press conference given by Mr. Kameya following his visit appeared in Suisan Keizai on 30th August. In the article Mr. Kameya was quoted as saying "I requested the three nations to join the IWC from a perspective of sustainable use of marine living resources including whales. All agreed. Particularly, Prime Minister Cideme of Guinea showed his will to join by the next year's meeting by instructing an official in charge to join"²³. A press report which appeared the following day reported that Morocco and Mauritania were also 'positive to joining' the IWC.²⁴

After August 1999, the reports stopped, but we have seen the results. Guinea joined the IWC in time for the 2000 meeting and cast the same vote as Japan every time it voted. Morocco joined in 2001 and voted with Japan except for some tactical abstentions taken to avoid accusations of vote selling. Zimbabwe attended as an observer in 2000.

Namibia attended as an observer in 2001 and its opening statement made clear its agenda. "Namibia, however, cannot support conservation for the sake of conservation. Where the best scientific advice indicates that a resource can be harvested sustainably, harvesting must be allowed."

Many observers believe that more African countries are likely to join the IWC in time for the 2002 meeting, a view shared by the St Lucia Star. In an article written shortly after the conclusion of the 2001 IWC, the paper noted "It is expected that more African countries will join the IWC by the time the organisation holds its 2002 annual meeting in Japan."²⁵

In addition to the African countries another recipient of Japanese aid, Panama, joined the IWC in 2001 and cast the same vote as Japan throughout the meeting.

VOTE BUYING IN THE PACIFIC REGION

Like many developing Pacific island nations, the Solomon Islands relies heavily on overseas financial assistance. This vulnerability has been exploited by Japan which continues to provide fisheries aid and other assistance to the Solomons. Since the Solomons has been a member of the IWC, it has voted consistently with Japan even though it has no interest in whaling.

The Solomons is not the only country to have been targeted in the South Pacific region. At a workshop about the proposed South Pacific Whale Sanctuary, held in Apia, Samoa, in late April 2001, a delegate from Tonga, the Hon. Samiu K Vaipulu took the floor to complain about Japanese linking aid and whales in discussions with his country. He had received visits from Japanese delegations to talk about "whaling and Japanese grants to Tonga". Mr. Vaipulu told the meeting that "I refused to discuss grants in the context of whaling because the two are totally separate."²⁶

BUYING INFLUENCE IN OTHER FORA

Although this report is concerned with the specific use of fisheries grant aid to secure pro-whaling votes in the IWC, it should be noted the use of financial muscle and development aid by the Government of Japan is not confined to the IWC.

For instance in August 2000, the Times newspaper reported how the Saudi Arabian Ambassador in London had charged Japan with vote buying to ensure that the Japanese candidate was elected as UNESCO Secretary General. Ghazi al-Gosabi is quoted as saying "A number of representatives of developing countries which receive aid from Japan have told me they received an explicit warning that aid would come to an end if those countries did not vote for the Japanese candidate."²⁷

Another example of the Japanese Government attempting to buy influence was revealed in 2001 after the Japanese Government publicly promised that its scientists would win a startling 30 Nobel prizes in the next 50 years. Given that Japanese scientists have only won 9 in the last 100 years this might seem extraordinarily optimistic. However a special 'information office' was set up in Stockholm's Karolinska Institute - the purpose of which was described by the Observer newspaper as 'a blatant attempt to lobby Nobel medical committee members about the merits of Japanese researchers'. Offers of all expenses paid trips to Japan were also made to a group of Nobel Laureates and Nobel Foundation officials, much to the outrage of many Scandinavian scientists.²⁸

However of greatest concern to conservationists is the threat of vote buying being extended to other conventions including CITES, the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species. The

introduction of secret ballots to CITES (a move strongly supported by Japan) has greatly reduced transparency, but it can be assumed that those countries which have sold their vote to Japan in the IWC also vote in line with Japan in CITES. This assumption is backed up by explicit mention of CITES in Japanese news reports which appeared in 1999 relating to Japan's stepped up vote buying offensive in the IWC²⁹ and strengthened by the fact that some evidence has come to light which shows that Japan is actively vote buying in CITES. A programme broadcast by World TV on 23rd July 2001 (Earth Report - The Politics of Whaling) exposed - by means of a number of leaked documents - how the Mongolian delegate had all her costs to the meeting and a daily allowance paid by a Japanese trade organisation in exchange for voting in support of Japan at the CITES meeting in Nairobi.

VOTE BUYING ADMISSION

On 29th June 2001, Greenpeace Japan wrote³⁰ to the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries requesting that they guarantee in writing to all IWC member states that their fisheries and development aid did not depend on how the recipient country voted at the IWC. Greenpeace Japan received an oral response over the phone from Mr. Jiro Hyugai, officer of the whale section of the Far Seas Fisheries Division on the 17th July. He said that Japan would not be making any such guarantees and refused to confirm this in writing.

On the very next day, the 18th July 2001, a senior Japanese official, Mr. Maseyuku Komatsu, admitted to ABC TV in Australia that his country used ODA to secure support for its current campaign to have the whaling ban lifted and that he saw nothing wrong with this.

"Japan does not have military powers, unlike the US or Australia. You may dispatch your military power to East Timor... Japanese means are simply diplomatic communication and ODAs... So, in order to get appreciation of Japan's position, of course, that is natural we must resort to those two major tools... I think there is nothing wrong."³¹

One country was not slow to respond to Komatsu's admission. In a statement issued the same day, the New Zealand Prime Minister, Helen Clark, said she was appalled by the admission and that "New Zealand and other countries opposed to whaling have long suspected that Japan was using overseas aid to persuade poorer nations, without any direct interest in whaling, to support Japan's pro-whaling stance at the International Whaling Commission."³²

Subsequently Mr. Komatsu claimed that he had not admitted to using ODA to buy votes and that his statements had been taken out of context and were due to his poor grasp of English. However Mr. Komatsu, whose qualifications include a MBA from Yale University, is a senior negotiator for the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, and has taken an active role at numerous international fisheries negotiations. As well as being alternate Commissioner for Japan at the IWC, he is Commissioner to the Indian Ocean Tuna Commission (IOTC) and in March 2001 chaired the Committee on Fisheries of the FAO - the largest international conference on fisheries in the world. Mr. Komatsu's command of English is exemplary.

In a recent publication titled *The Truth Behind the Whaling Dispute*, Mr. Komatsu suggests that allegations of vote buying have been so effective that 'some remote nations ring on the phone to the Japanese authorities asking if they could receive financial assistance by offering to cast their votes in support of Japan'. He then goes on to say that if Japan were to answer yes to these inquiries it would soon have a 3/4 majority.³³

HOW MUCH HAS THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT SPENT TO BUY A RETURN TO WHALING?

Since the moratorium came into effect for Japan in 1987, Japan has spent at least US\$ 320 million in trying to overturn it. This figure is certainly an underestimate, probably a gross underestimate since there are many costs that Greenpeace is unable to quantify. These include the costs of hiring

lobbyists and PR firms outside Japan, advertising campaigns, the travel of high level delegations on recruiting trips to bring in new countries, the travel and accommodation of IWC delegations from recruited countries to Japan for briefings and to the IWC meeting itself and the costs of Japan's very large delegation to the IWC.

Of the total sum given above, US\$ 210.5 million are the total of the known fisheries grants given to the bought countries by the FAJ. The rest is made up of the annual subsidies given to the Institute of Cetacean Research which conducts Japan's so-called 'scientific' whaling programmes. A breakdown of these figures is given in Annex I.

It should be noted that the last time an IWC meeting was held in Japan, in 1993, the Tokyo Shimbun published a story (May 15, 1993) referring to the pre meeting vote-buying drive, calling it a 'bankroll offensive' and citing 'stories circulating that the economic assistance recklessly spent by the Japanese government for vote consolidation this time exceeded 300 million dollars'.

A MAJORITY BOUGHT NOT WON

If this vote buying drive is not stopped, the Fisheries Agency of Japan (FAJ) may well assemble a pro-whaling majority at the IWC by the time of the May 2002 meeting which is being held in Shimonoseki, Southern Japan, home port to the Japanese whaling fleet. There will be little warning. The past strategy of the FAJ has been to get its new recruits to join just before the meeting.

Armed with a pro-whaling majority, the Fisheries Agency will waste little time in expanding its whaling operations. Its first act will be to legitimise its so-called 'scientific' whaling and expand it to take more whales. Then it will move to overturn the whale sanctuaries that provide protection for some populations of whales throughout their life cycle. It will also make changes in the rules of procedure, such as introducing secret ballots - something Japan has supported in other conservation fora, including the Convention on the International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES).

At present the IWC is split between those who want the Commission to maintain its hard won moratorium on whaling and become more conservation oriented with a focus on recovery and conservation of whale populations, and the pro whalers, consisting mostly of countries whose votes are bought in return for aid. These pro-whaling nations want the moratorium overturned and the hunt resumed for as many species as possible. Once the Fisheries Agency of Japan gains a majority, the IWC will be transformed back into a body controlled by the whaling industry, actively pushing for an immediate resumption of large scale factory ship whaling. The global hunting of whales will begin again and the future will be bleak for the world's remaining whales.

ANNEX I

HOW MUCH HAS JAPAN SPENT TO BUY A RETURN TO WHALING?

Known spending: (all figures in US dollars and are approximate due to currency fluctuations)

Subsidy for 'research whaling':

\$2.7 million in 87/88 and 8.5 million a year thereafter = **113.2 million dollars.**

Fisheries aid grants to 5 Caribbean countries - Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines from 1987 to 1999: (The period 1987 - 99 was chosen because 1987 marks the beginning of the vote buying offensive. 1999 is the last year for which official figures have been published.)

11,871 million Yen = **100 million dollars.**

Aid to the Solomon Islands 1993-1999:

1009 million yen = **10 million dollars.**

Aid to Morocco 1994-1999:

5039 million yen = **45 million dollars.**

(Morocco was an observer at the IWC from 1994 to 2000. It joined in 2001 and voted with Japan.)

Aid to Guinea in 1998:

899 million Yen = **7.5 million dollars.**

(Guinea joined the IWC in 2000 and voted with Japan)

SUB TOTAL FOR 1987-99: 275.7 million dollars.

Although official statistics for 2000 have not yet been obtained, there have been some announcements of aid packages in the last 9 months of 2001, mostly via Japanese government websites.

Fisheries aid grant to Antigua and Barbuda in 2001:

798 million Yen = **6.4 million dollars.**

Fisheries aid grant to Guinea in 2001:

881 million yen = **7.2 million dollars.**

Fisheries aid grant to Dominica in 2001:

1114 million yen = **8.95 million dollars.**

Morocco Fisheries aid cooperation:

'about USD 10 million' (reported in Maghrab Arab Press) = **10 million dollars.**

St. Kitts and Nevis Fisheries grant aid:

567 million yen = **4.5 million dollars.**

(St Kitts and Nevis began voting with Japan in 1999)

St Lucia Fisheries grant aid:

1318 million yen = **10.6 million dollars.**

Known grants for part of 2001:

47.65 million dollars.

TOTAL: Sub total 1987-99 plus known grants from 2001 = 323 million US dollars.

Notes

- ¹ Yomiuri Shimbun 13th April 1993. This press article described the visit of Dominica's IWC Commissioner to a Japanese whaling town as "a product of the 'vote consolidation operation' by government and industry circles together."
- ² "Latin American Newsletters, Ltd.", 6th November 1986
- ³ Japan's Official Development Assistance - annual report 1999
<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/summary/1999/index.html>
- ⁴ Suizan Kezai Shimbun, 16th November 1990
- ⁵ Cited in the Jamaican Gleaner 26th May 1999 The whales are safe by Peter Espeut.
<http://www.go-jamaica.com/gleaner/19990526/cleisure/index.html>
- ⁶ The Japan Times, 3rd September 1992
- ⁷ Suizan Kezai Shimbun, 20th December 1993
- ⁸ Yomiuri Shimbun, 13th April 1993
- ⁹ Japan's Official Development Assistance - annual report 1999
<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/summary/1999/index.html>
- ¹⁰ Memo from Atherton Martin to Mona George-Dill 4th July 2000
- ¹¹ The Times 14th August 2000 Whaling 'extortion' denounced by Robert Whyman in Tokyo
- ¹² Japan Economic Newswire, 12th September 2000, Dominica promises support for Japan's stance on whaling
- ¹³ The Grenadian Voice, cited in 'Foreign Report', (The Economist) 7th October 1993
- ¹⁴ Japan's Official Development Assistance - annual report 1999
<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/summary/1999/index.html>
- ¹⁵ International Whaling Commission 52nd Annual Meeting Adelaide, 3-6 July. Verbatim record. March 2001.
- ¹⁶ Japan's Official Development Assistance - annual report 1999
<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/summary/1999/index.html>
- ¹⁷ St Vincent Herald, Friday 1st June, 2001
- ¹⁸ Text of report by Caribbean News Agency Cana, 16 July 2001. Antigua and Barbuda: Whaling support partly linked to aid
- ¹⁹ Transcript of Newsnight feature broadcast 20th October 2000, Buying votes from Dominica
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/events/newsnight/newsid_994000/994511.stm
- ²⁰ Transcript of Newsnight feature broadcast 20th October 2000, Buying votes from Dominica
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/events/newsnight/newsid_994000/994511.stm
- ²¹ AP, 3rd June 1999 Japan urges support for whaling by Mari Yamaguchi, Tokyo
- ²² Minato, 11th June 1999 Summary translation of article titled Official Development Aid (ODA)
- ²³ Suisan Keizai, 30th August 1999, Kameya reports trip to African nations - 3 nations positive to join IWC
- ²⁴ Minato, 31st August 1999, Co-operative position at international meetings. Namibia, Guinea, Zimbabwe Africa visit Kameya, Parliamentary Under-secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries.
- ²⁵ St Lucia Star, 2nd August 2001 Caribbean Nations finding more allies
- ²⁶ PACNEWS 2, Monday 23 April 2001, 9:30 Tonga - Whale Sanctuary
- ²⁷ The Times, London, 8th August 2000, Japanese 'trickery' won top UNESCO job by Michael Binyon
- ²⁸ The Observer, 16th December 2001, Japan's Nobel ploy riles Swedes by Robin McKie, Science Editor
- ²⁹ Suisan Keizai 17th August & 30th August 1999
- ³⁰ Copies of the letter are available from Greenpeace
- ³¹ Mr. Komatsu made the admissions in an interview with both the Newswire AAP (Fast News July 18 2001 - 02:02 p.m.) and with ABC TV and Radio
<http://www.executive.govt.nz/speech.cfm?speechalph=35406&SR=0>
- ³² <http://www.executive.govt.nz/speech.cfm?speechalph=35406&SR=0>
- ³³ The Truth Behind the Whaling dispute, Masayuki Komatsu and Shigeko Misaki, available in CD-ROM format from the ICR information line on +44 (0)20 7394 5029

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