

# **Abe's Foreign Policy and Japan-Korea relations**

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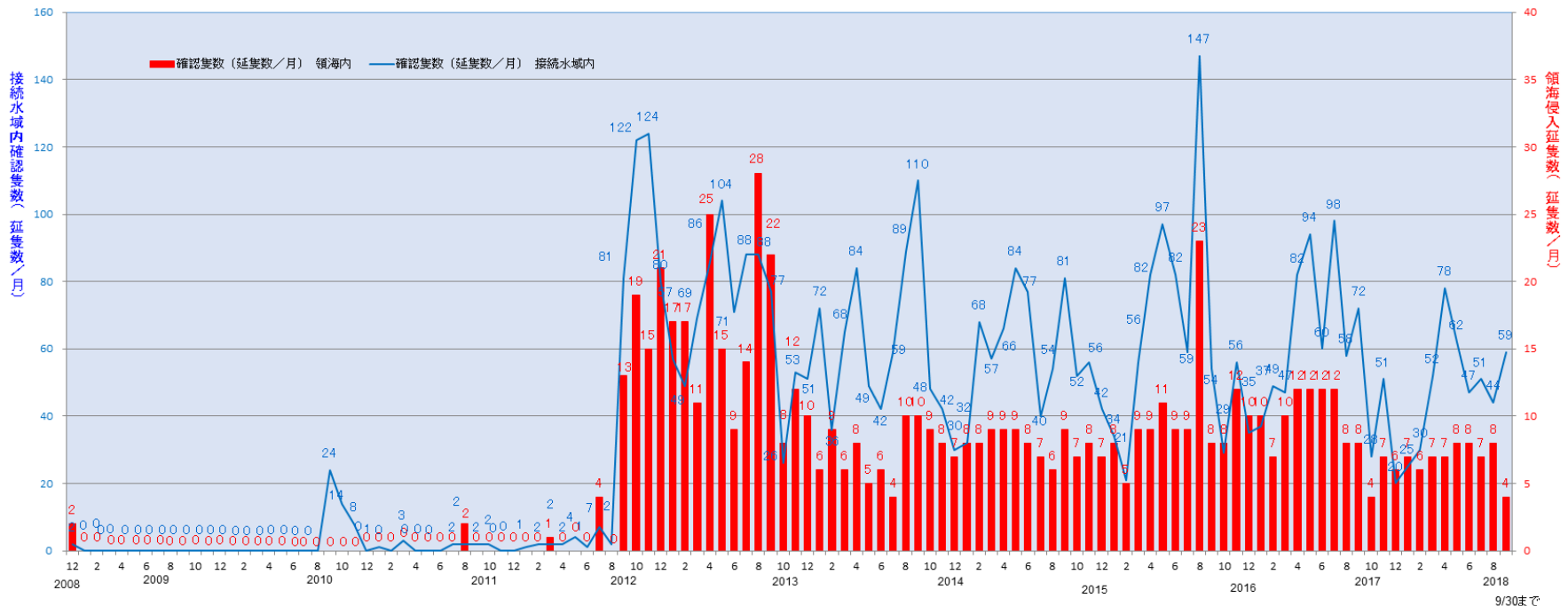
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- He is Professor and Director of the Institute for World Affairs, Kyoto Sangyo University since 2010.
- He served in the Japanese Foreign Ministry 1968--2002. Half of his career was devoted to Russia. Last posting was Ambassador to the Netherlands. Since the retirement, he taught at universities abroad, including those in Leiden, Princeton, and Seoul National University GSIS.
- His research interests include (1) International politics and Japanese foreign-security policy in East Asia, (2) Territorial problems and historical memory issues in North-East Asia and (3) Identity and civilizational dialogue.



# China Senkaku Tension

- 1971 Taiwan and China began claiming Senkaku
- 1972 (normalization); 78 (peace and friendship treaty): in principle “shelving” the issue
- 2008 First official vessel to territorial waters
- 2012 ~ avalanche of coastal guards vessels



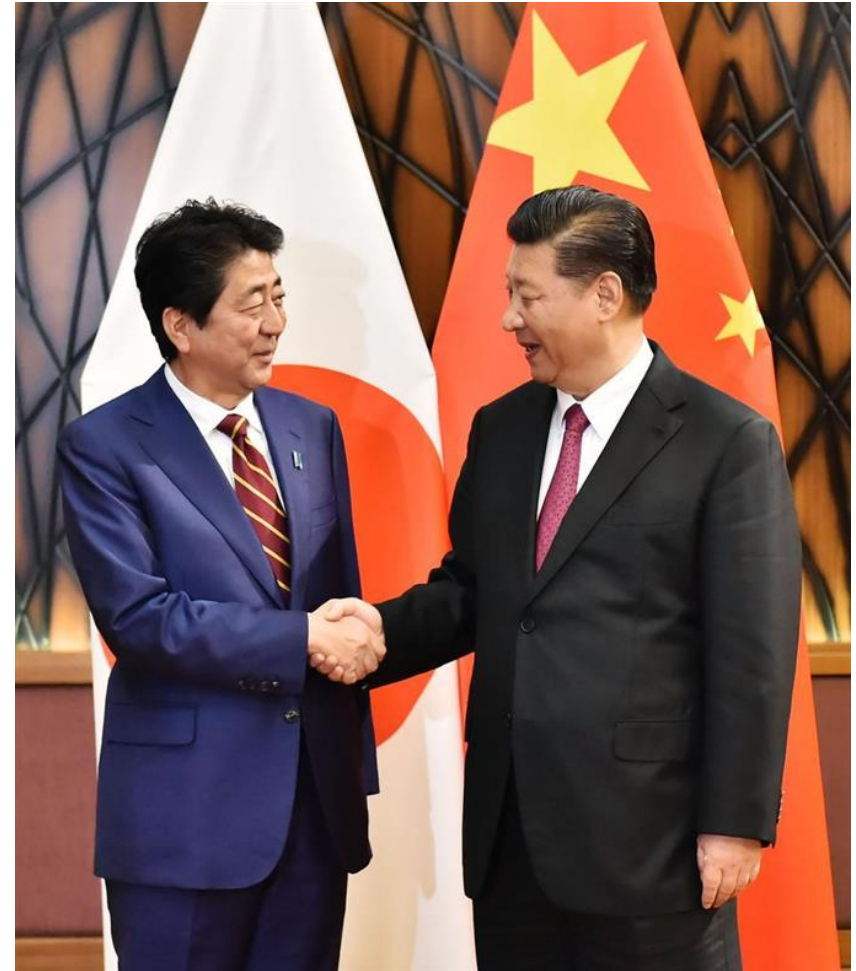
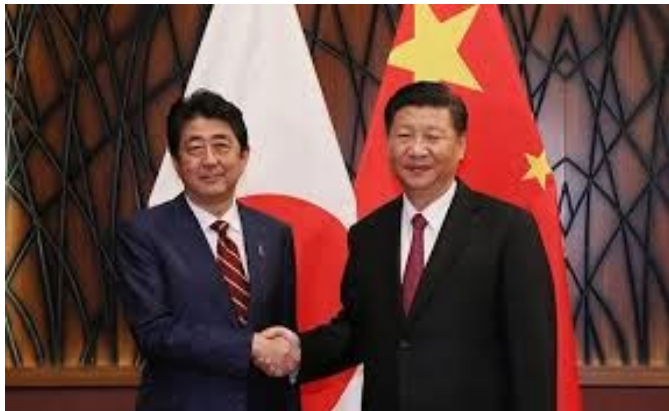
# Cold talk to Smiling Dialogue

**2014 APEC Beijing**



**2017 APEC Vietnam**

**2018 Official Visit Beijing**



# “One Belt One Road” becomes key

- 2014/11 Status Quo agreement on Senkaku and Yasukuni-----tensions continue for 3 years
- 2017/5 Japan began taking cooperative course on “One Belt One Road” -----steadily continues
- 2018/10-----first official visit: “① from competition to cooperation; ② no threat each other; ③ enhance free and fair trade system”
- 52 projects cooperation in third countries

# USA Asymmetry to responsibility

- Constitution #9 1946: no collective right of self-defense (CRSD) by interpretation
- Security Treaty #5 1960: America is obliged to defend Japan if it is attacked-----**Asymmetry**
- Legislation for Peace and Security: 2014~2016 = CRSD allowed, when an armed attack against an ally “threatens Japan’s survival and poses a clear danger to fundamentally overturn people’s right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness”

# Address to a Joint Meeting of the U.S. Congress    April 29, 2015

- Pearl Harbor, Bataan Corregidor, Coral Sea.... The battles engraved at the Memorial crossed my mind, and I reflected upon the lost dreams and lost futures of those young Americans.
- With deep repentance in my heart, I stood there in silent prayers for some time.
- On behalf of Japan and the Japanese people, I offer with profound respect my eternal condolences to the souls of all American people that were lost during World War II.



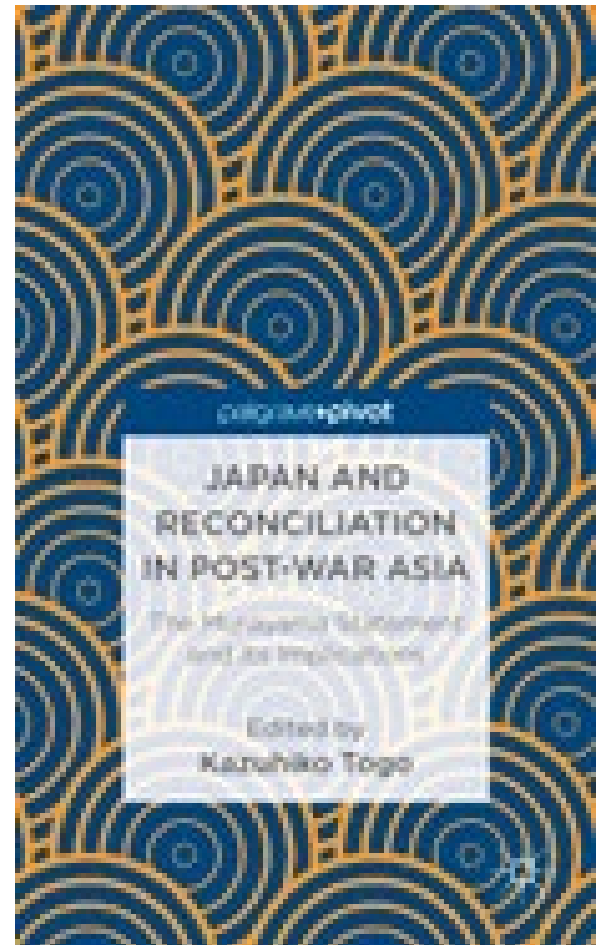


# Apology to Asia: background

## Murayama Statement 1995

- Through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations.
- I express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology.

K. Togo edited “Murayama Statement and its Implications” Palgrave, 2012



# **Abe Statement**

## **2015/8/16**

- Japan has repeatedly expressed the feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology for its actions during the war.
- Such position articulated by the previous cabinets will remain unshakable into the future.
- We must not let our children, grandchildren, and even further generations to come, who have nothing to do with that war, be predestined to apologize.
- Still, even so, we Japanese, across generations, must squarely face the history of the past. We have the responsibility to inherit the past, in all humbleness, and pass it on to the future.

# Comfort Women Agreement

December 28, 2015

- “As Prime Minister of Japan, Prime Minister Abe expresses anew his most sincere apologies and remorse to all the women who underwent immeasurable and painful experiences and suffered incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women.”
- “The Government of Japan will now take measures to heal psychological wounds of all former comfort women through its budget.”
- Paying one billion Yen to ROK Foundation
- -----President Moon: “Victim First policy”?

# Legacy for History

- Being reelected as Party Chairman in September 2018, Abe would have 3 more years.
- What are the issues which would give Abe his historic legacy?
- Russia and possibly, North Korea

# Russia Peace Treaty(PT) with Putin

- 2012/3 Putin reelected: “economic cooperation” and “resolving territorial issues based on ‘par-hikiwake’ solution
- 2012/12 Abe reelected: 2013/4 big economic delegation to Moscow; 2014/2 Sochi first peak
- 2014~2015 : Ukraine and Crimea
- 2016/12: New approach for PT
- 2017~18: slow tempo negotiations
- 2018/9~10: Putin’s public diplomacy: Hurry up if you want to do something!



# Four reasons why “Window of Opportunities” exist

- ① In the “me-first” nationalists era, Abe should seek more autonomous policy; Putin, encircled by unfriendly America and Europe, does not want simply being adrift to China---Both needs a good friend in the region
- ② Abe is the prince of conservatives; Putin is a powerful leader; both can take difficult decisions
- ③ Two sides may agree on “two plus small alpha”
- ④ This is probably the last opportunity for an agreement; missing it is not in the interest of both

# North Korea: Abe changed course!

- Abe 13~17: “Now it is time only for pressuring”
- 2018/1/1: Kim began moving towards economy
- 2018/4/27: After Panmunjom Declaration, Foreign Minister’s Statement: “4. Japan seeks to normalize its relations with NK through comprehensive resolution of outstanding issues of concern, such as the abductions, nuclear and missile issues, as well as settlement of the unfortunate past in accordance with the Japan-DPRK Pyongyang Declaration.”

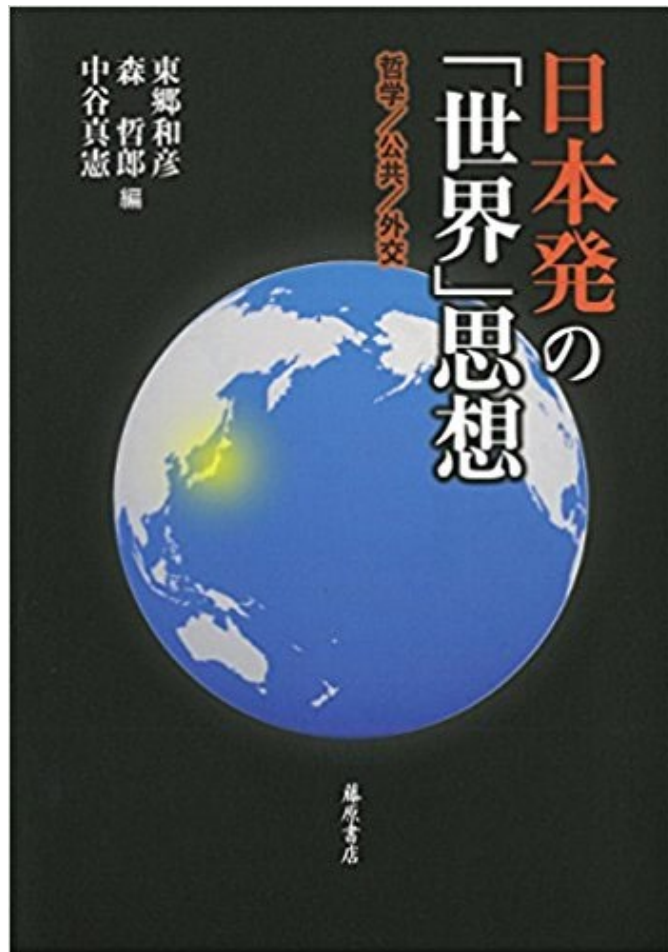
## Before Concluding:

### South Korea: where are we moving?

- Japanese perception: Korea is successful politically and economically (Well done!)
- But success is resulting into the burst of historic 恨 (han, or curse) against Japan: Many feel threatened and distanced
- Is my perception correct? What is your recipe for Japan?
- Do I have my own recipe?



# Japan's Civilizational Direction



- Kazuhiko Togo, Tetsuro Mori, Masanori Nakatani edited
- “Global Thoughts originating from Japan--- Philosophy/Public Policy/Diplomacy”
- (Fujiwara/Tokyo/2017)
- Root/Stem/Branch

# Conclusion of the book

- Philosophy: 無 Nil, Void, Total Emptiness
- Public policy: 間 In Between
- Foreign Policy: 和 Harmony
- Japan's civilizational message:
- First stage: Accepting others as they are;
- Second Stage: Transforming it inside Japan to something of its own;
- Third Stage: Sharing it with outside to something open and universal