

**Japan and ASEAN:  
Territorial problems in East Asia  
in the era of “My Country First”**

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# “My Country First” (facts)

	01.02	03.04	05.06	07.08	09.10	11.12	13.14	15.16	17.18
ME	Al Qaeda					Arab Spring	ISIS	Saudi CP	
Russia	Putin			Med- vedev		Putin II			
China				Assert		Xi			Xi II
Japan	Koizu mi			RVPM	RVPM	RVPM	Abe II		
NK SK	Jongil	NoMh		IMb		Jong	-un Parkgh		Moon
USA	Bush GW				Obam a			Tru	-mp
Euro			Merke I Angel					Bre	-xit

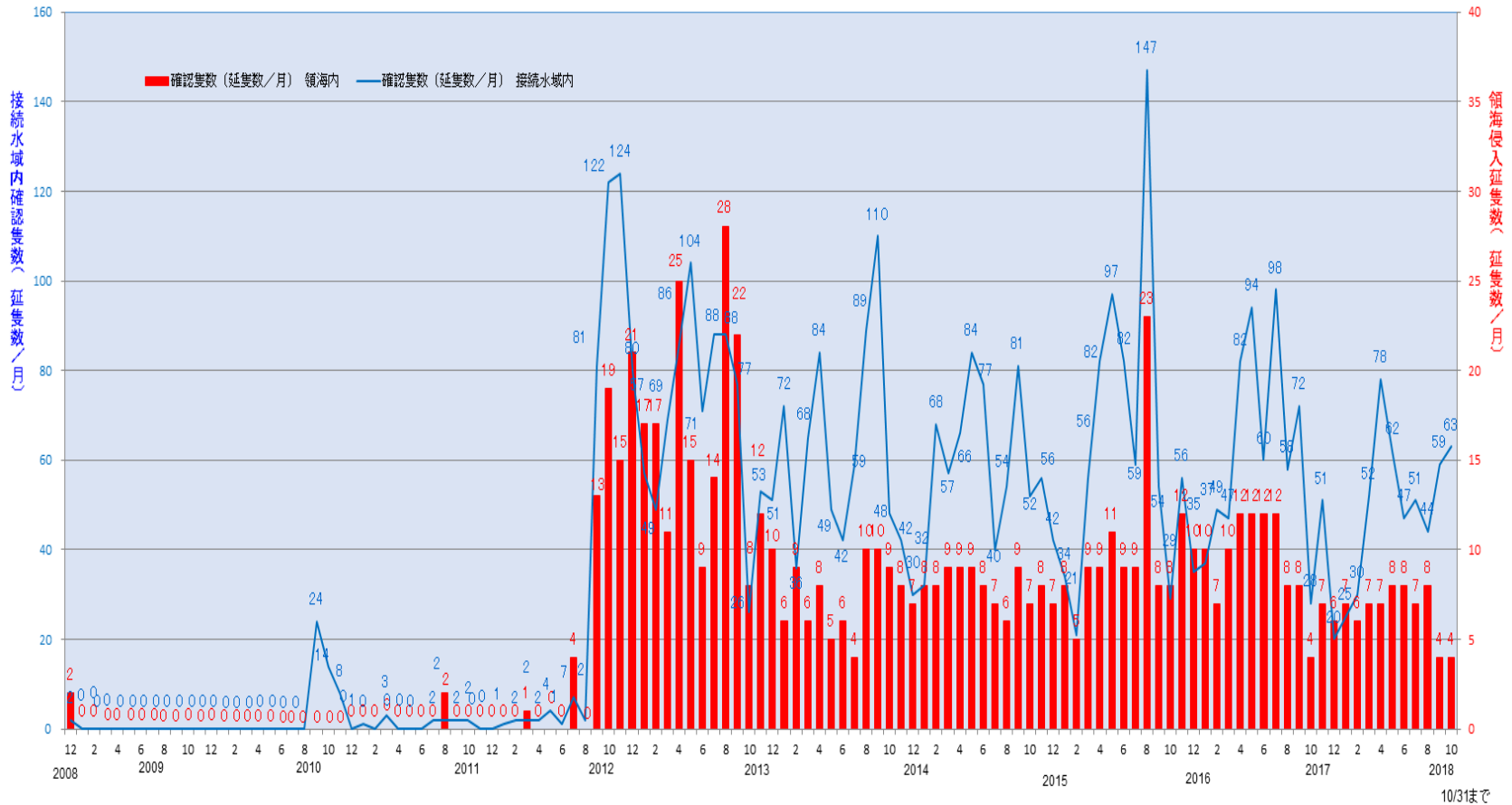
# “My Country First” (analysis)

- No single domineering power; power vacuums
- US leading status quo & China catching up; target is 30 years; economy, politics, military; culture = “power + values+ identity”
- Everyone seeking its own national interests
- Democracies and autocracies alike:
- Populism → Nationalism → strong leader

# Northern Territory

- 2012 Putin and Abe came back to his position
- 2013 Abe's visit to Moscow; high tempo talks
- 2014~15 negotiations suspended due to Ukraine and Crimea
- 2016 resumed! December Putin's visit to Nagato and Tokyo; new approach
- 2017~18 negotiations slowed down
- 2018/11/14 Singapore=Abe decided to settle based on "two + small alpha" within maximum three years (till September 2021)
- **Strong leaders can take bold & flexible decision!**

# Senkaku/Dyaoyutai Islands



- <https://www.kaiho.mlit.go.jp/mission/senkaku/senkaku.html>
- **Strong leaders might make bold compromises?**

# Takeshima/Dokto



- 04 Height of post-war Japan-SK: “Winter Sonata”
  - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zBigqNYyPsY>
- 05 Shimane Prefecture’s Day: No Mu-hyeon “Diplomatic war”
- 12 I Myeong-bak landing on Takeshima: Japanese angry and nearly brought to ICJ unilaterally.
- **Are Korean leaders really strong against populist-nationalist feeling of South-Koreans?**

# South China Sea (1)

## UNCLOS Tribunal 2014~16~

- 2012 Standoff on Scarborough Shoal between China and Philippines
- 14 Philippines sued China at Arbitral Tribunal under UNCLOS on the illegality of 9 Dash Line
- 16/7 Arbitral Tribunal gave verdict that 9 Dash Line has no ground for China's sovereignty → China immediately refuted
- 16/6 But newly elected P. Duterte withheld subsequently intentions to raise this verdict.
- **Is Duterte a strong leader as other leaders?**

# South China Sea (2)

## Paracel Oil Rig against Vietnam 2014

- 2014/5 China established a huge oil rig at the offshore of Paracel
- → Vietnam many exclusive protests
- 14/7 China declared “oil rig construction terminated”
- **Were there any populist-nationalist move?**

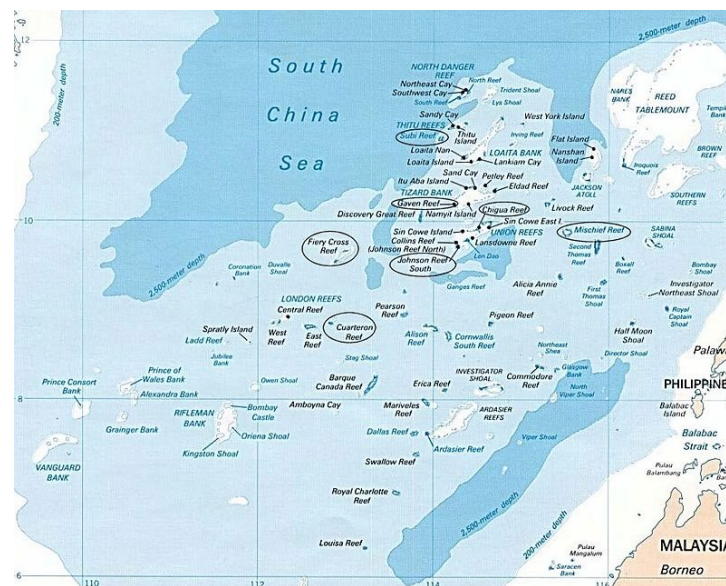




# South China Sea (3)

## Spratlys 7 reclamations 2013~16

- Cuarteron Reef
- Fiery Cross Reef
- Gaven Reefs
- Hughes Reef
- Johnson South Reef
- Mischief Reef
- Subi Reef



# South China Sea: What to do?

## Hard approach (US)

- 2015/10~
- Obama & Trump
- Freedom of Navigation Operation
- Japan → capacity building assistance

## Soft approach (ASEAN)

- 2002 Declaration of Conduct (DOC)
- 10/7 ARF Code of Conduct (COC) supported
- 2017/11 ASEAN Leaders Meeting = framework agreed

# What is the future guiding policy to deal with South China Sea?

- Is this the soft “ASEAN way” ?
- Is the policy of “Harmony Wa 和” as developed by Kyoto Sangyo University workable?
- How should we understand “Freedom of Navigation” & Capacity building?

