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Thank you, Dominique. I do not know if I will directly answer Dominique's question, but if I do not do that, somewhere in my presentation there will be an answer, so I am sure that a smart person, like Dominique, will be able to get the point. There are several issues I want to focus on in Asia, which are very important, such as nuclear proliferation, the whereabouts and wherewithal of North Korea, and the political transition going on in China, Japan, and South Korea following the presidential election in the United States. At the moment and for the time being, a very serious issue in this area will be the territorial disputes and the rise of nationalism in that part of the world. It reflects the larger issues of irredentism and nationalism. The territorial disputes are about more than energy, more than fishing rights, and more, even, than geopolitics. It portends, I think, great danger, if unchecked, of a kind that Europe had to deal with before the Second World War. In Europe, the territorial issues have been, more or less, dealt with by the acceptance by Germany of the Oder-Neisse line and the acceptance by Poland of the Kaliningrad Oblast, for example. However, there are growing issues in Asia. What are the reasons for this? Briefly, let me go country by country; I can do that in short order.

I will say there is a politics of what I will call prefix 're'. I guess the French expression would probably be the same. There is the resurrection of major power, super power, by China. There is an attempt in Japan to restore their normal state status, the normalisation effort. There is the reaction or reorientation of the other countries, including Korea and South East Asian countries. There is a re-pivoting of the United States from a focus on other areas, including Europe and the Middle East, to Asia. There is a return of Russia to North-East Asia, in particular, after its focus on the European front and domestic affairs. All these things considered, we have, necessarily and almost inevitably, the rise of nationalism and the rise of territorial disputes. In China, there is what I would call the return of big-power diplomacy. There is a rise of nationalism and, in fact, the original rise of PRC, the "People's Republic of China," I would say was based on what Chalmers Johnson in the 60s called peasant nationalism.

You might recall when there were demonstrations over the Diaoyu Island or Senkaku island dispute in China. The demonstrators carried the portrait of Mao Zedong. What were they doing? Why, all of a sudden, did Mao's portraits come out? In China, Mao Zedong symbolises modern communism and, even more than that, Chinese nationalism. It was only after a few days that it occurred to me that this is an expression of Chinese nationalism, not only by the government, but also, more importantly, by the Chinese people in general. There is a new leadership after the Chinese party congress and five of the seven political standing committee members are of conservative and more nationalist orientation, as we can tell. As such, it is clear that even during the period before they took over formally, during the dispute with Japan, in fact, it was the new leadership that was to come that was very much in charge of the dispute with Japan.

In Japan, there is an attempt to go back to what they would call a normal state. That is, they consider that they had to accept a bad deal after the Second World War and after their defeat in the Second World War. They have a peace constitution where they cannot have a normal military. They cannot engage in overseas collective security activities, for example, and, especially in the aftermath of the Tsunami and the Fukushima disaster, they feel that they cannot allow other countries to go over Japan. They have to restore their pride and their sense of being there. Their defensiveness and their desire to go back to the old glory, if not empire, is, I think, coming back. It is almost reactionary politics. Whoever is going to win in the next elections on 16 December, we are going to see a very nationalistic, very restorative, and almost reactionary regime in Japan.

The other countries, including Korea, and countries in South East Asia, are reacting to this big-power diplomacy, big-power exceptionalism of China, and the restoration effort of Japan. They never accepted the formal, apparent and *pro forma* apology that Japan made over their behaviour before the Second World War. Now, in Japan, they are saying that they are cancelling any apologies they made over atrocities, including the so-called comfort woman issue. This will not only portend trouble for the relationship between Japan and the rest of the Asian countries, it will also aggravate the territorial issues.



Then, there is the return of Russia. Before, Russia was willing to return two of the four South Kuril Islands to Japan. Now, Russia is saying that there is no such deal. In fact, Prime Minister Medvedev visited one of the four northern territory islands, Kunashir, in 2010. Then, right after he became Prime Minister early this year, he visited that island again, to show that Russia is returning to North East Asia in earnest and will stay there. Russia has resumed its extensive military sea and air exercises around the Japanese islands and this is going to affect Japan, which, in turn, will affect Japan's behaviour towards the rest of Asia.

The United States is, in fact, responsible for many of the major territorial issues. When Taiwan was to be returned to China back in 1945, after the Second World War, the United States included those islands, which are much closer to Taiwan than to Okinawa, in the administration under Okinawa. Therefore, from then on, the trouble lingered on and continues. The island dispute between Japan and Korea originated in the fact that the United States failed to include that island as a territory to be returned to Korea at the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951. Now, the United States is re-pivoting and has alerted China. China thinks that the United States is, in fact, behind Japan and the South East Asian countries, including Vietnam and the Philippines, by encouraging them and emboldening them to defy China and challenge China. This is the subject of a great deal of complaint and concern by China. Unfortunately, Asia is turning back the clock and, in fact, going back to Dominique's point, when he was reporting on the crisis management, we have a crisis deficit of leadership. There is no enlightened, robust, long-range looking leadership in Asia in sight, neither in China nor Japan - certainly not in Japan – nor in any other countries. This is something that really contrasts with post-Second World War Europe. This is what concerns most of us today.