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Our last speaker will be Professor Yuichi Hosoya. Because of time constraints I would like to remind you that you have a maximum of 10 minutes.

Yuichi HOSOYA

Thank you very much indeed. Thank you very much for having me and having Japan in this important and interesting session on 'China in transition'. Just to let you know, I can have seven minutes, or a little bit less than that, even though we only have four minutes until half past twelve, so I have to make my talk as concise as possible.

I think it is quite useful to have Japan in this discussion for a couple of reasons. One reason is of course because of Trump; it is quite likely that President Trump will focus on an 'America First' policy, which means that the United States will reduce in some way its engagement in East Asia. The natural result will be an increasing role for China and Japan in bringing both stability and prosperity to East Asia, together with a power such as Korea, and ASEAN etc. Therefore, I think it is more important to think about the Japanese role in this region.

The second reason why I think Japan will become more important than before, is that Japan is now becoming the most important status quo player. Two or three years ago, many people thought that Prime Minister Abe was a dangerous, revisionist leader; now many people and many in the media, believe that Abe can now play a very important role in bringing stability or maintaining the status quo in this region. Trump may become a very important revisionist leader in East Asia, we do not know the future, but we will see many uncertainties, instability, unpredictability; even Chinese foreign policy as well. Given the number of unpredictable elements and uncertainties, I think that the political stability of the Prime Minister in Japan can plan an important role.

Two years ago, many people talked about a Third World War in 2014, because of the 100-year anniversary of the First World War. There were some columns and essays about the beginning of a new World War, particularly between the United States and China, initiated by an expected military clash between Japanese and Chinese forces. Two years ago, many people, particularly security experts were worried about what would happen in the East and South China Seas. However, two years later we can enjoy stability and also prosperity in this region, for some reasons. I think that both Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and President Xi Jinping played a very important role. I have been quite optimistic about Sino-Japanese relations because these two leaders are very pragmatic and usually prioritise pragmatic national interests over national ideology. Pragmatic national interests mean that it is important to promote Sino-Japanese cooperation, particularly because of the necessity of economic growth; both China and Japan need economic growth. For that reason, it is important to have much better, stable Sino-Japanese relations and these two leaders understand that.

Let me give you three examples. The first is that in 2006 and 2007 when Abe became Prime Minister for the first time, he visited China before he visited the United States and he repaired the damage between the two countries that Junichiro Koizumi created by visiting the Yasukuni Shrine every year. In 2006 and 2007, Abe actually repaired the damage by establishing a new relationship, which is called 'Mutually beneficial relationship based on common strategic interest'. Abe has created the best time for Sino-Japanese relations in the last two or three decades; it was Abe, not



any other Prime Minister. Secondly, Abe created a four-point agreement between the Japanese and Chinese governments, because of which the two leaders could create a better relationship. Thirdly, on 1 November 2015, three leaders, President Geun-hye, President Xi Jinping, as well as Prime Minister Abe, jointly agreed on an important agreement called, 'The joint agreement for peace and cooperation in Northeast Asia'. This 56-point agreement is quite comprehensive and pragmatic. These three leaders understand the necessity of further cooperation. The media is one of the biggest enemies, because nationalistic sentiments are very strong in China and in Japan; that means these agreements must be boring. If they are boring, then there is no media coverage and maybe we can create a better relationship. Boring agreements are important and if Sino-Japanese relations become an interesting focus, then maybe both leaders and the government will have to be more careful. I propose that the Sino-Japanese relationship should become more boring than before.

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Thank you for your very practical advice.