



# YUICHI HOSOYA

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## **PARK In-kook**

Thank you very much, Mr. Bark. He raised many questions for the Chinese delegation. I hope we can hear their responses in the latter part of our discussion. Our next speaker will be Professor Yuichi Hosoya from Keio University. He is a member of Prime Minister Abe's advisory panel on restructuring the legal basis for national security and on national security defence capabilities. You have the floor.

## **Yuichi HOSOYA**

Thank you very much, Ambassador Park. Last year, I also joined in this workshop and I am very glad to be included in this room again this year, or I should say that I am very pleased that Japan is also included in this room. I just remember that last year, the situation was quite the same. I remember that I was the last speaker perhaps, and I saw many faces of people who had been waiting for two hours to ask questions and comment. Ambassador Park told me that I only seven or six minutes to comment and I must be brief, and maybe this year as well, to go to the question and answer session.

Of course, China and the United States are two elephants in a room in East Asia and Japan is not equal to these two giants. However, I would say that Japan is perhaps one of the most influential players in the region, or Prime Minister Abe may be becoming the most influential player in the region.

One of the reasons for that is that he has a quite close relationship or friendship with President Trump. I think it is quite exceptional to be so close to President Trump. Of course, I would suppose that President Trump cannot sit in a room for three hours to discuss something that serious, as we are doing. That is why, the best way to talk to President Trump is to play golf. Tomorrow, Prime Minister Abe will play golf with President Trump in Japan. I think that they will spend more than several hours together and of course. In the meantime, Prime Minister Abe will talk and tell him so many things about East Asia, security and international relations, as he did in Florida in February this year. In February this year, he also played golf with President Trump and Prime Minister Abe informed him about so many things about China, Russia, North Korea, everything, because President Trump has no serious experience in politics beforehand. That is why, he wanted to know some personalities, such as President Xi Jinping, President Putin, and other leaders, because Prime Minister Abe has met President Putin 20 times at summit meetings, and has also met President Xi Jinping many times as well. That is why it is quite useful for President Trump to talk with Prime Minister Abe on various issues of world affairs.

What I wanted to talk about was the Japanese approach to the rise of China. The rise of China is one of the most significant events that Japanese politics have faced recently, and Japan is now approaching the issue in two ways. One way is that Japan is now trying to improve its relationship with China. Last year in this workshop, I predicted that Sino-Japanese relations would be improved, and I was afraid that I was wrong. However, I think I was right, because in the last few years, there were four foreign ministers' meetings and two summit meetings and between 2002 and 2014, there were no summit meetings between the two countries. However, for three years from 2014, there were four summit meetings between Prime Minister Abe and President Xi Jinping. It is easy to understand that the two leaders are trying to overcome some difficulty regardless of the distance of territory and other difficult issues. I think, as I said last year, that they both quite pragmatic and they fully understand the importance of better relations between their two countries. That is why recently, the two leaders started to say that Japan and China are the number one and number three biggest economies in the world. It is essential for the two countries, and really responsible for the two leaders, to make a stable, peaceful, regional order. That is why I think that the trend continues next year as well, the



two leaders with a much more powerful political base, and they will continue to improve the relationship between the two countries.

The other approach that Prime Minister Abe is taking is to create a democratic diamond which he proposed in 2012. According to Abe, Asia's democratic security diamond has four powers: The United States, Japan, Australia and India. Prime Minister Abe says that these four democracies should cooperate more, especially on security issues. By cooperating much more deeply, the four countries can create a much more stable and peaceful Pacific region. They are using a new regional concept of the Indo-Pacific and they are trying to consolidate the norms, such as freedom of navigation, in some ways human rights and democracy, etc. That is why I think that in addition to improving the bilateral relationship between Japan and China, I think that Prime Minister Abe is trying to create this kind of big democracy, or Asia security democratic diamond. I think that in the coming summit meeting between Prime Minister Abe and President Trump, in a few days, I think that the two leaders will propose a much more concrete vision of this regional order.

Then, I would like to take a few minutes before ending, to point out that two regional concepts exist. One regional concept is defended by China, the Chinese government, which is the One Belt, One Road initiative. This continental or Eurasian vision is strongly supported by Russia and the two great powers, Russia and China, are trying to create a continental, more or less, international order based upon very strong Chinese power.

The other regional vision is defended by the United States, US-centric in the Pacific order, previously called the liberal international order, which focuses on the importance of freedom of navigation of the sea. This is becoming more and more difficult because of President Trump, because he has been showing a much more inward-looking vision of the world. That is why, without strong American commitment, I think that Japan has to change a previous strategy for the region, to create something like TPP without the United States. Without the United States is a new trend in the regional vision of Japan. It depends on the United States and the will of President Trump, for the United States is intending to join in the kind of regional order. Of course, the Japanese Government is always trying to invite the United States to come back and join in this kind of regional framework.

In the end, I would like to conclude my talk by saying that even though there are two regional visions, it is also very important to bridge these regional visions. We do not have to see the new Cold War between those two blocks, which are different from Cold War blocks. There are some overlaps, like India and Australia are joining in some Chinese initiatives, such as AIIB and our Japanese Prime Minister Abe recently supported the idea of the Belt and Road initiative. That is why I think that there are many rooms to collaborate between those two regional visions. Of course, there are some overlaps and I think that one of the most important Japanese strategies is to try to combine two different blocks of regional order as much as possible. At the same time, it is essential for the Japanese Prime Minister or government to try to invite the United States to come back to the regional order as a leader of this region.

#### **PARK In-kook**

Before I invite our last speaker, I have one basic question. You are talking about East Asian order, but in the One Belt, One Road initiative, Korea and Japan and the whole Korean peninsula are excluded. Why will that kind of format be a central issue for East Asia? That is my question, to be replied to during our discussion.