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Now I will go to Professor Yuichi. Are you as cautious and sceptical in Japan, and where do you see this trajectory going from Japan's perspective?

### Yuichi HOSOYA

I would like to thank the organisers for including Japan in this session, because by sitting here, I can give you the impression that Japan is not marginalised or isolated in the negotiating process around North Korean issues. There is some hope, but I am sceptical for several reasons. However, first I would like to clarify some points around the Japanese position on North Korean issues. Some news media are saying that Japan is marginalised or isolated in the process. This is partly right, because Japan did not join in the Korean War, and the armistice of 27 July 1953 was signed by American forces, the Chinese People's Volunteers forces and North Korean forces. Japan did not join in the process, which is why these three powers – the US, North Korea and China – are the principal parties to the peace talks. The armistice agreement started peace talks between the four countries – the US, China, North Korea and South Korea – so it is natural that Japan did not join in the process of the peace negotiations.

However, on the other hand, among the G7 summit meeting leaders, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is the most experienced. He visited Pyongyang in September 2002 together with then-Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, and that is why he joined in the process of drafting the Pyongyang Declaration between Japan and North Korea, so he knows the details of the negotiations. He was also Prime Minister at the time, in 2006 and 2007, and the six-party talks included Japan, publishing several important statements and joint declarations. Prime Minister Abe also knows the details of that negotiation and agreement very well, and he was betrayed twice. The North Korean Government broke the Pyongyang Declaration and also the joint statement of the six-party talks, which the Japanese Government joined in.

That is why it would be natural for the Japanese Government to be sceptical of North Korea, so what the Japanese Government is doing is not to isolate or contain North Korea but try to persuade North Koreans to come back to the original position of the agreement, which the North Korean Government itself accepted. That is why it would be possible to see that the Japanese position is tough – because the international community has been retreating from the position to which it agreed in 2005, 2006 and 2008 in the UN and also in the six-party talks.

Let me add one point. Japan can also play a very significant role in the process of reconstructing North Korea once the rapprochement and peace talks are advanced. The Japanese Government agreed in the Pyongyang Declaration that once a peace treaty was concluded, Japan would provide economic assistance to North Korea as a kind of war reparation. Japan started economic assistance to South Korea in 1965, at the time of the treaty between Japan and South Korea, and that is why Japan was willing to provide an equal amount of economic assistance to North Korea. It means that North Korea can get a huge amount of economic assistance from Japan, and this would be an essential foundation for the reconstruction of the North Korean economy.

That is why, at some point, North Korea would be willing to invite Japan to join in talks on the reconstruction of the country, but if North Korea does not want to invite Japan to give economic assistance, maybe Japan can be happy, because we will not have to pay it. However, it is written in the Pyongyang Declaration, which is why Japan will probably join in the process of economic reconstruction in North Korea.

However, I am quite sceptical, because the international community, particularly President Trump, has been retreating from the previous agreements, because President Trump has no interest in the details of the negotiations, and this will



kill stability in the region, destabilise the region, and while perhaps we will see a structural change in international politics, Mr. Trump has no intention of doing that.