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# **Positioning Asia and Kyushu in Shifting Global Politics**

**Edited by Akihiro Iwashita and Jonathan Bull**

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## FOREWORD

We are pleased to announce the latest research publication supported by the Northeast Asia (NOA) project of the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center (SRC) of Hokkaido University. The project has been sponsored by the National Institute for the Humanities (NIHU) since 2016. This issue comes as a special edition of the on-line journal *Northeast Asia Today* (<https://hokudaislav-northeast.net/en/publication/>), part of the *Slavic Eurasia Papers* series. The project has helped to develop and promote Northeast Asia area studies in Japan and its neighbors, with our SRC team mobilizing their gifts in order to shed light on the region's international relations and the institution-building taking place there.

This publication comprises the keynote speech and subsequent kick-off session on "Positioning Asia and Kyushu in Shifting Global Geopolitics," which was held as part of the International Symposium entitled "There Goes the Neighborhood: Increasing Tensions in Cooperative Northeast Asia" (Kitakyushu City, December 17-18, 2016). The International Symposium was also part of the 70th anniversary events for the Kyushu Economic Research Center.

The publication opens with Yong-Chool Ha's opening speech and an insightful analysis of the contemporary situation in Asia from T.J. Pempel. It also includes local insights on Fukuoka presented by Hiroyuki Okamoto and a short but impressive commentary by Paul Evans. The four papers are bookended with commentary provided by Sergey Sevastyanov and Beom-Shik Shin and the discussion sparked by questions from the floor. The full papers by T.J. Pempel and Paul Evans have also been included as appendices.

Rather than providing polished papers, each speaker was asked to present raw ideas. Such a fresh and provocative record, therefore, should stimulate us to think through the realities that Northeast Asia currently faces. We also need to reflect upon how we may come together to overcome these challenges in the international field through the application of judicious wisdom and a deep philosophical engagement with the region.

Our mission is still in its opening phases, and this publication aims to promote our goal of conceptualizing Northeast Asia as a field applicable across all disciplines, and of developing a research community able to provide comprehensive coverage of the region.

Finally, the editors would like to thank Megumi Sasaya (Slavic-Eurasian Research Center) for her help with this publication's design and Edward Boyle (Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, Kyushu University) for his assistance with proofreading.

July 31, 2017

**Akihiro Iwashita and Jonathan Bull**

## PREFACE

The international symposium “There Goes the Neighborhood: Increasing Tensions in Cooperative Northeast Asia” was held on December 17-18, 2016 at the Kitakyushu International Conference Center (Kokura, Kitakyushu City). This conference was the second event in 2016 hosted by the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center (Hokkaido University) base of the NIHU Area Studies Project for Northeast Asia. During the two-day symposium, we discussed the problems of existing cooperation and the potential conflict in Northeast Asia from a variety of perspectives such as geopolitics, international relations, migration policy, population, and gender. The keynote speech, “International Relations Theory in East Asia,” was delivered by Professor Yong-Chool Ha (University of Washington), who for many years has been making great contributions to the academic field of Northeast Asian community building. In his lecture, Professor Ha discussed what kind of intellectual infrastructure exists in the region and whether it can make a positive contribution to international community building. To explain the peculiar characteristics of East Asian international relations theory, he pointed out how modernization and economic development have evolved at the national level in these countries, and how the traditions and international positions of each country were formed and established. This lecture provided participants with significant issues to be gone over in order to figure out the regional architecture of Northeast Asia.

On the first day, two sessions were held: “Positioning Asia and Kyushu in Shifting Global Geopolitics” and “Integration, Population, and Gender in Northeast & Southeast Asia”. Scholars from Canada, Japan, Russia, South Korea, the UK, and the US discussed the numerous geopolitical and social problems of Northeast Asia. The second day consisted of three sessions: “Sino-Russian Dynamics: The Fault-line of Northeast Asian Competitive Cooperation,” “Migration Policy and the Movement of Peoples in the Russian Far East,” and “Theorizing Northeast Asia: Power, Interests, and Ideology”. At these sessions, scholars from China, Japan, Poland, Russia, Singapore, South Korea and the US analyzed the process of formation of regional communities and theory construction from the perspective of bilateral relations in the region. Among the many fruitful discussions, the keynote lecture and the first session were further developed for this publication.

The NIHU Area Studies Project for Northeast Asia of the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center (Hokkaido University) co-hosted this symposium with several different universities and research organizations including the Center for Northeast Asian Studies (Tohoku University), Center for Asia-Pacific Future Studies (Kyushu University), University of Kitakyushu, Kyushu Economic Research Center, Asian Growth Research Institute, Japan International Border Studies Network (JIBSN), academic institutions and organizations of Kitakyushu City, and the West Japan Industry and Trade Convention Association. This project aims to facilitate the inter-university research activities

as well as the interactions between academia, and local government and municipality.



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# Positioning Asia and Kyushu in Shifting Global Politics

## A REFLECTION ON EAST ASIAN IR THEORY BUILDING: FROM HERE TO WHERE?

*Yong-Chool Ha (University of Washington)*

Good morning ladies and gentleman. It is my honor to make a keynote speech today. Before I start my speech, let me begin by expressing my deep gratitude to Professor Iwashita at the Center for Asia-Pacific Future Studies, Kyushu University for organizing this timely and important conference. Professor Iwashita has been a long-time friend and colleague of mine who has been tirelessly working for new visions for the future of East Asia and Eurasia and beyond. He has been a leader, innovator and true entrepreneur in initiating many projects and ideas to promote a better future for East Asia and Eurasia. By now we all are familiar with border studies, which is his signature project. I only wish him further success in whatever he chooses to do in the future.

Today I would like to make a few reflections on the current status of studies in East Asia with a particular focus on East Asian international relations theories and regional integration. I will raise two broad questions regarding building East Asian IR theories: One concerns how to identify distinctive aspects of East Asia in thinking about international relations theories. The second is the level of analysis in the current discussions of building IR theories in East Asia.

For the last two decades, scholars have paid attention to the challenging quest for IR theories which are germane to East Asia. Most agree that the mainstream international theories are limited in being able to capture international phenomena in the East Asian region. Theories based on Western, and especially West European experience, are of limited value in making sense of the Asian context. The reason for the limited value of mainstream international relations theories is that they are based on Western experiences, which include histories, experiences and traditions of the United States and Western Europe.

The initial effort to apply Western frameworks to East Asia turned out to be limited and most scholars agree that further exploration of the distinctive aspects of East

Asia is necessary to build new international theories for the region. Distinctions include the hierarchical nature of the regional order, Asian state behaviors that cannot be explained by current IR theories and limited liberal institutionalism due to variations in economic and social systems. The admission that Western frameworks are limited is welcome. However, this list of distinctive features is not exhaustive. A critical question is whether Asia's distinctive qualities which are relevant to new international relations theory can be fully grasped by the current international relations theories, or not. I contend that we should go beyond the IR field in preparing a base for new international relations theories in East Asia. The intellectual history of Western international relations theories demonstrates that building international theories involves so many areas, such as history, economy and psychology. The current training background of the IR field is inadequate for new theory building because of the artificial disciplinary boundaries to which scholars in the IR field cling.

The existing situation in East Asia international theory building is analogous to long forgotten modernization theory in comparative politics and sociology. More specifically, I am referring to the debates on the validity of modernization theory in understanding the third world development in the late 1960s and 1970s. Modernization theory assumed unidirectional social and economic change and was based on the assumption of universal change. It projected the future of the non-Western world based on Western experiences. Ultimately, modernization theory was criticized logically and empirically. The sources of challenge were varied, and included political economy, BA regime theory and sociology of late development.

The analogy between the contemporary status of IR in East Asia and modernization theory cannot be more vivid in that the initial application of Western frameworks turned out to be inadequate to explain the non-Western world. If this analogy stands, reviewing intellectual trends in the aftermath modernization theory to derive any hints in developing East Asian IR theories would be useful.

The assumption of uni-directionality of modernization theory has been severely criticized by the counter argument that history goes through multiple paths. The assumption of universality has also been challenged by diversity in the patterns of social change in the non-Western world. In short, universal claims by the modernization paradigm shifted to the efforts to contextualize each case of modernization. Contextualization arose in different fields and in different forms: varieties of capitalism in political economy and democratic transition in political science are good examples. What is most notable in challenging the modernization paradigm, however, was recognition of the role of tradition in understanding social change in the non-Western world.

Tradition is assumed to disappear in modernization theory. Contrary to this claim, however, later findings indicate that the role and impact of tradition varies widely depending on different contexts for change. Sometimes tradition even plays a positive role in economic development. As the cases of late industrialization illustrate, traditional institutions and values facilitate institutional workings in non-Western industrialization. In fact, the role of tradition in modernization in the non-Western world turned out to be the most important factor in differentiating non-Western modernization from that

of Western Europe.

Lessons from the fate of the modernization paradigm for IR in East Asia should not be limited to abstract thinking that Western IR theories may not work and thus that they should be not applied to East Asia. We should think about what is involved in understanding the distinctiveness in East Asian experiences and what the implications are for IR theory building on East Asia.

Most important is recognition that building theory is not the same as its application. IR theory building is based on the totality of experiences from which IR theories can be formulated, as the backgrounds of Western IR theories clearly indicate. One critical variable in Western IR theories is the nation state. As we all are fully aware, the process for the nation state to emerge was a long and protracted one even after the Westphalian treaty. There was a constant interplay of dynamics between economy, ideology, politics and the military. In fact, the different orientations in Western IR tradition stem exactly from how to interpret this long historical process. It is also clear that Western IR theories are extensions of domestic political order, whether liberalism or Marxism.

What Western experiences show us is that IR theory building is a complicated process involving the close examination of all the relevant experiences to international relations. Viewed in this perspective IR theory building on East Asia has barely made a first step. All the phenomena that are suggested by IR specialists as unique to East Asia are restricted in scope as they are limited to only those that are different from Western experiences. One typical example is the so-called 'Asian paradox'. The Asian paradox is a paradox largely because it is understood in neo-functional terms. Identifying differences is not the same as grasping the whole of which those differences are only a part. What is necessary is to scrutinize modernization going on in East Asia. This job clearly goes beyond the conventional territory of international relations. I question whether the current IR field is adequately equipped in terms of training and the coverage of fields needed for theory building.

There are many areas that require detailed analysis to flesh out international perspectives that will, in turn, become a foundation for building IR theories on East Asia. Among them I will point to history, industrialization and international development. History provides important clues to international experiences of peoples and nations, and as such, it is an essential part of new theory building. One historical question that has been mentioned in delineating the distinctiveness of the East Asian region is humiliation and the sense of inferiority from colonial rule or imperialism. There is no denying that they are important historical legacies. However, one cannot but wonder whether studies on the colonial and imperial legacies remain at a superficial level without being fully analyzed in conjunction with IR theory building in East Asia. For example, questions, such as how colonial rule affected the perception of war and peace and how the concept of enemy evolved in the process and aftermath of colonial rule need to be addressed.

Another question for East Asia IR theory building is whether, or not, a past regional order will remerge. This is certainly an interesting intellectual exercise. What is

at stake in the debate is how to understand the return of tradition. If indeed tradition comes back, will it be same as in the past or in changed forms? If the latter is the case, what determines the difference from the past?

Discussions on the invention of tradition in comparative politics are quite relevant. Tradition should not be taken as static; it should be distinguished from the traditional. Tradition is constantly redefined and upgraded depending on who takes up the task. When we discuss the reemergence of the 19th century Chinese world order we need to be very specific about the contexts in which tradition changed.

One of the most important contexts is industrialization and modernization. One clearly distinct aspect of East Asian industrialization is lateness, whether in Japan, Korea, China or elsewhere. Late industrialization always brings up the issue of tradition. Unlike the modernization paradigm claimed, traditional institutions and values are frequently invoked to facilitate late industrialization. This invocation of traditional institutions and values is bound to have a bearing on social and political development. Each case of late industrialization has its own unique way of assimilating its own tradition, causing diversity in patterns of social and political change. This diversity also means variety in international perspectives. Analyzing the distinct international perspectives that are developing in different countries is therefore necessary. One example is nationalism. Rather than developing different labels for nationalism, its contents need to be closely examined in specific contexts.

A related factor that causes divergence is the international environment in which late industrialization occurs. For example, Japan's industrialization unfolded in the context of imperialism, for South Korea in the context of the Cold War, and for China in the context of globalization. In each case, the international environment affected the mode of economic development differently and each case picked up distinct international perspectives. For example, Japan was able to justify its international behavior by way of the international standards of the time, while China is rapidly learning international norms in the context of globalization. Such distinctive international learning and its impact need to be considered in thinking about IR theories on East Asia. In this regard, the mundane issue of nationalism needs to be examined in the context of different late industrialization cases. In addition, at a domestic level late industrialization gives rise to distinct international perspectives separate from the international environment. As a result, the revival of the 19th century regional order should be approached in conjunction with modernization and industrialization processes going on in East Asia, especially from the perspective of how tradition is invented.

Another example which deserves attention in thinking about IR on East Asia is international development that has been evolving in the region. This goes beyond shifting military power balance. Unlike in Western Europe, East Asia has gone through a convoluted historical process. For a long time, East Asia has been under the influence of Western powers, most prominently American power. What is unfolding before our eyes is finally the beginning of what I call the de-Americanization process. The diminishing influence of the United States seems inevitable, and this process is not limited merely to policy shift; it has serious implications for structural changes in international

relations in East Asia. How to handle the de-Americanization process will have a profound impact on the future of the regional order.

As Western international relations theories are based on domestic, regional and international experiences as they pertain to international relations, so too should IR theories in East Asia. Beyond the stage of identification of differences from the West, IR theory builders should start looking into the totality of East Asian experiences that are relevant to IR theory building. As most nations in East Asia are late comers to industrialization, so the process and nature of building a regional order in East Asia will certainly be different. While we should learn from Western experiences, we should not forget that the region will tread a different path. We must remember that the process of preparing new IR theories in East Asia goes way beyond the conventional territory of the IR field. In this sense, we must change our position from theory application to theory building mode. Most important would be to flesh out the international orientations that may develop from the modernization and industrialization process unfolding in East Asia. From this perspective, perhaps it may be premature to take the job of IR theory building in East Asia.

Lastly, I would like to mention methodology in thinking about IR theories in East Asia. Mostly coming from the Western IR background there seems to exist a rigid conceptual barrier between macro and micro phenomena. This conceptual barrier leads to a tendency in the field that whatever happens at local levels or micro-levels is regarded as insignificant. The rigid distinction between macro-structural and micro-processes may be sensible in the already fixed international structure. However, in a region like East Asia where everything is so fluid, it is strategically important to pay attention to local and micro dynamics. To understand macro implications of micro phenomena is an essential part of our theoretical imagination. In this regard, I would like to direct our attention to so many happenings at the local level. For instance, local interactions among Japanese, Koreans and Chinese in Fukuoka, on Jeju Island, on Tsushima Island, at the Tuman River, and in the Dandong area are good examples where we can observe a possible divergence between the formal state level actions and those at the local level. As far as I can see, people in the region have increasingly experienced human interactions that sometimes overwhelm the central government's formal policy directions. During my stay at Kyushu University I heard a moving story where local residents in Kyushu looked for family members of forced mining workers in Korea during the colonial period for reconciliation.

Most importantly the border study projects that Professor Iwashita launched have produced so many stories about border regions. North Korean border stories, the Okinawa situation and Sino-Russian border areas are good cases in point. In one of the conferences that he was involved in, as I distinctly remember, Professor Iwashita remarked that nationalism near the border is quite different from other regions. I propose here to start a project to collect all the micro cases of regional dynamics. These cases will provide us with important opportunities not only to understand local dynamics; they may open up new clues in thinking about macro-structural consequences in the future. I argue it is high time to loosen the shackles of macro-determinism, especially

when we are dealing with an ever-changing regional order.

Concluding my speech, I would like to make summarizing observations. First, we should realize that building new international theories requires close examination of the international implications of political, economic, historical and psychological changes that develop in a region. In this regard, East Asia is not an exception. From this perspective, in the current field of IR theories, East Asia has just completed the task of identifying the limited value of Western IR theories in understanding East Asian international dynamics. We should go beyond this initial stage to identify and analyze the totality of East Asian experiences from the perspective of IR theory building. This would require us to go beyond conventional IR fields. Our hands are full, and as late industrializations forge ahead, perhaps we need to hurry in catching up with the history and reality of East Asia.

## SHAPING EAST ASIA'S REGIONAL ORDER

*T.J. Pempel (University of California, Berkeley)*

I will talk about the changing order in East Asia, and the Asia-Pacific, and specifically Japan's role within that changing order. Mine will be a rather macro-level perspective. But let me start with a very obvious point: the Asia-Pacific is undergoing a change in its order, reconfiguring both economics and security. This process has been going on with varying degrees of acceleration and deceleration over time. The result has been deeper and more encompassing lines of interdependence across the Asia-Pacific region. Yet within that general outline, the specific details of the emerging order remain murky and will remain subject to the actions of individuals and different states. The emerging order is thus very much a work in progress.

To sketch this changing order, I want to draw your attention to three major dimensions along which change is taking place. The first is the change in the nature of security. Changes in security have been going on since the end of bipolarity, which I mark from the 1972 visit of Richard Nixon to China and the changes in Chinese economic policy begun under Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s. There has been a significant improvement in the positive state-to-state interactions that have taken place, perhaps until very recently. In addition, there has been a parallel decline in the military confrontations across the region, along with a diminution in most countries' reliance on military prowess as a tool of foreign policy.

The second big change involves economic shifts that blurred the ideological gaps that once separated the two sides in the Cold War, and that were erected to stymie economic interactions between China and America's Cold War allies. These economic shifts have since been marked by extensive cross-border investments, interdependence, foreign direct investment in East Asian finance and investment and trade.

Third, we have seen substantial growth in the number of regional institutions that

span the arc of security and economics and pull together at the official level a number of different governments in a variety of different organizations.

I want to go into a little bit more detail on each of these. Let me start with ending bipolarity. The normalization of relations between China and the United States, Japan, South Korea, and a number of America's Cold War allies, began this process, and it was accelerated with the economic changes introduced in China by President Deng Xiaoping. The end result has been the general diminution of state-to-state conflicts. The Cold War has hardly vanished in East Asia, but the degree of hard security conflict has been severely diminished. Despite the tensions that we see in the newspapers on a regular basis, we have had the benefits of what might be called an East Asia peace in Northeast Asia, since the end of the Korean conflict in 1953, and across Southeast Asia as well since 1979. So, while we do have tensions on the Korean peninsula and between Taiwan and the PRC, as well as over island disputes in the East and South China Seas, we should remember that, for the most part, these have not been generating state-to-state conflicts and major warfare.

The second point to stress is the deepening of intra-Asian economic relationships and financial interdependence. An important starting point is that as economic development across individual countries began to proceed in East Asia, numerous leaders began to pivot their domestic legitimacy on the provision of economic benefits to their citizens. They have moved away from focusing on military prowess and have instead emphasized domestic economic development as the main basis for their legitimacy. In this context we have seen national development projects within numerous countries becoming increasingly interwoven with one another through the development of regional production networks and cross-border investments. Consequently, intra-Asian trade is almost at the same level as intra-European trade levels. We have had a number of these corporate moves to weave together closer linkages across national borders in East Asia.

Meanwhile, intra-Asian investment has risen, particularly since the 1990s, the cumulative effect of which has been the increase in cross-border production and deepening levels of interdependence within East Asia. A further effect has been the reduced dependence of individual East Asian countries on the markets within the United States, even though the US ultimately remains a major market for many of the goods that are sent from the collective Asian development effort.

Finally, the third point is deepening regional institutionalization. Bottom-up corporate development in investment and trade ties has been enhanced by a build-up in formal regional institutions that involve a top-down process driven by government interactions. The Cold War has not disappeared. We still have the alliance structures that link certain governments, but these have been supplemented by a growing interdependence among states and a growing institutionalization of state participation in formal institutions, particularly within the economic area. This has led to an increase in inter-governmental interactions that cut across security tensions as well as the old Cold War lines that previously divided the region.

This process happened for most of the 1990s and well into the 2000s. It has led to increased interdependence and the rise in a huge number of regional institutions, many

of which are familiar to you. We have had Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC), the ASEAN regional forum (ARF), we have had the Chiang Mai Initiative, we have had the ASEAN-plus-three, and numerous others. In particular, these have been forming within Asia in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997 and 1998. The crisis led many countries to recognize that they had much more in common with one another on economic grounds. However, there has yet to be any conviction on the part of East Asian governments that they have some common enemy that would link them together on security. So there has been a much closer inter-connection institutionally in economics and finance, than there has been in security.

How does Japan fit into this emerging order, and what role does it play? One way to think about this is the tension that Japan faces between security and economics on the one hand and then bilateralism and regionalism on the other. Everyone recognizes that the starting point for Japan is to continue making the United States the major pillar for its foreign policy. It has maintained robust ties on both economics and security to the United States. Nevertheless, once bipolarity began to end in East Asia, Japan opened itself up to closer ties with China. As we know, economic relations between Japan and China grew very quickly after the normalization of relations in 1972, and then accelerated during the 1980s. Ministry of Foreign Affairs data suggests that between 1979 and early 2016, Japan sent approximately 3.3 trillion yen in loan aid, 157 billion yen in grant aid, and 181 billion yen in technical aid to China. This aid, however, represents a dependence that China has not been very vocal in articulating. Japan, on the other hand, took a great deal of pride for a very long period of time in its role in boosting Chinese economic development. There was a 30-year period of congeniality between the two countries that only began to be challenged around 2008.

Despite Japan's deepening economic ties with China, and despite the rise in the number of regional and multilateral bodies that Japan has participated in, Japan's foreign policy continues to be closely tied to that of the United States. As a consequence, and as a result of trying to keep the United States deeply engaged in the Asian region, Japan, along with Australia and other countries, created APEC and the ARF. These were institutional efforts to weave the United States more deeply into links across the Asia-Pacific, and to keep the United States closely engaged with Japan and with the rest of the region. This relationship came to something of a crisis in the 1997 financial difficulties when Japan proposed the Asian Monetary Fund as a way to deal with the financial turmoil. China, the United States, and the IMF were very upset, and Japan dropped its proposal. Nevertheless, Japan has been a strong proponent of regional integration through institutions and has played a powerful role in helping to create closer security relations within Asia, and in keeping the United States engaged in Asian regional institutions.

The United States and Japan deepened their bilateral security ties as part of the Obama pivot, or the re-positioning. As China's rise has challenged previous foreign policy considerations of the United States and Japan, the US and Japan have drawn ever closer in their security relationships. Japan has taken on a much more active role in its own hard security and has re-defined what is constitutionally possible in using



its self-defense forces. However, we are coming to something of a watershed with the election of Donald Trump as president, and the possibility that many of the long-standing relationships between Japan and the United States will be up-ended as a result of his priorities. Many of the long-standing expectations about that relationship are being drawn into question. Trump has started by removing the US from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which for both Obama and Abe was an important part of linking the United States and Japan economically to the Asian region and to one another.

To conclude let me say that economics and finance continue to show an expanded integration, and are increasingly organized through multilateral forms and multilateral institutions. Regional security institutions, on the other hand, have not been equally forceful in pulling the countries together. I think this is a point — the lack of empathy among the various states in the region — that the next speaker, Professor Evans, will be drawing to our attention. Nevertheless, Japan has been an active and enthusiastic member of multilateral institutions. In the economics and finance areas it has worked energetically to keep the United States closely engaged with the Asian region. On security Japan has endeavored to forge a close tie with the US.

The great difficulty Japan currently faces and that Asia faces collectively, is the possibility of a serious withdrawal politically and institutionally from the continent by the United States. This is something that Donald Trump has emphasized with his promise of “making America great again”, advocating increased protectionism and isolation for the United States, and a growing reduction of the US role in East Asia. For Japan and for other countries in the region, this is going to create serious problems not only in security but also in the economic arena. So, it is with that relatively pessimistic note that I want to bring my comments to a close, and let me thank you very much for your attention.

## RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ASIA AND KYUSHU

### *Hiroyuki Okamoto (Kyushu Economic Research Center) (Figure 1)*

Kyushu is a gateway to Asia. The role of Kyushu is to connect Asia and Japan. Shanghai and Seoul are closer than Tokyo. Fukuoka airport has convenient access to the major Asian cities. **(Figure 2)**

Historically, in Kyushu, there were threats from the Asian continent. In the 6th century, there was Dazaifu. The imperial regional government office, Dazaifu and Mizuki were built as defense facilities against threats from the Asian continent. In the 13th century, Kyushu suffered two attacks by the Mongolian army. As Professor Ha described in his keynote speech, Kyushu has been experiencing interactions with Asian countries for a long time ago. Let us look at our history with Asian countries.

This gold seal **(Figure 3)**, which was granted by ancient China, was found in Kyushu. There was Kolkan which was the imperial guest house for envoys from China and

Korea in the 6th century. In the 11th century, Kyushu had the first Chinatown in Japan. In the 13th century, green tea, udon noodles and, manju sweet buns were brought from China into Japan via Kyushu. Today, all of them are common foods.

Kyushu was the first place in Japan where Christianity was introduced by Francisco Xavier. Although Japan had a period of national isolation in the Edo era (c1600-1868), Dejima in Kyushu was the only open port to foreign nations. In the Meiji Restoration, a political transformation to build a modern state, Kyushu served as a driving force in the movement, because samurai of Kyushu could get information on foreign countries. **(Figure 4)**

Japan's traditional industry is also affected by Asia. The town of Arita, which is 100 miles from here, was the first place to produce porcelain in Japan. Porcelain produced in Arita is the most refined. Production began in 1600. That was supported by a Korean potter called Ri Sanpei (year of birth unknown-1655). He was one of the most respected Koreans in Japan. People in Arita built a monument to him to express their gratitude. **(Figure 5)**

People of Kyushu had supported Sun Yat-Sen who forged a political revolution in China, called the Xinhai Revolution, in 1911. I think this is the empathy that Professor Evans described in his speech. People of Kyushu had empathy for Sun Yat-Sen and helped him.

Kyushu is highly dependent on Asia. Kyushu's largest trading partner is China, accounting for 20 percent of exports and 60 percent of imports. **Figure 6** indicates that Kyushu's economy is closely linked to the Asian economy. The degree of Kyushu's economic linkage with Asia is higher than the national average, except for the value of imports. **(Figure 7)**

In 2015, Kyushu posted a record high number of foreigners entering, due to a sharp increase in the number of foreign cruise ships calling port at Kyushu. Most tourists who use cruise ships are Chinese. By nationality, Koreans occupy the majority. **(Figure 8)**

Kyushu has close relationships among local governments in East Asian countries. We have had the Japan-Korea Strait Governor meeting since 1992. In this meeting, we discuss sightseeing, environmental technology, and youth exchange programs. **(Figure 9)**

Kyushu, China, and Korea face the Yellow Sea. The Pan-Yellow Sea Economic and Technical Exchange Meeting has been held in this region's coastal cities since 2001. This meeting aims to expand exchange and create investment and technology in the Yellow Sea region. It consists of ten think-tanks in Kyushu and Korea. We hold a general meeting and study meeting annually in Kyushu and Korea. **(Figure 10)**

Kyushu's economy is relatively large. Kyushu's Gross Regional Product (GRP), which has a similar meaning to Gross Domestic Product, is as large as that of Norway, which ranks 20th worldwide. It is larger than Thailand and Malaysia. Kyushu is as large as Spain and larger than Korea and Taiwan. **(Figure 11)**

Kyushu's economy is known as the 10 percent economy of Japan. Key indicators

such as land area, population and GRP are 10 percent of the national figure (**Figures 12 & 13**). However, there are several industries with a high market share relative to the rest of Japan. Kyushu is often called the “silicon island” or the “car island” or the “food island” (**Figures 14, 15 & 16**). Let me briefly explain about the features of Kyushu’s main industry. In Japan, the semiconductor industry has been forced to reorganized, but 30 percent of integrated circuit production in Japan is still carried out in Kyushu. Kyushu is one of Japan’s largest automotive production bases. There are several assembly plants for Nissan, Toyota and Daihatsu. Nissan is purchasing components and materials from China and Korea. The amount of cars produced in Kyushu reached 1.3 million vehicles. Toyota is producing Lexus brands. About 70 percent of vehicles produced by Nissan and Toyota are exported to China and the United States. Motor vehicles are a top item of exported goods in Kyushu. The automotive industry creates 46,000 jobs in Kyushu. Agricultural products amounted to 1.8 trillion yen. This is 20 percent of national agricultural output. Now we are trying to export our agricultural products to other Asian countries.

For greater stability in Asia, Kyushu can cooperate with Asian countries on some issues. Firstly, air pollution issues. As cities close to Kyushu have rapidly grown, they face serious environmental issues such as air and water pollution. It is difficult to respond to these issues without inter-city cooperation and mutual networks. Kyushu has a history to overcome air pollution. We can help other Asian people and countries. Secondly, water issues. Water is a must for cities to grow. The city of Fukuoka has suffered from a serious shortage of water for years. Today, Fukuoka is a water-efficient city. The city of Kita-Kyushu has cooperated with China, Cambodia, and Vietnam to solve water leaks and water quality management. I think inter-city cooperation on environmental issues will stabilize Asia.

Thirdly, cultural exchange in the arts and animations contribute to peace in Asia. The Fukuoka Asia Culture Prize started in 1990. It is a means of showing respect to those who have contributed to the arts and culture in Asia. Animation also contributes to understanding. For example, 60 million copies of One Piece are printed and sold in more than 35 countries. Galaxy Express 999 is also a famous animation. The best authors of these animations were born in Kyushu.

Figure - 1

## Introduction to Kyushu Economic Research Center

### Kyushu Economic Research Center

- Established in 1946.
- Public interest incorporated foundation accredited by the Cabinet Office
- Private research institute (think tank) that conducts research on social economy, industrial trends, and regional policy related to Kyushu, Okinawa, and Yamaguchi
- Conducts voluntary research (including publication of monthly reports and Economic Survey of Kyushu) using contributions from supporting members, and also operates the Economics Library BIZCOLI.
- Investigative services (about 60 investigations a year) provided to national government, prefectures, cities, towns, and villages
- Holds a number of economic report meetings, seminars, etc.

Location	Denki Building Kyosokan 5F, 2-1-82 Watanabedori, Chuo-ku, Fukuoka City
Number of staff	56, consisting of 28 full-time officers and staff, 12 research trainees (seconded personnel), and 16 dispatched staff and part-timers.



Monthly report by Kyushu Economic Research Center



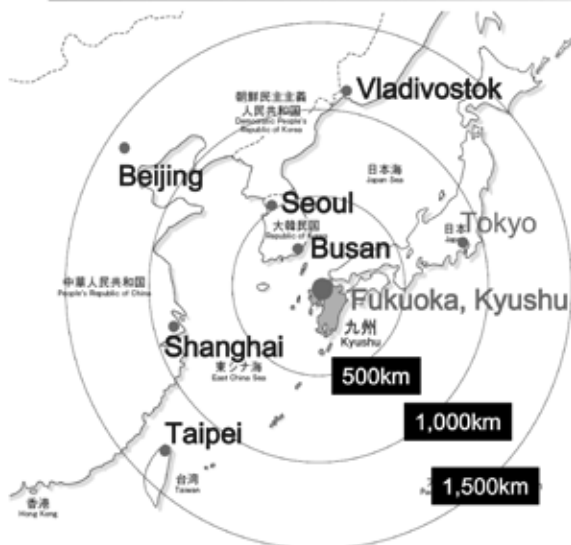
Economic Survey of Kyushu 2016

2

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 2

## The Role of Kyushu is to Connect Asia and Japan.



from Fukuoka

200km: Busan (KOREA)

500km: Seoul

1,000km: Shanghai, Tokyo

1,500km: Beijing

Taipei (TAIWAN)

Source: Kyushu Economic Research Center (KERC)

6

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 3

## Kyushu : A Window for the Interchange with Asian Nations



鴻臚館, Guesthouse in 6<sup>th</sup> century  
Source: <http://blog.goo.ne.jp/nambashout/e/91e693ac80623574695f1027a942b484>

11

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 4

## Kyushu : A Window for the Interchange with Asian Nations



<https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/フランシスコ・ザビエル>



Source: <http://blog.livedoor.jp/hongxilong/archives/52213996.html>



Source: <http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/戊辰戦争>

12

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 5

## The Birth of Porcelain in Arita, Japan, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century

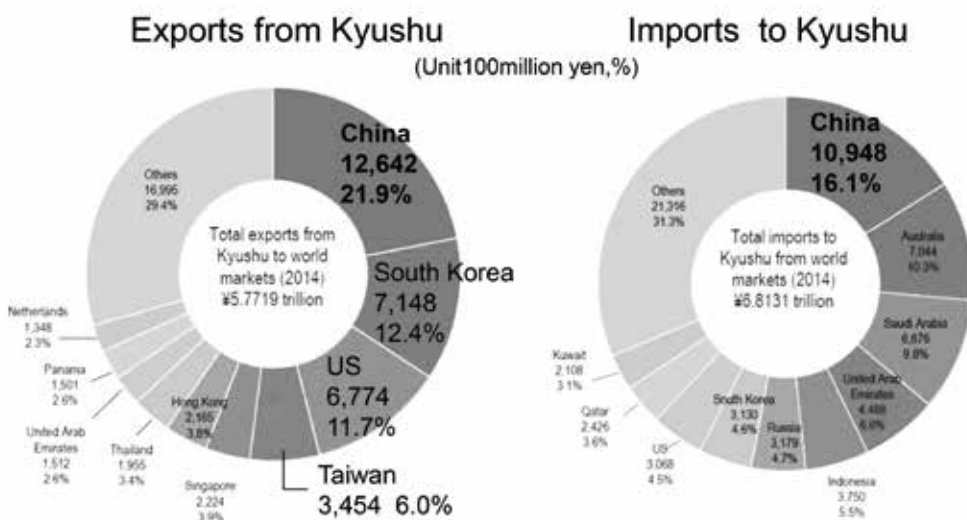


13

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 6

## China : Kyushu's Largest Trading Partner



Source: 2015 Data on the Internationalization of the Kyushu Economy, Kyushu Bureau of Economy, Trade and Industry

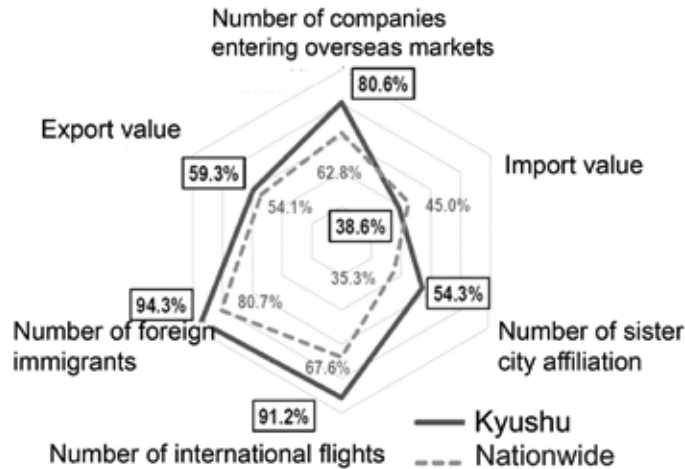
16

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 7

## Linkage to the Asian Economy

Comparison between Kyushu and Japan's national average in the linkage to Asia (2014)



Source: 2015 Data on the Internationalization of the Kyushu Economy, Kyushu Bureau of Economy, Trade and Industry

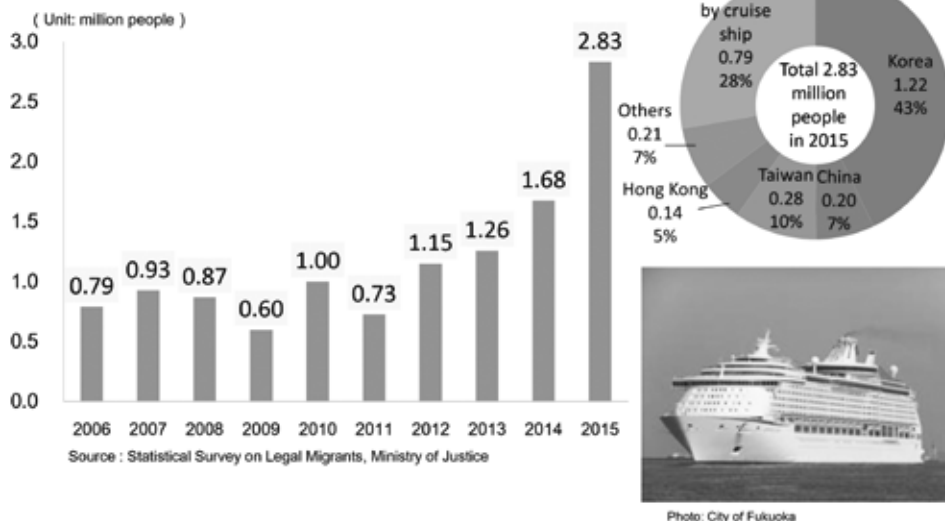
17

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 8

## Sharp Increase of Foreigners Entering Kyushu

The number of foreigners entering Kyushu



18

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 9

## Japan-Korea Summit Governor Meeting since 1992

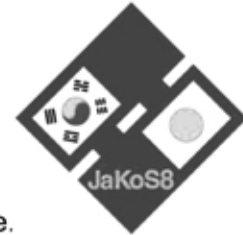
- Participating local government

Japan:

Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Yamaguchi

Korea:

Busan Metropolitan City, Gyeongsangnam-do, Jeollanam-do, Jeju Special Self-governing Province.



Source: <http://www.pref.yamaguchi.lg.jp/press/201610/035442.html>.

Source: <http://www.pref.fukuoka.lg.jp/contents/24nikkanchijikaigi.html>

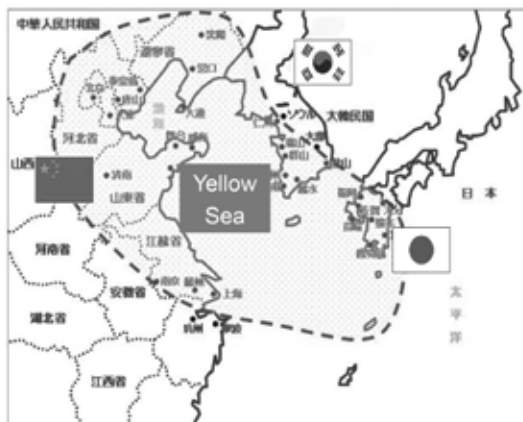
19

Kyushu Economic Research Center

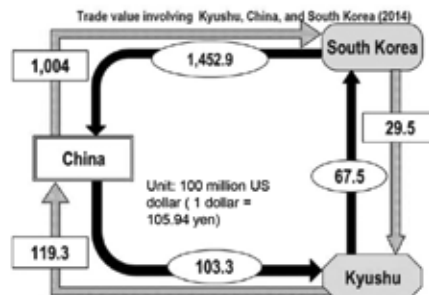
Figure - 10

## Pan Yellow Sea Economic and Technical Exchange Meeting since 2001

Pan Yellow Sea Area



- The population of Pan Yellow Sea area is 400 million people, 6% of the world.
- The GDP reaches 5% of the world.

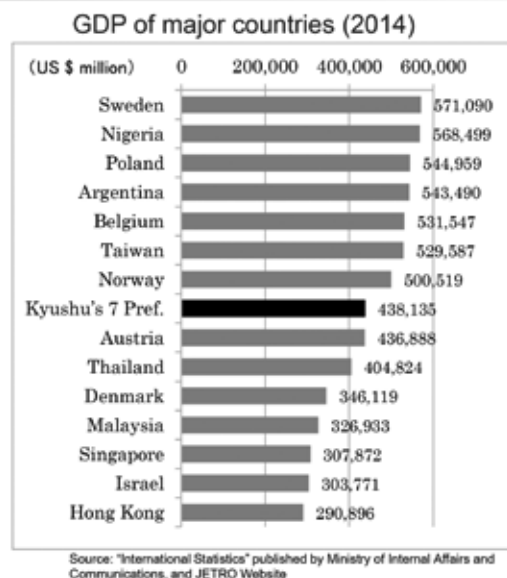


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Kyushu Economic Research Center



## Kyushu's Position: Top 20 Level in the World



## Kyushu Represents 10% of Japan Economy

• Land area:	44,513 km <sup>2</sup>	... 11.8%	(2015)
• Population:	14.4 million	... 11.4%	(2015)
	– About 30% of Korea's population, about 60% of Taiwan's, about 120% of those of Hong Kong and Singapore combined, and about 90% of that of the Netherlands		
• Real GRP:	47.8 trillion yen	... 9.4%	(FY2013)
	– About 50% of GDP of Korea, and about 120% of that of Belgium/Taiwan		
• Retail sales:	13.1 trillion yen	... 10.7%	(2014)
• Oil consumption:	17.2 million kl	... 10.0%	(FY2015)
• Energy sales:	87 billion kWh	... 10.9%	(FY2015)
• Value of construction starts:	2.5 trillion yen	... 9.8%	(FY2015)
• No. of new housing starts:	102,752	... 11.3%	(2015)
• Value of contracted public works:	1.7 trillion yen	... 11.5%	(FY2015)

Source: Outline of Kyushu Economy

Figure - 13

## Kyushu`s Industries Representing over 10% of the National Economy

• Agricultural product	1.8 trillion yen	...	21.3%	(2014)
• Production of forest raw materials	4.64 million m <sup>3</sup>	...	23.1%	(2015)
• Fish catch including fish farming	830,000 tons	...	17.6%	(2014)
• Crude steel production	15.70 million tons	...	14.9%	(2015)
• Steel ship production	3.78 million gross tons	...	30.0%	(FY2015)
• Integrated circuit production	0.6 trillion yen	...	27.0%	(FY2015)
• Vehicle production	1.33 million vehicles	...	14%	(2015)

Source: Outline of Kyushu Economy



Figure - 14

## Silicon Island Kyushu : 30% Share of the Nation

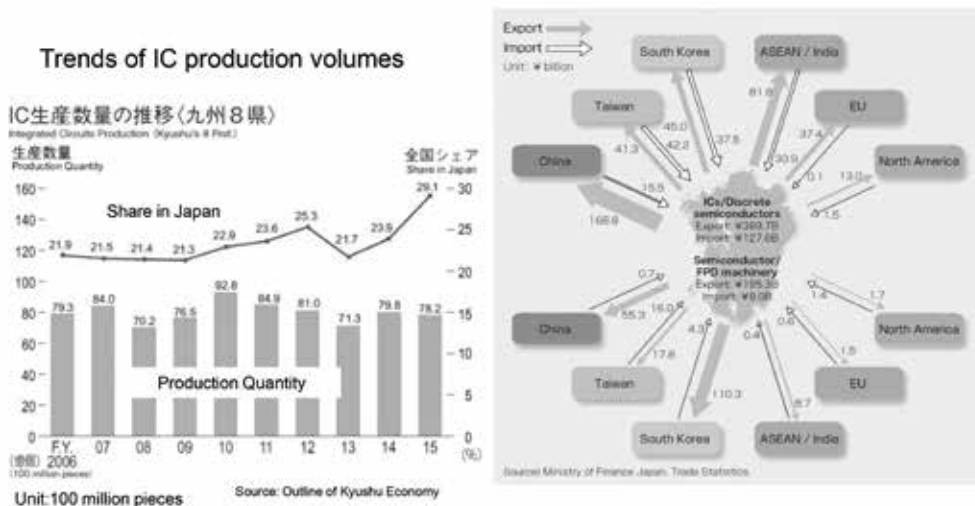
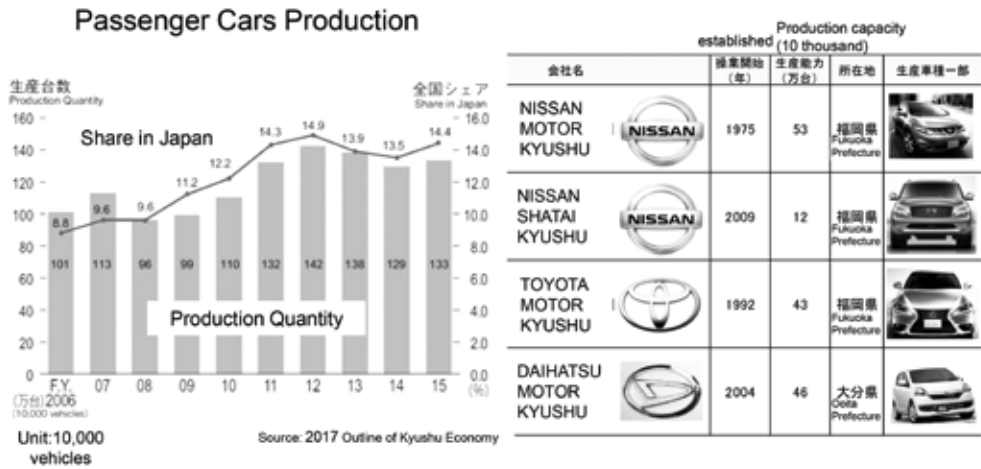


Figure - 15

## Car Island Kyushu : 14% Share of the Nation

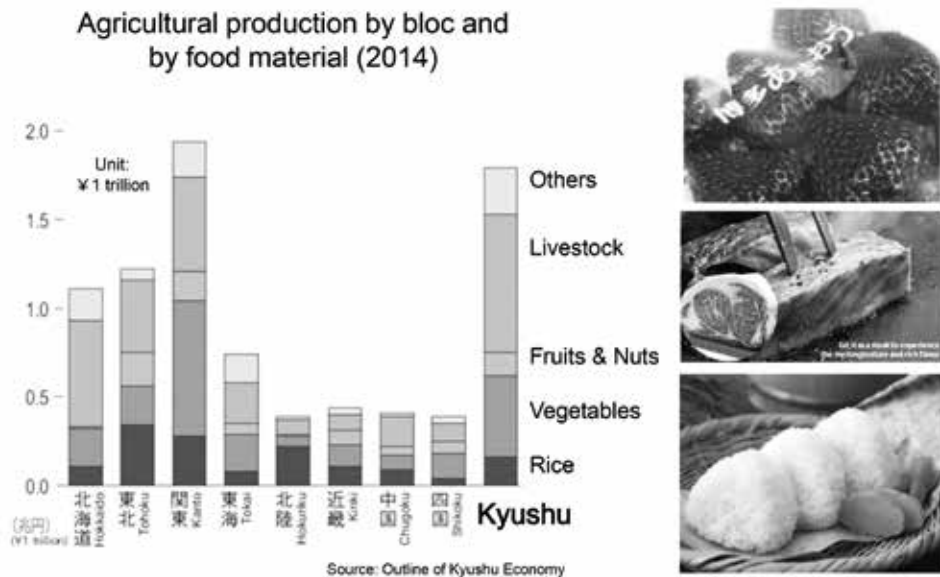


27

Kyushu Economic Research Center

Figure - 16

## Food Island Kyushu : 20% Share of the Nation



28

Kyushu Economic Research Center

## BUILDING TRUST IN NORTHEAST ASIA UNDER GLOOMY GLOBAL SKIES: THE ROLE FOR ACADEMICS

*Paul Evans (Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia)*

I am going to begin where Professor Pempel ended, which is with a view of the gloomy skies of 2016. What I would like to do is paint a global picture and then bring it down to the local situation, about which Professor Ha opened the conversation.

Why do I say, “gloomy global skies?” Historians may well look back on the year 2016 as the moment when the liberal world order that we have lived under and supported for most of the last 70 years reached a tipping point. It is not going to collapse, but it is going to change. If we look at the output of the world economy, we are getting growth estimates of 1.2 percent for the past year. More than that, liberal democratic institutions have not had a good year. Several countries are sliding backwards, Turkey, Thailand and the Philippines among them. Populism, extremism, xenophobia, and distrust of institutions are eroding support for moderate politics. Simply use the word “Brexit” to summon to mind the challenge presented by anti-globalization views, extremism, populism, and the fractures within democracies.

Professor Pempel, I apologize in advance (the Canadian way) because I am going to make some comments about Canada’s nearest neighbor, its President elect, and what this means for the world democracies.

The unease about Mr. Trump’s victory is palpable in Canada, Japan and the other countries I have visited in the past month including China, Indonesia, and Singapore. The anxiety is not just about Mr. Trump as President but the social forces in the United States revealed during the campaign. We all saw new fissures and divisions within American society, deeper polarization, a dysfunctional Congress. America has a wonderful system but it is not perfect and this may have been one of its most imperfect years.

Some of the forces at play are not unique to the United States. The backlash against globalization, anger about the 1 percent and inequality, intertwine with elements of racism, xenophobia, protectionism, and “us first”-ism. Multiple forces will constrain the new President from acting on his election promises. But one thing of which we can be very sure is that the United States will be more unpredictable for friend and foe alike. There will be major disruption to the patterns of expectations and relationships about American behavior and the US role in underpinning the liberal world order that it has anchored since the Second World War.

This world order will not suddenly collapse but it is going to demand leadership from new quarters and in new ways, often without the United States or around the United States on matters including climate change, the multilateral trading system, multilateral institutions, alliances, and peace keeping operations.

Let me give an example at the regional level: the American pivot, or re-balancing to Asia-Pacific. As I spoke last month with people at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

and at Japan's Self Defense Forces, it became very clear that everyone was deeply uncertain and anxious about the alliance system and the US role in the region. The Obama policy had been built on three foundations

One of them, the most important — at least the most evident, was a slow but steady build-up of military capacity across the Pacific. My sense is America is not going to back away from that military build-up. There is every indication that, in fact, we have the kind of leadership group which is about as close to a military-industrial complex as we have ever seen in an American cabinet, that the idea of more American ships, more American troops, in this region, are very strong possibilities.

Where we see potential disengagement is in the realms of trade and institution building. As Professor Pempel indicated, there are clear signs of protectionism and an America First approach. Mr Trump will likely withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership and possibly NAFTA. These will likely be replaced by new sets of bilateral negotiations.

As Canadians who live next door to the United States, we love our American neighbors dearly but do not always trust them and expect them to act largely on their immediate self-interests. At the same time, we have admired the United States as the creator of public goods and a country that lives largely by the rule of law and treaties. The United States is not going to withdraw from its trading arrangements with individual countries or its involvement in multilateral agreements — but it does appear poised to play a different game in trade matters, more transactional and US-centric. Officials in Ottawa, Tokyo, Singapore and virtually every other capital will scramble to secure their bilateral understandings and agreements with the US even as their knees shake about the future of the multilateral trading system that is so central to their economic well-being.

The third pillar is support for multilateral diplomatic process like the UN at the global level and the various ASEAN-centered security and political processes in the region. Professor Pempel provided a wonderful map of these cross-cutting and overlapping institutional footprints. To be sure, there has always been an American preference for bilateral agreements. But Washington has also supported nascent regional processes for several decades. Under Obama US diplomats gave a strong boost to regional multilateralism, trying to support rather than dominate or erode them. Mr. Trump's government will not abandon all of these processes but neither will it make them priorities.

Those who work on regional institutions in Asia know how slowly they are developing, how much patience is necessary to see them get traction on economic or security issues. So, for all of those reasons, I think that governments, including in Tokyo, are very concerned about what comes next, recognizing we are simply guessing.

It is in that context that this project is so important. I only know what I have heard in the two hours, mainly about what is happening at the ground level and in people-to-people contacts in Northeast Asia. What a wonderful project! I have been hoping this would happen for many years. But these micro-projects are going to be affected by what I fear is a coming geo-political tension of the sort we have not seen since the Cold War and even back to the 1930s when liberal democracies turned in against themselves,

the international institutions of the day collapsed and a naked form self-interest and strategic competition flourished.

And I am going to make two suggestions on what we do under that gloomy sky. The first of them is in the paper that I am tabling today but not presenting (See Appendix 2). It is about trust-building and confidence-building, through empathy in Northeast Asia. I am humbled and just delighted to see what this process is doing. Whatever else, it is making connections at the intellectual level, at the historical level, at the cultural level — connections among people that allow them to see the world through the lenses of others in the region. This is a topic we have been exploring with Chinese colleagues for the past three years and about which we recently published a special volume of the magazine *Global Asia*. The idea of empathy is a much under-valued concept in international relations and appears to be one of the things you are seeking to generate in this project.

But let me suggest a second thing that can be done. And this time I can speak with some pride, as a Canadian. Canada has a new government. Canada has a liberal government, a liberal internationalist government that defines itself in part by its “sunny ways” optimism. It came with a new approach to governance domestically. It has come in with an agenda that focuses on support for multilateralism and multilateral institutions. Canada is returning to peacekeeping and peace support operations. It is committed to open borders, reception of refugees and immigrants, free-trade arrangements, and fundamentally, a rule-based international order. Some say Canadians are acting like Canadians again. Canadians may be playing a Middle Power role again but it has 21st century characteristics and involves a new approach to mainland China.

Prime Minister Trudeau made a trip to China in August and September. And Premier Li Keqiang then visited Canada. We have had a quiet reset of the bilateral relationship, some of it focused on economics, including the first steps toward a free trade agreement. Some of it was on educational exchanges and other things. But the bigger picture was that we need to engage China at the global level on global issues, with the potential for responsible leadership on several key ones including climate change, environment, global health issues, and now, peacekeeping and peace support issues, China is not on the periphery. China is coming close to the center. And what Robert Zoellick referred to as China becoming a “responsible stakeholder” almost now seems passé. We need it as a responsible leader as America steps back from the role it has long played.

Some of the things China is doing are not so nice from that perspective, particularly in its maritime boundary issues. But in general, the argument is that we need to bring China more deeply into key institutions and regimes. What Mr Trudeau’s group is thinking about is the next level of that process. If any of you followed the G20 meetings in Hangzhou, and saw the dynamics of those meetings, the three countries that had the most ambitious agenda for institution-building in the G20 were the Germans, the Canadians, and the Chinese. The experience of interactions with China on high finance issues sees them now playing a role in producing public goods as important as any other major power.

Let me then conclude that we are now in an era that has been variously described

as multi-polar or multi-centric. We cannot count on the United States as we have in earlier times and will need to look for new types of leadership and coalitions of the willing and the relevant to address major global and regional issues. China will need to be a central part of that new order. It is the Canadian bet that with the right mix of firmness and accommodation China can play a constructive, indeed essential role in shaping it.

Thank you.

## DISCUSSANTS' COMMENTS

### *Beom-Shik Shin (Seoul National University)*

Professor Pempel explained how security and economics have various dimensions in the region. In addition, he suggested the kinds of institutional results that exist in the region. I think his theory has raised important and serious theoretical challenges. First of all, the issue of the relation between security and economy, and the theoretical task of understanding the security-economy nexus in international relations theory. As Professor Ha elaborated in his speech, international relations theory has evolved mainly from the experiences of the Western European states. As a result, IR theory cannot sufficiently explain the security-economy nexus in this region. At the risk of over-simplification, the realist perspective tends to understand security as leading the economy. A liberalist perspective, especially the functionalist group, tends to emphasize the economy's leading role over security. Nevertheless, both theories posit that security and economy move in the same direction. However, we need to consider what kind of condition underlies this coupling process of economy and security.

The role of the United States is very important. After World War II, until the end of the Cold War, the United States was the leading hegemon. It had responsibility for maintaining world security and the economic structure. Under these conditions, security and the economy could move in the same direction. However, with the advent of the post-Cold War era and the rise of China, the United States can no longer dominate the world economy. Changing international relations have come to challenge the existing situation. In Northeast Asia, security and the economy cannot go together. Even though security competition goes higher, economic cooperation goes further. In other words, hot economy and cold security co-exist. Some call this contradictory phenomenon to traditional Western IR theory the 'Asian Paradox'. Professor Pempel has appropriately pointed out that the combined changes in the external security order plus the increased significance of the cross-border economy and financial ties pose serious challenges to the deeply institutionalized combination of security and economy power positions, and the policies that were previously in play.

Adding to these findings, I will now consider the security-economy nexus and dynamics along with its conditions in the region. This can provide us with a more creative platform for building a new regional IR theory — a hope that Professor Ha expressed

in his speech. We need to study the following factors. First, we need to study how transformations in regional states impact on the regional order. If we look only through the great power politics framework, we cannot grasp and evaluate appropriately the changes in regional international politics. Of course, since the post-Cold War Era, Northeast Asia has been changed in a sense, but at the same time, it remains unchanged. The main rules or the actors may change, but the structure continues. However, regional player transformations have a strong impact on the regional mode of international interactions. Therefore, the task ahead is to explain the impact of regional states' transformations, such as democratization, marketization, or industrialization on the regional order.

Second, Professor Pempel's emphasis on the role of Japan in the region is interesting. Some may say that the rivalry between the United States and China will be the basic framework of the regional order. However, besides the United States and China, we need to pay more attention to relations between the so-called middle ground states, such as Japan, South Korea, North Korea, and Russia. If we put aside the extraordinary case of North Korea, cooperation between the middle-ground states can ultimately be the foundation of the future regional order. Especially if we accept that neither the United States nor China can prevail in this region for the time being, cooperation among the middle-ground states may have a decisive role in the process of regional transformation. In this respect, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzō Abe's efforts to improve relations with Russia, or the re-consolidation of South Korea and Japan's relations that have been fluctuating in recent years, can have a significant impact on the regional dynamics in the future. Furthermore, if Japan, South Korea, and Russia cooperate tri-laterally this will contribute greatly to stabilizing the regional order. They may take the buffer function between the United States and China. In this respect, we need to pay more attention to the significance of tri-lateral cooperation and unilateralism in the region. Concerning this, I would like to ask Professor Pempel two questions: firstly, whether, or not, the role of the United States will diminish in this region? And; secondly, if the American role diminishes, what role or strategy would be appropriate for Japan?

My third point is the importance of leadership and ideas in the formation of regional cooperation and institutions. I want to ask Professor Evans, besides the leading role of the United States in the region, who or what can take the capitalist role of cooperation in Northeast Asia?

Finally, I want to point out the under-represented importance of various actors besides the nation-state in the region. Mr. Okamoto's presentation showed the position and the possible role of Kyushu in the region. I fully understand the importance of the city, and the region, and the locale can be solid grounds for regional cooperation. Some say that this kind of interaction in low politics may have some meaning, but that it is not so important, and cannot overcome the lead that comes from high politics. However, many scholars have found various examples of how continuous pressure from below became a resource for high political change. In addition, many East Asian businesspeople have a tendency to invest despite existing geopolitical competition and instability in the region. Furthermore, although time does not permit me to explain in detail, we should consider the importance of the construction of city networks and local networks.



Such networks are increasing in the region. Therefore, pressure from below will continue to be influential. This would leave security and the economy in such a way that East Asia is different from other regions. If the coming Trump administration pursues a so-called 'US-first diplomacy,' which is an isolationist diplomacy, the significance of pressure from below will need to be discussed more seriously among the regional states.

***Sergey Sevastyanov (Far Eastern Federal University)***

We have heard from several very famous speakers, and it is a great honor to respond to some of their ideas. I will elaborate on how Russia can contribute to improving Northeast Asian security. As we know, the main strategy for Russia in the Asia-Pacific and Northeast Asia is to use regional economic integration to boost economic development of the vast and under-populated territories of the Russian Far East. In addition, Moscow is interested in promoting initiatives to shape the new security architecture in Northeast Asia. Security should be based on a balance of bilateral mechanisms and multilateral diplomacy that exclude any closed or restricted systems or blocs. This is the peaceful principal position for Moscow and Beijing, and it is important for discussions in our session.

According to Professor Pempel, one important component of the emerging Asian order is represented by the rapid increase in formalized governmental links that mark new institutional commitments reflecting enhanced regional interdependence. This is absolutely true. I also agree with him that at the same time, security arrangements such as the Asian Regional Forum and the Six-Party talks are not working so well. Furthermore, Track II, Track 1.5 and Track 1 diplomacy have become less effective. What we see is that Cold War views still exist. They demonstrate different visions of the East Asian security order and shape modern security relations.

As for multilateral economic cooperation projects, those involving Russia, North Korea, and South Korea, are making little progress. This is a big setback for Northeast Asia and for Russian plans to realize these projects as an option for economic integration with Northeast Asian countries. On the other hand, a positive development is the improving relationship between Japan and Russia. There is a good chance for these economic and political ties to improve. There are some interesting projects under discussion such as the proposal to connect Sakhalin and Hokkaido with a gas pipeline, electricity grid and rail transportation, and many others. They are to be further discussed during the forthcoming visit by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzō Abe to Vladivostok in early September 2017 to participate in the annual Eastern Economic Forum.

Now, about the experience of 1.5 Track diplomacy on security in Northeast Asia. First of all, the Six-Party talks are now dormant, but we have two other structures. These are the Northeast Asian Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) and the Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Forum (NEAPCF). The NEACD is well-known; it is about traditional security, mostly North Korean security issues. It is attended by active diplomats, most of whom also represented their country at the Six-Party talks. It is an important mechanism to keep alive intellectually the process of discussions on Northeast Asian security and Korean peninsula security issues at times when Six-Party talks have

not been operational.

I do not think anyone has mentioned the NEAPCF. It was launched three years ago by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is a strong initiative. They discuss non-traditional security issues with the full support of the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Again, the leaders of these NEAPCF delegations are the same diplomats who participate in the NEACD and the Six-Party talks. Lately, however, there have been some problems due to the difficult geopolitical situation in the region. For example, three years ago I was asked by the NEACD leaders to arrange a conference in Vladivostok. We started preparations, but because of events in the Ukraine in the spring of 2014 the conference was cancelled. More or less the same happened with the NEAPCF. The conference was arranged for October 2016 in Washington DC. However, the Russian and Chinese diplomats did not attend, because they were unhappy with recent South Korean initiatives to install a new American air defense system. These geopolitical aspects influenced 1.5 Track diplomacy in a negative way.

The prospects for these mechanisms are mixed. The NEACD is not a high priority project for the American State Department, while the Korean initiative is fully supported by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I think Korea has a good position and I am sure that the new presidential administration of South Korea will continue to develop this resource.

My first conclusion is that overall Northeast Asia could not avoid or postpone finding a solution to the nuclear security threat posed by North Korea. Some people say if North Korea does not want to cooperate then we should do nothing. I think that is not the right idea. So far, Beijing has been the most consistent proponent of the idea that something should be done. What may have a positive effect is to arrange multilateral exercises including not only US military allies in the region, but also China and Russia. Another effective step is to decrease the level of US-South Korea exercises in the vicinity of the Korean Peninsula so as to not directly provoke North Korea. I agree with Professor Evans' point that the missing ingredient in moving from confidence to trust is empathy. We do not have enough empathy. We are frustrated with North Korea because Pyongyang as of late, has been lacking empathy, too. Empathy needs cultivation and I think Seoul has no choice but to change this in some positive way. Newly-elected President Moon Jae-in has already declared such plans.

My second conclusion is that, taking into account the dangerous security situation on the Korean peninsula, in a short term perspective multilateral cooperation projects in the Russian Far East could become an interim substitute for the idea of Northeast Asian economic integration. China is already active in this context. Several recent summits between Putin and Abe brought Japan into this scenario as well, and Korean business should engage too. It is an innovative and promising idea for forging trust and cooperation between key actors in Northeast Asia.

Lastly, Russia and Northeast Asian countries have great potential for developing cooperation in security, science and education. According to Professor Evans, the university is a natural place to cultivate empathy. My view is that the newly formed Far Eastern Federal University in Vladivostok is particularly relevant to promote dialogue

with universities and research institutions from Northeast Asia. We are ready and like to discuss different aspects of soft security, including nuclear safety, energy security, the environment and climate change to develop empathy that is lacking in the region.

I have one question for our speakers. It could sound a little bit provocative, taking into account that most of our speakers are from North America. Professor Pempel spoke about the emerging regional order. According to him, it involves the recognition that any Asia-Pacific security order will depend on two things: a balance of power and an accepted set of norms. This is certainly true. However, he says that such a set of rules could be agreed upon only in the distant future. I suggest that if President Trump realized only some of his presidential campaign promises, for example, to focus mainly on domestic politics, and to be less interested in multilateral institutions in East Asia, then maybe China, Russia, Korea, and Japan, could play a more important role in Northeast Asian security. As you know, Russia has a double identity. We are an Asian and European country, but as far as cooperation norms go, Russia is happy to follow the “Asian way”. These countries are able to develop new norms for multilateral security to make our region safer.

## DISCUSSION WITH THE AUDIENCE

### *Marcin Kaczmariski (University of Warsaw & Slavic-Eurasian Research Center)*

I have a question for Professor Evans. You said that there is a need to reach out to China to make it a kind of responsible leader, but my question is to what extent China is really interested. Professor Ha warned us about being too Western-centric. Aren't we projecting our own expectations, Western expectations, when we speak about China having potential to be a “responsible” leader?

### *David Wolff (Slavic-Eurasian Research Center)*

I was very struck by the introduction of how the economic research institute here in Kyushu comes directly from the research department of the South Manchurian Railroad, and I thought that resonated very nicely with Professor Ha's point about how the persistence of tradition has up-ended our predictions about modernity. I wanted to invite members on the panel to talk about ways in which they can imagine tradition being guided into useful or not useful channels, if they can see those kinds of visions in the future. And I was also very struck by Professor Evans' idea about the middle power with 21st century characteristics, and I'm wondering if Canada's potential effectiveness comes from being a middle power or from being not fully in the region? I wanted to invite him to elaborate upon that.

***Naomi Chi (Hokkaido University Public Policy School)***

The first question is directed to Dr. Evans. I fully support the Trudeau administration on trying to engage China, but we need to be cautious. Isn't it dancing with the devil, so to speak, in trying to engage with China? The second question goes to all the panelists. We talked about empathy. We talk about this in conferences and people say that it's important. But we never really talk about how we do this. Do you have any ideas as to how we can go about increasing empathy?

***Professor Pempel***

I am going to make one very broad observation and hope that it picks up some of the threads in the questions. There is, I think, a central tension that goes on between what we tend to think of as operating at the macro level and what happens at the micro level. It is very interesting to me to recognize that, as an American with a particular focus on what is going on between the major powers, we hear a great deal about what goes on at the lower level, for example, in the case of Kyushu and relations with the rest of the region. But the difficulty that I think needs to be confronted is the question of whether these micro-level interactions are successfully operating below the radar or whether they are going to be up-ended or interfered with by national-level political considerations. I am very conscious of the fact that a number of efforts were made to improve ties with Hokkaido and Manchuria, Russia, North Korea, and they tended to be up-ended by the failures of national politics to go along with the very creative efforts at the local level. I would love to see a situation in which local-level efforts can go forward and build a kind of bottom-up regional cooperation mechanism, but my fear constantly is that national politics and national finance, will make it difficult if and when those local initiatives do not parallel or are not compatible with what the national leaders (who may be driven by xenophobia, by nationalism, by animosity) decide are relations that they do not want to see go forward.

***Professor Evans***

Let me deal with two of the questions to lay a foundation for what comes ahead in the next day and a half. I think it is an interesting question about empathy-building measures. What do we do? Well, my guess is that the process that you are involved with in this project is a valuable contribution in its own right. I wonder how far and how often people speak outside their national positions. One of the things when I go to a meeting that I find interesting is how many seconds does it take me to tell what country someone is from. Not necessarily their accent, but how fast do they identify with their national positions. And I think all of us have been at many meetings where this is pretty quick. I found it quite interesting that for part of the discussion earlier today I could not recognize where Professor Ha comes from. I mean by that, his position. If I heard Professor Pempel talk, and I put him in a Korean mask, most of what he said could have been from Korea. Cultivating such cosmopolitanism is something we do with our students, and something universities are good at.

As for empathy-building I sit on the group called the ASEAN Regional Forum Experts and Eminent Persons Group. One of the things we have been talking through is the logic of preventive diplomacy. What are the measures that are appropriate? Moving from confidence-building to preventive diplomacy to conflict resolution. We have been talking about what actual empathy-building measures can be created, and it is nice when people study in other countries and that sometimes works. But we have a very concrete idea we are working on now, it is mainly with militaries, and with map exercises and simulations, where we do a simulation of a particular kind of crisis, but we make sure that the players do not play their own national role. So you put a Chinese as the head secretary-general of the United Nations, dealing with a humanitarian crisis that demands huge intervention into that outside position. Japanese are not quite as strong at playing other roles. In any case, those are little kinds of examples, and in the sweep of things, we know they are not determinant, but they can be the kind of things that open up possibilities.

Now let me get to this middle power-ism with 21st century characteristics. Because the twist — a middle power is not just in the middle. This is middle power-ism 3.0. And its principal feature that distinguishes it from the other is — you are interested in a rule-based order, but you are willing to have some flexibility on who makes the rules. The idea of a principled security order, is a really great idea, if the principles are made by more countries than the United States. This is the era where that kind of input is needed, and it takes enormous judgment to dance with the devil. Now, those of you in international relations: you tell me who the devil is? I am quite happy to say that most super-powers are devils. And that we like some devils more than we like other ones, but do not think there are angels out there. And I will conclude with this observation: China is a devil. It is doing things domestically that are working to make it a more repressive government, a more authoritarian government. It is doing things internationally that sometimes make us very nervous. But — and its global role on climate change, already, now on peacekeeping and peace support operations — what it is doing looks very much like a responsible international actor, not because it is embracing Western norms, but because it is dealing with practical problems that need creative solutions that just sometimes look like Western norms.



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## **APPENDICES**

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## APPENDIX 1

### JAPAN, MULTILATERALISM AND BILATERALISM: CONTESTING THE FUTURE SHAPING OF EAST ASIA'S REGIONAL ORDER

*T.J. Pempel (University of California, Berkeley)*

The Asia-Pacific is in the midst of reconfiguring its economic and security order.<sup>1</sup> This process has been going on with varying degrees of acceleration and deceleration since bipolarity began to fade, a process which started in the 1970s with the Nixon visit to China and subsequent moves by President Deng Xiaoping and his reformist allies to reshape China's approach both to economic development and to jettisoning the worst foreign and domestic abuses of the Maoist period. Bipolarity ended most dramatically in Europe with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991. In the years since, East Asia has been shifting away from an order previously defined by rigid economic and security isolation and confrontation between two hostile blocs toward an order characterized by reduced security conflicts and a spiraling escalation in cross-border economic transactions. The result has been deeper and more encompassing lines of interdependence across the Asia-Pacific. Yet within such general outlines, the specific details of the emerging order remain murky and will be subject to human and state action. As such, any new order will involve the complex interplay of many competing agendas concerning what an "ideal" order would resemble.

To sketch the main outlines of the emerging regional order, however, three core components demonstrate major departures from the previously dominant Cold War order. The first such change involves diplomacy and hard security. There has been a significant improvement in positive state interactions with (perhaps until very recently) a parallel decline in overt military confrontations and reliance on military prowess as a key tool of foreign policy. Nonetheless, while the Cold War has ended in Europe residues of its previous divisions continue to shape state-to-state interactions throughout the Asia-Pacific, particularly in Northeast Asia. Coercive diplomacy has by no means vanished. The second change involves economic shifts that ended the stringent ideological barriers previously erected to stymie economic linkages between China and America's Cold War allies and that have since been marked by extensive cross-border economic interdependence in East Asian trade, investment and finance. Third and finally, an arc spreading over both of these security and economic shifts is represented by the rapid increase in formalized governmental links that mark new institutional commitments reflecting the enhanced regional interdependence.

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1 Evelyn Goh, *The Struggle for Order: Hegemony, Hierarchy, and Transition in Post-Cold War East Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

## ENDING BIPOLARITY

Normalization of diplomatic relations between China on the one hand, and the United States, Japan and South Korea (ROK), as well as other countries previously on opposite sides of the bipolar ideological divide, on the other, was the most profound of East Asia's shifting tectonic plates. Security tensions among the major actors in the Asia-Pacific have since diminished giving rise to what some have called "the East Asian peace," represented by a sharp decline in battlefield deaths and the absence of state-to-state conflict across all of East Asia since 1979 and more narrowly in North-east Asia since the 1953 termination of the Korean War.<sup>2</sup> These and related shifts have worked to blur East Asia's previously rigid and mutually hostile security bipolarity by moving toward a security order based on much more porous and preponderantly harmonious national interactions. In conjunction with improvements in security relations, as noted, the rigidity of bipolar economic separation has also given way to enhanced cross-border investment, production, and trade that show few remnants of prior ideological motivations.

Etel Solingen underscores these ongoing improvements: Existing disputes have been restrained as never before in recent history, and major powers have normalized diplomatic relations despite continued tensions. Military modernization has not undermined macroeconomic and regional stability. Military expenditures relative to GNP have declined from 2.6 percent (1985) to 1.8 percent (2001), lower than world averages of 5.4 percent (1985) and 2.5 percent (2001), with parallel declines — in most states — in military expenditures relative to central government expenditures. Steve Chan (2010) provides detailed country-by-country data showing the same pattern. Timo Kivimäki (2010) also provides compelling support for the relative peace in the region as does the Uppsala project on East Asian peace.<sup>3</sup>

Though many of its most acute lines of confrontation have been blurred, particularly as a consequence of cross-border economic and financial integration and the collective improvement in most countries' national economic profiles, in contrast to its termination in Europe the Cold War has hardly vanished in East Asia. This is most demonstrable in the area of security relations. The broad East Asian peace, for example, masks a number of neuralgic security hot potatoes — the divided Korean peninsula; a Taiwan separated from the PRC and devoid of representation in a host of international institutions and its prior diplomatic relations with the US, Japan and South Korea, as

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2 On this see Stein Tonnesson et al., "The East Asia Peace: How it Came About and What Threats Lie Ahead," *Global Asia* 10, no.4 (Winter 2015).

3 Etel Solingen, "Pax Asiatica versus Bella Levantina: The Foundations of War and Peace in East Asia and the Middle East," *American Political Science Review* 101, no.4 (2007): 757. See also, Steve Chan, "An Odd Thing Happened on the Way to Balancing: East Asian States' Reactions to China's Rise," *International Studies Review* 12, no.3 (September 2010): 387-412; Timo Kivimäki, "East Asian Relative Peace - Does It Exist? What Is It?" *The Pacific Review* 23, no.4 (2010): 503-526.

well as a series of maritime disputes still unresolved since World War II, to mention only the most obvious problem areas. Moreover, although big jumps in military expenditures have not been seen in the budgets of most countries in the region (with the conspicuous exception of China), the years since about 2010 have been pockmarked by numerous examples of coercive diplomacy and heightened security and diplomatic tensions.<sup>4</sup>

## DEEPENING INTRA-ASIAN ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL INTERDEPENDENCE

The region's improved security climate following the American defeat in Vietnam was followed by the noteworthy movement of state leaders within the vast majority of governments in Northeast and Southeast Asia (with a few notable exceptions such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and Myanmar) to prioritize national economic development as the basis for their domestic legitimacy, simultaneously downplaying the predominance of military prowess and strongman leadership.<sup>5</sup> This trend persisted for the first four plus decades since the 1970s as states across the region followed one another in eschewing the expansion of military muscle as manifestations of national power while shifting political attention and resources to the pursuit of national economic development and improved day-to-day lives for their citizens. In the apt phrasing, again, of Etel Solingen, East Asia's rulers "pivoted their political survival on economic performance, export-led growth, and integration into the global political economy."<sup>6</sup>

Most regimes opted in this shift to pursue national economic development along lines that differed from US *laissez faire* or USSR state-ownership while making "economic security" an integral component in their broader goal of ensuring what most called "comprehensive security." Countries across the region concluded that "security" remains too vital a treasure to be entrusted exclusively to the military. Domestic security goals and foreign policy aspirations must be kept in balance. "Comprehensive security," represented a perspective that acknowledged the value of such things as economic, energy and environmental security, along with security in the face of pandemics, natural disasters and intrastate crime. (Certainly this was true of Japan since its articulation of a doctrine of "comprehensive security" that was crystalized under the

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4 Thomas J. Christensen, *Worse Than a Monolith: Alliance Politics and Problems of Coercive Diplomacy in Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

5 Much of this movement can be attributed to the demonstration effect of the phenomenal economic success of Japanese development efforts. And for countries in Southeast Asia, there was an additional impetus coming from the subsequent successes of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.

6 Solingen, "Pax Asiatika versus Bella Levantina," 760.

administration of Prime Minister Ohira in 1980).

In the process, individual national development projects within most countries became woven into the rapid expansion and economic success of an exploding number of regional and global production networks. Multinational companies had learned how to separate and diversify the locations of their many functions. Increased efficiencies in transportation and communication made it profitable to position design, manufacturing, wholesaling, and retailing operations in diverse locations chosen for effective and efficient contributions to the bottom lines of individual companies. Fragmented operations across multiple geographical boundaries followed, ushering in the widespread expansion of truly multinational production networks.<sup>7</sup>

Western-based companies were hardly alone in developing regional production models. Spurred by their rapidly rising currencies — stimulated in large measure by demands from the US and other governments, as well as their search for more direct access to final markets triggered by stronger currencies — Japanese companies as early as the 1970s and then Korean and Taiwanese companies, as well as some Singaporean and Hong Kong companies, by the mid-1980s began to relocate many of their production facilities abroad, primarily in the countries in Southeast Asia with lower labor costs. In the process, such corporate moves undercut many of the prior presuppositions behind the insulated greenhouse models of national development that had been pivotal to their early industrial development.<sup>8</sup>

Intra-East Asian investment has, since then, taken a sharp turn upward, particularly since the mid-1990s, and the cumulative effect has been a substantial increase in cross-border production. This in turn has bolstered enhanced intra-Asian trade and a deeper East Asian interdependence while at the same time reducing the previous East Asian dependence on exports to the United States. In the 1990s the US was the major export destination for virtually every country in East Asia. By 2015, intra-Asian trade represented 56 percent of total Asian trade, a figure close to that of the EU; China had become the major destination for most Asian exporters while Asian reliance on the US market declined rapidly with the exception of China. The US was ultimately the export market for many goods produced and assembled in China while China was a major

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7 A considerable literature exists on this subject but one of the earliest and more influential analyses was Mitchell Bernard and John Ravenhill, “Beyond Product Cycles and Flying Geese: Regionalization, Hierarchy, and the Industrialization of East Asia,” *World Politics* 47, no.2 (1995): 171-209.

8 Sven W. Arndt and Henryk Kierzkowski, eds., *Fragmentation: New Production Patterns in the World Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Dennis Tachiki, “Between Foreign Direct Investment and Regionalism: The Role of Japanese Production Networks,” in *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*, ed. T.J. Pempel (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 149-169; Henry Wai-chung Yeung, “Regional Development and the Competitive Dynamics of Global Production Networks: An East Asian Perspective,” *Regional Studies* 43, no.3 (2009): 325-351; Yeung, *Strategic Coupling: East Asian Industrial Transformation in the New Global Economy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

purchaser of US debt. Interdependence in trade within Northeast Asia more narrowly has risen in tandem with the broader regional trend, creating an extensive economic interdependence among Japan, China, Taiwan, the ASEAN member states and the ROK as well as between Northeast and Southeast Asia.<sup>9</sup>

## DEEPENING REGIONAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Economic and security organizations established in the wake of World War II reflected the comprehensive global power of the United States. The United Nations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) were but a few of the most prominent economic and security bodies undergirding the architecture of a US-led agenda.<sup>10</sup> Many played instrumental roles in the economic recovery and the sweeping economic improvements across much of the world, including in East Asia. Yet, a number, particularly those most central in shaping the regional order in East Asia, were security-focused and as such bore the indelible fingerprints of the Cold War. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the network of hub-and-spoke security alliances that linked a number of America's allies to US security priorities. Important to remember, similar arrangements tied China and the USSR to the DPRK and regimes in Central Asia. For three or more decades the political-economic-security order across the Asia-Pacific was strongly structured by this matrix of global and regional arrangements and remnants of that order continue into the present.

The balancing act between economics and security is among the most perplexing difficulties confronting national policymakers. As E.H. Carr noted long ago: "power is indivisible" and "military and economic weapons are just different instruments of power." It is not always clear when to move the ships and when to keep them in port in favor of mustering trade sanctions and when to try both avenues simultaneously. There is a long history of governments synchronizing the two spheres as related facets of national power. The US certainly treated both as intimately linked during the Cold War, as "the two halves of the same walnut," in President Truman's melding of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in his doctrine of containment.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, US hegemony and the globally oriented neo-liberal institutions that were established "after

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9 Avery Goldstein and Edward Mansfield, eds., *The Nexus of Economics, Security, and International Relations in East Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012). See also, Goldstein and Mansfield, "When Fighting Ends," *Global Asia* 6, no.2 (2011): 8-17; Pempel, ed., *Remapping East Asia*.

10 G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

11 Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War 1945-2006* (Boston: McGraw-Hill Humanities, 2008), Chapter 3.

victory” put considerable emphasis on the alleged benefits of globalized markets, deregulation, convertible currencies, free trade, et cetera. These gave American foreign economic policy its own logic and advocates. Moreover, as will be noted below, much of East Asia’s collective foreign policy approaches have concentrated far more heavily on enhancing national economic muscle and less on traditional military buildups. Scholarship as well as bureaucratic organization also often separate economics from security with the latter emphasizing military hardware, territorial security and the use of force.

During the Cold War, as noted above, economic interactions mirrored lines of security contestation. Friends traded with friends and little trade or investment managed to bridge the deep bipolar abyss separating capitalist from communist regimes. This prior division has been mitigated by a sweeping array of new institutional arrangements that reflect enhanced economic ties on the ground. These illustrate the extent to which old Cold War bifurcations have been diminishing in finance and economics across East Asia. The ASEAN plus Three (APT), the East Asia Summit (EAS), the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Forum, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), the New Development Bank (NDB) and a host of unilateral and multilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) are but a few of the more prominent manifestations of governmentally-engineered institutions that complement the pervasive corporate activities to forge the more economically and financially integrated East Asian order that undergirds narratives and norms highlighting “Asia’s rise,” and the “East Asia peace.”

Security arrangements such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM+) and the now dormant Six-Party Talks (SPT), along with a number of Track-2 and Track 1.5 bodies (such as NEACD, CS-CAP, and the Shangri-la Dialogue) have also been forged to deal with changes in state power and new security challenges. Yet, despite their potential to reduce state-to-state tensions, these security-oriented institutions have been less numerous and less effective in weaving cross national networks of cooperation and trust that are in any way comparable to the increasingly dense connections being forged in economics. Cold War walls — real or imagined — remain divisive reminders of the diverging state visions of any ideal East Asian security order; in the interim powerful vestiges of the old order shape security relations.

The combined changes in the external security order plus the increased significance of cross-border economic and financial ties posed serious challenges to the deeply institutionalized combination of security and economic institutions, power positions, and policies previously in play. Not only were political and business elites challenged to reassess longstanding predispositions but the new exogenous conditions quickly filtered into the domestic arena where social groups, political parties, and non-state actors were provided with a mixture of new challenges and new opportunities.

For most of the 1990s and well into the early 2000s, East Asia generally, and Northeast Asia in particular, were marked by increasing economic interdependence, a

deepening multilateralization, and a reduction in military clashes and threat levels. And relations of the United States with China, Korea and Japan were all largely positive. Emblematic of such benignity were China's formal recognition of the regime in South Korea; its accession to the World Trade Organization; its "charm offensive" and the official projection of a doctrine of "peaceful rise;" economic outreach by South Korea to the DPRK; the Kim-Obuchi meeting promising forward looking ROK-Japanese relations along with Japanese-Korean cooperation in co-hosting the 2002 World Cup; generous official aid from Japan to China; new institutions such as APEC, the ASEAN Regional Forum; the ASEAN plus Three process; the Chiang Mai Initiative and its multinationalized successor, CMIM; the East Asia Summit; the Six Party Talks; and the creation of a Trilateral Secretariat among China, Japan and South Korea.

East Asia (and the Asia-Pacific), in these ways has seen an explosion of new security and economic institutions. These have generally been organized along functional lines rather than combining economic and security goals.<sup>12</sup> All were collectively presumed to be fostering closer state-to-state ties through the socialization of members, the development of epistemic communities and the regularization of institutionalized processes to which members would adhere. Regional institutional cooperation, it was increasingly assumed, would foster a reduction in security tensions and an ability to keep collective economic growth moving forward, unimpeded by security challenges.<sup>13</sup> But these bodies have enjoyed widely different degrees of success.

At the heart of the difference between them is the fact that most economic and financial institutions in the region have been able to emphasize cooperation in the interest of a "common good." Particularly since the Asian financial crisis of 1997-98 they have emphasized the ways in which East Asian financial and economic interests are often collectively different from the global interests pressed by the US, the IMF and the WTO along with the interests of hedge fund operators, currency manipulators and other non-Asians whom many Asian leaders were convinced had been responsible for the devastation brought to the region's prior economic development in 1997-98. Suddenly, East Asia had a collective exogenous challenge against which they collectively sought to securitize the region. That common sense of purpose has given considerable energy to the financial and economic institutions forged in the wake of the Asian financial crisis.

The states of Northeast Asia have also been moving in many common directions and closer cooperation in the area of finance. China, Japan, Taiwan, the ROK and even Southeast Asian states such as Vietnam have opted for strategies of expanded foreign reserve holdings in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis, a move that Gregory Chin has labeled "self-insurance" and "regional insulation" against the previously

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12 The East Asian Summit might be offered as a partial exception.

13 For example, see: Alastair Iain Johnston, "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45, no.4 (2001): 487-515; Amitav Acharya, "Ideas, identity, and institution-building: From the 'ASEAN way' to the 'Asia-Pacific way'?" *The Pacific Review* 10, no.3 (1997): 319-346.

disruptive forces of global capital and “hot money” that challenged so many economies across East Asia in 1997-98.<sup>14</sup>

Such measures are, as noted, predicated on some element of collective cooperation against a (real or imagined) exogenous challenge. That commonality of interest has been far less in evidence in the area of security where in fact there is no agreed-upon external challenger to East Asian security. Virtually all of the security threats perceived by governments in the Asia-Pacific are endogenous to the region (taking the US as a regional player). The guns in East Asia are aimed, not at potential enemies outside the region, but at other countries within the region.

Not surprisingly, national governments have not all engaged this embryonic regional order with compatible goals or equal political enthusiasm. Indeed the very thinness of most security arrangements reflects the wariness with which governments have been approaching formal institutional cooperation. Moreover, the extent of a country’s commitment to regional multilateral bodies undulates with the shifting climate of regional geopolitics and geo-economics. Again, national commitments to regional institutions remain primarily instrumental; regional institutions are still seen by most participant countries as means to particularistic national goals rather than as ends in themselves. Regional institutions continue to be seen as providing opportunities for ‘forum shopping’ by governments in pursuit of their discreet national foreign policy agendas.

## **JAPAN’S BALANCE OF SECURITY AND ECONOMICS, BILATERALISM AND REGIONALISM**

How has Japan been operating within this changing environment? Japanese policymakers have long anchored their country’s foreign policy around one central pillar — the US-Japan security alliance. That security alliance has brought with it close bilateral ties on a multiplicity of dimensions. Prior to the 1970s and the ebbing of regional bipolarity, Japanese policymakers kept considerations of security and economics in sync with one another — security and economic ties with the US, few or none with communist regimes. Meanwhile, bilateralism under America’s hub and spoke system was the only viable option available to Japan on security even as active participation in such global multinational institutions as the UN, the IMF and the World Bank contributed greatly to postwar Japan’s global rehabilitation and subsequent positioning. Important to note, during the Cold War, Asia-Pacific or East Asian regional institutions were all but nonexistent.

Japanese ties to the US were thus robust in both their economic and security dimensions. The military component of the relationship took center stage as US bases in

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14 Gregory T. Chin, “Remaking the architecture: the emerging powers, self-insuring and regional insulation,” *International Affairs* 86, no.3 (2010): 693-715.



Japan provided rear base support for American combat missions in both the Korean and Vietnam wars as well as allowing ongoing demonstrations of the naval predominance of the US Seventh Fleet. The US nuclear umbrella also bolstered Japanese perceptions of security in a neighborhood rife with unfriendly nuclear powers (the PRC and the USSR). Important as these security connections were, the bilateral relationship was equally welded together by means of economic linkages. US Cold War considerations underwrote generous one-way access to the US market for the exports of Japan (and other of America's East Asian allies). Even as late as the mid-1990s, Japan sent roughly 30-35 percent of the nation's exports to the US while its second largest export market (variously Germany and South Korea) rarely received more than 5-6 percent.<sup>15</sup> Japan's postwar economic success depended greatly on easy access to the US market.

Political relations across Northeast Asia had been fraught with deep security fissures during the Cold War. However, normalization of ties between Japan and China in 1972 and between China and the US in 1979 put a blunt, if temporary, end to the mutual animosity, mistrust, and saber-rattling of each toward the other that had followed the communist victory in 1949 and the decades of regional bipolarity fostered by the Cold War. Without glossing over many profound security differences among states since then, it is fair to say that regional relations warmed for most of the next three decades. Japan reembraced its close prewar ties to China offering massive packages of foreign aid along with investment and trade by Japanese corporations. According to Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 1979 to early 2016, Japan sent approximately 3.3164 trillion yen in loan aid (yen loans), 157.2 billion yen in grant aid, and 181.7 billion yen in technical cooperation.<sup>16</sup> For the period 2005 to 2012, for example, Japanese FDI to China ranged between \$5 billion and \$15 billion per year.<sup>17</sup> Equally, and as a consequence of Japanese aid and investment, China soon replaced the US as Japan's most significant trading partner. These diplomatic and economic improvements ushered in a thirty year period of bilateral congeniality that only began to chill around 2010.

The US, like Japan, embraced China's "peaceful rise," both predicating their embrace on the assumption that the country was moving in the direction of becoming what then Deputy Secretary of State, Robert Zoelick, called "a responsible stakeholder" within the American dominated global and regional order.<sup>18</sup> During the early 2000s, for example, the US supported China's accession to the World Trade Organization and the creation of Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR). A growing financial and trade interdependency across the region was enhanced, as were US-China economic

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15 For details see T.J. Pempel, "Trans-Pacific Torii: Japan and the Emerging Asian Regionalism," in *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism*, eds., Peter J. Katzenstein, and Takashi Shiraishi (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 47-82.

16 MOFA web site at [http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/region/e\\_asia/china](http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/region/e_asia/china).

17 <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-05-30/southeast-asia-is-winning-more-japanese-investment-than-china>.

18 <https://www.ncuscr.org/content/robert-zoelicks-responsible-stakeholder-speech>

ties quite specifically. The US also deferred to Chinese leadership in multilateral cooperation efforts to check North Korea's nuclear program through the Six-Party Talks.

Despite Japan's deepening economic ties with China, and despite the rise in the number and agendas of regional multilateral bodies, Japan's central foreign policy focus has remained unshakably focused on retaining close ties with the United States. Thus when it appeared during the late 1980s that the US was toying with a reduction of its presence in East Asia, Japan along with Australia, took an active role in creating and promoting APEC and the ARF as institutions that would operate to keep the US deeply engaged in the region. APEC presented a stark contrast to proposals by some East Asian leaders such as Mahathir Mohammed of Malaysia for institutions that would represent "Asia for the Asians." Japan, in contrast, was insistent that new regional institutions such as APEC and the ARF represent the "Asia-Pacific," preventing what US Secretary of Defense James Baker once called "a line down the middle of the Pacific." For much of the 1990s — largely until the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997-98 — both the Japanese and US governments collaborated actively with other APEC member economies in laying the groundwork for an interwoven nexus of policies aimed at enhancing regional economic cooperation.

Japan did much the same with the ARF despite an initial concern that it might compromise its commitment to the US-Japan security alliance. Although initially greeted with skepticism by the United States and ASEAN, the Japanese proposal gained traction, including the endorsement of the new Clinton administration in July 1993. The US ultimately declared that "a multilateral forum for security consultations" was one of the ten major goals for US policy in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>19</sup> Though scorned by officials in the Bush Administration, the Obama presidency has seen a consistent engagement and the presence of high level officials in ARF meetings.

Both institutions had to confront diminished credibility, however. The Asian economic crisis diminished APEC's stature, even though the institution had never claimed a mandate to deal with problems of finance. Even more damaging was the Bush administration's actions in the aftermath of 9/11 when it sought to securitize APEC in its "global war on terror" and to eschew regional bodies in favor of creating ad hoc "coalitions of the willing." However, Japan drove its own nail into the APEC coffin by its refusal to collaborate with Early Voluntary Sector Liberalization (EVSL) efforts due to domestic interest group pressures.<sup>20</sup>

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19 T.J. Pempel, "Japan: Dealing with Global Forces: Multilateralism, Regionalism, Bilateralism," in *Governing the Global Economy: Politics, Institutions and Economic Development*, eds., Dag Harald Claes and Carl Henrik Knutsen (London: Routledge, 2005), 213-214. See also Kuniko P. Ashizawa, "Japan, the United States and Multilateral Institution Building in the Asia-Pacific," in *Beyond Bilateralism: U.S.-Japan Relations in the New Asia-Pacific*, eds., Ellis J. Krauss and T.J. Pempel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 248-271.

20 Ellis J. Krauss, "The United States and Japan in APEC's EVSL Negotiations: Regional Multilateralism," in *Beyond Bilateralism*, eds., Krauss and Pempel, 272-295.

If Japan's engagement with regional institutions was driven heavily by its efforts to keep the US engaged in Asia, a rupture of sorts occurred during the Asian Financial Crisis when Japan, in an autonomous effort aimed at assisting the countries in trouble, proposed a substantial Asian Monetary Fund (AMF) to be 50 percent funded by Japan. The US, the IMF and China all recoiled at what appeared to be a challenge to the global financial balance. Yet in the end, the crisis and the stringent IMF conditions imposed on the countries that received its aid packages spurred a widespread conviction across much of Asia, often led by Japan, that regional financial solutions could serve as an alternative and that the global financial architecture should be reconfigured to take greater account of the growth in financial power of the Asian economies. A series of moves toward intra-Asian currency swap arrangements followed with the Chiang Mai Initiative of 2000, then subsequently expanded and multilateralized as the CMIM. Also created in large part through Japanese initiatives were two Asian bond markets and eventually the East Asia Summit (EAS). Yet the EAS hardly represented abandonment of the US by Japan. In its effort to check the rising regional influence of China, particularly in the ASEAN plus Three (APT), Japan pushed for the EAS and its expanded membership as a body that would dilute the influence of China and other authoritarian regimes with an EAS membership that included Australia, New Zealand and India. And as is well known, the Obama repositioning eventually led the US also to join the EAS in 2010.

Within Japan, any enhanced embrace of regional institutions has thus continued to be counter-balanced by overwhelming efforts to ensure close security relations with the United States. Hence Bush's shift away from multilateralism and demands to be "with us or against us" spurred Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi, among other things, to alter a series of security laws allowing direct Japanese cooperation with US military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq; he forged a New Defense Planning Guidelines around cooperation with the US; joined with the US in introducing a ballistic missile system into Japan; centralized Self-Defense Forces command and control operations and integrated them with US operations; and upgraded the Japanese Defense Agency to ministerial status. Japan also worked with the US under the Six-Party Talks format to confront the challenge of North Korea's nuclear program and entered the US-created Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI).

Closer bilateral security ties have continued and been expanded as part of the Obama repositioning. In recent years, China's rise, the US pivot/rebalance and the assertive behavior of China in the East China Sea and the South China Sea have led to a further strengthening of defense linkages in the region, particularly between Japan and the US (but also of many other US allies and security partners). Of particular anxiety to the current Abe government is Chinese behavior in the Senkaku/Daiyou islands, for which the US and Japan have made clear that the US-Japan Security Treaty will be operative and bring the US to Japan's defense in the event of any Chinese efforts at a military takeover. With these radical revisions of its post-war defense posture, Japan is now playing a more active military role and has strengthened its military assistance

and co-operation with several countries in the region, generally against the interests of China.<sup>21</sup>

Equally promising in tightening US-Japan bilateral connections has been the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Following years of reluctance in opening certain “sacred” areas of Japan’s domestic market to foreign competition, Prime Minister Abe finally in 2013 announced his country’s willingness to join TPP negotiations. That decision followed his predecessor, Prime Minister Noda’s announcement at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 2011 that Japan was “interested” in the TPP negotiations and almost two years of discussions between the Japanese government and the other TPP parties on their expectations should Japan join the trade negotiations. But once in the negotiations, Japan embraced the TPP both as a major cudgel with which Abe could bludgeon domestic resisters to deregulation and structural reforms and also as an economic mechanism by which to strengthen bilateral US-Japan ties. And certainly for the United States, the inclusion of Japan in TPP negotiations was seen as a major reinforcement of US regional economic engagement. Multiple delays, widely attributed to Japanese reluctance to go far enough in agricultural liberalization, delayed final agreement, as a series of promised deadlines came and went. Yet, a bevy of enthusiastic statements by trade negotiators followed the LDP electoral victory in December 2014 on the assumption that enhanced power for Abe would allow his government to enact powerful steps to make enough concessions to ensure TPP agreement. Indeed, the TPP was signed by all twelve participants in February 2016 following five years of tough negotiations and promising to include roughly 40 percent of world trade. But ironically, now that an agreement has been reached that is being highly touted by a once skeptical Japan, it is the US Congress that has become the major roadblock to multilateral ratification and implementation.

## CONCLUSION

The Asia-Pacific is in the midst of a transformation of its regional economic and security order. For the moment, these two sectors have been evincing very different levels of cooperation and competition. Economics and finance continue to show an expanded integration and are increasingly organized through regional multilateral institutions.<sup>22</sup> Regional security institutions on the other hand have been far thinner in their ability to forge common agendas agreed to by large numbers of countries. Instead,

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21 [https://globalasia.org/bbs/board.php?bo\\_table=articles&wr\\_id=9090](https://globalasia.org/bbs/board.php?bo_table=articles&wr_id=9090).

22 I do not wish to discuss here the apparent institutional contestation between the Asian Development Bank (ADB) for example and China’s Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). As of this writing even though Japan and the US have not joined AIIB it is clear that the ADB and AIIB are joining forces in a number of projects and that early US opposition to AIIB has begun to wane.

security relations remain structured in large measure by a deep residue of unresolved territorial issues, by longstanding alliances, and by increased tensions surrounding the toxic combination of China's military expansion, the DPRK's nuclear and missile threats and the US repositioning.

Japan has been an active and enthusiastic member of multiple regional institutions, particularly in the economic and finance areas. At the same time it has worked energetically to keep its close bilateral ties to the US from eroding in any way. To this end it has bolstered the security links and has negotiated TPP. But the TPP raises a final point about the emerging order, and one that is of considerable concern to Japanese policymakers, namely concerns about the potential staying power and commitment of the US. How longstanding, they ask, will the Obama repositioning prove to be?

American policymakers articulate a strong intention to remain engaged in Asia. Yet wars in the Middle East continue to drain the American treasury and the attentions of policymakers. And economic engagement through the Obama administration's showcase piece, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, faces the high probability of non-passage by the Senate as well as vocal opposition from both presidential candidates. Furthermore, sustained US engagement now confronts rising American populist demands for greater budgetary constraint and increased policy and budgetary attention to domestic problems. In addition, the US public — joined by many policymakers — shows a growing reluctance to support overseas military actions after fifteen years of costly wars in the Middle East and Central Asia. Thus, it may become more difficult for US policymakers to marry tough regional actions to the best of intentions.

It is worth noting in this regard that Asia has been compelled to deal with earlier periods of reduced US focus on Asia such as the Nixon Doctrine, President Carter's plans to reduce US troop levels in Korea, and efforts to take advantage of the "peace dividend" in the early 1990s. US engagement levels may go through ebbs and flows but in the long term its engagement in the region has remained high. This is likely to continue.

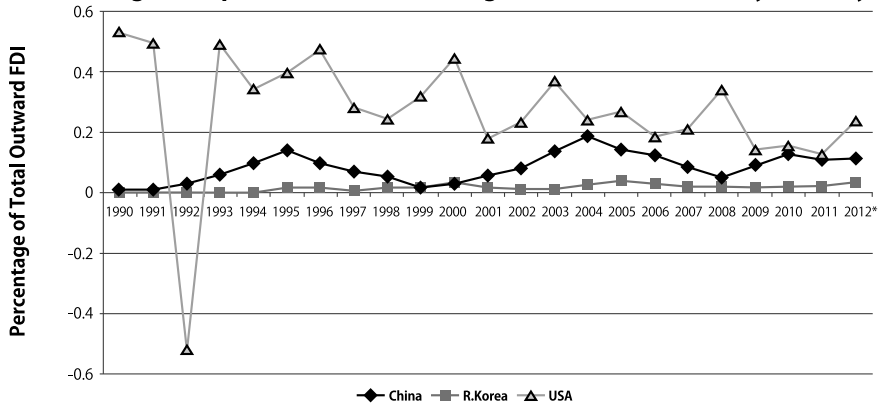
At the same time, worries about possible US disengagement remain strong among Japanese analysts and policymakers. They express their concerns about America's staying power, especially under a possible Trump administration, a prospect that has worried policymakers across East Asia. Equally worrisome to many Japanese is their belief that the US is trapped in its relations with China between economic interdependence and strategic competition. As a result, many Japanese officials worry quietly that the US, in their eyes, has been too tepid over the past few years in its responses to China's military assertiveness, particularly in the East China Sea.

An ongoing concern about abandonment is one with deep roots going back to the 1950s albeit in slightly different form today. Would the US, in the face of a DPRK nuclear threat, be willing to risk Los Angeles to save Tokyo? (Such worries extend to South Korea as well: many there ask whether Japan would be willing to risk Tokyo to aid South Korea from a similar threat). From this perspective it remains likely that Japan, along with other countries in the region, will pursue their own best strategies going

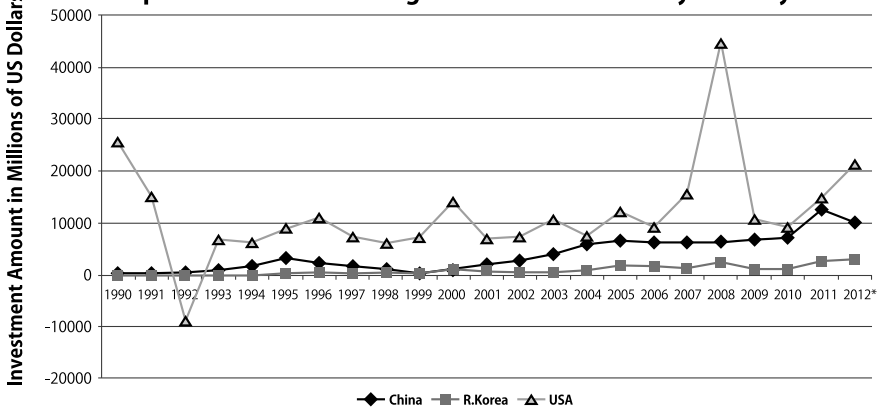
forward, always less than 100 percent sure of US strategic assurances.

A concluding point on the emerging regional order involves the recognition that any Asia-Pacific security order will depend on two things: 1) a balance of power; and 2) an accepted set of norms. At present, the Asia-Pacific has some semblance of a balance of power but it lacks agreement on a comprehensive set of norms. Regional security institutions have thus far been unable to develop confidence in even the most basic agreement on norms of security conduct. As a result what are now most needed across the region are rules that can be commonly accepted by all players. That such a set of rules could be agreed upon, however, almost surely remains a long way off.

### Percentage of Japanese Outward Foreign Direct Investment by Country

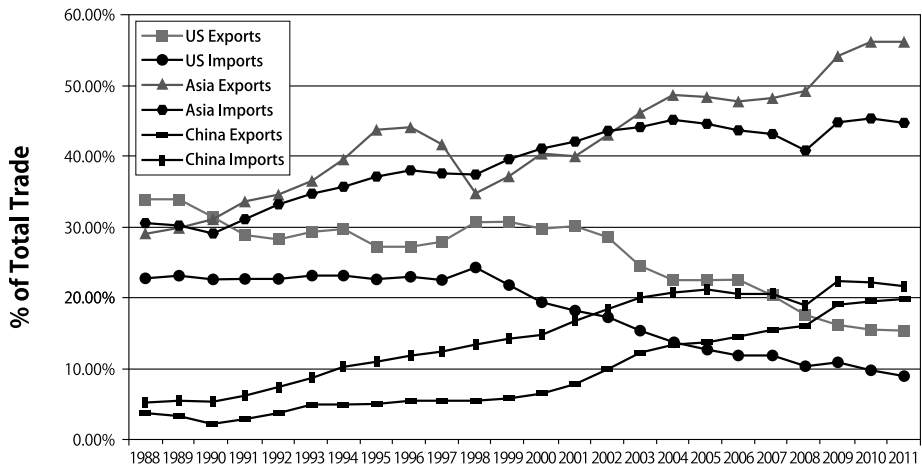


### Japanese Outward Foreign Direct Investment by Country



## JAPAN'S TRADE WITH MAJOR PARTNERS

### Japanese Trade Levels 1988-2011



Source: Prepared from Ministry of Finance, Trade Statistics.  
<http://www.jetro.go.jp/en/reports/statistics/>

## APPENDIX 2

### BUILDING TRUST IN NORTHEAST ASIA: THE ROLE FOR ACADEMICS<sup>1</sup>

*Paul Evans (Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia)*

It is an honour to attend this conference in Fukuoka, a beautiful setting for an academic gathering involving scholars from several Northeast Asian countries all studying the region or engaged in people-to-people exchanges and educational cooperation.

The issue before us is very clear. Despite a long history of interaction in Northeast Asia, political and security tensions are significant and the level of economic operation well below its potential. The important question is how to build mutual understanding and trust as the foundations for a more peaceful and prosperous region.

My own perspective is that of a North American academic who teaches and writes about the international relations of East and Southeast Asia and the broader Asia-Pacific and focuses on regional security issues and the limits and possibilities of multilateral institution building. Over the last twenty-five years I have participated in a dozen different regional processes and attended some fifty workshops and conferences in Northeast Asia.

Canadians do not claim to be part of Northeast Asia but do have an abiding interest. One of the earliest efforts at inclusive regional security dialogue was a Canadian initiative between 1990 and 1993, the North Pacific Cooperative Security Dialogue, that brought together academics and, in their private capacities, officials from eight countries (Canada, China, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Mongolia, Russia, the United States) for discussions of regional issues with particular attention to confidence building measures appropriate to the region.

There have been dozens of subsequent efforts at regional dialogue, some of them like the American-led Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue now more than 20 years old. And it has been a fertile two decades for broader Asia-Pacific discussions, many of them ASEAN-led including the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) at the governmental level and the Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific (CSCAP) at the track-two level.

It is fair to say that efforts focussed on Northeast Asia have rarely been successful in sustaining deep collaboration on economic matters or lowering tensions in the security realm. Many analysts see Northeast Asia as the graveyard for cooperative initiatives. Some do not see Northeast Asia as a region at all but instead as an “anti-region”

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1 This paper builds on a paper presented at the meeting on “Northeast Asia People-to-People Exchanges and Cooperation: Cultural Interaction and Mechanism Innovation,” Dalian University of Foreign Languages, 28 April 2016 and a collection of essays which I edited and contributed to on “Cooperative Security 2.0: Recasting the East Asian Security Order,” *Global Asia* 11, no.1 (Spring 2016).



in which the national political cultures “largely define themselves by virtue of their differences and in relation to their opposition against their neighbors.”<sup>2</sup>

It is difficult to think of an area of such size and significance that is more bereft of multilateral institutions. This is immediately apparent if we compare the level of institutional development in Northeast Asia to the Americas, Africa, and especially Europe. And within Asia, Northeast Asia is operating at a lower base than Southeast Asia, the broader Asia-Pacific or even South Asia and Central Asia. As one American author noted more than a decade ago, and it still rings true, “many of the factors normally constitutive of a ‘region’ are in scant supply.”<sup>3</sup>

Geographically, it is not easy to make the case for an area that does not have common or defining topographic boundaries, similar climate patterns, or an integrated infrastructure. On identity, differences heavily outweigh similarities. Culturally, parts of Northeast Asia have a common Confucian heritage, but others do not. There is no unifying religion, language, consciousness or sense of shared destiny. The history of the Liaodong and Korean peninsulas speak to more than a century of geo-political competition, volatile state-to-state relations, high levels of militarization and defence spending, divided countries and unresolved historical legacies.

There are significant flows of investment and trade tied to global production networks and value chains in the broader region. China, Japan, South Korea and to some extent Mongolia and Russia are all outward-looking, global trading nations. But the level of transnational activity, the transnational flows, the major infrastructure projects, the level of institution building to address common problems, are all below their potential and vulnerable to political dislocations.

In a place where the security situation remains turbulent, it makes sense to try to build the foundations for cooperation on shared economic interests and common problems, environmental degradation a prominent example. Yet the abiding presence of political and security conflicts makes this functional cooperation tortuous, especially but not exclusively when North Korea is centre stage. Those who advocate waiting for a solution to the political security problem before addressing the functional issues face a long wait. And those who advocate pushing ahead on the economic and environmental fronts as a way of loosening the security knot face severe constraints and frustration.

My purpose is not to pour cold water on plans for deeper cooperation and the reduction of tensions. To the contrary, I will make the case for a long-term approach of which this conference is a part. The objective is to build confidence then trust with the interim step being empathy.

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2 Peter Hayes and Linda Zarsky, “Acid Rain in A Regional Context,” June 1995, 4. Available on-line at <http://www.nautlius.org>.

3 Lowell Dittmer, “The Emerging Northeast Asian Regional Order,” in *The International Relations of Northeast Asia*, ed., Samuel S. Kim (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 304.

## GETTING TO COOPERATION

Virtually every leader in Northeast Asia has used terms like “mistrust,” “strategic mistrust,” “trust deficit” or “absence of trust” to describe a fundamental obstacle to improved relations and deeper interactions. No one doubts that more trust would be a good thing. The debate is about how to define and build it.<sup>4</sup>

Trust is best understood as a certainty that a state can count on non-violent interaction and peaceful dispute settlement based on mutual respect and concern for the other’s well being. It involves a sense of shared interest and identity. We see it in several bilateral relations, for example Canada-US relations. We see it in the strong elements of a security community in Europe. And we may now see it in the US-Japan relationship. In all three instances, war is virtually unimaginable.

One school of thought is that trust is the by-product of a long and sustained period of functional cooperation in trade, movement of people, and common endeavour.

Another school of thought is that a first step in building trust is the creation of confidence building measures. This normally focusses on trying to make states confident that their neighbours will not surprise them or cause them imminent harm. Confidence building measures often take the form of codes of conduct, prior notification of military exercises, transparency about force levels and doctrine, rules of engagement and the like. In the ASEAN Regional Forum process a formative idea was that its members should pursue a three-stage process — confidence building, preventive diplomacy, and resolution of conflicts — as the road to trust.

In Northeast Asia it has proven immensely difficult to deepen functional cooperation in a context of acute security tensions that repeatedly de-rail cooperation projects. Even modest confidence building measures are painstakingly difficult to implement.

The missing ingredient in moving from confidence to trust, in establishing higher levels of cooperation, is empathy. Empathy is best understood as the capacity to understand another’s view of the world, to walk in another’s shoes, to understand and share another’s experiences and emotions. Empathy is different from sympathy because it does not demand agreeing with another’s point of view, just understanding it.

Scholars of Southeast Asian international relations frequently identify the socialization and creeping empathy-building among officials and political leaders that comes with an enormous number of meetings. Years of intense interaction and close cooperation help dispel misconceptions. This does not mean that the leaders and officials from different countries like or always trust each other. But it does demonstrate that empathy can take hold in a very complicated and diverse region and is a necessary if insufficient condition for moving up the trust ladder.

Advocates of something akin to “empathy building measures,” like the Canadian

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4 The government of President Park Kyung-hye launched the much publicized approach of *trustpolitik* to the North that takes a very narrow view of trust as reciprocity and quid pro quo and has been largely abandoned.

professor David Welch, have offered several suggestions for deeper dialogues among former and current decision makers, role playing exercises, and crisis management simulations.<sup>5</sup>

## ACADEMIC ROLES

What functions can researchers and educators play?

*Existing Activities.* In many respects the academic enterprise is fundamentally about deepening knowledge and understanding among specialists and students and providing information and analysis for governments and broader publics. International conferences, faculty and student exchanges, international student recruitment, summer institutes, are all well explored mechanisms for working across national boundaries. Has anyone tried to map past and existing networks in this part of Northeast Asia? Do Northeast Asian academics function as what have been described as “rooted cosmopolitans” based in single countries but endowed with openness to foreign others?<sup>6</sup>

*Revisiting History.* As an example, the track record of multiple efforts to produce a common history of Northeast Asia is not good. State-sponsored projects for devising common textbooks have not only failed, they have in some cases been counter-productive by increasing animosities rather than reducing them. Non-governmental projects, including the Harvard-sponsored program to create a serious dialogue about the history of World War II as seen by American, Japanese, and Chinese historians, also failed. Simply mentioning topics including “comfort women,” “Nanjing massacre,” or “Diaoyutai/Senkaku,” polarizes discussions and reinforces strong nationalist sentiments. As noted in a recent article, “debates over wartime history intertwined with territorial disputes have inflamed nationalistic sentiment and prevented pragmatic diplomatic solutions...Just as memory affects and shapes present and future international relations, current relations and future visions affect our views of the past.”<sup>7</sup>

But are all projects destined to failure? Why and how have US-Japan explorations of their wartime experiences led gradually to historical reconciliation and fostered mutual trust and strengthened bilateral relations? What are the impediments for doing

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5 David Welch, “The Trust Deficit and How to Fix It,” *Global Asia* 11, no.1 (Spring 2016); and “Crisis Management Mechanisms: Pathologies and Pitfalls,” *CIGI Papers* no.40 (September 2014), available at: <https://www.cigionline.org/publications/crisis-management-mechanisms-pathologies-and-pitfalls>.

6 Ulrich Beck, “‘Rooted Cosmopolitanism’ Emerging from a Rivalry of Distinctions,” in *Global America? The Cultural Consequences of Globalization*, eds., Ulrich Beck, Natan Sznaider and Rainer Winter (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003), 15-29.

7 Seiko Mimaki, “Case for ‘Enlightened Realism’: Reconciliation as an Imperative Task for Regional Peace and Stability,” *PacNet* # 37 (April 2016). Available at <http://csis.org/publication/pacnet-37-case-enlightened-realism-reconciliation-imperative-task-regional-peace-and-sta>.

this *within* Northeast Asia? How can they be overcome? Are there historical figures or fictional characters, political leaders or artists, who should be celebrated regionally as embracing values and ideas that engender widespread respect? Can, as argued by Hiro Saito, new networks of historians over time find ways to propagate a cosmopolitan point of view on topics such as commemorations of World War II?<sup>8</sup>

*Publicizing the Positive.* Most academic activities do not communicate their achievements on a regional level. Information and publications are sometimes disseminated but are rarely summarized in the kind of short, vivid portrayals that attract attention in neighbouring countries or with senior officials. What types of social media can be employed? How to overcome language barriers? How can transnational networks of scholars find ways to influence policy communities and publics and counteract narrowly nationalist accounts?

## CONCLUDING NOTE

Empathy will not solve all problems and will not naturally emerge from closer and more frequent interactions. Sometimes states simply have incompatible identities, conflicting interests, and the intention to actually do harm to each other. A South Korean intellectual once pointedly observed that the problem in North-South relations is not that the two sides do not know enough about each other but that they know too much.

Even so, empathy needs cultivation and has no more natural an incubator than the modern university. It will be a pleasure to see what fresh ideas and strategies this gathering can produce about how better to organize and harness academic debates and exchanges in a trust building agenda.

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8 See Hiro Saito, "Historians as Rooted Cosmopolitans: Their Potentials and Limitations," *Global Networks* 15 no.2 (2014).

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