

音動

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Diplomacy

朝鮮半島新情勢の構図 ^{李鍾元 若宮啓文 平岩俊司} 尖閣・台湾・中国の連動 古典読みかえし 加藤良三 増田寬也 feature articles:

Restart: Prime Minister Abe's Challenges

China as Seen from Japan's Experience Ryosei Kokubun

8 In the 1980s when the author was in the United States, Japan's presence was big in that country and some people even regarded Japan as a threat. He thinks Japan was conceited at that time. China has now risen economically and is trying to be a big power. But in reality, it is fragile. Based on Japan's experience, the author advises China to make the domestic system conform to international standards as soon as possible.

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10 A diversity of dissent that is not regarded as constructive has common underlying features. They can be called an untamed language of dissent difficult to manage from the vantage ground of mainstream public discourse.

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For improving the relationship between Japan and Russia, it is important to strengthen relations in various fields, including economy and politics, to build bilateral trust and create a suitable atmosphere. Building a strategic relationship with the leverage of economic cooperation will lay the groundwork for solving their territorial dispute and help create a new security system in Asia-Pacific.

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Japan's plutonium stockpile has been increasing and is already equivalent to 5,000 nuclear bombs. The excess plutonium issue could be included in the Obama Agenda as a security concern and Japan must give top priority to solving the problem.



鏰

の能

・バル・パ-卜 ブ」の形成に大きく貢献。1974~ ド外務省勤務。 現在はイン 経済関係研究所でインド・アメ リカ政策研究 ICRIER-ワドワニブロ グラム議長を務めている

倍もの長い期間、立憲民主主義と固い平和主義というまっ 告げた。数世紀もの西洋の優越が続いた後で、このアジア に疑いはない。しかし第2次世界大戦後、日本が、その2 義の行き過ぎが、アジアに大変な苦しみをもたらしたこと の上ない皮肉である。 の国」としての存在を取り戻そうともがいているのは、こ のルネサンスと経済再興を導いた日本が、いまだに「普通 いていると宣言し、アジアの知的・政治的目覚めの到来を 的遺伝である究極普遍的なるもの」を求めることで結びつ り、その偉大な文明は「すべてのアジア民族に共通の思想 1 岡倉覚三(天心)は1904年、「アジアは一つ」であ 910年から45年にかけての日本の軍国主義と帝国主

たく異なる進路を歩み、そこから決して逸脱することなく

る。	めるだろうか? 私の考えでは、「衰退論」は日本の避け
おり、それらが	衰退から日本を復活させる道筋を描く作業を、どこから始
近ではインドが	では、安倍晋三首相は、永続的と一部で見なされている
国、東南アジア	
ている点は、思	
日のアジアの再	ら、ヨーロッパから教訓を引き出す必要があるだろう。
利他主義は、	は、真に「アジアの世紀」に向け共通の未来を目指すな
とになる。	趨勢と比べると、驚くべきものがある。われわれアジア人
貢献することを	欧州連合(EU)に居場所を見いだしているヨーロッパの
地域的影響力を	アジアにおける日本の苦境は、過去の植民者と侵略者が
ける成功が、社	
なるのは当然で	導者に自制を求める始末である。これが正しいはずがな
を止め、経済を	立ちを強めている同盟国までもが、「タカ派」の新しい指
な源から始めな	を進めると、日本の安全保障が緊迫している状況で、いら
ものであるが、	意を示すことを控えるように求められていた。今日まで話
依存してきた。	への批判は続いており、閣僚、防衛大臣でさえ戦没者に敬
障面は、国民の	ことに気が付いた。領土紛争は未解決であり、「歴史問題」
地理経済学上の	日本の戦略環境が1945年以来ほとんど変わっていない
主要国の間で	駐日インド大使として2006年に東京に着任した際、
は、実際、将来	きていることも、同様に真実である。

過去の「小切手」外交の試みは手痛い失敗であり、日本の	めに行う
国際安全保障への貢献は、自らが課した制約のせいで、ひ	安倍首
どく束縛されている。安倍首相は、日本の総合的国力にお	へ改組し
けるこの維持不可能な欠落部分を徐々に、しかし確実に是	成し遂げ
正しなければならない。最初の課題は、日本が対峙してい	障への脅
る危険と、平和的意図への信頼を失うことなく、それらに	ら力を引
うまく立ち向かうためにしなければならないことへの、国	堅牢な
民の理解を広げることである。	日本は、
2010年の「防衛計画の大綱」の見直しは、意義ある	とが可能
ものにするために、信頼できる最低限の抑止態勢を投射し	術の革新
なければならない。	業化した
近隣諸国が軍事予算を数倍に増額しているときに、日本	はアジア
の防衛支出は、これまで常とされてきた国内総生産(GD	
P)の1%以下を超え、大きく引き上げる必要がある。憲	
法が掲げる平和主義を妨げることなく、集団安全保障の伝	今日の
統的解釈の変更を検討することは可能である。国際平和・	国がアジ
安全協力活動への自衛隊の関与を認める法律は、日本の地	が、東シ
域の海上安全保障強化へのコミットメントに信頼性を与え	まで、海
るだろう。武器輸出の制限は、一定のパートナーと有益な	を置いて
防衛産業協力を行うために、一層緩和されるべきである。	中国は
何度でも言おう。これらは、日本が第一義的に自国のた	融破綻後

/ジアに資するものである。	こした経済における生産性の維持に至るまで、日本の例	3革新を進めることから、国民の高齢化への対応、脱工	☆可能になる。原子力の新安全基準作りのための先端技	年は、アジアの発展に向け、先駆的な貢献を再開するこ	手牢な経済と安全保障態勢に新たな自信を持つことで、	りを引き出す必要がある。	の脅威に立ち向かうとき、高い能力を備えた自衛隊か	し遂げるだろう。日本国民は、自然災害もしくは安全保	は組した。今回はおそらく、自衛隊の国防軍への移行を	6 倍首相は1期目に、かつての防衛庁を本格的な防衛省	に行う必要のある、根本的な選択である。
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10年には経済的に弱った日本を標的にし始めた。昨年9月	う必要があることについて、日本国民の理解が深まること
以来、日本政府は、海と空から繰り返される尖閣諸島への	が望まれる。
侵入、日本の支配に対してエスカレートする挑発行為、排	安倍首相は、中国と互いに有益な戦略的関係を築くこと
外的な発言、好戦的な脅迫にさらされている。日本はま	から1期目をスタートさせた。首相は再び、中国の経済面
た、米軍のプレゼンスを受け入れることの代償を支払って	での重要性を強調し、国際社会の一員として責任ある行動
おり、中国に対抗もしくは封じ込めを狙う米国戦略の最前	を求めると同時に、高官交流の早期再開を呼び掛けてお
線に立っていると見なされている。米国は尖閣諸島に関し	り、それは、中国の新しい指導者である習近平総書記から
て「日本の施政権を損なおうとするいかなる行為にも反対	慎重な反応を引き出している。
する」ことを再確認したが、「冷静な対応」を求める呼び	中国との緊張緩和は、首相の優先課題の上位に置かれる
掛けによって、幾分その発言は後退したものになってい	だろう。
る。	
日米は、特に尖閣諸島の文脈で、日本が面している脅威	
に対処する上での安全保障同盟の役割に関して、早期に合	とはいっても、中国の専制的体制と管理された公共空間
意に達しなければならない。	には、民主的な抑制と均衡が働く余地がほとんどないとい
当然、日本の自衛隊は、両国の脅威に立ち向かう上でよ	うことを認識しておくことは重要である。中国が、「核心
り大きな役割を担うべきであり、故に、すでに進行中の日	的」領土および安全保障上の利益を一方的に主張すること
米防衛協力の指針の再改定に向けた議論を促進する必要が	が、地域全体にマイナスの副作用をもたらす点を考慮し、
ある。すべてのアジア諸国が、地域安全保障にもたらす影	その行為にもっと予測可能性と透明性を取り入れることが
響を測るため、この展開を注意深く見守っている点を、長	望まれる。
年の同盟国である日米は認識すべきである。その過程で、	日本、インド、米国はこの数年、東アジアに関する対話
日本がアジアの安全保障強化のためにより大きな責務を担	を強めているが、中国の台頭を封じ込めることは、その目

標でもないし、現実問題として不可能である。開かれた、	い点が、両国の結びつきの深化を支えている。安倍首相
包括的な、多国間による経済・安全協力に関する地域枠組	は、07年にインド議会で「より広範なアジア」のビジョン
みに中国を引き入れることが、アジアの平和と繁栄に向け	を述べて以来、インドでは大いに尊敬を集めている。両国
て進むべき道である。米国の歴史家ウォルター・ラッセ	は今や、包括的経済パートナーシップから、民間の原子力
ル・ミードは、アジアは「一つのパワーが、現実的に支配	協力、海上安全保障、防衛産業におけるつながりまで、一
を目指すには、あまりにも広大で、多様性に富み、ダイナ	層意欲的な2国間の議題の具体化に力を注ぐべきである。
ミックすぎる」と述べている。中国は聞いているだろう	アジアの主導的な民主主義国そして主要な経済大国とし
か?	て、日本とインドは、相手の成功、そしてアジアの安全保
明らかになりつつあるこのアジアのシナリオ(筋書き)	障の枠組み、および経済統合の形成に、相互利益を持って
は、展開の途中にある。安倍首相は先頃、経済的・戦略的	いる。
結びつきを強めようとこの地域へ足を踏み出したが、中国	アジアの主要課題は、拡大している地域の経済相互依存
は早速、「(普遍的)価値を装って」「中国を包囲」する試	を損ねかねない戦略的対立を緩和する点にある。すべての
みとして非難した。実際には、地域の平和と安定に、日本	アジア諸国が、これを大前提として理解し合うことを願っ
がより積極的な役割を果たすことを求める声は高まってい	ている。
る。昨年の東アジア首脳会議の挫折を受けて、ASEAN	経済復興、復元力のある戦略態勢、防衛力の強化、毅然
の結束と意義を高めることは、地域安全保障が一層不安定	とした地域外交、そして新たな国家としてのまとまりは、
化するのを防ぐのに役立つだろう。	日本がアジアに根を下ろした「普通の国」として潜在力を
	開花させるのを助けるだろう。安倍首相は、これを現実に
	する歴史的機会を手にしている。インドを含め、幾つもの
日本とインドの間ほど重要な力の均衡関係は、アジアで	新興アジア諸国が、首相の成功をたたえることだろう。
他にない。自由民主主義的価値を共有し、歴史的重荷がな	

Japan's Existential Challenge

by

Hemant Krishan Singh

(For "Gaiko" magazine, March 2013 issue)

In 1904, Okakura Kakuzo heralded Asia's intellectual and political reawakening by declaring "Asia is one", its great civilisations united by a yearning for the "Ultimate and Universal, which is the common thoughtinheritance of every Asiatic race". It is a supreme irony that Japan, which led this Asian renaissance and economic resurgence after centuries of Western domination, is still struggling to resume its existence as a "normal nation".

Undeniably, Japanese militarism and imperialist excesses caused immense suffering in Asia between 1910-1945. But it is equally true that for twice as long after World War II, Japan has scripted an entirely different path of constitutional democracy and resolute pacifism from which it has never deviated.

Arriving in Tokyo in 2006, it occurred to me how little Japan's strategic environment had changed since 1945: unresolved territorial disputes, continuing criticism on "history issues", calls upon its leaders not to honour the nation's war dead, not even a defence ministry. Fast forward to today, and Japan's dire security situation is drawing calls for restraint by its "hawkish" new leaders, even from edgy allies. Surely, that cannot be right.

Japan's predicament in Asia is astonishing when compared with trends in Europe, where past colonisers and aggressors have found comfort in the European Union. We Asians must derive lessons from the old continent if we truly aspire to a common future in an "Asian century".

So where does Prime Minister Shinzo Abe begin the process of charting Japan's revival from what some regard as a secular decline? In my view, "declinism" is not Japan's inevitable destiny, and domestic transformations underway can in fact provide the key determinants of its future vitality.

Almost uniquely among major powers, Japan's post war success was built on geo-economic strength alone. Public distrust of the military meant a near total dependence on the US-Japan alliance for security. While Japan's contributions to global affairs have remained significant, scripting their enhancement has to begin with its primary source of national power. Unsurprisingly, ending Japan's deflationary spiral and reviving its economy is central to the Abe government's strategy. More than in any other area, success on this front will provide greater resources to address social and

security challenges, restore Japan's regional influence and enable more vigorous contributions to the geopolitics of Asia.

Altruism is not an attribute of global power politics. However, it is worth recalling that Asia's rebound and growing prosperity today has a strong Japan connection. Since the 1980s, China, ASEAN and (more recently) India have been the beneficiaries of Japan's assistance, investment and technology, accelerating their economic rise.

On the flip side, Japan's power and influence has been uni-dimensional, its past attempts at "cheque-book" diplomacy a painful failure, and its contributions to global security severely circumscribed by self-imposed limitations. Shinzo Abe must remedy this unsustainable gap in Japan's comprehensive national power, progressively but surely. His first challenge will be to broaden nascent public recognition of the dangers confronting Japan and what it must do to confront these successfully without losing trust in its pacifist intentions.

Revision of the 2010 National Defence Policy Guidelines, to be meaningful, must project a credible minimum deterrent posture. Defence spending will have to rise well beyond the <1% of GDP limit which has been the norm, even as neighbours have raised military budgets several fold. Without disturbing constitutional pacifism, changes can be considered to the traditional interpretation of collective security. Legislation to allow the SDF's engagement in international peace and security cooperation activities will add credibility to Japan's regional commitments to bolster maritime security. Arms export restrictions need to be further eased to provide for meaningful defence industrial collaboration with selected partners. It bears reiteration that these are fundamental choices Japan needs to exercise primarily for its own sake.

During his first term, Shinzo Abe converted the erstwhile Self Defence Agency into a full-fledged Defence Ministry. This time around, he will hopefully follow through with the transition of the SDF into Japan's National Defence Force. When confronted with natural disasters or security threats, the Japanese public needs to draw strength from a highly capable SDF.

With the reassurance of a robust economy and security posture, Japan can resume its pathbreaking contributions to Asia's progress. From advancing the frontiers of technology and innovation to fresh benchmarks for nuclear safety, caring for an ageing population to sustaining productivity in a post-industrial economy, Japan's example can serve Asia well.

The most significant geo-strategic phenomenon in Asia today is not the promised US pivot towards Asia, but the reality of China's unrelenting pivot

towards asserting maritime power expansion, from claims in the East China Sea to the virtual domination of the South China Sea.

Based apparently on a perception of its own rise and an inevitable US decline after the 2008 financial meltdown, China began targeting an economically enfeebled Japan in 2010. Since September 2012, Tokyo has been subjected to repeated incursions in the Senkaku islands by sea and air, escalatory actions challenging its control, chauvinistic rhetoric and warlike threats. Japan is also paying the price of hosting an American military presence and being perceived as the vanguard of US strategies to counter or contain China. US reassurances that it opposes "any unilateral actions to undermine Japanese administration" of the Senkakus have been somewhat muted by appeals for "cooler heads to prevail".

Japan and the US must try and reach an early understanding on the role of their security alliance in meeting the threats faced by Japan in the specific context of the Senkakus. Japan's SDF will naturally have to play a greater role in confronting bilateral threats, so discussions on the revision of the US-Japan defence cooperation guidelines already underway need to be expedited. Both these long term allies should realise that all of Asia will be watching developments carefully to weigh their implications for regional security. Hopefully, in the process the Japanese public will also broaden its understanding that Japan has to assume greater responsibility for buttressing Asian security.

Shinzo Abe had embarked on his first term by forging mutually beneficial strategic relations with China. While underlining China's economic importance and urging it to act responsibly as a member of the international community, Abe has again made overtures for the early resumption of high level exchanges, drawing a measured response from China's new leader Xi Jinping. Easing tensions with China will be high among PM Abe's priorities.

That said, it is important to recognise that China's authoritarian regime and controlled public space offers little room for democratic checks and balances. Hopefully, China will interject greater predictability and transparency into its actions as it considers the region-wide negative fallout from its unilateral assertions of "core" territorial and security interests.

Japan, India and the US have in recent years intensified their dialogue on East Asia, but containing the growing power of China is neither their objective nor a realistic possibility. Engaging China in open, inclusive and multilateral regional frameworks for economic and security cooperation is the way forward for Asian peace and prosperity. As the American historian Walter Russell Mead has argued, Asia "...is too big, too diverse, too dynamic for any single power to realistically aspire to... domination". Is China listening? This unfolding Asian scenario is an unfinished process. Prime Minister Abe's latest foray into the region to enhance economic and strategic ties has led China to promptly denounce Abe's "mask of values" as an attempt to "encircle China". In reality, there is a growing demand for a more dynamic Japanese role in regional peace and stability. Shoring up ASEAN cohesion and centrality will prevent further destabilisation of regional security following the setbacks of the 2012 EAS Summit.

There is no other major power equation in Asia like that between Japan and India. Shared liberal-democratic values and an absence of historical grievances underpin their growing convergences. Shinzo Abe is held in high regard in India since he outlined his vision of "Broader Asia" before the Indian Parliament in 2007. Both countries now need to focus on concretising an even more ambitious bilateral agenda, from comprehensive economic partnership to civil nuclear cooperation, maritime security to defence industrial ties. As Asia's leading democracies and major economic powers, they have a mutual stake in each other's success, as well as in shaping Asian security architecture and economic integration.

Asia's main challenge lies in mitigating strategic confrontation which can undermine the region's growing economic interdependence. That is a basic premise all Asians can hopefully share.

Japan's economic revival, resilient strategic posture, enhanced defence capability, resolute regional diplomacy and renewed national coherence will help realise its potential as a "normal nation" anchored in Asia. Shinzo Abe has a historic opportunity to make this a reality. Several emerging nations in Asia, including my own, will applaud his success.