

14th Jeju Forum Opening Ceremony

[Keynote Speaker]

Yukio HATOYAMA Former Prime Minister of Japan



I would like to express my gratitude to you for inviting me to this Jeju Forum and giving me the chance to speak here. Jeju Island has been the scene of tremendous tragedies throughout the national division and the Korean War. The Korean Peninsula now seems to be seeing a new ray of light. The long history of national division on the peninsula is now seeing a chance for a great change. I believe that it is timely for us to discuss here on Jeju Island what we have to do to move toward peace in Asia.

Neo-liberal globalism has further widened the gap between a very few super-rich and the rest of the people, polarizing societies. Nationalism that cares for nothing but the national interest is spreading all over the world as a reaction to this bipolar society. I think that today's world lacks the political philosophy to pursue the 'common good.'

My grandfather, Ichirō Hatoyama, took office as prime minister in 1954 and resigned after rebuilding ties with the Soviet Union in 1956. He had a chance to become prime minister right after the end of the Second World War, but was barred from politics before the inauguration of the Japanese Cabinet. While leading the life of a recluse, he was deeply

impressed by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, after reading his "Totalitarian State Against Man." In ardent sympathy with Kalergi's concept of fraternity, he published the book in translation under the title of "Freedom and Life." After returning to politics, my grandfather expounded on fraternity as an idea upholding 'mutual respect,' 'mutual understanding' and 'mutual assistance' to realize a fraternal society. I think fraternity is the common good that politics should pursue.

Austrian Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, born to a Japanese mother, emphasized the importance of 'fraternity' as a bridge between freedom and equality. He advocated fraternity as an ideology to fight against the two kinds of totalitarianism represented by Hitler and Stalin that dominated Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. He advocated pan-Europeanism based on the philosophy of fraternity, and it became the basis for the birth of the European Coal and Steel Community after World War II. Germany and France, both hated by each other at that time, started to build cooperation, while jointly managing coal and steel. Furthermore, Germany, France and other European countries deepened cooperative relations with each

other, which culminated in the establishment of the European Union, after many ups and downs during the cooperation process. Now, nobody imagines that Germany and France will fight again. Europe has become a de facto war-free community.

What I would like to say is that fraternity is not the ideology of the past, but the most important ideology of world politics now. Fraternity means respect for the dignity of others as well as respect for one's own dignity. It is to respect the freedom of others as well as one's own freedom, to recognize the differences of others from us, and to help each other while acknowledging individuality. In other words, the fraternity can be factored into self-reliance and co-existence. In efforts to be self-reliant, one can keep one's own dignity. However, since we cannot live alone, we help each other, while gladly admitting that we are different from each other. It is to co-exist with others not to be thoughtlessly dependent on others. Self-reliance without co-existence is not desirable, nor is co-existence without self-reliance.

Fraternity is an idea that pertains to inter-state ties, as well. Modern countries cannot exist alone. They exist in various forms of cooperation with each other and under various influences from others. How to seek self-reliance and co-exist with other countries is one of the most important factors in state governance. In this respect, I think Japan should readjust its excessive reliance upon the US and come closer to Asian countries, including China and Korea. It would be a way for Japan to become a fraternal state. If we extend the meaning of the word, 'fraternity,' it may be applied to relations between humans and nature. How to co-exist with nature is one of the greatest issues of humanity.

What do we have to do now amid the rise of nationalism, while globalization fails to function properly in political terms? I think that we should establish a regional organization in accordance with the 'ideology of fraternity' in order to suppress narrow-minded nationalism, and share a venue of mutual understanding among member states. That is, to build a community based on so-called regionalism.

It is important never to use force within the region and to strive to resolve all disputes only through dialogue, because the exercise of power can never be an ultimate solution to a dispute.

I think we should have a dream of a war-free community based on this ideology of fraternity and create an East Asian Community. The 10 ASEAN countries have already formed an economically-integrated community. Chinese President Xi Jinping said that Asia is a community with a common fate and he wants to create an East Asian Community by 2020. Xi made public his views on the One Belt One Road initiative in 2013, saying that it was designed to support the economies of developing countries by improving their infrastructure. He argued in a forum on the One Belt, One Road initiative that its primary goal is to build peace, and a secondary purpose is the prosperity of the region. Although the tools to establish the One Belt, One Road and the East Asian Community are not the same, they have the same goal of leading the Eurasian continent to peace. The initiative might be said to form a concentric circle that includes the East Asian community in that it constitutes a community of common fate. Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang visited Japan last year and held talks with Prime Minister Abe. Japan pledged to cooperate with the initiative, and Prime Minister Li emphasized the need to form an East Asian economic community.

When Korea, Japan and China are added to the 10 ASEAN countries, it would be able to form the core of the East Asian community. Now that China has expressed such a will, Japan and Korea have to make their position clear. I think that Japan should have stood at the forefront of such an initiative. This is because Japan has inflicted tremendous damage and pain on many Asian countries, and it has yet to make a genuine reconciliation with them now, 74 years later. East Asia could have made great strides toward the community if Japan had squarely looked at history in the year, marking the seven decades after the end of the Second World War, and apologized to and compensated them for its aggression and colonial



rule. I emphasized the importance of the East Asian Community Initiative during my term as prime minister. And I saw the establishment of the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat in Seoul, Korea. However, it is regrettable that the secretariat has not accomplished what was intended with it. I hope that the three countries' summit will be resumed to pursue trilateral cooperation in various fields.

Now, the Korean Peninsula has begun a great stride toward peace. There is an armistice agreement between the US and North Korea. That means that the US and North Korea are still technically at war. North Korea will be at a great disadvantage if the end of the war is declared when its military power remains overwhelmingly inferior. That is why North Korea has developed nuclear missiles over three generations. At the end of the year before last, when the North had succeeded in developing a missile capable of reaching the US, Kim Jong-un thought he was able to negotiate with the US on an equal footing. In other words, North Korea came to the negotiations armed with the option

of abandoning nuclear missiles.

Since April last year, several inter-Korean summit talks have been held, and the second US-North Korean summit was held in Hanoi. The second summit in Hanoi ended without agreement, with many observers saying it was a failure or a breakdown. But I do not agree with them. It would certainly take more than a few summits until North Korea completely halts its nuclear development, and the US completely lifts its economic sanctions and concludes a bilateral peace treaty. It was rather meaningful that the talks outlined how the two sides could come up with a compromise. An important point is that North Korea will not launch missiles, and the US will not resort to a military attack on the North as long as they patiently continue summit talks. The Korean Peninsula is now ending the crisis, thanks to the qualitative improvement of US-North Korean relations. It goes without saying that it is important for Japan and China to support the peace movement on the Korean Peninsula. Japan, in particular, is a country responsible for the division of

the Korean peninsula. Abe has insisted only on the resolution of the abduction issue, saying, "Dialogue for dialogue's sake is meaningless. It is no longer time for dialogue." But he ended up being driven out of the mosquito net (being ignored or excluded), as inter-Korean and US-North Korean dialogue made progress. Abe should be more cooperative with Korea, instead of blindly following President Trump. A hundred years later, the Korean Peninsula will see a single unified country of any type.

A few years ago, it was not easy to find ways to incorporate North Korea into the East Asian Community. But now, with the rapid progress of inter-Korean relations, we are able to think about North Korea in terms of the initiative. I think that we should set up an East Asian Community parliament and make it a venue where we can discuss not only economies and trade but also environment, energy, education, culture, and security issues. I think Okinawa, Japan, or Jeju Island would be a suitable venue for that kind of discussion, because we should transform Okinawa, now a 'strategic military point' with a large US military base, into a 'strategic point for peace,' as it used to be during the Kingdom of Ryukyu. I would also like to ask Jeju Island to realize the dream of the unification of South and North Korea. Japan and South Korea should play a pivotal role in helping China, which has emerged as a major power, to make political and economic developments in peace with East Asian countries and in assisting North Korea in developing its economy and politics to become a stabilized peace-loving country. I think that is a way Japan and Korea, as mature countries, should lead. Finally, I would like to end my speech with the adage of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi: "Every historical great happening began as a utopia, and ended as a reality."

Thank you.