UNESCO IICBA Training 2020 8th Dec,2020 Specially Appointed Professor Gen Kikkawa Hiroshima Peace Institute

Current Situation and Issues of Security in East Asian Countries

- 1 East Asia: Peace but not Safe
- 1.1 Militarizing East Asia

Influence by Soviet Union (Russia) has been drastically weakened whilst Japan-US/US-Korea Alliance have been maintained with prominent rise of China in post-cold war East Asia.

International politic system in Asia is balance of power system which tries to maintain peace by keeping military balance, holds a gimmick of military competition behind. Market for weapon has been expanding together with rapid economic growth there and as a result, military tension tends to continue.

There are 4 nuclear nations: China, Russia, North Kora and USA holding nuclear umbrella for Japan and South Korea in East Asia which makes the region the most dangerous in the world. Why it is not happening to formulate a Security community like EU of Europe or OSCE of Europe/ the Atlantic in East Asia?

1.2 Structure of Mutual Mistrust and Conflict in East Asia

International conflict in East Asia is the one characterized with power of balance system and it is zero-sum conflict which allows no room for compromise / concession. In particular, ①territorial issues (Takeshima / Dokto Island, Senkaku Islands, Northern territories) 、 ②historical issues (comfort women) 、③ideological conflicts (cross-strait relations,) ,④conflict between divided ethics (divided Korean Peninsula) , these are all difficult zerosum issues.

Since zero-sum conflicts is related to nation's dignity, each government agitates nationalism and involves citizens (mass opinion), therefore compromising is cumbersome task. For example, territorial issues can be solved only by recapture with armed force or unilateral dominium disclamation. Conflict between divided nations will be solved only by national unification (East Germany annexed by Western Germany, Unification of Southern Vietnam with armed force by Northern Vietnam).

2 Prescription for International Peace for 20th Century

Let us review prescription for peace tried all over the world in considering peace building in East Asia.

Various prescriptions for peace were formulated after WW, which can be categorized in to the following 7: ①peaceful settlement of dispute, ②outlawing wars, ③economic internationalism, ④international exchange, ⑤disarmament and arms control, ⑥collective security, ⑦international integration(community formation).

International integration (security community formation) is the ultimate method for international peace and international security formation. It is an approach to end adversary relationship and prevent having wars by market unification, economic community formation and sharing common identity (as European/Asian/African etc.) that everyone is a part of the family under the same roof. EC/EU is the pioneer case example.

- 3 Experience and Wisdom of Europe
- 3.1 Beyond Love and Hate—Wisdom of Reconciliation between Germany and France

In order to free East Asia from the gauntlet of balance of power, we may as well learn from reconciliation between Germany and France.

What is their wisdom to have chosen the way of international integration beyond love and hate? France and Germany had wars 3 times (the Franco-Prussian War, WW1, WW2) within 3/4 century. It was due to Alsace-Lorraine belongingness located near the border of both countries, and one of the biggest industrial zones in Europe with the site for concentration of coal mine and ironworks. Since coal was important source of energy, and steel was the one of manufacturing business, France and Germany repeatedly engaged in warfare.

After WW2, there were more strong opinions such as "total demise of Germany should be done." "Impose huge amounts of reparations and deter their economic recovery." among powerful French politicians like de Gaulle. However, it would have been just litany of the history. The way trying to shorten the arm of Germany by imposing large amounts of reparations after WW1 allowed Hitler to come to the forefront which was a remote cause of WW2.

How to overcome love and hate between Germany and France? Joint management of coal and steel was proposed by French politician Jean Monnet and Foreign Minister Robert Schuman (Schuman Plan, 9th May 1950). Their idea was to make having wars physically impossible by jointly managing strategic materials. Treaty for European Coal and Steel Community was concluded in 1951 and the next year 1952 this ECSC was launched. It was the very first international organization beyond nations with ceding part of one's sovereignty to the other.

3.2 Development of EC/EU

Let us have a close look of EC integration process. After WW2, international integration started on the initiative of French and West German Politicians. It was the very first international integration with the purpose of war prevention and grandiose experimental trial at the same time. This peace method by international integration experimented in Europe started the following 3 community formation:

(1) European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) : Established at Treaty of Paris in 1951 with the purpose of common market formation of coal and steel between 6 countries of Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg (Benelux) on top of Germany and France.

(2) European Economic Community (EEC) : Established in 1957 at Treaty of Rome aiming to economic integration between 6 countries above, which set up tariff elimination in the region, common tariff imposition to outside the region and free movement of capital & labor force etc..

(3) European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) : Established in 1957 at Treaty of Rome together with EEC, aiming to develop civilian use of nuclear energy (peaceful use) with promotion of joint management & joint development of nuclear fuel and nuclear device among 6 countries above.

These 3 communities were integrated to European Community in 1967 and single market was formulated among affiliate countries. EC was developed to European Union (EU) in 1993, the integration was accelerated to political one.

Peace building of EC/EU was successful due to the following methods:

① Cause of aggressive war was removed due to joint management of strategic items.

(2) Economic dispute was drastically reduced due to common market expansion and economic interdependence development which made it impossible to have sharp line of national interest.

(3) Common identity was created by freedom of mobility and economic interdependence which weakened self-other consciousness

They chose integration over conflict, international security over national security. Nowadays it is impossible for both Germany and France to claim national interest as they are integrated economically and politically, thus no cause of international dispute. 4 Responsibility to the Future—Where to Start

4.1 Asia showing its back to community formation

Economic interdependence has been developing but not the one for peace / security in East Asia. Why are they walking away from community formation? The following can be the cause:

(1) There is mixture of socialism, totalitarianism and democracy in Asia. This diverse governance constitutes an obstacle for common regional identity thus posing an impediment on community building.

2 All major countries have negative trends in security community building of Asia

The US has been opposing multilateralism in Asia ever since Cold War to the present, because they maintain overwhelming military power in Asia and do not want to acknowledge the necessity of multilateral security cooperation like CSCE(conference of security and cooperation in Europe)

China hates international intervention to domestic matter of concern especially the Taiwan issue and indigenous people issue thus opposing to multilateral security system.

Japan has been highly dependent on the US militarily by Japan-U.S. Security Arrangements, receiving benefit of nuclear umbrella due to pacifist policy based on Article 9 of the Constitution, so has no way to intend to build multilateral security system.

 $\hfill\square$ South & North Korea prioritize national security due to ideology conflict and cannot accept community idea.

4.2 Where to start East Asia Community Building

Threats to human safety is not only nuclear war, but also global crisis like destruction of natural environment, climate change, COVID-19 pandemic. The reality of East Asia is that they are engrossed in maintaining national security, nay state regime security with knowing the above.

We have no other choice but formulating East Asia Community in order to get over the crisis. The process can be:

(1) Start from setting multilateral dialogue (political forum) for non-military, non-traditional security field such as climate change.

(2) Implement military confidence-building measures in Asia. Especially measures for military exercise established by CSCE can be realistic. Improvement of cooperative relationship will be followed by social confidence building measures.

3 Governmental leaders of each country should play important roles in formation of East Asia Community. Strong leadership is required to seek realization of not only their own national security but common regional interest and security.

With being faced with global crisis like climate change, formation of East Asia community is our future responsibility imposed on us.

【reference】Gen Kikkawa 『What is International Peace?』 CHUOKORON-SHINSHA, INC 2015