

Speech at City University of Hong Kong (English version): My Vision for the East Asian Community

November 13, 2013

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- (1) I am most delighted and deeply honored to accept, on this occasion, the award of an Honorary Doctor of Laws from City University of Hong Kong. I would particularly like to express my heartfelt thanks to President and University Distinguished Professor Way Kuo for all of the efforts he made in preparation for me to receive this honor. I was so lucky that the field of study I studied at Stanford University was the same as President Kuo and Professor Singpurwalla who is just visiting City University. That is the reliability theory in engineering. Especially, Professor Singpurwalla was the person who examined my doctoral dissertation. That is why I am fortunate to be here. From now on, I will spend my life in the ability of Japan-China relations to restore trust and reliability as quickly as they can by using the theory of reliability.
- (2) Also, I would not have been able to receive such recognition without the support over the years of my wife Miyuki, my greatest confidant, and I'm pleased to let you know she is accompanying me today.
- (3) This is my seventh visit to China, including the last visit to Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, this year. I feel strongly determined to do all I can to make even a small contribution to the improvement of the relationship between Japan and China. This year, I was also able to make good on my long-held intention to visit Nanjing. As a Japanese citizen, I feel that it is my duty to apologize for even one Chinese civilian killed brutally by Japanese soldiers and that such action cannot be excused by saying that it occurred during war. I visited the The Memorial Hall to the Victims in the Nanjing Massacre, came face-to-face with many historical facts, viewed photographs of Japanese soldiers killing innocent civilians in the city and read how the Japanese media of the time applauded the violence, which is not acceptable even when a country is at war. Therefore, as a private Japanese citizen, I would like once again to express my apologies. During my visit to the Memorial Hall, Director Zhu Cheng Shan told me that "the purpose of The Memorial Hall is not to criticize the crimes of the past but to ensure that

such events never happen again in the future”, profound words which struck me deeply. Japan has a duty to continue to **“forever renounce war as means of settling international disputes”** and to spread the doctrine of non-militarism around the world.

- (4) In March, when I visited Hong Kong and was delighted to meet with the renowned Buddhist monk Master Ching Kung, his teachings have had a major impact on my life. Master Ching Kung teaches that instability in global politics, economics and society results from failures of education, and he came to the realization that people around the world need to learn more about the teachings passed down from ancient China. Japanese society is also becoming increasingly materialistic due to a lack of emphasis on filial piety, respect for seniority and loving benevolence. There is a pressing need to set the international community on a better path.
- (5) "As it says in the qunshu zhiyao [the ancient compilation of writings on important governing principles], “A leader who brings greatness to his nation welcomes criticism directed at him. A leader who brings chaos to his nation prefers praise that glorifies his name. For the former, good fortune will follow him because he will make fewer mistakes over time. But for the latter, misfortune will beset him as he sinks deeper into the false acclaim that is detrimental to his virtues. Furthermore, as Confucius said: “There are three kinds of friendship which are beneficial and three kinds of friendship which are harmful. Being friends with people who are fair-minded, sincere, and knowledgeable, is beneficial. Being friends with people who are deceptive, unprincipled and smooth talking, is harmful.” I find these words very profound."
- (6) While Master Ching Kung has stressed the importance of loving benevolence, I am a firm believer in the power of fraternity, and understand these two ideals to be extremely similar. During the French Revolution, the tricolor represented liberty, equality and fraternity. Through the Revolution, ordinary citizens demanded France’s aristocratic society give way to a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity, but as the influence of market economics spread following the Industrial Revolution, it became increasingly difficult to simultaneously achieve both freedom and equality. If freedom is unlimited, a society develops in which the strong prey upon the weak, but if equality is pursued at all costs then

society loses its vitality. That is why Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi advocated fraternity as a necessary bridge between liberty and equality. In Coudenhove-Kalergi's time, Europe contained two powerful totalitarian states, Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union. Coudenhove-Kalergi proclaimed that human beings could not achieve ultimate happiness under totalitarianism and espoused fraternity, which places value on humanity, as a basis for fighting totalitarianism. He was also an advocate of pan-Europeanism and his ideas helped pave the way for the foundation of the EU. This publication, *The Totalitarian State against Man*, was translated into Japanese by my grandfather Ichiro Hatoyama and published under the Japanese title "Freedom in Life". My grandfather was deeply influenced by Coudenhove-Kalergi's concept of fraternity, and after becoming Japan's Prime Minister, as the successor to the US-leaning administration of Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, he founded his administration and the spirit of fraternity, successfully concluding a cease-fire with the Soviet Union, which remained officially at war with Japan, and winning Japan's entry into the United Nations. Since my grandfather's time, no leading Japanese politician has advocated fraternity, but I believe that Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, who achieved the normalization of diplomatic relations between their two nations, were guided by the basic principle of fraternity, which emphasizes mutual respect and empathy.

- (7) I would like to stress here that the concept of fraternity is by no means an outdated idea and should rather be the most important principle in today's global politics. My simple understanding of fraternity is that it is based upon the twin principles of autonomy and coexistence. In other words, fraternity means respecting one's own dignity while also respecting the dignity of others. When acting in the spirit of fraternity, we act under our own volition while recognizing and respecting differences with others. In other words, we harness our individuality while helping each other. I believe that this principle applies not only to interactions between people but also to the relationships between states, relationships between regions and also to the relationship between people and the natural environment.
- (8) In September 2009, after leading the Democratic Party of Japan in achieving a change of government, bringing an end to the long-standing Liberal Democratic Party-led administration, I served as Prime Minister of Japan, albeit for the

extremely short period of nine months. Of course, my main objective was to achieve a politics based on fraternity. That is because Japan has, for many years, showed insufficient autonomy as a result of two specific dependent relationships. The reason that Japan is not a fraternal state but rather a dependent state is firstly due to the state's dependence on the bureaucracy, which means that national policy is essentially decided by bureaucrats under a system that denies the people the opportunity to have their voices reflected in government. The second dependency is Japan's dependency on the United States, which means that Japan always has to show consideration for the United States' point of view when making important diplomatic decisions, which has led to the enactment of policies detrimental to Japan such as the dispatch of the Self-Defense Forces to Iraq. Therefore I propose that Japanese politicians should take responsibility for their own policies to free Japan from dependence on its bureaucracy. I also advocated the vision of an East Asian Community stating that Japan should, while seeking an equal bilateral relationship with the United States, place increasing emphasis on its relationship with Asian countries, particularly our neighbors of China and South Korea, but unfortunately, the government's position on these issues has, since I left office, returned to the positions of the previous administration. However, I still believe that the right path for Japan is to create a nation based on the fundamental spirit of fraternity.

- (9) Building the East Asian Community is my dream. However, I don't think it is an unattainable dream. Since becoming a politician, I have always thought it possible for Japan and other Asian countries, and more widely, countries within the Asia-Pacific region, to build greater fraternal bonds. More than 60 years have passed since Japan inflicted great damage and suffering to many countries, particularly China and other Asian nations, but we still have not achieved true reconciliation. In Europe, following the tragic experience of two world wars, France and Germany, previous sworn enemies, began to cooperate in various fields beginning with the joint management of coal and steel resources. As a result of such cooperation, and of greater ties between the citizens of both nations, this movement passed through various stages and eventually developed into today's European Union, which binds France and Germany together as peaceful partners. It is the experience of reconciliation and cooperation in Europe that should serve as a model for our ideals here in Asia. In other words, the vision of the East Asian Community is based on the key idea of open, regional

cooperation under which the participating nations cooperate in various fields and through numerous functional community networks within the region with the ultimate goal of bringing the countries in the region together as peaceful partners. To achieve this goal, it is first of all important to make concrete, cooperative progress in a wide range of fields including trade, investment, finance, education and addressing environmental issues.

- (10) When I was Prime Minister, I, alongside the development of a new public sphere and the establishment of a state with power devolved to its regions, stated the establishment of an East Asian Community as one of Japan's key national objective. However, during my short term as Prime Minister, I was unable to set Japan on a concrete path towards achieving that vision, and interest in the East Asian Community waned. Subsequent administrations stopped speaking of the Community and unfortunately began adopting an antagonistic stance towards countries such as China and South Korea in the name of strengthening the Japan-US alliance. Despite this, I still believe that our times demand the creation of an East Asian Community. That is why I believe it is my personal responsibility to continue, through my words and actions, to restore trust in Japan among Asian nations to maintain the community as a viable vision rather than simply a dream.
- (11) East Asia has greater economic disparities than Europe, is home to many different religions and encompasses major cultural differences including different historical perspectives and different languages. Therefore, some academics have argued that even if community-wide integration may be possible in Europe, it will not be possible in East Asia. However, I believe that it is these very differences that make the construction of an East Asian Community a valuable enterprise. Rather than perceiving oneself and others, or mankind and nature, to be in opposition, in the manner of Western dualism, Asian cultures tend to seek and emphasize commonalities. This approach has much in common with fraternity.
- (12) To achieve this vision, we will need to build up trust in relationships between nations and between peoples in a variety of fields. We must be sure we resolve not to create an exclusive community that only includes countries with certain characteristics or to create an economic bloc with the aim of opposing other regions. Rather, we must strive to create a flexible, open community and encourage the participation of nations such as the United States and Russia in

certain fields. As I have stated, the objective of the East Asian Community is not to exclude the United States from Asia. However, my vision for such community has been criticized, by parties in the United States government who do not wish to see Japan exercise any autonomy in its relationship with United States, as an attempt to exclude the United States from Asia and move closer to China.

(13) A related issue is the "values-orientated diplomacy" proposed by the former Aso Administration which emphasized an "arc of freedom and prosperity". This policy's stated aim is to encourage alliances and cooperation between countries that share the values of democracy and capitalism, but it is actually an attempt for close relationships with the countries surrounding China in an attempt to isolate China. Such exclusionist diplomacy is not based on the principles of fraternity and during my government are abandoned these ideas, but the government of Shinzo Abe appears to have revived the idea of an "arc of freedom and prosperity", concept which is mutually incompatible with the vision for East Asian Community. I'm deeply concerned that these attempts to isolate China will actually result in the isolation of Japan.

(14) As we work towards the creation of an East Asian Community, cooperation is already underway in the number of fields. One such field is education, in which the Campus Asia project is underway in order to create an environment in which university students across Asia can learn without concern for national borders. Campus Asia is the Asian version of the Erasmus scheme already operating in Europe. I proposed the scheme as Prime Minister in a summit between Japan, China and South Korea, and the project is still in its early, experimental stages, but we have already achieved the mutual recognition of credits for specific courses at 10 universities in each of the three countries.

It goes without saying that I hope City University of Hong Kong will play an important role in the future of the scheme. I hope that in future we can greatly expand Campus Asia to encompass numerous other universities and countries.

(15) We are now starting to see the concrete direction we need to move to achieve an economic community. The nations of ASEAN have already decided to integrate their economies from 2015 and firm progress is underway. The other key nucleus of East Asia is a partnership between Japan, China and South Korea, and these

three countries have started discussing a free trade agreement. I think that first establishing a free trade agreement between Japan, China and South Korea and then creating a free-trade area encompassing the ASEAN nations and Japan, China and South Korea would be very beneficial both for Japan and for China.

- (16) Following the earthquake and tsunami that struck Japan two and a half years ago, accident occurred at the nuclear power station in Fukushima affecting not only Japan but also creating great inconvenience for surrounding countries. As a former Prime Minister of Japan, I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks for the large volume of disaster relief supplies Japan received from China and also for China's search and rescue assistance. Please allow me once again to also apologize for this accident including the ongoing failure to completely prevent the further spread of radiation. Although it will now be impossible to construct new nuclear power stations in Japan, a country which sits on top of numerous active faults, there are many countries in Asia, including China which will, for the time being, have no choice but to rely on nuclear power as a source of energy. The reason, I also think it is a pressing task for us to create frameworks for an integrated community, which also includes Japan, in the field of nuclear safety.
- (17) However, both in Japan and in all nations around the world, we must also make rapid progress on switching over to sustainable energy supplies. We should take note that Mongolia is estimated to have dormant energy resources equal to 70% of the world's demand for power. Inner Mongolia, which I visited recently, is also rich in natural energy resources. If we are able to construct solar power generation and wind power generation facilities in these areas and build a power transmission network for distributing the power produced across East Asia to supply electricity to the required regions, East Asia could also become a community based on shared energy sources.
- (18) Currency integration is an issue for the more distant future, but I believe we should investigate various different possibilities and the planning stage. However, with the single currency in the European Union producing both positive and negative outcomes, I do not think we should rush to reach any conclusions over a single currency in Asia where economic disparities are even wider than in the EU.

- (19) Culture plays an important role in bringing together people from different countries. From literature, theater, calligraphy and painting, music and sports through to fashion, cuisine and animation, I think it's wonderful that the countries of East Asia can seek commonalities and enjoy differences while competing across these fields. Cultural appreciation and rivalry allows us to learn the respective histories and inhabit a common space. Culture serves as a catalyst to boost feelings of community.
- (20) When seeking a path towards the East Asian Community, the most important factor is relationships of trust between Japan, China and South Korea, three nations which form one of the region's cause. However, it is of great concern that the relationships of trust between Japan and China and between Japan and South Korea have been under great strain since the Kan administration through to the Abe administration. It is no exaggeration to say that these respective relationships are now worse than they have been for more than 40 years. The biggest reason for this is Prime Minister Abe's stated intention to revisit the Murayama Statement on Japan's past military aggression and the Kono Statement on the issue of comfort women, as part of his attempts to alter perceptions of history, a move which will further aggravate Japan's ongoing move to the right. In response to Abe's intentions, not only of course China and South Korea but also the United States has expressed severe disquiet, labeling the moves historical revisionism. This year, on August 15, a larger than usual number of Japanese cabinet ministers and politicians visited Yasukuni Shrine, which also enshrined Class A war criminals, angering the people of China and South Korea who suffered during the war. Furthermore, during a recent speech at a think tank in New York, Prime Minister Abe made the unrepentant statement "so call me, if you want, a right wing militarist". As a Japanese citizen, I'm deeply embarrassed by these actions and words, which go directly against the spirit of fraternity.
- (21) The issue pouring further oil on the flames is the matter of the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyu Islands). After losing the war, Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration, which promised to uphold the Cairo Declaration. The Cairo Declaration states that Japan should return territories taken from China during the Qing Dynasty such as Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. Opinions in Japan and China differ on whether the phrase "such as" includes the Senkaku Islands. Therefore, in 1972, when Zhou Enlai and Kakuei Tanaka meant to negotiate the normalization of diplomatic

relations between Japan and China, Prime Minister Tanaka raised the issue of the Senkaku Islands but Premier Zhou responded that “the important issue for discussion is the normalization of diplomatic relations so let us avoid this issue”. Prime Minister Tanaka said that “I raise this matter as I felt it would be disadvantageous not to mention it, but if that is your position, let us shelve this discussion”. Later, Deng Xiao Ping said “let us resolve this issue through the wisdom of future generations”, and the agreement to shelve the matter was reached. I was able to confirm these facts when I met with Lin Liyun, Vice-President of the China International Cultural Exchange Center, who interpreted the meeting between Tanaka and Zhou. I think they made a very wise decision. Our current politicians should learn from their wisdom. Regarding this issue, I think we should also consider the implications of valuable proposals on the sovereignty in the South-China Sea between China and Vietnam brought by the Premier Li Keqiang’s visit to Vietnam.

- (22) This kind of pending question between Japan and China will be, I believe, headed towards solution by having the courage which gazes history correctly. The answer is hidden in history. Then, the door will be opened for the future of youth of both Japan and China. It is my conviction that the East Asian Community Concept will then move forward greatly toward realization. The unification of East Asia will lead to the peace in Asia, which will contribute to the security in the whole world greatly. Now is the time to start one step towards the goal. Let me conclude by quoting the words of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi. Every great historical happening began as an utopia and ended as a reality.