

East Asian Security Revisited in Light of the European Experience

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Reconciliation and Regional Integration: What can East Asians learn from Europe's success?

- Systematic study comparing German and Japanese reconciliation efforts
- We hypothesize:
With a proper reconciliation process that addresses historical legacies, East Asians may enhance their security by institutionalizing trust on multiple levels.

Caveat: Asia is NOT Europe

	Europe	East Asia
Differences (Friedberg)	Various factors (Democratic governments, equality, etc.) mitigate instability	Soothing forces are “either absent or of dubious strength and permanence”
	Convergence on interpretation of the past occurred soon after WWII and continues to this day	Convergence started much later than the end of WWII; Asian powers show signs of divergence in constructing history to serve national purposes
	U.S. promoted regional institutions in Europe	U.S. promoted bilateral alliances in East Asia
Parallels	Franco-German axis	Sino-Japanese axis
Comparison	Germany’s reconciliation efforts	Japan’s efforts to promote greater cooperation
	European security arrangements since the end of WWII	East Asian security structures

Mini Case Study: Japan

Historical legacies

- Threat of invasion & conflict with China for centuries

“China-centrism”: China viewed itself as “ the cultural center of the universe and ... all non-Chinese [as] ‘uncivilized’ barbarians,” and insisted on “ preeminence of the Middle Kingdom and a tributary system of foreign relations” (Vohra)

- Sino-Japanese War (1895): particularly damaging for Asian relations

Mini Case Study: Japan

Historical legacies

➤ Japan: end of WWI to WWII: relations w/ neighbors worsened

Timeline	Japan's actions
End of WWI	Kept war bases seized from Germany for a number of years instead of returning them to China
Early 1930s	Decided to conquer Manchuria to develop a resource base to prepare for war with USSR
Nov. 1936	Signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany; began encroachment of China's northern provinces shortly thereafter
July 1937-August 1945	War with China
1894-1945	Rule of Korea

Mini Case Study: Japan

Historical legacies

- Atrocities against Koreans and Chinese caused hatred & suspicion
- Rape of Nanking (Dec. 1937)
- “comfort women”

What steps might East Asians take to transcend the past that stands in the way of greater cooperation?

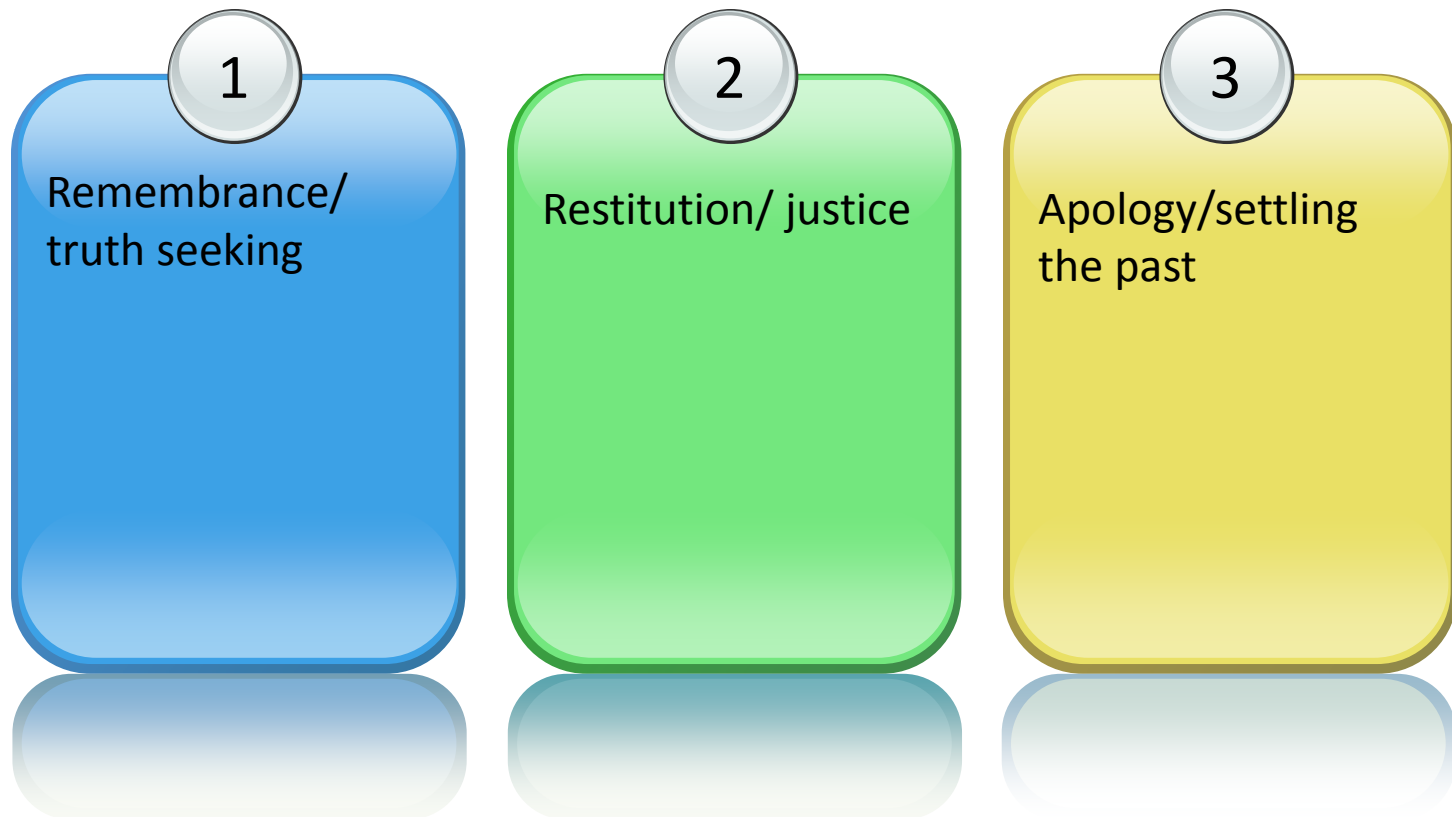


The European experience

Mini Case Study: Japan

- Reconciliation

Japan vs. Germany



Remembrance/Truth Seeking

Japan	Germany
War was viewed as “freeing Asia from the oppressive domination of the west”	Consequences of war and war crimes were acknowledged by the new political elites
Japan portrayed itself as the victim of nuclear attacks rather than an aggressor	German politicians remind citizens time and again that they have to deal with their past squarely; differentiate guilty war perpetrators from their descendants
Suffering of Chinese and other Asian victims was completely ignored in Tokyo trials, leading to forty years of Japan’s “collective amnesia”	Government has decreed that it is a crime to deny the Holocaust, endorsed full archival openness to make sure information about the past would not be distorted
Content of historical textbooks was highly controversial, “biased historiography”	Historians unearthed historical facts and encouraged Germany to confront its past; educational programs combat the revival of nationalism

Restitution/Justice

Japan	Germany
U.S. recommended reparations be ended for fear of weakening Japan in the Cold War; Taiwan and then P.R.C. waived reparations	U.S. occupation authorities launched extensive German restitution and compensation programs aiding Holocaust survivors to this day
Civil redress rarely succeeds; the judges either argue “that compensation claims were settled under international law...that under the Meiji constitution the Japanese state cannot be held liable, or that the twenty-year statute of limitations makes the claims invalid”	Victims of the Nazi regime succeeded in seeking justice; \$5 billion settlement for victims of Nazi slave labor; \$117 million payment to the Wertheim family, etc.

Apology/Settling the past

An effective apology: “meaningful”, “genuine”, “sincere”, “backed by actions”

Japan	Germany
Japan only expressed “hansei” (remorse) instead of a formal “owabi” (apology) to Chinese President Jiang Zemin; only acknowledged “moral” but not “legal” responsibility to “comfort women” in Korea; none of the apologies issued to date has been accepted by the majority of Chinese people	Germans recognized “the acceptance of guilt in the past must not only be open and public, but, in order to be truly meaningful and effective, it must generate a formal apology”.
Many prime ministers have insisted on visiting the Yasukuni Shrine, where victims of colonial rule were enshrined in the same way as war criminals	Former German chancellor Willy Brandt fell to his knees when visiting the Warsaw Ghetto Monument; President Johannes Rau offered a similar apology to victims of Nazi labor

What can Japan draw from the European experience?

Apology/Settling the past

- A formal apology for war crimes would “not only liberate Japan’s neighbors; it would also free Japan itself” (Kristof)
- A formal, open apology by Japan would create pressure (even international pressure) and an incentive for China to give up its reluctance and accept an apology

**East Asia is not Europe, but
European reconciliation provides East Asia with a
blueprint to deal with historical legacies**

Europe's Institutional History in a Nutshell

- Threat: USSR expansionism; resurgent Germany
- Integrate Germany in international institutions to contain its power once and for all
- Create a complex web of governance to enhance security and promote stability/prosperity with U.S. support; voluntary curtailment of sovereignty

Europe's Institutional History in a Nutshell:
Creation of a mix of intergovernmental and supranational arrangements to institutionalize trust on multiple levels

Timeline	Institutions	Purpose
03/04/1947	Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Assistance b/w UK & France	Defend against attack
1947	Truman Doctrine	Provide financial aid to support Europe from Soviet or domestic communist pressure
06/05/1947	Marshall Plan	Aid West-European economic recovery
Early 1948	Brussels Treaty	Military alliance between UK, France & the Benelux countries
04/04/1949	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	Military alliance to defend western allies against attack
04/18/1951	European Coal and Steel Community	Free trade area for coal, steel, iron ore (significant security implications)
1992	European Union	Common market; currency; etc.

Other organizations promoting peace: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; Council of Europe; UN; Western European Union (now part of EU)

Institution-Building in East Asia

- Bilateralism:
 - important model in promoting peace in East Asia after WWII; U.S. “hub and spokes network” with Australia/Japan/South Korea/Philippines/Thailand
 - Japan still favors bilateralism
 - Sole reliance on bilateral relationship with the U.S. is insufficient to promote peace
- U.S.-Japan-China trilateral relations? Risks
- Multilateralism: desirable; a variety of cooperative security arrangements already exists

Institution-Building in East Asia: Current regional cooperative arrangements

Timeline	Institutions	Purpose
1967	Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)	Promote economic and cultural cooperation; prevent any power from dominating Southeast Asia; peaceful management of regional territorial disputes; prevent arms race; keep the U.S. strategically involved; engage China
1993	Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD)	“track-two” security dialogues among diplomats and defense departments of China, U.S., Russia, Japan and South Korea
1994	Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP)	NGO promoting “track-two” discussions by individuals in research institutes
1994	ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)	Build “security with others rather than against them” (Acharya); “bind both Japan and China into a regional institutional framework” (Buzan and Weaver)

Institution-Building in East Asia

- Arrangements on multiple levels of governance and with varying degrees of commitment are desirable
- East Asians prefer a “gradual, incremental approach to cooperation over legalistic and fast-track modalities of institution-building” (Acharya)
 - e.g. ARF & CSCAP: non-use of force for settling disputes

Institution-Building in East Asia: Expectations Based on the European Experience

- Cooperation spillover:
Integration in one area (i.e. economics) may spill over into others and facilitate further cooperation, but this does not happen overnight
- Composition of security arrangements:
Include most likely adversaries in cooperative security arrangements rather than to ally against them (i.e. include Japanese troops in peacekeeping; confidence building measures resembling CSCE; multilateral arrangement resembling ECSC)
- Multilateralism vs. Bilateralism:
Institutions will be “a complement to, rather than substitute for, existing bilateral arrangements” (Acharya); a “division of labor” between ARF and a concert of the Great Powers may be desirable (ibid.); the goal is to encourage positive behavior when feasible, and cooperative measures to rely on when benevolence fails to accomplish the desired outcome

Conclusion

- East Asian countries may want to address historical legacies through a reconciliation process of remembrance, restitution, and apology
- More could be and needs to be done by Japan and its neighbors to transcend their historical legacies
- East Asians may learn from the European experience of a multitude of institutional arrangements with varying memberships and degrees of structural commitment institutionalizing trust on multiple levels
- Curtailment of some freedom of action by East Asian countries is needed to build more sophisticated governance structures in the long run

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