

**Session III Mixed Drivers:
Who are the drivers of Three Territorial
Issues?
-----A view from Japan-----**

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Mixed drivers in North East Asia

	To Japan	To Russia	To Korea	To China
Japan's policy	X	<u>Justice & pride</u>	Fishery's interest (possible change?)	I No response II <u>Security politics</u> + Justice & pride
Russia's policy	Realists' politics (justice & pride)	X	X	X
Korea's policy	<u>Justice & pride</u>	X	X	X
China's policy	I Energy Interest II <u>Justice & pride</u> + Security politics	X	X	X

Northern Territories

- Japan's policy: Justice & pride
Regain what was lost in summer 1945
- Russia's policy: Realists' politics
What you gain by war shall be preserved
- (J & P) Regain what was lost in 1905
- **Solution**: Dialogue: 1956, 91, 93, 2001
- Abe's visit in 2013/4: Resolving by "draw"

Takeshima / Dokto

- Korea's policy: Justice & Pride
1905 is precursor of 1910 annexation
- "Dokto adorationalism" from early 1950's
- Japan's policy: Fishery's interest
taking it to ICJ; never at the centrality
- Lee Myung-bak's visit in 2013/8?
- **Solution**: Dialogue: finding a way of co-existence: starting with track II

Senkaku / Dyaoyutai I

- China's policy: Energy interest oil report in 1968 and declarations in 71
- “tacit understanding” by Japan and China on shelving by Zhou (72) and Deng (78)
- No response by Japan until 1992
- China's gradual change in policy: 1992, 2008, 2010 and?

Senkaku / Dyaoyutai II

- China's policy since 2012/9:
Justice & Pride + Security politics
- Japan's policy: Security politics and J&P
- **Solution**: Dialogue and Deterrence;
getting out from Prisoners' Dilemma
- To China: Say whatever and wherever
they want, but do it peacefully
- To Japan: Ready to listen at all levels

Togo's Three Principles

- Proposed at the Shanghai Forum In May 2012, later published in KSU Journal
- 1. Those which challenges status quo do not use forces and do it peacefully
- 2. Those who have actual control shall be opened to any kind of talks required
- 3. Two sides should create a mechanism to avoid collision