

INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR TRILATERAL COOPERATION 2018

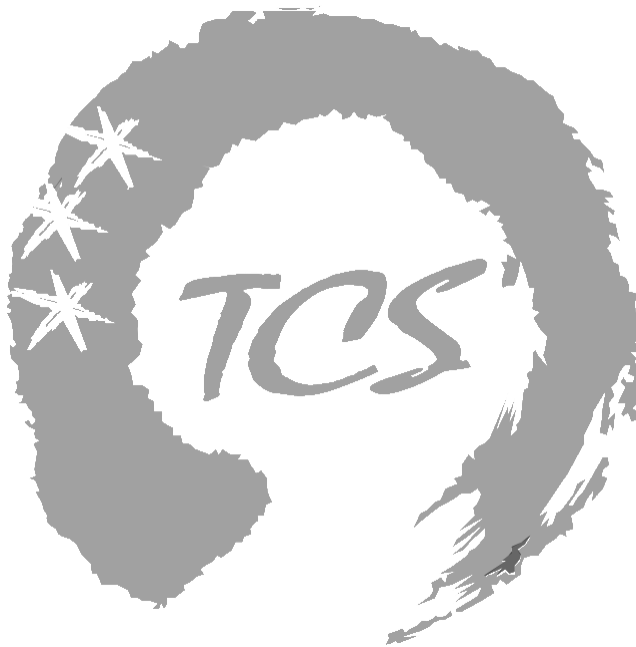
日中韓三国協力国際フォーラム2018

“The Opening of a New Chapter for Trilateral Cooperation – The Past 10 Years, the Coming 10 Years”

三国協力の新たな章の始まり – 過去10年とこれから先の10年を見据えて –

Supplementary Papers

別紙



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Organizer : Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat
主催：日中韓三国協力事務局

日中韓三国協力国際フォーラム2018

基調講演

自由民主党副総裁 高村 正彦

1 冒頭発言・挨拶

●6回目となる日中韓三国協力国際フォーラムの開催に祝意を表したいと思います。日本での開催は2015年以来2回目と承知していますが、我が国における日中韓サミットの早期開催が調整される中、正に時宜を捉えたものだと思います。今回のフォーラムのポジティブな雰囲気、サミットへ、そして、更にはその後の日中韓協力の一層の発展にとつなげていくことを期待します。

●今回のフォーラムでは、本年が日中韓サミットが単独開催されて10年目になる節目の年であることを踏まえ、「過去10年の日中韓協力を振り返り、今後の10年を見据える」ことを大きなテーマにしていると理解しています。私に基調講演をオファーいただいたのは、きっとこの大きなテーマのうち「過去10年を振り返る」という部分につき、話を期待されているのだと思います。

●せっかく基調講演という栄誉に預かったもので、過去10年と言わず、日中韓協力が産声を上げた頃から振り返りたいと思います。「年長者の話を聞く」のは3か国が共有する美德の一つです。聴衆の皆様におかれては、しばし御静聴いただければ幸甚です。

2 日中韓協力の歴史

(1) 初めての日中韓首脳対話の実現

●日中韓協力は、1999年11月、マニラにおけるASEAN+3首脳会議の際、故小渕恵三総理の提案により、朝食会という形で、日中韓3か国の首脳の対話が初めて実現したことに端を発しています。これにより3か国の協力プロセスが始まり、以来、毎年ASEAN+3首脳会議の際に日中韓首脳会議が開催されるようになりました。この年に小渕総理から日中韓首脳会議を提案するに至る背景には

「アジア通貨・金融危機」があったと記憶しています。１９９７年に発生した通貨・金融危機が各国に伝播し、その影響が東アジア全体に広がったことで、日中韓３か国は互いの間に存在する相互依存関係を強く認識しました。そして、この教訓を踏まえ、東アジアにおける地域協力を強化すべきとの機運の高まりを共有していました。すなわち、共通の課題を前に、３か国は協力する必要性に迫られていたのです。

●しかし、小渕総理の声がけに中国と韓国が応じ、首脳会議が実現した理由は、他にもあると考えています。それは、小渕総理が進めたいいわゆる「隣交」の成果により、日韓及び日中の二国間関係が著しく改善したことです。

●韓国との間では、前年１９９８年１０月の金大中（キム・デジュン）大統領の訪日と１９９９年の小渕総理の韓国訪問を通じて、「近くて近い国」として未来志向の関係を築くための大きな一步を踏み出すことができました。特に、金大中大統領が訪日した際、両首脳が署名した「日韓共同宣言」は、「両国間の緊密な友好協力関係をより高い次元に発展させ、２１世紀に向けた新たな日韓パートナーシップを構築するとの共通の決意」を示し、これを契機に２００２年の日韓Ｗ杯共催や韓国における日本文化の大幅な解放が実現するなど、今に繋がる日韓協力の基盤となりました。

●また、中国との間では、同じく１９９８年１１月、日中平和友好条約締結２０周年の記念すべき年に、中国国家元首として初めて江沢民国家主席の訪日が実現しました。その際、今では日中関係の「４つの基本文書」の一つとされる「平和と発展のための友好協力パートナーシップの構築に関する日中共同宣言」が取りまとめられました。

●すなわち、このような信頼関係が３か国間で醸成されていたからこそ、少なからぬ国内からの慎重な声を抑えて、３か国は互いに協力するという道をそれぞれ選ぶことができたのだと思います。

(2) 日中韓サミットの独立開催と定期化

●日中韓協力の次のブレイクスルーは、今からちょうど10年前の2008年に起きました。この年の6月には、東京で第2回日中韓外相会議が開催され、外相会議を定例化することが決まりました。そして、12月には、福岡で日中韓首脳会議の初の単独開催が実現しました。時の麻生太郎総理は、首脳会談終了後の共同記者会見の場で、この会合を「第1回日中韓サミット」と呼び、日中韓3か国の首脳が定期的に集まり、協力強化を図っていくことは「歴史の必然」であると述べたのは記憶に新しいところです。翌2009年の第2回日中韓サミットでは、李明博（イ・ミョンバク）韓国大統領が日中韓協力事務局の設置を提案し、その2年後にはこれが実現しています。

●この間、日韓間では中断していた「シャトル外交」について、2008年に福田康夫総理と李明博大統領の間で改めて実施に合意するとともに、両首脳の往来が実現しました。また、日中間では、胡錦濤（コ・キントウ）国家主席が、中国国家主席としては10年ぶりに来日し、日中平和友好条約締結30周年を祝っています。

3 日中韓協力の知恵

●このように日中韓協力は、1998年から1999年、2008年から2009年とほぼ10年おきに大きな進化を遂げていますが、これらには共通点があります。それは、いずれの時期も日本の外務大臣を務めていたのが私であるということです。私が外務大臣を務めると、日中韓関係はめざましい進展を遂げる、と言っては言い過ぎですが、いずれにしても、その時期のそれぞれの二国間関係は比較的良好だったとは言えると思います。

●翻って現状を振り返れば、ようやく目処が立ったものの、過去2年半、日中韓サミットを開催することができていないことは残念なことです。2015年の前回サミットも、開催までに3年以上かかりました。これは、その時々々の二国間関係の状況に影響を受けたことは否定できません。

●しかしながら、日中韓協力が二国間関係に左右される状態は、その本旨に照らせば極めて不幸なことであります。なぜならば、先人たちは、地理的に近接した国と国との二国間関係の難しさを認めつつ、日中韓の枠組みにおいては、前向きで将来を見据えた積極的な協力について話し合うという慣習を確立しようとしてきたからです。このため、二国間関係と日中韓協力を切り離すべく、日中韓サミットの定例化や日中韓協力事務局の設置を通じ、未来志向の日中韓協力の制度化をはかったのであります。これにより、二国間関係が日中韓協力を左右するのではなく、むしろ、日中韓協力を通じて二国間の信頼醸成を図るという逆転が生じることが期待されます。日中韓協力の価値は、引越越しすることができない3か国がそれぞれの二国間関係を促進するための媒体となることができることにあるのだと思います。

●この観点から、日中韓サミットが開催されてこなかった2年半の間にも、経済・貿易、教育、環境、財務・金融、物流、文化・スポーツ、保健、防災といった幅広い分野で閣僚級会合が進展し、100以上の協力プロジェクトが実施され、あらゆるレベルで人的交流が活発に行われていることは心強いことです。

4 国際社会からの期待

●国際社会が、日中韓が緊密に協力していくことを強く期待していることも、我々は肝に銘じなければなりません。地域の主要なアクターである日中韓が責任ある役割を果たす必要があります。日中韓協力への期待の大きさは20年前とは比べものになりません。

●台頭する保護主義に対しては、世界で第2、第3の経済大国である中国と日本、そして世界でも有数の貿易国である韓国が、自由貿易の旗を掲げ続けなくてはなりません。テロを含む国際犯罪、サイバー攻撃、麻薬といった国境を越える脅威に対しては、前線に立って対抗しなくてはなりません。地域で災害や感染症が発生したならば、アジア

通貨・金融危機に立ち向かったように、互いに手を差し伸べ、支え合う。このような協力は、3か国のみならず、東アジア地域ひいては国際社会全体に裨益するものです。

●そして、現在、地域及び国際社会が直面するこれまでにない、重大かつ深刻な脅威である北朝鮮の核・ミサイル問題を解決し、朝鮮半島の非核化を実現するためには、日中韓3か国の協力は不可欠です。日中韓が、いかに協力し、米国を含む関係国と共にこの問題を解決していくか、国際社会は固唾を飲んで注視しています。次の日中韓サミットで、3か国の首脳が、北朝鮮問題の解決に向け建設的な議論を行うことを強く期待します。

5 締めくくり

●振り返ってきたように、日中韓協力は、1999年、2008年とほぼ10年おきに大きなブレイクスルーを実現してきました。奇しくも、本年は、前回の節目から10年目となる年です。また、先に述べた日韓パートナーシップ宣言20周年、日中平和友好条約締結40周年の年でもあります。2018年に、日中韓協力が新たな次元に進展すること、そして、近く東京で開催されるはずの日中韓サミットがその大きなきっかけになることを祈念して、私の基調講演を締め括りたいと思います。御静聴ありがとうございました。

(了)

International Forum for Trilateral Cooperation 2018

Keynote Speech

H.E. KOMURA Masahiko, Vice-President of the Liberal Democratic Party, Japan

1. Introduction

I would like to congratulate the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat on organising the 6th International Forum for Trilateral Cooperation. I understand that it is the second time since 2015 to have the Forum in Japan. It is truly timely as the coordination to host the Trilateral Summit is in progress. I hope that the positive atmosphere of this Forum leads to the Summit, and furthermore, to the subsequent greater development of trilateral cooperation.

Given that this year marks the 10th anniversary of the launch of the Trilateral Summit as an independent setting, I understand that the general theme of this Forum is “to look back on the past ten years of trilateral cooperation and foresee the coming ten years”. I believe that I am expected to speak to invite you to “look back on the past ten years”.

Since I was given the honour of delivering this keynote speech, I would like to reflect not only on the past ten years but start from the time when trilateral cooperation saw the light of day. “Listening to the stories of elders” is a common virtue of the three countries. I would appreciate your kind attention for a while.

2. History of trilateral cooperation

(1) The first dialogue of leaders of Japan, China and Korea

Trilateral cooperation originates from the first dialogue among the leaders of Japan, China and Korea on the occasion of the ASEAN+Three Summit in Manila in November 1999, which was proposed by the late Prime Minister OBUCHI Keizo and took the form of a breakfast meeting. This kicked off the process of cooperation among the three countries, and since then, the Trilateral Summit was held every year on the occasion of the ASEAN+Three Summit. I recall that Prime Minister OBUCHI’s proposal of the Trilateral Leader’s meeting was made against the backdrop of the Asian Financial Crisis. With the Financial Crisis of 1997 spilling over to other countries and its influence spreading throughout East Asia, the three countries strongly acknowledged the mutual dependence that existed among them. Furthermore, based on this lesson learned, the growing momentum to strengthen regional cooperation in East Asia was

shared. In other words, in the face of a common challenge, the three countries were driven by the necessity to cooperate.

However, I believe there was another reason why China and Korea acceded to Prime Minister OBUCHI's proposal and the Trilateral Leader's meeting took place. It was because Japan-Korea and Japan-China bilateral relations had seen a significant improvement as a result of the so-called "good-neighbour diplomacy" promoted by Prime Minister OBUCHI.

Japan and Korea were able to take a big step forward to develop future-oriented relations as "close countries both physically and psychologically" through President KIM Dae-jung's visit to Japan in October 1998 and Prime Minister OBUCHI's visit to Korea in 1999. In particular, the Japan-Republic of Korea Joint Declaration signed by both leaders on the occasion of President KIM's visit to Japan declares the two leaders' "common determination to raise to a higher dimension the close, friendly and cooperative relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea so as to build a new Japan-Republic of Korea partnership towards the twenty-first century". Taking this as an opportunity, in 2002, Japan and Korea co-hosted the World Cup, and Japanese culture was largely released in Korea. These served as a foundation of Japan-Korea cooperation leading to now.

Similarly, President JIANG Zemin visited Japan for the first time as a Chinese head of state in November 1998, the memorable year of the 20th anniversary of the conclusion of the Japan-China Peace and Friendship Treaty. On this occasion, the Japan-China Joint Declaration on Building a Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development was adopted, and this Declaration is considered as one of the "four basic documents".

That is to say, it is because mutual trust had been developed with China and Korea respectively that the three countries were each able to choose the path for mutual cooperation while containing not a few dissenting opinions that arose within their countries.

(2) Hosting the Trilateral Summit independently and regularising the meeting

The next breakthrough of trilateral cooperation was achieved exactly 10 years ago from now in 2008. In June the same year, the 2nd Trilateral Foreign Ministers' Meeting was held in Tokyo and the three Ministers agreed to hold the Foreign Ministers' Meetings on a regular basis. In

December, Trilateral Leader's meeting was held independently for the first time in Fukuoka. It is still vivid in my memory that the then-Prime Minister ASO Taro called the meeting "the first ever Trilateral Summit" at the joint press conference following the Summit meeting and stated that it was "historically inevitable" that the leaders of the three countries meet regularly and strengthen cooperation. At the 2nd Trilateral Summit held the following year, President LEE Myung-bak proposed to establish the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat, and the Secretariat was inaugurated two years later.

In the meantime, in 2008, Prime Minister FUKUDA Yasuo and President LEE Myung-bak agreed to resume the "Shuttle diplomacy" that had been suspended between Japan and Korea, and both leaders visited each other. President HU Jintao also visited Japan 10 years after the previous visit of the head of the state to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the conclusion of the Japan-China Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

3. Wisdom for trilateral cooperation

As discussed earlier, trilateral cooperation achieved great development approximately every 10 years between 1998 to 1999 and 2008 to 2009, and one commonality for these periods is that I was the Foreign Minister of Japan. Though it may be an exaggeration to say that trilateral cooperation sees a remarkable development when I serve as the Foreign Minister, in any case, I believe we can say that the bilateral relations of those two periods were relatively good.

Turning to the present state of affairs, while we finally see the light at the end of the tunnel, it is regrettable that the Trilateral Summit has not been held for the past two years and a half. The previous Summit of 2015 was also held after three years of suspension. The influence of the bilateral relations of the time is undeniable.

However, in light of the primary aim of trilateral cooperation, it is highly unfortunate that trilateral cooperation is affected by bilateral relations. I say this because our predecessors have strived to establish a custom to discuss positive, forward-looking and active cooperation within the trilateral framework while acknowledging the challenges of bilateral relations between nations of geographical proximity. In order to separate bilateral relations and trilateral cooperation, institutionalisation of future-oriented trilateral cooperation was sought for through regular Trilateral Summit and establishment of the Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat.

These measures are expected to reverse the situation where bilateral relations affect trilateral cooperation and yield bilateral trust through trilateral cooperation. The value of trilateral cooperation lies in the fact that it makes the three neighbouring countries catalysts to promote bilateral relations among the three countries.

From this perspective, it is encouraging that Ministerial level meetings have developed in various sectors including economy and trade, education, environment, finance, transport and logistics, culture, sports, health and disaster management and more than 100 cooperative projects have been implemented, and that people-to-people exchange has been actively promoted at all levels.

4. Expectations from the international community

We need to bear in mind that the international community strongly wishes to see close trilateral cooperation. The three countries need to take responsibilities as major actors of the region. The expectations of trilateral cooperation cannot be compared to those of 20 years ago.

Against emerging protectionism, it is important for China and Japan, the second and third largest economic powers in the world, and Korea, one of the leading trading nations, to continue to keep the flag of free trade waving high. We need to be on the front line to take countermeasures against cross-border threats such as international crime including terrorism, cyber-attack, and drugs. In the event of natural disasters or an outbreak of infectious diseases in the region, we will mutually extend helping hands and support each other as we have done when the three countries confronted the Asian Financial Crisis- such cooperation will not only benefit the three countries but also the East Asian region, and in turn, the entire international community.

Furthermore, cooperation of the three countries is indispensable in order to solve an unprecedentedly critical and grave threat of North Korea's nuclear and missile development that the region and the international community currently face, and to achieve denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula. The international community is anxiously holding its breath to see how Japan, China and Korea cooperate and resolve this issue with relevant stakeholders including the United States. I strongly hope that the three leaders have a

constructive discussion towards the resolution of the North Korea issue at the next Trilateral Summit.

5. Conclusion

As I have walked you through, a significant breakthrough in trilateral cooperation has been achieved almost every 10 years, in 1999 and 2008. Coincidentally, this year marks the 10th year since the last critical moment. It has also been 20 and 40 years respectively since the conclusion of the aforementioned Japan-Republic of Korea Joint Declaration and the Japan-China Peace and Friendship Treaty. I would like to conclude my keynote speech wishing that trilateral cooperation will develop into a new dimension in 2018, and that the Trilateral Summit scheduled to be held in Tokyo in the near future will serve as its stimulus. Thank you very much for listening.



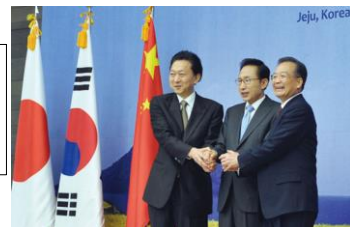
IFTC 2018 CAMPUS Asia Program, experience and prospects

CHO Sei Young
Dongseo Univ.(Busan, Korea)

CAMPUS Asia Program

'CAMPUS Asia Program'

- Adopted by three leaders in 2010 trilateral summit
- To foster next generation leaders in East Asia



Pilot Program(2012-2015)

- 10 consortia (C-J-K Univ.)



Permanent Program(2016-)

- 17 consortia (C-J-K Univ.)

The diagram illustrates the CAMPUS Asia network, which consists of three universities connected in a triangular relationship. At the top is DSU (Dongseo Univ.) from Korea (Busan). At the bottom left is RU (Ritsumeikan Univ.) from Japan (Kyoto). At the bottom right is Gufs (Guangdong Univ. of Foreign Studies) from China (Guangzhou). The universities are represented by colored circles (red for K, blue for J, red for C) and their names are in light blue boxes. The text "CAMPUS Asia" is in the center. Arrows indicate a clockwise flow between the universities.

KOREA (Busan)
Dongseo Univ.

JAPAN (Kyoto)
Ritsumeikan Univ.





































CHINA (Guangzhou)
Guangdong Univ. of Foreign Studies

DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)

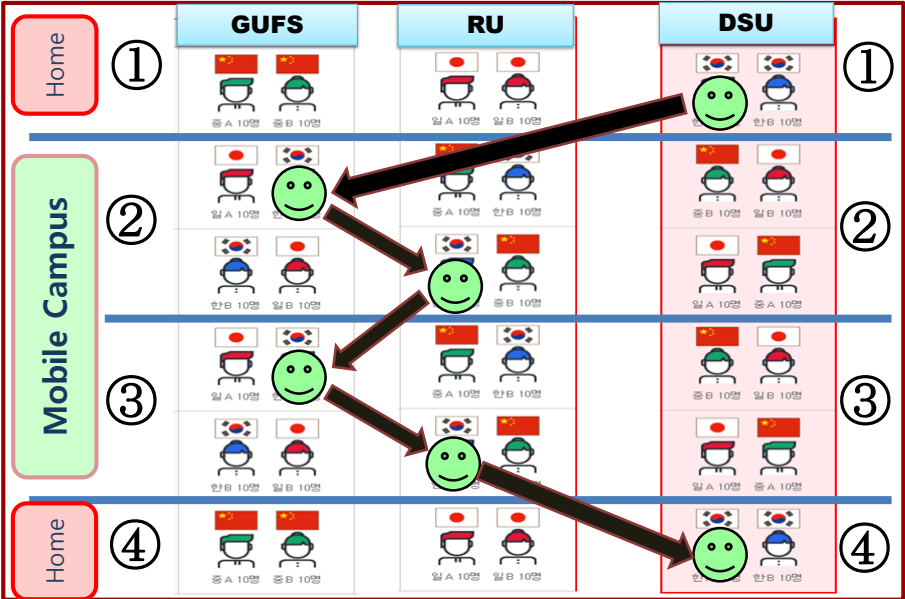
a Joint International Campus
which will foster leaders in
East Asian humanities for
the next generation

the first undergraduate and
humanities study program
among 17 consortia

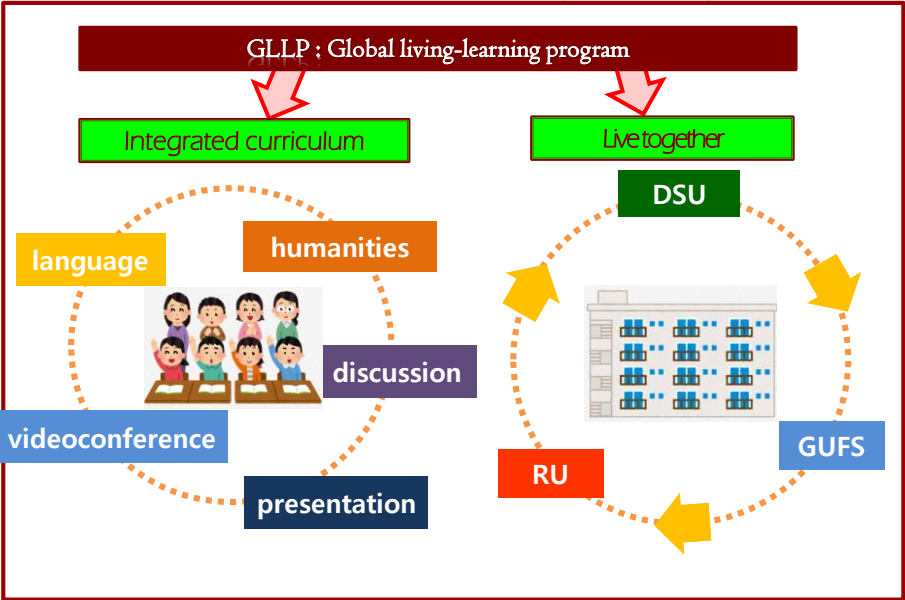
DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)

		GUFS	RU		DSU	
Home	①	  1010	  1010		  1010	①
Mobile Campus	②	  일 A 10명한 A 10명	  중 A 10명한 B 10명		  중 B 10명일 B 10명	②
		  한 B 10명일 B 10명	  한 A 10명중 B 10명		  일 A 10명중 A 10명	
	③	  일 A 10명한 A 10명	  중 B 10명한 B 10명		  중 B 10명일 B 10명	③
		  한 B 10명일 B 10명	  한 A 10명중 B 10명		  일 A 10명중 A 10명	
Home	④	  중 A 10명중 B 10명	  일 A 10명일 B 10명		  한 A 10명한 B 10명	④

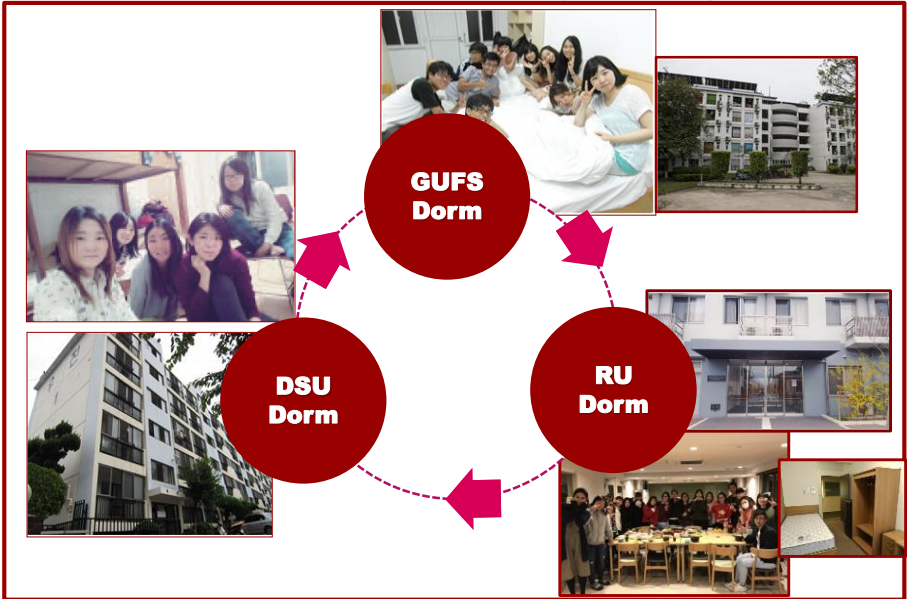
DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)



DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)



DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)



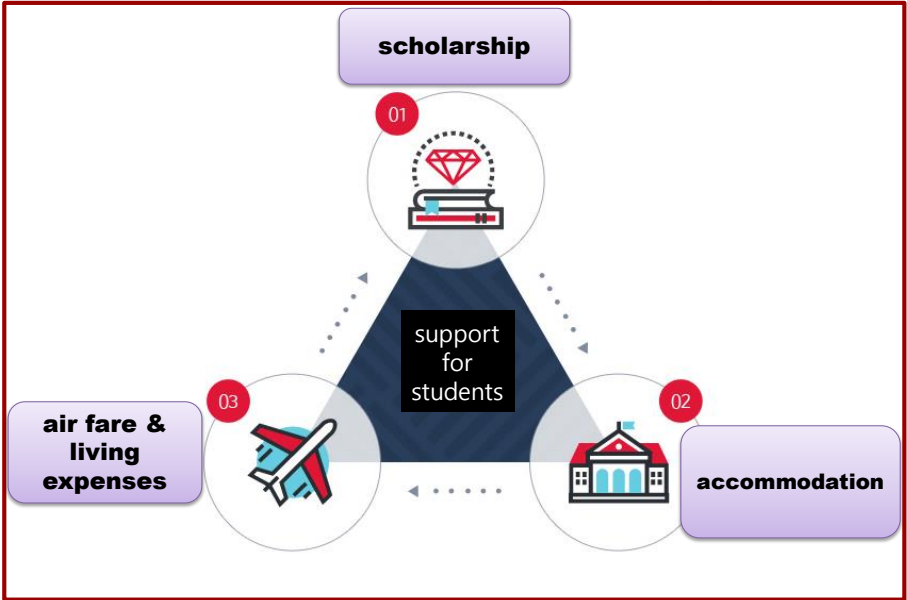
DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)



DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)



DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)



DSU-RU-GUFS consortium (2012-)

Joint Completion
Ceremony
Jan 2016, GUFS



Certificate of Completion

Suggestions for further development

1) more undergraduate programs

- ▶ DSU-RU-GUFS is the first undergraduate program since 2012
- ▶ The second undergraduate program launched in 2017
 - (Korea) Seoul National Univ.
 - (Japan) Tokyo Univ.
 - (China) Peking Univ.
- ▶ 15 consortia (among 17) : graduate course program
(or partly mixed program)

Suggestions for further development

2) Tripartite joint degree for undergraduate

- ▶ currently students can get 'certificate of completion' instead of diploma

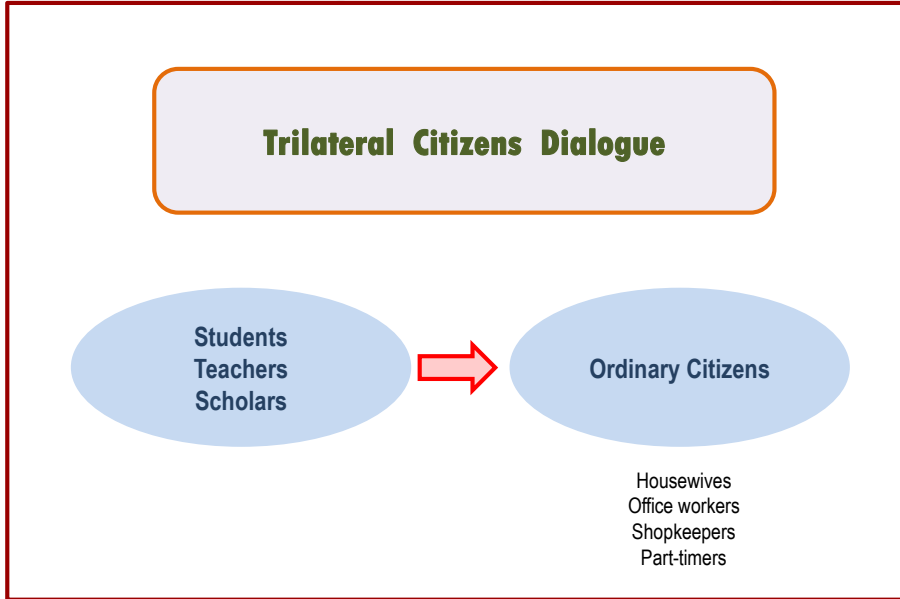
3) more experience of living-learning together

- ▶ DSU-RU-GUFS offers two cycles of mobile campus

Live together, Learn together
Play together, Work together

better understand different perspectives
among three countries

an Idea for People-to-People Exchange



17

100 Citizens Dialogue between Korea and Japan

9-11 Nov. 2017 @ Jeju, Korea
Korea Foundation, Seoul National Univ. (IJS), Tokyo Univ.(IAGS-CKS)



18



19



20



THANK YOU