

Structural Change in Korea-Japan Relations during the 1990s and the Korea-Japan Joint Declaration: An Examination of the Transnational Attempts at Cooperation and Institutionalization in the Post-Cold War Era

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Abstract | The purpose of this study is to analyze relations between the Republic of Korea and Japan in the 1990s from the perspective of the structural opportunities for cooperation provided by the end of the Cold War and Korea's economic development and democratization. The collapse of the Cold War system and Korea's economic and political development brought about a structural change in terms of the tensions over historical problems between the two countries rising to the fore. While at the same time it also presented an opportunity to build cooperative relations in a new era and overcome these historical divisions.

This article argues that while relations between the Korea and Japan in the 1990s brought about tensions over historical issues, both countries also began to perceive the other as an equal partner based on shared democratic values following the Korea's economic development and democratization. It also highlights the desire of both countries to overcome their historical problems while searching for ways to cooperate in relation to the Korean Peninsula and the Asia-Pacific region amidst the post-Cold War international political landscape. Based on the No T'ae-u administration's "Three Principles of Friendly Korea-Japan Cooperation" and Prime Minister Miyazawa's policy of "Japan-Korea Relations in Asia and in the World," Korea and Japan recognized that they shared similar social and governmental systems and values and were committed to cooperating in relation to the Korean Peninsula and at a regional level. Based on this, relations between the countries progressed during the Kim Yōng-sam administration as a cooperative agenda was further discussed.

This process took place throughout the first half of the 1990s and paved the way for the two governments to cooperatively pursue the Korea-Japan Joint Declaration which commented on earlier historical questions. This Korea-Japan Joint Declaration agreed upon by Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Keizō was a bilateral initiative to soothe deteriorating relations by attempting to institutionalize a framework for cooperation among the two countries on historical reconciliation, the North Korea issue, regional

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cooperation, and human security amidst the changes of the 1990s.

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Introduction

Following the end of the Cold War and the achievement of economic development and democratization in the Republic of Korea (hereinafter Korea), historical issues between Korea and Japan, which had previously remained untouched, emerged as a diplomatic problem and presented a new challenge as Korea and Japan faced the prospect of establishing a new relationship. The purpose of this study is to analyze relations between Korea and Japan in the 1990s, highlighting the structural opportunities for cooperation provided by the end of the Cold War and Korea's economic development and democratization.

Previous research has indicated that the final collapse of the Cold War system and Korea's political and economic development magnified such a tension around Japan's colonial aggression beginning in the 1990s. As the Cold War international structures crumbled, the anti-communist rationale underpinning Korea-Japan relations began to weaken and nationalist tensions began to emerge in both countries. Moreover, Korea, having achieved economic development and democratization, began to display a firmer attitude towards these historical issues as its national power increased and the government responded more actively to popular sentiment compared to previous authoritarian governments (Yi Wön-dök 2005, 7-8; Yi Wön-dök 2014, 243-45; Kimiya 2007, 11).

However, while the end of the Cold War and Korea's economic and political development brought about a structural change causing tensions over historical issues with Japan, this article argues that this structural change at the same time also led both countries to seek to open a new era in relations and overcome their past conflicts. Based on this perspective, this article shows that, despite relations between Korea and Japan in the 1990s being characterized by disagreements over historical issues, Korea's economic growth and democratization led both countries to perceive the other as an equal partner based on their shared democratic values. Moreover, this article emphasizes that amidst the post-Cold War international political climate both countries searched for ways to cooperate on the Korean Peninsula and in the Asia-Pacific region, and Japan expressed regret and offered an apology for colonial rule.¹

1. To summarize previous studies, there are two competing arguments about Korea-Japan relations

The origins of this analysis lie in the “Republic of Korea-Japan Joint Declaration: A New Republic of Korea-Japan Partnership towards the Twenty-First Century” (hereinafter the Joint Declaration) concluded by Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Keizō in 1998.² That is, this article seeks to understand the significance of the Joint Declaration amidst the developments of Korea-Japan relations in the 1990s, which were themselves a function of the structure of opportunities for mutual cooperation provided by the post-Cold War international political landscape and the economic and political development of Korea. Some would point out that the Joint Declaration was a Japan policy initiative created by the Kim Dae-jung government which emerged from the process of calming the tension in relations established during the Kim Yōng-sam administration. While this cannot be denied, this article argues that the Joint Declaration was more so a culmination of the cooperation engaged in by both governments over the course of the 1990s to address their longstanding historical problems. From this perspective, this article examines how the 1998 Joint Declaration sought to institutionalize the cooperation between Korea and Japan which had emerged from previous leaders’ sharing of opinions on cooperation in the post-Cold War era.³

With this framework in mind, the second section of this article describes how, despite some friction over historical issues, both countries during the No T’ae-u, Miyazawa Kiichi, and Kim Yōng-sam governments sought to enhance the perception of one another as partners in the wake of Korea’s economic development and democratization. It also analyzes the mutual diplomatic efforts to overcome historical issues and cooperate on North Korea and regional issues in the post-Cold War environment. The third section analyzes the plans of Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi and shows how the political leaders of both countries plotted to formalize and institutionalize bilateral cooperation in the form of a joint declaration. In the final concluding section, the arguments of this paper are summarized and a discussion of issues facing Korea-Japan relations since 1998 is provided.

in the 1990s: the first highlights friction over historical issues while the second emphasizes the motives for building a new cooperative relationship. While much research has discussed the former, this study focuses on the latter.

2. The entire text of the Joint Declaration is available in Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Keizō (1998a). See Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Keizō (1998b) for the action plan related to the Joint Declaration.

3. The leadership of Kim Dae-jung cannot be ignored as a factor which brought about the Joint Declaration. Cho Se-yōng (2018), who was a diplomat involved in the planning and implementation of the Joint Declaration, highlights this point. This article builds on this argument and describes how the plans and thoughts of Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi were reflected in the official Joint Declaration.

The Post-Cold War International Political Landscape and Korea-Japan Relations

1. The No T'ae-u Administration and the "Three Principles of Friendly Korea-Japan Cooperation"

The most evident characteristic of Korea-Japan relations in the 1990s is the emergence of historical issues between the two countries as a diplomatic issue. And the background to this phenomenon is the end of the Cold War and Korea's democratization. Korea and Japan had been politically and economically bound together under the US Cold War strategy to the region. However, disagreements over historical issues began to be expressed as the political force binding Korea-Japan relations weakened with the end of the Cold War. Moreover, the success of Korea's democratization movement meant that the voice of the civil society in Korea grew louder, and such civil society actors actively expressed critical positions on the historical exploitation of Korea by Japan.

However, the end of the Cold War and Korea's democratization also acted as an impetus for opening a new era of cooperation between Korea and Japan. Korean President No T'ae-u, during his speech to the Japanese Diet on May 25, 1990, stated that the two countries had so far been unable to deal with the perceptions and emotions regarding the unfortunate past between the two countries, and such historical issues were an obstacle preventing the development of cooperation between Korea and Japan. Yet he did point out that it was possible to overcome these issues through courage and effort on both sides. No also stated that the successful democratization of Korea meant that the two countries could now address one another based on their shared democratic values. He went on to emphasize the point that Korea and Japan had to build friendly relations so that they could play a leading joint role in Asia in constructing a new international order following the end of the Cold War (Oemubu 1990, 44-61).

In this way No T'ae-u, while demanding Japan reflect on the wrongs committed in the past and apologize, stated that Korea and Japan shared democratic values and had to cooperate in the new post-Cold War international order. Later in January 1991 during a visit of Kaifu Toshiki to Korea, the two leaders agreed on the "Three Principles of Friendly Korea-Japan Cooperation." The principles were "(1) promoting exchange, cooperation, and mutual understanding toward the strengthening of the partnership between Japan and Korea, (2) making contributions toward peace, reconciliation, prosperity, and liberation in the Asia-Pacific region, and (3) pursuing cooperation to settle various global

problems” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan 1991).

Behind Korea’s emphasis on cooperating with Japan was the fact of the impending negotiations between Japan and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (hereinafter North Korea). Following the end of the Cold War, Korea had begun implementing a diplomatic policy dubbed “Nordpolitik” which emphasized the establishment of stable relations with China and the Soviet Union while preparing for the impending negotiations between Japan and North Korea on normalization. Amidst these initiatives, Korea sought to cooperate with Japan on their diplomatic policies to create a virtuous circle between Japan-North Korea normalization and inter-Korean relations.

However, as can be seen from the second and third principles, Korea had in mind broader cooperation with Japan beyond issues on the Korean Peninsula, which extended to the context of international society. This reflected Korea’s perception of Japanese diplomacy in the post-Cold War era. To Korea, whether or not a stable international order developed in the wake of the end of the Cold War would depend greatly on how Japan chose to wield its economic power. There were simultaneously feelings of anticipation and anxiety about an increasing Japanese role in the world. For example, in its 1992 Diplomatic White Paper, Korea expected Japanese political and economic influence to expand as Japan continued its rise as an economic superpower. Japan displayed its intent to play the role of a great power in the political, diplomatic, and military arenas through measures such as the legal move to allow Japan to participate in peace-keeping operations. Japan was also seeking to play a leading role in making the twenty-first century the Asia-Pacific century by integrating the Commonwealth of Independent States and China into the Asia-Pacific region through its economic power and technical assistance. After describing Japan’s plans in this manner, Korea’s Diplomatic White Paper went on to comment that Japan would continue to seek economic prosperity and a stable and peaceful world by cooperating with the US in building a new international order (Oemubu 1992, 2-3).

In this way, the Korean government calculated that Japanese foreign policy was not taking a revisionist course but seeking to expand its international role commensurate with its economic power. This perception of the Korean government demands attention because this shows that, although the centripetal force of anticommunism that had underpinned Korea-Japan Relations disappeared with the collapse of the Cold War system, Korea was searching to cooperate with Japan at both the level of the Asia-Pacific region and at a wider international scale.

2. The Miyazawa Government and “Japan-Korea Relations in Asia and in the World”

Meanwhile in Japan, calls to actively contribute to the establishment of the new world order as an economic power were growing. And as it sought out this active role commensurate with its international status, attention was given to Japan's neighbor Korea which had grown strong economically and recently democratized.

A speech by Prime Minister Miyazawa Kiichi exemplified the position of Korea in Japan's foreign policy plans immediately after the end of the Cold War. In this speech, entitled “Japan-Korea Relations in Asia and in the World” given on January 17, 1992 during a visit to Korea, Miyazawa argued that Japan and Korea must play a leading role in the dynamics of Asia and the world (Miyazawa 1992). Miyazawa began by emphasizing the need for cooperation between Japan and Korea in the Asia-Pacific region. The region was undergoing remarkable development and would be the leading region of the twenty-first century, so he argued that Japan and Korea must work together to strengthen regional cooperation and dialogue as well as respect for ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity. He went on to state that, while up to the present exchange and cooperation had not progressed sufficiently in Northeast Asia due to political factors, in the future whether this region can move towards cooperation and become a region of greater prosperity and openness largely depended on Korea-Japan cooperation.

Miyazawa next turned to the subject of the Korean Peninsula. He emphasized that Japan would cooperate with Korea to help to embrace North Korea as a responsible member of international society, and that negotiations on normalizing North Korea-Japan relations would not only serve to rectify their irregular diplomatic relationship but also contribute to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. He also acknowledged that North Korea's development of nuclear weapons was an important issue in terms of regional security and stated his intention that the normalization of relations between Japan and North Korea would contribute to solving this issue. Miyazawa pointed out that the era in which Japan was the only industrialized nation in the region had long passed and said that there were three issues in international society which demanded that Japan and Korea cooperate with one another: First, economic cooperation regarding developing countries. Miyazawa said that Japan would make economic contributions while cooperating with Korea, which had also become a donor country, and the two countries had to share and make good use of their experience. Second, maintaining and strengthening regional free trade. Korea and Japan

were beneficiaries of free trade and this regime needed to be maintained and strengthened. Third, cooperation on the environment. In order to make a better world in the twenty-first century and benefit the next generation, Miyazawa suggested that the two countries need to respond together to the trans-national issue of environmental protection.

In short, Miyazawa was expressing his plans for how Korea-Japan cooperation should attempt to manage the reshuffling of the Asia-Pacific regional order and a wider range of global issues. He perceived an economically developed and democratized Korea to be an important diplomatic partner in the post-Cold War international political landscape, and his expectations were reflected in the following statement:

Your country is now one of the strongest in the world. And the expectations of the world about your international role will gradually increase. I truly believe that it is a wonderful thing that my country and yours have a neighborly relationship grounded in shared history and culture as we face difficulties in this new world. An unshakeable relationship between Korea and Japan will make contributions to not only Asia but also the entire world. And I think this kind of partnership can be called “Japan-Korea Relations in Asia and in the World.” (Miyazawa 1992)

As reflected in his words and ideas, Miyazawa saw the need for Japan to take a forward-looking approach to historical issues to secure Korea’s trust. In the same speech, Miyazawa stated that, in Japan-Korea relations, the truth that must be remembered is that Japan had been the perpetrator and Korea the victim. He stated his remorse and apologized for colonial rule and also apologized for the Japanese military’s role in the “comfort women” issue while also emphasizing that history must be taught properly to future generations so that the past wrongs are not repeated again. The reason Miyazawa expressed remorse and apologized for colonial rule is because, as he also remarked in the speech, he saw cooperation with Korea as an important aspect of Japanese foreign policy.

There is a tendency in some research to focus solely on Miyazawa’s expression of remorse and his apology for colonial rule and the “comfort women” issue during his visit to Korea.⁴ It is clear that the period of the No T’ae-u and Miyazawa administrations, within the context of the end of the Cold War and Korea’s economic development and democratization, was a moment when historical issues such as those related to “comfort women” emerged in earnest. However, as described here, No T’ae-u believed that the two countries must

4. For example, Hattori Ryūji labelled Miyazawa’s trip to Korea an “apology tour” (Hattori 2015, 91).

cooperate within the international political landscape following the end of the Cold War based on their shared democratic values while also demanding public expressions of remorse and apologies from Japan. Miyazawa's apology also was made based on the belief that an economically advanced and democratized Korea would be an important diplomatic partner for Japan in the post-Cold War era. This shows that the structural change brought about by the end of the Cold War and Korea's economic development and democratization both caused friction between the two countries over historical issues and simultaneously served to urge their leaders to establish a new cooperative relationship.

3. The Kim Yŏng-sam Administration and the "Internationalization of Korea-Japan Relations"

The Kim Yŏng-sam administration began in February 1993 and was the first civilian government since 1961. As a civilian government forged within the Korean democratization movement, this administration believed that it must resolve the historical issues which had been insufficiently addressed during the normalization of Korea-Japan relations. Months later in Japan, the Liberal Democratic Party lost control of government for the first time in thirty-eight years and Hosokawa Morihiro became prime minister as the leader of coalition government.

Kim Yŏng-sam and Hosokawa held a summit meeting on November 6, 1993. At this time, Hosokawa expressed remorse and apologized for colonial oppression including the mandatory taking of Japanese names and forced conscription. Kim Yŏng-sam highly appreciated this gesture and asserted that Korea and Japan should take a forward-looking posture to overcome their unhappy history of relations. By bringing up specific issues, Hosokawa was proposing a more progressive perception of history than the Miyazawa government.

In addition to sharing these perceptions of history, the two leaders also shared similar doubts about North Korea's development of nuclear weapons. Suspicions had been raised about North Korea's failure to report nuclear facilities at Yŏngbyŏn to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and as a result the IAEA demanded it be allowed to conduct a special inspection. North Korea refused and withdrew from the IAEA again raising doubts about its nuclear weapon development plans and throwing the Korean Peninsula into a state of tension. Amidst these developments, Hosokawa stated what was most important was to continuously persuade North Korea that it should remain within the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) framework and allow the IAEA inspection so that the Joint Declaration on Denuclea-

rization of the Korean Peninsula may be fulfilled. In response, Kim Yŏng-sam stated that the two countries must cooperate closely to maintain peace and security on the Korean Peninsula (“Ajia Taiheiyo jidai” 1993).

Kim Yŏng-sam subsequently suggested expanding cooperation to a regional level. The basis for this was the perception that Korea and Japan had a shared conception of the importance of democracy and market economics. Kim Yŏng-sam stated that, as the Asia-Pacific era began, it was important for Korea and Japan to embark on a new cooperative relationship based on these shared values. With the Asia-Pacific region set to play a core role in the world economy, Kim stated that regional investment and trade should be expanded through the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and he emphasized that the two countries should lead this development and build a cooperative relationship in the region (“Ajia Taiheiyo jidai” 1993).

Hosokawa suggested the “internationalization of Korea-Japan relations” during the next summit meeting of the two leaders on March 25, 1994. Based on their shared values of democracy and market economics, Hosokawa stated that the two countries had to construct a cooperative relationship and expand their joint efforts to cover various areas including economic engagement with developing countries, environmental protection, APEC, and others (Hosokawa 1994). In short, the two countries at the level of state leadership confirmed their shared political and economic values and discussed their agenda for cooperating within the Asia-Pacific region during the Kim Yŏng-sam administration.

Although Korea-Japan relations were headed in a friendly direction, they still experienced moments of turbulence with regards to historical issues. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Pacific War, a group of progressive politicians concerned with Japanese historical activity, centered on Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi to propose a resolution in the Japanese Diet which would apologize for past wrongs and renounce war. This was opposed by conservatives in the Liberal Democratic Party and ended up negatively impacting Korea-Japan relations, as it was followed by a series of absurd statements on Japanese history by prominent politicians in Japan which led to a strong response from President Kim Yŏng-sam. There then followed an extended battle of words and a deterioration in relations between the two countries.

The Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Administrations and the Joint Declaration

The Joint Declaration concluded in 1998 is widely regarded as having a positive

effect on Korea-Japan relations. The leaders of Korea and Japan, in publicly reflecting on the history of their countries' relationship, reconfirmed the nations' current friendly and cooperative relationship and at the same time expressed their will to construct a new relationship for the twenty-first century. Japan apologized for and expressed regret over its colonization of Korea, and the two countries confirmed that their cooperative relationship would be grounded in shared universal values. Moreover, the two sides negotiated and wrote an action plan for broadening their cooperation into a variety of areas. After reviewing the existing research on the Joint Declaration, this section argues for an additional interpretation of how this document sought to institutionalize the move towards cooperation in the 1990s.

1. Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi's Attempt at Historical Reconciliation

Article 2 of the Joint Declaration states that Obuchi acknowledged that "Japan caused, during a certain period in the past, tremendous damage and suffering to the people of the Republic of Korea through its colonial rule," and expressed his "deep remorse and heartfelt apology for this fact" (Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Keizō 1998a). In response, Kim Dae-jung "accepted with sincerity this statement of Prime Minister Obuchi's recognition of history" and expressed his "appreciation for it." He also expressed his view that "the present calls upon both countries to overcome their unfortunate history and to build a future-oriented relationship based on reconciliation as well as good-neighborly and friendly cooperation" (Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Keizō 1998a).

Article 2 is symbolic in that it notes that the two leaders of Korea and Japan share a similar perspective on the Japanese colonial rule of Korea and seek to move towards historical reconciliation by enshrining this sentiment in an official document. When Korea-Japan relations were normalized in 1965, Japan argued its annexation of Korea had been lawful, and as a result the Treaty on Basic Relations between Korea and Japan did not include any mention of an apology or remorse on the part of Japan. However, the Japanese prime minister through the 1998 Joint Declaration now issued a clear apology for colonial rule. The Korean president accepted this and established a mood of reconciliation between Korea and Japan.

Let us review the process of having the expression of remorse and the apology for Japanese colonial rule included in the Joint Declaration. Kim Dae-jung sought to make his trip to Japan an opportunity for Korea and Japan to overcome their unfortunate past. He described his feelings before his visit to Japan in the following manner:

I wanted to provide an opportunity for Korea and Japan to deal with their unfortunate past and be born again as genuine partners for the future. We cannot drag the grudges and wounds caused by the history of the twentieth century into the twenty-first century. (Kim Dae-jung 2010, 109)

Before a June 1998 meeting of the Korea and Japan Director-Generals for Asia-Pacific Affairs, the Korean side came up with the idea for the leaders of the two countries to sign a document which included a Japanese apology and an expression of remorse over historical issues. According to the memoirs of Cho Se-yŏng (2018), two aspects were considered in the discussions designed to encourage Japan towards making such a statement. First, the Japanese Government had already set a precedent with the Murayama statement, which was agreed through a decision within the Cabinet in 1995. Second, Korea could thereafter regard Japan as having made clear their own perception of their past historical wrongdoings within this Japanese statement of remorse and apology offered within an official document, and the Japanese can point to the document if future criticisms of the Japanese government over their recognition of historical issues are raised. During a director-level meeting between the two countries, the Korean delegation suggested this idea, and the Japanese delegation stated its hope that if Japan's recognition of historical culpability were officially expressed that Korea would positively respond and undertake a forward-oriented relationship based on reconciliation and cooperation (Cho Se-yŏng 2018).

The point to note regarding Article 2 is that the expression of remorse and the apology for colonial rule was specific to Korea. While the Murayama statement was addressed to many Asian nations, the Joint Declaration succeeded the Murayama statement by specifically addressing Korea and being codified within an official diplomatic document. It is here that Obuchi's leadership came into play. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reviewing the possibility of citing the Murayama statement, but Obuchi suggested that "the format should be one of him directly speaking to the people of Korea rather than citation" (Miyagi 2016, 101).

For Obuchi, historical reconciliation with Korea was part of his "neighborly relations" (*rinkō*) plan. Obuchi had prioritized building trust with other Asian countries in the wake of the end of the Cold War as an important project for Japanese diplomacy. Simply calling Japan's relationship with Korea and China, two countries which had deep historical and cultural ties with Japan, "diplomatic relations" was insufficient. So, to develop long-term stable relations with these countries and to build trust, Obuchi believed that national-level efforts

need to be made rather than ordinary diplomacy (21-seiki Nihon no Kōsō Kondankai 2000).

The Korea-Japan summit meeting was an opportunity to confirm the will of the two leaders to engage in historical reconciliation. Kim Dae-jung highlighted the point that it was unacceptable for unexpected remarks to come from the Japanese ruling party if the two countries were to become forward-looking joint partners in the twenty-first century. In response, Obuchi stated that unexpected remarks which cause a deterioration in the feelings of both countries' citizens need to be eradicated, and that he would strive to ensure that careless misstatements which would produce further misstatements were not made (Kim Ha-jung 2015, 129). This passage shows that the two leaders sought to preserve the expressions of remorse and apology which had begun to emerge during the No T'ae-u and Kim Yōng-sam administrations and develop these further by institutionalizing them within a diplomatic document.

What should be noted in addition to this attempt at historical reconciliation is Kim Dae-jung's mention of the changes in Japan since the end of the Pacific War and its ongoing international role. In Article 3, Kim Dae-jung stated his appreciation for how Japan's security policies were contributing to peace and prosperity within the international community, in particular Japan's defense-oriented posture and its three non-nuclear principles. He further noted Japan's contributions to the global community and its generous economic assistance to developing countries. The Korean president noted that Japan had been a pacifist country since the end of the war and codified this within this official document.

Kim Dae-jung's positive evaluation of Japanese development since World War II ran in parallel with his desire for historical reconciliation. Kim Dae-jung stated the following during his address to the Japanese Diet after signing the Joint Declaration:

Japan changed in the wake of World War II. The Japanese people through sweat and tears produced a parliamentary democracy and economic development that dazzled the world. ... Today, Japan as the largest aid donor to developing countries is playing an international role commensurate to its economic might. Also, as the only people to have ever experienced the destruction of an atomic bomb, the Japanese people have unvaryingly implemented their pacifist constitution and adhered to non-nuclear principles. In this manner, there is a clear contrast between pre-World War II Japan and post-World War II Japan. ... However, there remain many people in many Asian countries, including Korea, that continue to hold doubts and concerns about Japan. The reason is that they believe Japan has not correctly perceived and humbly reflected upon its past. (Taet'ongnyōng Pisōsil 1999, 521)

Continuing, Kim Dae-jung highlighted that while Japan must face up to its past, Korea must properly assess the changes in Japan. Kim argued that postwar Japan must show Koreans that it is different from prewar Japan by expressing clear remorse and apologizing for colonial rule, and in response Korea must build a constructive relationship with Japan as it expands its international role as an economic superpower.

In this way, the dynamics of historical reconciliation suggested by the Joint Declaration were derived from each country seeking to understand the identity and international role of the other and contemplating their motives for cooperation. Kim Dae-jung acknowledged the importance of historical issues, but also believed that Japan along with the US were important in terms of Korea's security and survival and thus friendly relations with Japan were necessary.⁵ And Obuchi, from the vantage point of his plan for "neighborly relations," recognized that Korea was an important partner. That is, both countries perceived the other as an important partner in their foreign policy objectives and sought to build a close cooperative relationship with the other. And it was from this introspective process that the motivation for overcoming historical issues was derived.

2. The North Korea Problem and Korea-Japan Security Cooperation

Article 7 of the Joint Declaration states the intention of Korea and Japan to cooperate on the North Korea issue. In Article 7, Obuchi states his support for Korea's policy of promoting reconciliation and cooperation while maintaining a solid security system. Moreover, both leaders confirmed that the Agreed Framework signed in October 1994 in Geneva and the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) were the most realistic and effective mechanisms for preventing North Korea from advancing its nuclear program, and reaffirmed the importance of close coordination between the two countries in conducting their policies on North Korea.

In addition, Article 7 of the Joint Declaration expressed concerns about North Korea's missile development. Let us review the background to this point. During the preparations for the Joint Declaration, the Japanese delegation emphasized the importance of cooperation regarding North Korea policy and strengthening Korea-Japan security cooperation. This was because in the midst of preparing the Joint Declaration on August 31, North Korea test-fired a Taepodong missile and attempted other military provocations. Japan strongly

5. Ryu Sang-yöng (2011) provides a comprehensive analysis of Kim Dae-jung's perceptions of Japan.

reacted to this because the incident of a non-allied foreign country's missile passing through Japanese airspace was unprecedented. Japan therefore strongly demanded that a clear statement of opposition to North Korean missile development be entered into the Joint Declaration (Cho Se-yŏng 2018).

Kim Dae-jung agreed with the Japanese perception of the threat emanating from North Korea's missile development and expressed concerns about Japanese security. During his speech before the Diet, Kim Dae-jung stated that North Korea's missile development presented a serious danger to the peace and stability of the region and that he completely understood the shock and apprehension of the Japanese people in response to this incident (Taet'ongnyŏng Pisŏsil 1999, 525).

There is an interesting analysis of Kim Dae-jung's expression of concern over North Korea's missile development. With North Korea's development of the T'aepodong missile, the security of Japan now became significant relative to Korean military security. Considering that the Korean capital region was already within range of North Korean long-range artillery, the North Korean development of long-range missiles that could strike Japan could not be considered a new direct threat to Korean security. However, with North Korea now able to strike Japan with missile attacks, it now possessed the ability to target American forces stationed in Japan, forces which would be called upon to perform military operations in the event of an emergency situation on the Korean Peninsula. As such, Kim Dae-jung's statement in the Joint Declaration that North Korean missiles exerted negative influence on peace and stability in Northeast Asia reflected the concern that if Japanese security is threatened by North Korean missiles, and consequently American bases in Japan are threatened, then this negatively affects Korea's security as well (Manosevitz 2003, 808-809).

In short, Kim Dae-jung sought to secure support from Japan for his Sunshine Policy and the provision of American military bases in Japan given the tactical support they provided to South Korea. In other words, he was securing Japanese support for both reconciliation with North Korea and continuing military deterrence. And the negotiation process culminated with provisions for strengthening security cooperation between Korea and Japan, including dialogue on security and defense exchanges, within the action plan developed alongside the Joint Declaration. This signifies that the exchanges of opinion and expressions of intent made by the leaders of both countries over the previous years were made official through the Joint Declaration.

3. Korea-Japan Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region and at a Global Level

The Joint Declaration contains statements about the joint effort to overcome the economic crisis in Asia and about Japan's support for Korea as it faced a financial crisis. The leaders of both countries expressed their desire to maintain and strengthen the liberal and open international economic order and mutual cooperation to achieve the task of overcoming their economic difficulties and realizing the restoration of the Asian economy which was at the time facing structural issues. Kim Dae-jung expressed appreciation for the economic assistance provided to Korea by Japan over the previous decades and explained Korea's efforts to climb out of its economic crisis. In response, Obuchi explained the economic assistance Japan was providing to help overcome the economic problems within Asia and expressed support for Korea's effort to deal with its economic troubles.

One reason that Kim Dae-jung sought to improve Korea-Japan relations through the joint statement was because Korea needed Japanese assistance to overcome its financial crisis. Considering the presence and role of Japan in Korea's economy, Japan's assistance in overcoming the crisis was indispensable. Meanwhile, Obuchi believed that Japan had to demonstrate leadership during this period of East Asian economic crisis and expressed his willingness to provide a large-scale support package of thirty billion US dollars to five countries—Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines—as part of his “New Miyazawa Initiative.” From the perspective of responding to the Asian Financial Crisis, the New Miyazawa Initiative was reflected in Korea-Japan relations (Nishino 2017, 190-91).

The Joint Declaration also makes clear the two countries' intent to expand their cooperation beyond their own borders to deal with issues facing humanity and the wider world. Article 4 states that the two leaders share the opinion that they should explore various ways to ensure human rights were respected throughout international society and work together to protect the environment. Furthermore, Article 9 also states that the two countries would strengthen cooperation on issues that transcend national borders such as the environment, support for developing countries, and international organized crime.

This part of the Joint Declaration signified Korea-Japan cooperation on “human security.” On March 20, 1999 in a speech at Korea University in Seoul, Obuchi stated that “security in Northeast Asia,” “cooperation for Asian reclamation and prosperity,” and “peace and welfare for all of human society” were all relevant to the scope of Korea-Japan cooperation, and highlighted that the third task of “human security” was at the core of Korea-Japan cooperation in the

global arena. He argued that, in the twenty-first century, there is the risk that transnational problems, such as environmental destruction, income inequality, international organized crime, and drug trafficking, etc., could become even greater threats to the lives and dignity of people. Transnational issues cannot be addressed by only one nation, and no truly effective international system to respond to these issues had yet been organized. Obuchi went on to say that in such a situation, Korea and Japan as leaders in Asia had to face these “human security” issues and invest resources and knowledge to find solutions (Obuchi 1999).

Kim Dae-jung in turn recognized the need to cooperate with Japan on global issues such as environmental destruction, poverty, and others. For Kim, “global democracy” was a concern commensurate with Obuchi’s “human security.” In 1994 while serving as chairman of the Asia-Pacific Peace Foundation, Kim Dae-jung (1994) described his thoughts about democracy in an essay published in the American professional magazine *Foreign Affairs*. He argued that, while expressing confidence that democracy was progressing well in Asia, Asian countries need to learn from the problems Western countries are experiencing in their democratic institutions and bring these examples to bear as they build their own democracies. But, while Western countries had realized fully democracies within their own nation-states, Kim argued that they were not so successful at fostering such success outside their borders. He went on to offer that Asian countries, including underdeveloped nations, had to create anew a form of democracy which sought to secure freedom, prosperity, and justice among all countries. And, that Asian democracies must be globally orientated and respect nature. Asian democracy must strive to be a new type of democracy which not only protects the right to individual’s self-development, but also protects the right for all things to exist (Kim Dae-jung 1994, 193-94).

In this way, Kim Dae-jung’s concept of “global democracy” considers individual rights and prosperity as well as global environmental health. That the Joint Declaration states that Korea-Japan cooperation must be developed through various efforts to pursue an affluent society which respects individual human rights and protects the environment may be seen as giving shape to Kim Dae-jung’s philosophy of a “global democracy.”

Conclusion

After encountering the structural change brought on by the end of the Cold War and Korea’s economic development and democratization, Korea-Japan

relations experienced substantial tension caused by the emergence of historical issues related to colonialism in the 1990s. However, this structural change caused by the end of the Cold War and Korea's economic and political development, while bringing about friction over historical issues, also provided a structural opportunity for new cooperation between the two countries. During the No T'ae-u and Kim Yŏng-sam administrations, while Korea and Japan fell into a pattern of friction over historical issues, they also confirmed their shared democratic values and sought to overcome this friction over such issues by seeking to cooperate based on shared perceptions of the other as an equal partner within the fluid political landscape of the post-Cold War era. Following these developments, the Joint Declaration was established. The leaders of the two countries, Kim Dae-jung and Obuchi Keizō, attempted to institutionalize Korea-Japan cooperation to overcome historical issues as well as cooperate on the East Asian regional level and work together on issues facing the world and humanity.

To summarize the perspectives introduced in this paper, Korea-Japan relations in the 1990s can be said to have been a period in which the logic of both antagonism regarding historical issues and the desire to build a new cooperative relationship competed with one another following the structural change brought on by the end of the Cold War and Korea's economic development and democratization. If we look at Korea-Japan relations after this period, we can see that despite the significance of the 1998 Joint Declaration, this agreement was not implemented sufficiently. In the 2000s, we can see that continuing friction over colonial history and the Tokdo issue caused by the structural change that occurred with the end of the Cold War and Korea's economic and political development persisted, and the conservative political turn in Japan was a factor in the friction over these historical issues intensifying. But at the same time, it was also a period of establishing shared perceptions about the countries' similar systems and values based on the two countries' interests in democracy, market economics, and international security. As such, we may be able to consider the 2000s another period in which the conflict between rationalizations for antagonism over historical issues and a desire for new cooperative relations persisted. More research is needed that applies this perspective on the duality of this structural change which has brought about both tension and cooperation to Korea-Japan relations in the 2000s and the very difficult situation in which the two countries find themselves today.

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