

# *Conference Papers*

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## *Japan-China-ROK Dialogue*

*Japan-China-ROK Relations in the Global Perspective*

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*September, 21, 2016*

*Tokyo, Japan*



*Co-Sponsored by  
The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)  
Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS)*

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# 1. Program

## 日中韓対話 Japan-China-ROK Dialogue

### 「世界の中の日中韓関係」 Japan-China-ROK Relations in the Global Perspective

2016年9月21日 / September 21, 2016  
ANA インターコンチネンタルホテル東京「ギャラクシー」 / "Galaxy," ANA Intercontinental Tokyo

共催 / Co-sponsored by  
グローバル・フォーラム / The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)  
日中韓三国協力事務局 / The Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS)

#### オープニングセッション / Opening Session

13:00-13:45	
開会挨拶 A (10 分間) Opening Remark A (10 min.)	伊藤 憲一 グローバル・フォーラム代表世話人 / 日本国際フォーラム理事長 ITO Kenichi, Chairman, GFJ / President, JFIR
開会挨拶 B (10 分間) Opening Remark B (10 min.)	ウェイ・リン 中国外交学院アジア研究所所長 WEI Ling, Director, Institute of Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)
開会挨拶 C (10 分間) Opening Remark C (10 min.)	シン・ドンイク 韓国国立外交院外交安保研究所所長 SHIN Dong-ik, President, The Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA)
開会挨拶 D (10 分間) Opening Remark D (10 min.)	イ・ジョンホン 日中韓三国協力事務局次長 LEE Jong-heon, Deputy Secretary-General, TCS

#### セッション I / Session I

13:45-15:15	
激動する国際政治と日中韓三国協力の可能性 Seeking Possibilities of Japan-China-ROK Trilateral Cooperation amid the Turbulence of the Global Politics	
議長 Chairperson	福島安紀子 日本国際フォーラム参与 / 青山学院大学教授 FUKUSHIMA Akiko, Councilor, JFIR / Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University
基調報告 A (10 分間) Lead Discussant A (10min.)	グオ・ヤンジュン 中国外交学院アジア研究所副所長 GUO Yanjun, Deputy Director, Institute of Asian Studies, CFAU
基調報告 B (10 分間) Lead Discussant B (10min.)	キム・ハンクワン 韓国国立外交院教授 KIM Hankwon, Professor, KNDA
基調報告 C (10 分間) Lead Discussant C (10min.)	天児 慧 グローバル・フォーラム有識者メンバー / 早稲田大学教授 AMAKO Satoshi, Academic Member, GFJ / Professor, Waseda University
自由討議 (50 分間) Free Discussions (50 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
議長総括 (5 分間) Summarization by chairperson (5min.)	福島安紀子 日本国際フォーラム参与 / 青山学院大学教授 FUKUSHIMA Akiko, Councilor, JFIR / Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University
15:15-15:25	休憩 / Break

セッションⅡ / Session II	
15:25-17:00	グローバル経済における日中韓三国協力の展望 Prospects of Japan-China-ROK Cooperation in the Global Economy
議長 Chairperson	梅澤 彰馬 日中韓三国協力事務局次長 UMEZAWA Akima, Deputy Secretary-General, TCS
基調報告 A (10 分間) Lead Discussant A (10min.)	チョウ・ウォンギ 韓国国立外交院教授 CHOE Wongi, Professor, KNDA
基調報告 B (10 分間) Lead Discussant B (10min.)	ジュ・ツァイファ 中国外交学院国際経済学院院長 ZHU Caihua, Dean, School of International Economics, CFAU
基調報告 C (10 分間) Lead Discussant C (10min.)	中川 淳司 東京大学教授 NAKAGAWA Junji, Professor, the University of Tokyo
自由討議 (50 分間) Free Discussions (50 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
議長総括 (5 分間) Summarization by Chairperson (5min.)	梅澤 彰馬 日中韓三国協力事務局次長 UMEZAWA Akima, Deputy Secretary-General, TCS

[NOTE] 日本語・英語同時通訳付き / English-Japanese simultaneous interpretation will be provided

## 2. Biographies of the Panelists

### 【Foreign Side】

#### **WEI Ling Director, Institute of Asian Studies, China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU)**

Dr. Wei Ling is Professor of International Studies, Director of the Institute of Asian Studies at the China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU). She was a visiting scholar to Oakland University (Michigan, the US, 2003) and French Institute of International Relations (IFIR, 2007), and a Fulbright Visiting Research Scholar at Cornell University (2012-13). Her research interests include international relations theory and East Asian regionalism. She is China's Country Coordinator for NEAT (the Network of East Asian Think-tanks), NACT (the Network of ASEAN-China Think-tanks), and NTCT (the Network of Trilateral Cooperation Think-tanks). She is on the editorial board of Foreign Affairs Review (Waijiao Pinglun). She holds a Ph.D in international relations from CFAU.

#### **SHIN Dong-ik President, The Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security, Korea National Diplomatic Academy (KNDA)**

Prior to his current appointment, he served as Deputy Minister for Multilateral and Global Affairs at the Ministry (2013-2016), and as Deputy-Permanent Representative at the Korean Mission to the United Nations in New York (2011-2013). He also worked as Minister Counselor at the Korean Mission (2005-08) and Director-General for International Organizations (2008-2010) in the Ministry. In addition, he was an Advisor at the United Nations Foundation in New York (2010- 2011). He has a variety of experiences in multilateral and UN related affairs. Since joining the Foreign Ministry in 1981, he has assumed political, economic and consular posts in Seattle (1986-1989), Kuala Lumpur (1992-1995) and Geneva (2001-2003). He also served as Director for Security Policy (1999-2001) and Deputy Director General for Policy Planning (2003-04). He holds two Master of Arts degrees in international relations from the University of Pennsylvania (1985) and in Political Science from Yonsei University (1983). He also worked as Research Associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) in London from 1996 to 1997.

**LEE Jong-heon****Deputy Secretary-General, TCS**

Mr. LEE Jong-heon started his term at Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS) as the Deputy Secretary-General in 2015. He joined the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) in 1988. He graduated from the College of Law at Seoul National University and received LL.M. from the Law School of George Washington University. His latest posts include Advisor to the Minister for Trade (2000); Director of Educational and Training Division in Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS) (2002); Senior Director of Strategic Planning Dept. in National Security Council (2003); Director of Treaties Division in MOFA (2003); Senior Assistant Secretary of Office of the President (Protocol) (2004); and Minister-Counsellor, Korean Embassy in Germany (2009).

**GUO Yanjun****Deputy Director, Institute of Asian Studies, CFAU**

He is associate professor and Deputy Director of the Institute of Asian Studies at China Foreign Affairs University. He also serves as a research fellow at the Innovation Center on National Territorial Sovereignty and Maritime Rights. As a member of the NEAT China (10 + 3) , NACT China (10 + 1) and NTCT China(CJK), he has involved in a couple of track II activities in the past years. He specializes in the study of international rivers and transboundary water resources management, esp. the Lancang-Mekong river water management. He has published relevant writings and articles both at home and abroad on transboundary water resources management.

**KIM Hankwon****Professor, KNDA**

Before joining KNDA, he was a research fellow and the director of the Center for Regional Studies at the ASEAN Institute for Policy Studies in Seoul, South Korea. He specializes in Chinese foreign policy and nationalism as well as Sino-DPRK economic relations. He completed a postdoctoral program at Tsinghua University, China and then worked as a research scholar at the School of International Studies, Peking University, China. Dr. Kim received his B.A. (political science) and M.P.A. (Master of Public Affairs) from the University of Connecticut at Storrs, USA. He holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from American University, USA.

**UMEZAWA Akima****Deputy Secretary-General, TCS**

Dr. UMEZAWA Akima started his term at Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS) as the Deputy Secretary-General in 2015. He joined the Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) in 1991, and in 2009, he was appointed the Head of Chancery to the Embassy of Japan in Singapore. Upon returning to MOFA in 2011, he served as the Director of Fisheries Division and as the Cabinet Counsellor to the Ocean Policy Cabinet Secretariat and in 2013 he was an Advisor in the Representative of the Government of Japan to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). He received a Master's Degree in International Relations from University of Leeds, England, and a Ph.D. Degree in Ocean Management from University of Tokyo. He is currently a Visiting Professor of Gujarat National Law University's Public International Law.

**CHOE Wongi****Professor, KNDA**

He holds a B.A. and M.A. in International Relations from Seoul National University and obtained a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Washington in Seattle. He was a visiting faculty at the University of Oklahoma in 2005, Colorado State University in 2011 and University of Houston in 2013-14. He served as an expert advisor at the Presidential Council for Future & Vision in 2008 and was a member of expert advisory committee at the G20 task force of the Ministry of Strategy and Finance in 2009. He has participated in the UN climate change negotiations as an advisory member of Korean government delegation. His current research projects include Korea's multilateral strategy and global governance, regional cooperation and architecture in East Asia, and energy policy and climate change negotiation.

**ZHU Caihua****Dean, School of International Economics, CFAU**

Prof. Zhu Caihua is a professor in Economics and Dean of School of International Economics, China Foreign Affairs University. Prof. Zhu was once a Fulbright visiting research scholar in Columbia University(USA). She is now one of the chief researchers of NEAT (Network of East Asian Think-tanks) China's working group and an academic fellow of the Research Center of Peace and Development. Her research interests cover international trade and investment, East Asian economic cooperation, and Sino-US economic relations. Her typical publications include the books like FDI Externalities and China's Industrial Development, Foreign Direct Investment and China's Economic Growth.

**【Japanese Side】****ITO Kenichi****Chairman & President, GFJ / President, JFIR**

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University and joined Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Studied at GSAS of Harvard University. Served in Japanese Embassies in Moscow, Manila and Washington and also as Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Since then he served as Tokyo Representative of CSIS (1980-1987) and professor of international politics at Aoyama Gakuin University (1984-2006). He has been President of Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) since it was founded in 1987 and now concurrently serves as Chairman of Council on East Asian Community (CEAC). He is Professor Emeritus and holds Honorary Doctorate in International Relations.

**FUKUSHIMA Akiko****Councilor, JFIR / Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University**

Received M.A. from the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University and Ph.D. from Osaka University. Her carrier includes Adjunct Professor of the Law School at Keio University, Director of Policy Studies at the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), Senior Fellow at the Japan Foundation and Visiting Professor to the University of British Columbia, Canada. She has served on the Japanese government committees including the Advisory Council on National Security and Defense Capabilities of the Prime Minister's Office and the Council of Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2013.

**AMAKO Satoshi****Academic Member, GFJ / Professor, Waseda University**

Graduated from Waseda University in 1971. Received M.A. form Tokyo Metropolitan University, and Ph.D. from Hitotsubashi University. Served as Associate Professor at Ryukyu University, Professor at Kyoritsu Woman's University and Aoyama-Gakuin University, Visiting Professor at American University, and Dean of Graduate School for Asian Pacific Studies, Waseda University (2006-08).

**NAKAGAWA Junji****Professor, the University of Tokyo**

He got his B.A., M.A. and Ph. D. in law from University of Tokyo. He was associate professor at the Tokyo Institute of Technology and at the Institute of Social Science, University of Tokyo, and assumed his current position in 2000. He was a visiting scholar at Georgetown University Law Center, Harvard Law School, and at El Colegio de México. He also taught at Graduate School of International Studies at University of Denver, Fletcher School at Tufts University, and at Free University of Berlin. He is a member of several policy councils and research committees sponsored by the METI and MOFA. His research focus is on transparency in international trade and investment dispute settlement, multilateralism and regionalism in global economic governance, international harmonization of financial regulation, and international economic law of development.

*(In order of appearance)*

### 3. Presentation Papers

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#### Session I: Seeking Possibilities of Japan-China-ROK Trilateral Cooperation amid the Turbulence of the Global Politics

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**GUO Yanjun**  
**Deputy Director, Institute of Asian Studies, CFAU**

#### **The Possibility for Building A New Trilateral Cooperation**

In the context of rapid development of globalization, political turbulence and security threat seems to be globalized as well. All these challenges need a closer cooperation of countries, especially regional countries. A useful idea is “Think globally, act regionally”.

##### ***1. The progress and challenges of trilateral cooperation***

After more than 15 years of development, the three countries have established full-fledged mechanisms for cooperation, and formed an all-dimensional, multi-tiered and wide-ranging cooperation framework with the Trilateral Summit Meeting as its core, and supported by 20 ministerial meetings in areas. But from this year, because of the maritime disputes between China and Japan and THAAD issue between China and Korea, the trilateral cooperation has been being greatly influenced.

##### ***2. The possibility of trilateral cooperation***

Looking forward, I think the outcome of trilateral cooperation highly depends on

- (1) how the three countries can improve their bilateral relations;
- (2) how the three countries can lead the East Asian regional process; and
- (3) how three countries can nurture the sense of community.

In conclusion, the proper and mutual acceptable strategic positioning of the three countries in the world and region is extremely important in promoting their bilateral relations and hence the trilateral cooperation. For instance, How can South Korea make balance between China and US to be an influential middle power? How can Japan be accepted by its neighboring countries when it is more active in global and regional affairs? How can China convince some countries its rise would be peaceful? These need more efforts and wisdoms from the governments, experts and our people.

**KIM Hankwon**  
**Professor, KNDA**

## **The Possibility of Trilateral Cooperation**

### ***1. Two Rises in Northeast Asia***

There have been two rises in Northeast Asia for decades. The first one is the rise of China, and the second one is the rise of nationalism in the region. Since the 1990s, the rise of China has produced two different perspectives. These are the China threat and China opportunity. One of the critical points to maintain peace and stability in Northeast Asia is to translate the rise of China into China opportunity in the region and beyond.

For the common goal of ROK, PRC, and Japan, we, the three countries, should work together for enhancing regional economic cooperation. First of all, China should expand its 'One Belt, One Road Initiative' to Korea and Japan in the near future. Korea should connect its 'Eurasia Initiative' to China and Japan. Japan should lead regional economic integration through early completion of FTA of the three countries.

Secondly, the rise of nationalism in Northeast Asia must be managed in a proper way. A number of issues that have threatened the cooperation among the three countries for a long time are strongly relevant to nationalism in the three countries. Regional controversial issues that have recently emerged, such as historical legacy issues, territorial/EEZ/ADIZ(Air Defense Identification Zone) issues, and the shadow of regional security dilemma issues, have been affected by internal nationalistic voices. It is true that the international disputes relevant to sovereignty between countries are, in nature, always very difficult and sensitive. At the same time, it is also very clear for the three governments that those domestic political and nationalistic demands have offered them a narrow space on the negotiation process.

Therefore, it is increasingly necessary that opinion leaders in major think tanks in the three countries make huge efforts to put nationalism on the right track so as to prevent it from degenerating into chauvinism. Also, the three governments should participate more proactively in the trilateral summit as well as ministerial meetings. Such summits and meetings propose regional goals of prosperity and cooperation, so that the peoples in the countries identify themselves not only as their own national identities but also as people in Northeast Asia.

### ***2. The Lack of Two Trusts***

Northeast Asian international politics have suffered from two distrusts. One is strategic distrust between the United States and China. The other one is security distrust between North Korea and the international community. The three countries should work with the United States to enhance regional peace and stability. The most important task will be the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. In the process of guiding the DPRK to the meaningful Six-Party Talks, the three countries and the United States should cooperate to promote strategic trust between Washington and Beijing, and at the same time, urge Pyongyang to join the international community through sanctions and negotiation for denuclearization.



**AMAKO Satoshi**  
**Academic Member, GFJ / Professor, Waseda University**

**信頼醸成と協力共存の日中韓関係を構想する**

**I. 1998年の「日韓共同宣言」(小淵・金大中)、「日中共同宣言」(小淵・江沢民)**

内容、意義を改めて確認し、それらの精神をベースに信頼と協力を増やす

- 日韓パートナーシップ宣言：「21世紀の確固たる善隣協力関係を構築するために過去を直視し」、「小淵総理大臣は過去の一時期韓国国民に対し植民地支配により多大の損害と苦痛を与えたこと言う歴史的事実を謙虚に受け止め、これに対して痛切な反省と心からのお詫びを述べた」「金大中大統領は戦後の日本の平和憲法のもとでの専守防衛および非核三原則をはじめとする…国際社会の平和と繁栄に対し日本が果たしてきた役割を高く評価した」「両首脳は研究者、教員、ジャーナリスト、市民サークルなどの多様な国民各層間および地域間交流の進展を促進することとした」
- 日中共同宣言：「(中国侵略に触れた後)年に1回の指導者の相互訪問、政府間ホットラインの設置、円借款の2年分の供与と中国側の謝意など、朝鮮半島や多国間貿易での協力で合意」

**II. 2015年の戦後70年の「安倍談話」の評価と課題**

(1) 日本政府として「痛切な反省と心からのお詫び」という歴代内閣の立場揺るぎない。

- 私たち日本人は世代を超えて過去の歴史に真正面から向き合い、謙虚な気持ちで過去を受け継ぎ、未来へと引き渡す責任がある
- 課題として、韓国の植民地統治に関しての直接の言及がなかったこと—but 2015.12.18の日韓外相会談で「従軍慰安婦問題で合意」が成立し、大きく前進

**III. 日中韓の「敏感イシュー」への対応**

\*短期で問題解決の可能性はない

- 「刺激しない、挑発しない」＝双方が相手の国民感情を刺激する行動・発言を慎む  
竹島／独島、尖閣／釣魚諸島、  
反日ナショナリズム、靖国参拝問題  
ヘイト・スピーチ

\*非公式専門家会議を設置

- 相手の主張の背景・根拠を聞き、理解し合える部分の拡大を目指す  
共有できる東アジア近代史の作成を目指す
- 可能ならば、「共有できた部分」の共同声明を公表する

**IV. これからの協力**

- (1) 環境協力—中国に幾つかの実験都市設置、大気汚染共同対策、
- (2) 高齢化社会への共同対策
- (3) 自然災害の協力

Session II: Prospects of Japan-China-ROK Trilateral  
Cooperation in the Global Economy

**CHOE Wongi**  
Professor, KNDA

**Institutionalization of Trilateral Cooperation**

*Inter-Governmental Mechanism in Trilateral Cooperation*

Issue-area / Level	Leader	Ministerial	Senior Official	Director-General	Working Official	Number
Global and Regional political/security	1	1	3	3	1	8
Trade/Investment/Industry		3	1	2	2	8
Finance/Macro-economy		2				2
Agriculture/Fishery/Forestry		1	1			2
Energy		1	1		1	3
Environment		1	1	3	4	9
Tourism		1			1	2
Cultural Exchanges		1	1			2
Education				1	1	2
Science/Technology/ICT		2		2		4
Transportation/Logistics		1		2	1	4
Disaster Relief/Management		2		1		3
Audit and Inspection		1			1	2
Human Resource Management		1		2	1	4
Academic Forum			1			1
Public Health		1		2	1	4
<b>TOTAL # of Inter-Gov. Mechanism</b>			19	9	18	14

Source: 2015 Status of Trilateral Cooperation (in Korean), MOFA Korea, 2015.10, pp.9-10.

### *Features of trilateral cooperation*

- For the past decade, over sixty trilateral consultative mechanisms came to exist with over one hundred cooperative projects
- The development of trilateral cooperation has remarkable progress of with sixty inter-governmental cooperative mechanisms as of 2015
- Informal, non-binding, consensus-based cooperation

### *Variations of trilateral cooperation across different issue-areas*

- Overarching Mechanisms
  - leaders' and foreign ministers meeting (six cooperative mechanisms)
  - Role of control tower, providing overall framework, managing and developing trilateral cooperation projects
  - Demand for cooperation on political/security issues is high, but political cost is very high
  - Limited in political/security cooperation: exchange of views and information on global and regional political/security issues
- Economic/finance/industrial areas
  - The most active interactions with proliferation of meetings and projects
  - Trilateral FTA, CMI, investment, industrial cooperation, etc.
  - Demand for cooperation is high and cost is relatively low
  - Issue area of low political transaction costs with relatively high expected gains
- Energy and Environment
  - Active consultations and interactions with few substantive cooperative outcomes
  - Common interests as major energy consumer, common interests and concerns in cross-border environmental issues
  - Mostly information sharing, confidence-building, etc
  - Demand for cooperation is high, but cost is also high
- Social and cultural areas
  - Active consultations and interactions with substantive cooperative outcomes
  - Tourism, logistics, aviation, cultural exchanges,
  - Functional demand for cooperation as well as the benefits are high

### *Assessment of Trilateral Cooperation across issue areas*

- Functional issue-areas (economic and social), where bargaining cost for cooperation is low and expected gain is high, have the most high level of progress
- Issue-areas (political/security and energy/environment), where bargaining (political and economic) costs are high/or expected benefits are uncertain, few substantive outcomes have been achieved.

### *Directions for future institutionalization of trilateral cooperation*

- Issue-specific, functional strategy of institutionalization rather than an overarching grand scheme --> differentiated institutionalization strategy across issue areas
- Further strengthening the level of commitments in issue-areas related to trade, investment, IPR, etc (where expected benefits are high with medium level of bargaining costs)
- Further increasing the level of precision of procedures and rules in issue-areas related to social/cultural exchanges and political/security dialogue (low bargaining costs and high expected benefits)
- Further increasing the facilitating and monitoring role of TCS (strengthening information-gathering, research of TCS as an independent body)
- Issue-specific and functional approaches to institutionalization in areas such as disaster relief, public health, environment/green growth, ODA, etc.
- Increase the level of political, if not legal per se, commitment of political leaders' to regional integration
- Try to devise institutional mechanism, including informal ones, which would increase the level of delegation in trilateral institutions such as creating new, or strengthening the role of existing, secretariats.

**ZHU Caihua**  
**Dean, School of International Economics, CFAU**

**CJK Cooperation:**  
**From the Perspective of Regional Economic Integration in East Asia**

***1. Past Experience in East Asia's Economic Integration***

- 1.1 East Asia's Integration: Driven by both Market and State Efforts
- 1.2 East Asia's Integration: Pushed by both Globalization and Regionalization
- 1.3 A Prospective East Asia Economic Community (EAEC): Being Shaped by Open Regionalism

***2. The Role of CJK Cooperation in Building the EAEC***

- 1.1 CJK is the Economic Center of East Asia
- 1.2 ASEAN Centrality reflects the Political Drags among CJK Cooperation
- 1.3 CJK Cooperation is still Crucial to Regional Integration

***3. Prospects of CJK Cooperation***

- 1.1 CJK Cooperation Falls within the Most Promising Market in the Future World
- 1.2 CJK Cooperation Embraces both globalization and regionalization
- 1.3 CJK Cooperation won't stop because it will bring real Peace, Stability and Prosperity to the Region

**NAKAGAWA Junji**  
**Professor, the University of Tokyo**

**Prospects of Japan-China-ROK Trilateral Cooperation  
in the Global Economy**

**1) *Where we are***

- (a) Changing trade and investment governance

The DDA stalemate; The era of mega-FTAs (TPP, RCEP and CJK FTA)

- (b) Global supply chains in the Asia-Pacific region

The need to establish a high-standard trilateral economic cooperation

**2) *Prospects and challenges of trilateral cooperation***

- (a) Prospects

GSC in Northeast Asia; CJK Investment Agreement (entered into force 22 May 2014)

- (b) Challenges

TPP ratification; RCEP and CJK FTA negotiation (How fast? How ambitious? How deep?)

## 4. Appendix: Introductions to Co-sponsoring Organizations

### (1) The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

#### 【Objectives】

In today's world, people's attention is focused not only around the ways and means to cope with the globalization, but also the rise of new states including People's Republic of China and the geopolitical evolution both inside and outside the former Soviet Union. Under these circumstances, in addition to traditional dialogue partners in Asia-Pacific region, it has become increasingly important for Japan to establish new channels of dialogue both in the first and the second tracks with countries which she has yet to hold regular meetings with, such as member countries of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (Russia, Turkey, Romania, etc.). On the basis of such understanding, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) aims to promote the exchange of views on commonly shared interests and issues in the field ranging from politics and security to economy, trade, finance, society and culture, and to help business leaders, Diet members and opinion leaders both in Japan and in their counterpart countries to discuss about the formulation of new orders in global and regional arenas.

#### 【History】

The 1982 Versailles Summit was widely seen as having exposed rifts within the Western alliance. Accordingly, there were expressed concerns that the summit meetings were becoming more and more stylized rituals and that Western solidarity was at risk. Within this context, it was realized that to revitalize the summit meetings there must be free and unfettered exchanges of private-sector views to be transmitted directly to the heads of the participating states. Accordingly, Japanese former Foreign Minister OKITA Saburo, U.S. Trade Representative William BROCK, E.C. Commission Vice President Etienne DAVINGNON, and Canadian Trade Minister Edward LUMLEY, as representatives of the private-sector in their respective countries, took the initiative in founding The Quadrangular Forum in Washington in September 1982. Since then, the end of the Cold War and the altered nature of the economic summits themselves had made it necessary for The Quadrangular Forum to metamorphose into The Global Forum established by the American and Japanese components of The Quadrangular Forum at the World Convention in Washington in October 1991. In line with its objectives as stated above, The Global Forum was intended as a facilitator of global consensus on the many post-Cold War issues facing the international community and reached out to open its discussions not only to participants from the quadrangular countries but also to participants from other parts of the world. Over the years, the gravity of The Global Forum's activities gradually shifted from its American component (housed in The Center for Strategic and International Studies) to its Japanese component (housed in The Japan Forum on International Relations), and, after the American component ceased to be operative, the Board of Trustees of the Japanese component resolved, on February 7, 1996, that it would thereafter act as an independent body for organizing bilateral dialogues with Japan as a hub for all countries in the world, and amended its by-laws accordingly. At the same time, The Global Forum's Japanese component was reorganized into The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) in line with the principle that the organization be self-governing, self-financing, and independent of any other organization.

#### 【Organization】

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) is a private, non-profit, non-partisan, and independent membership organization in Japan to engage in and promote international exchanges on policy-oriented matters of bilateral, regional and global implications. While the secretariat is housed in The Japan Forum on International Relations, GFJ itself is independent of any other organizations, including The Japan Forum on International Relations. Originally established as the Japanese component of The Quadrangular Forum at the initiative of HATTORI Ichiro, OKITA Saburo, TAKEYAMA Yasuo, TOYODA Shoichiro in 1982, GFJ is currently headed by OKAWARA Yoshio as Advisor, ITO Kenichi as Chairman & President. The membership is composed of 10 Business Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 16 Political Members including the four Governors, ASAO Keiichiro, KAKIZAWA Mito, KOIKE Yuriko, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu; and 86 Academic Members including the three Governors, ITO Go, SHIMADA Haruo and MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo.

#### 【Activities】

Since the start of The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) in 1982, GFJ has shifted its focus from the exchanges with the Quadrangular countries for the purpose of contributing to the Western Summit, to those with neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region including US, China, Korea, ASEAN countries, India and Australia European countries, Wider Black Sea Area, for the purposes of deepening mutual understanding and contributing to the formation of international order. GFJ has been active in collaboration with international exchange organizations in those countries in organizing policy-oriented intellectual exchanges called "Dialogue." In order to secure a substantial number of Japanese participants in the "Dialogue", GFJ in principle holds these "Dialogues" in Tokyo. A listing of topics of "Dialogues" and its overseas co-sponsors in past years given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2016	September	Japan-China-ROK Dialogue	Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat
	July	Japan-Asia Pacific Dialogue	Meiji University, Western Sydney University
	March	The Japan-U.S. Dialogue	Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University
2015	December	Japan-East Asia Dialogue	East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore
	September	The Japan-China Dialogue	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations
	July	The Second Japan-GUAM Dialogue	GUAM-Organization for Democracy and Economic Development
	March	Central Asia + Japan Symposium	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, the University of Tokyo
		The Japan-U.S. Dialogue	Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University
	February	Japan-East Asia Dialogue	School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

## (2) The Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS)

### 1. Overview

The Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat (TCS) is an intergovernmental organization established to contribute to the further promotion of cooperative relations among China, Japan and the ROK. Upon the joint agreement signed and ratified by the three governments, the TCS was inaugurated in Seoul, September 2011. It aims to serve as a cooperation hub for trilateral cooperation that encompasses the broad spectrum of sectors and actors. In the 'Joint Declaration for Peace and Cooperation in Northeast Asia' adopted at the 6th Summit in 2015, the leaders expressed support for the capacity-building of the TCS by its participation in all ministerial-level governmental mechanisms within the framework of trilateral cooperation. With a view to solidifying the cooperative ties among the three countries, the TCS will strive to ensure that trilateral cooperation remains dynamic and future-oriented in the coming days.

### 2. Functions and Activities

- 1) Providing support for trilateral consultative mechanisms
  - Trilateral Summit / Trilateral Foreign Ministers Meeting, etc.
- 2) Exploring and facilitating cooperative projects
  - Trilateral Table Top Exercise on Disaster Management / Trilateral Business Networking/ Young Ambassador Program etc.
- 3) Promoting understanding of trilateral cooperation
  - International Forum for Trilateral Cooperation / CJK FTA Seminar / TCS Open House etc.
- 4) Collaboration with other organizations
  - ASEAN / APEC / UN / EU etc.
- 5) Research & Database
  - Trilateral Statistics, Trilateral Economic Research Report, TCS Website etc.

### 3. Organization

The TCS consists of a Consultative Board and four Departments. The Board, the executive decision-making body of the organization, is comprised of a Secretary-General and two Deputy Secretary-Generals.

The Secretary-General is appointed on a two-year rotational basis in the order of the ROK, Japan, and China. Each country other than the one of the Secretary-General nominates a Deputy Secretary-General respectively. Under the Board, there are four Departments of Political Affairs, Economic Affairs, Socio-Cultural Affairs, and Management and Coordination.



# MEMO



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