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# The 7th Japan-ASEAN Dialogue

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**“Prospect of Japan-ASEAN Partnership after the  
Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation ”**

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## Conference Papers

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September 24-26, 2008 / International House of Japan  
Tokyo, Japan

Supported by  
Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF)

Co-sponsored by  
The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)  
ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS)

In Cooperation with  
The Yomiuri Shimbun  
The ASEAN Promotion Centre on Trade, Investment and Tourism

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# 1. Program

## THE 7th JAPAN-ASEAN DIALOGUE

### 第7回目・ASEAN対話

#### Prospect of Japan-ASEAN Partnership after the Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation

#### 「東アジア協力に関する第二共同声明」後の 日・ASEANパートナーシップの展望

Supported by / 助成  
Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF) / 日・ASEAN統合基金

25 September, 2008 / 2008年9月25日  
International House of Japan / 国際文化会館  
Tokyo, Japan / 東京

Co-sponsored by / 共催  
The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) / グローバル・フォーラム  
ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) / ASEAN戦略国際問題研究所連合

In Cooperation with / 協力  
The Yomiuri Shimbun / 読売新聞  
The ASEAN Promotion Centre on Trade, Investment and Tourism / 日本アセアンセンター

**Thursday, 25 September, 2008 / 2008年9月25日(木)**

**International House of Japan "Lecture Hall" / 国際文化会館「講堂」**

**Session I / 本会議 I**

**10:00-11:55 "An East Asian Community and Japan-ASEAN Relations"  
「東アジア共同体構想と日・ASEAN関係」**

Co-chairpersons (5 min.) 共同議長(5分間)	MURAKAMI Masayasu, Executive Governor, GFJ 村上 正泰 グローバル・フォーラム 常任世話人 Clara JOEWONO, Vice Chair, Board of Directors, Centre for Strategic and International Studies Foundation (Indonesia) クララ・ユウォノ 戦略国際問題研究所財団副理事長(インドネシア)
Keynote Speaker (15min.) 基調報告者(15分間)	Carolina G. HERNANDEZ, Chairperson, Board of Directors, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (Philippines) カロリーナ・ヘルナンデス 戦略開発問題研究所理事長(フィリピン)
Keynote Speaker (15min.) 基調報告者(15分間)	SOEYA Yoshihide, Professor, Keio University 添谷 芳秀 慶應義塾大学教授
Lead Discussant A (5 min.) リード討論者A(5分間)	MAHANI Zainal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies Malaysia (Malaysia) マハニ・ザイナル・アビディン マレーシア戦略国際問題研究所 所長(マレーシア)
Lead Discussant B (5 min.) リード討論者B(5分間)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University 寺田 貴 早稲田大学教授
Lead Discussant C (5 min.) リード討論者C(5分間)	SOEUNG Rathchavy, Deputy Secretary General, ASEAN Secretariat ソエン・ラッチャビー ASEAN事務局 事務次長
Lead Discussant D (5 min.) リード討論者D(5分間)	AKAO Nobutoshi, Secretary General, The ASEAN Promotion Centre on Trade, Investment and Tourism 赤尾 信敏 日本アセアンセンター 事務総長
Free Discussions (50min.) 自由討議(50分間)	All Participants 出席者全員
Summarization by Co-chairpersons (10min.) 議長総括(10分間)	MURAKAMI Masayasu, Executive Governor, GFJ 村上 正泰 グローバル・フォーラム 常任世話人 Clara JOEWONO, Vice Chair, Board of Directors, Centre for Strategic and International Studies Foundation (Indonesia) クララ・ユウォノ 戦略国際問題研究所財団副理事長(インドネシア)

**11:55-12:55 Lunch Break / 昼食休憩(各自で会議場外でお取りください)**

<b>Session II / 本会議 II</b>	
<b>12:55-14:50 "Japan-ASEAN Cooperation for Sustainable Development" 「維持可能な発展に向けた日・ASEAN協力」</b>	
Co-chairpersons (5min.) 共同議長 (5分間)	SHIMADA Haruo, Opinion Leader Governor, GFJ 島田 晴雄 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人  CHAP Sotharith, Executive Director, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (Cambodia) チャップ・ソサリット カンボジア平和協力研究所所長(カンボジア)
Keynote Speaker (15min.) 基調報告者 (15分間)	TAKEUCHI Sawako, Professor, Kyoto University 竹内佐和子 京都大学大学院客員教授
Keynote Speaker (15min.) 基調報告者 (15分間)	Hank LIM, Director for Research, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore) ハンク・リム シンガポール国際問題研究所研究部長(シンガポール)
Lead Discussant A (5 min.) リード討論者A (5分間)	TAKAHASHI Kazuo, Visiting Professor, United Nations University 高橋 一生 国連大学客員教授
Lead Discussant B (5 min.) リード討論者B (5分間)	Than Than HTAY, Secretary, Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Myanmar) タン・タン・テイ ミャンマー戦略国際問題研究所代表(ミャンマー)
Lead Discussant C (5 min.) リード討論者C (5分間)	NAKAKITA Toru, Professor, Toyo University Graduate School 中北 徹 東洋大学大学院教授
Lead Discussant D (5 min.) リード討論者 D (5分間)	Tutiati WAHAB, Deputy Director, Department of International Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Brunei) ツチアティー・ワハブ 外交通商省国際通商局次長(ブルネイ)
Free Discussions (50min.) 自由討議 (50分間)	All Participants 出席者全員
Summarization by Co-chairpersons (10min.) 議長総括(10分間)	SHIMADA Haruo, Opinion Leader Governor, GFJ 島田 晴雄 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人  CHAP Sotharith, Executive Director, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (Cambodia) チャップ・ソサリット カンボジア平和協力研究所所長(カンボジア)
<b>14:50-15:00 Break / 休憩</b>	
<b>Session III / 本会議 III</b>	
<b>15:00-17:00 "Japan-ASEAN Cooperation for Political and Security Partnership" 「政治・安全保障分野における日・ASEANパートナーシップ」</b>	
Co-chairpersons (5min.) 共同議長 (5分間)	HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Councilor, The Japan Forum on International Relations 平林 博 日本国際フォーラム参与  Luan Thuy DUONG, Deputy Director General, Institute for Diplomatic Strategic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Vietnam) ルアン・トゥイー・ズオン 外務省外交戦略研究所副所長(ベトナム)
Keynote Speaker (15min.) 基調報告者 (15分間)	Rizal SUKMA, Deputy Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia) リザル・スクマ 戦略国際問題研究所副所長(インドネシア)
Keynote Speaker (15min.) 基調報告者 (15分間)	OGASAWARA Takayuki, Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University 小笠原高雪 山梨学院大学教授
Lead Discussant A (5 min.) リード討論者 A (5分間)	Suchit BUNBONGKARN, Senior Professional Fellow, Institute of Security and International Studies (Thailand) スジット・ブンボンカーン 安全保障問題研究所主任研究員(タイ)
Lead Discussant B (5 min.) リード討論者 B (5分間)	YOSHIKATA Yuji, Staff Writer, International Affairs Department, The Yomiuri Shimbun 吉形祐司 読売新聞国際部記者
Lead Discussant C (5 min.) リード討論者 C (5分間)	Santi INTHISONE, Acting Director for Administration and International Cooperation Division, Institute of Foreign Affairs (Laos) サンティ・インテソーネ 国際問題研究所管理・国際協力部部長代理(ラオス)
Lead Discussant D (5 min.) リード討論者 D (5分間)	ITO Koichi, Director, Regional Policy Division, Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 伊藤 康一 外務省アジア大洋州局地域政策課長
Free Discussions (50min.) 自由討議 (50分間)	All Participants 出席者全員
Summarization by Co-chairpersons (10min.) 議長総括(10分間)	HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Councilor, The Japan Forum on International Relations 平林 博 日本国際フォーラム参与  Luan Thuy DUONG, Deputy Director General, Institute for Diplomatic Strategic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Vietnam) ルアン・トゥイー・ズオン 外務省外交戦略研究所副所長(ベトナム)

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

## 2 . Biographies of the Panelists

### [ ASEAN Panelists ]

**Clara JOEWONO**

*Vice Chair, Board of Directors, Centre for Strategic and  
International Studies Foundation (Indonesia)*

Graduated from University of Indonesia. Received M.A. from University of California, Berkeley. Served as various positions including, Deputy Secretary of Indonesian National Committee of Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, Member of Indonesian National Committee of Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific, and Chairperson of Bung Hatta Anti-Corruption Award (2003-2004).

**Carolina G. HERNANDEZ**

*Chairperson, Board of Directors, Institute for Strategic  
and Development Studies (Philippines)*

Graduated from the University of Philippines. Received Master degree in International Relations from the University of Karachi, and Ph.D. from the State University of New York, Buffalo. Served as various positions including Founding President of Institute for Strategic and Development studies, Co-chair of ASEAN +3 Study Group for Facilitation and Promotion of Exchange of People and Human Resources Development. Concurrently serving as Chair of ASEAN-ISIS and Professor Emeritus of Political Science at University of the Philippines.

**MAHANI Zainal Abidin**

*Director-General, Institute of Strategic and  
International Studies Malaysia (Malaysia)*

Received Ph.D. from the University of London in 1992. Served as Professor at University of Malaya, Member of the Working Group for the National Economic Action Council (1998), Economic Advisor to the Bank Industrial & Technology Malaysia Berhad (2003-2005), Deputy Director-General, Department of higher Education, Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia (2005) before assuming the current position in 2007.

**SOEUNG Rathchavy**

*Deputy Secretary General, ASEAN Secretariat*

Received Master and Ph.D. from Moscow State Institute of International Relations. Served as Deputy Director General (2003-04) and Director General (2004-06) at General Department of ASEAN, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of Cambodia, Vice Chairman of the National Committee for ASEAN Cooperation in Civil Service Matters (2004-06), Professor at Royal Academy of Cambodia, Council of the Ministers of Cambodia (2002-06).

**CHAP Sotharith**

*Executive Director, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (Cambodia)*

Received Master of Science from Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok, and Ph.D. (Economics) from the University of Sydney. Served as various positions including Director of ASEAN Department on Office of Council of Ministers (1996-98) and World Bank Consultant as Training Coordinator (2002-04).

Concurrently serving as Part-time Lecturer in Institute of Technology and Management of International Institute of Cambodia and Royal School of Administration.

**Hank LIM** *Director for Research, Singapore Institute of International Affairs(Singapore)*

Graduated from Gannon College, Pennsylvania. Received M.A. and Ph.D. from University of Pittsburgh. Served as various positions including first Director General of Pacific Economic Cooperation Council International Secretariat in Singapore (1990-1993), first Singapore Representative to APEC Eminent Persons Group (1993-1994) and Director of Centre for Advanced Studies at National University of Singapore (1996-1998).

**Than Than HTAY** *Secretary, Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Myanmar)*

Graduated from Yangon University. Received Master degree of International Public Policy from SAIS at Johns Hopkins University. Served as various positions including Deputy Chief of Mission of Myanmar Embassy in Jakarta(1992-97) and Beijing(2001-05), and Deputy Director General of Political Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs(2005-07).

**Tutiaty WAHAB** *Deputy Director, Department of International Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Brunei)*

Graduated from University of Brunei Darussalam and Studied at University of Kent in UK. Served as various positions including Project Officer in Industrial Promotion and Tourism Development Division of the Ministry of Industry and Primary Resources, and Acting Head of BIMP-EAGA Unit of ASEAN-Japan Center.

**Luan Thuy DUONG** *Deputy Director General, Institute for Diplomatic Strategic Studies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Vietnam)*

Received M.A. in International Studies from Sydney University. Served as various positions including Visiting Research Fellow at Japan Institute for International Affairs in Tokyo (2000-01). Concurrently serving as Deputy Director General at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam and Acting Director of APEC Studies Center of Vietnam.

**Rizal SUKMA** *Deputy Executive Director, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)*

Received Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1997. Served as a Member of National Committee on Strategic Defense Review, Indonesia's Ministry of Defense, Member of Drafting Committee on National Defense Bill (2000-02). Concurrently serving as the Chairman of International Relations Division of Central Executive Board of Muhammadiyah and Visiting Lecturer at Department of International Relations, Muhammadiyah University at Malang.

**Suchit BUNBONGKARN**

*Senior Professional Fellow, Institute of Security and  
International Studies (Thailand)*

Graduated from Chulalongkorn University. Received M.A., M.A.L.D. and Ph.D. from Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Served as Professor and Dean of Faculty of Political Science at Chulalongkorn University, Advisor to Prime Minister Prem Tinasulanonda, Member of Constitutional Drafting Assembly (1997), Chairman of Institute of Security and International Studies Thailand and Justice of Constitutional Court (2000-2004). Concurrently serving as Professor Emeritus at Chulalongkorn University.

**Santi INTHISONE**

*Acting Director for Administration and International Cooperation Division,  
Institute of Foreign Affairs (Laos)*

Received M.A. from University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1996. Served as various positions including Secretary to Vice Foreign Minister, Deputy Director of Research Division at the Institute of Foreign Affairs before assuming the current post in 2007.

**[ Japanese Panelists ]**

**MURAKAMI Masayasu**

*Executive Governor, GFJ*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Entered Ministry of Finance in 1997. Studied at Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at University of California, San Diego. Served various positions including Vice Consul of the Consulate-General of Japan in New York (2000-2002) and Deputy Director of Research Division of International Bureau at Ministry of Finance in 2003. Concurrently serving as Executive Director of Japan Forum on International Relations, Executive Vice President of Council on East Asian Community.

**SOEYA Yoshihide**

*Professor, Keio University*

Received B.A and Master degree in International Relations from Sophia University, Ph.D from University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Served as various positions including Visiting Fellow at East-West Center in USA, Faculty Fellow at RIETI, and Visiting Professor at Seoul National University. Concurrently serving as Director of Keio Institute of East Asian Studies.

**TERADA Takashi**

*Professor, Waseda University*

Received Ph.D. from Australian National University in 1998. Served various positions including Assistant Professor of Faculty of Arts and Sciences at National University of Singapore and Associate Professor of Waseda University.

**AKAO Nobutoshi**

*Secretary General, The ASEAN Promotion Centre on Trade, Investment and Tourism*

Graduated from Kyoto University. Received M.A. form Yale Graduate School. Entered Ministry of

Foreign Affairs in 1961. Served various positions including Deputy Director General of Economic Affairs Bureau, Director General of U.N. Bureau, Ambassador to International Organizations in Vienna (1994-96) and Ambassador to Thailand (1999-01). Also served as Japan's Chief Negotiator in Uruguay Round, Senior Official for APEC and chairman of various organs, including Dispute Settlement Body of WTO and Governing Body of ILO.

**SHIMADA Haruo**

*Opinion Leader Governor, GFI*

Graduated from Keio University. Received M.A from Keio University and Ph.D. from University of Wisconsin. Served various positions including Professor of Keio University, Visiting Professor of M.I.T, Exchange Professor of ESSEC, Guest Professor of The University of Tokyo, Chairman of Economic Research Center Fujitsu Research Institute and Special Advisor for Economic and Fiscal Policy to the Cabinet Office. Concurrently serving as President of Chiba University of Commerce and Professor Emeritus at Keio University.

**TAKEUCHI Sawako**

*Professor, Kyoto University*

Graduated from Waseda University. Served various positions including, Chief Economist of the Long Term Credit Bank of Japan, Associate Professor of the University of Tokyo, Professor of Toyo University, Economist of the World Bank, and Ambassador and Advisor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of MOFA. Concurrently serving also as Director of NISSAN Leadership Program for Innovative Engineers at Nissan Science Foundation.

**TAKAHASHI Kazuo**

*Visiting Professor, United Nations University*

International Christian University, B.A. and M.A., Ph.D. from Columbia University. Served at OECD, SPF (Sasakawa Peace Foundation), FASID and ICU (International Christian University). Concurrently, President of the Society of Researchers of International Development, Member of Governing Board of IDCJ (International Development Center of Japan), and Co-chair of the Club of Tokyo for the Global Water Resources Management.

**NAKAKITA Toru**

*Professor, Toyo University Graduate School*

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1974. Received Ph.D. from University of Cambridge and Ph.D. from Hitotsubashi University. Served various positions including Chief Clerk of Economic Affairs Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Special Adviser of International Department on Bank of Japan, Deputy President of Office of Prime Minister Abe "The Asian Gateway Initiative". Currently serving as Dean of Economical Studies at Toyo University.

**HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi**

*Councilor, Japan Forum on International Relations*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1963. Served as Director-General of Economic Cooperation Bureau, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1993, Director for Cabinet Councilor's office on External Affairs in 1995, Ambassador to India and Ambassador to France.

Concurrently serving as Executive President of Indo-Japan Association, Visiting Professor of Graduate school of Waseda University, Outside Director of Toshiba Corporation, Director of MITSUI & Co., Advisor of NHK Promotions.

**OGASAWARA Takayuki** *Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University*

Graduated from Keio University. Received LL.M. from Keio University. Served as Researcher at Japan Institute of International Affairs, Visiting Scholar at National University of Singapore, Visiting Research Fellow at Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, and Associate Professor at Hokuriku University.

**YOSHIKATA Yuji** *Staff Writer, International Affairs Department, The Yomiuri Shimbun*

Graduated from Sophia University and entered The Yomiuri Shimbun in 1988. Assigned to Johannesburg Bureau as a correspondent (1996-1999). In Bangkok Bureau (2002-05), covered Southeast Asia as well as reported Iraq War from Baghdad and Samawah where Japan Self-Defense Force units were dispatched for humanitarian assistance. Also covered the 2004-05 Tsunami disaster mainly in Sri Lanka.

**ITO Koichi** *Director, Regional Policy Division, Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*

Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1984. Served various positions including First Secretary at the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations and Other International Organizations in Geneva, Counsellor and First Secretary of the Japanese Embassy in China, Director of Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions Division, Director of Global Environment Division, Director of the General Affairs Department at Taipei Office of Interchange Associate, Japan (IAJ).

**OKAWARA Yoshio** *Chairman, GFJ*

Graduated from University of Tokyo. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1942. Served various positions including Director-General of the American Affairs Bureau, Deputy Vice Minister for Administration, Japanese Ambassador to Australia and Japanese Ambassador to the United States (1980-1985). Concurrently serving as President of Institute for International Policy Studies and President of America-Japan Society, Inc.

**ITO Kenichi** *President, GFJ*

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Studied at Harvard University (1961-1963). Served as various positions including Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Served as Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University (1984-2006). Concurrently serving as President of Japan Forum on International Relations, President of The Council on East Asia Community, and Professor Emeritus at Aoyama Gakuin University.

(In order of appearance)

### 3 . Keynote Papers

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## *Session I : “An East Asian Community and Japan-ASEAN Relations”*

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**Carolina G. Hernandez<sup>1</sup>**

**Chairperson, Board of Directors, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies**

#### **Introduction**

Community building in East Asia has made good progress so far. Formally anchored on ASEAN+3 (ASEAN-10 plus China, Japan, and South Korea) as the basis of community building and their two joint statements defining regional cooperation during the first (1997-2007) and second (2007-2017) decades of this process much has occurred in efforts to build the foundations of a regional order in East Asia. Initially launched as a response to the 1997 Asian financial crisis during which the region's economies particularly Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia (in Southeast Asia) and South Korea (in Northeast Asia) were hit badly. Frustration and disappointment over the failure of global multilateral institutions particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to provide the needed assistance to redress the crisis, these thirteen countries decided to cooperate initially in the financial and economic fields which eventually spilled over into other areas, including political-security in addition to functional and cultural areas. The rest is regional history with the articulation of a regional vision through the East Asia Vision Group (EAVG) and the formulation of measures to realize the vision through the East Asia Study Group (EASG).

The pursuit of regional cooperation apart from the multilateral approach is also carried out through the ASEAN+1 modality. ASEAN-Japan cooperation lies in this area. Recognizing the long history of this bilateral partnership which began informally in 1973 and formalized in March 1977, focused on development cooperation which enabled the five original ASEAN member states (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand) to build the socio-economic and physical foundations for economic growth, the partners broadened and deepened their cooperative relations over time to include political and security, economic and financial, and social and cultural dimensions. Indeed, this bilateral partnership constitutes a solid foundation for regional cooperation, based on postwar inter-regional reconciliation whose success was in no uncertain terms can be credited to ASEAN's intra-regional reconciliation since 1967.

A community cannot be realized without “burying the hatchet” so to speak, by moderating, setting aside, and muting negative primordial and basic instincts and experiences, and instead by forging areas of mutual interests to create mutually advantageous gains. In such an enterprise, goodwill, trust, and confidence are of primary importance, given the nature of the international

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<sup>1</sup> Keynote Speech prepared for the 7th Japan-ASEAN Dialogue, jointly organized by the Global Forum of Japan and the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies, International House, Tokyo, 24-26 September 2008.

system still based on and driven by Westphalian norms and whose power structure creates “natural” competitors even of close neighbors. In this context, ASEAN and Japan have hurdled many important challenges of cooperation which has helped build the foundations for a regional order that hopefully can lead to the realization of an East Asia community in the future.

It is then the task of this presentation to analyze the role of this bilateral partnership in building such a regional community and to provide some inputs for policy makers concerned.

### **Brief Historical Perspective**

Even prior to the launch of the ASEAN+3 process more than 10 years ago, there were many activities held between ASEAN and Japan that now could be seen as having contributed to community building in this region. There were conducted at various levels and by various tracks, particularly by tracks 1, 2, and 1.5.

- Official Japan-ASEAN cooperation – These include their dialogue partnership since the 1970s, development assistance to ASEAN-5, economic relations focused on trade and investments and based on the “flying geese model”, political cooperation in resolving the Cambodian crisis, among others. These developed habits of cooperation from which trust and confidence emerged concretizing thereby inter-regional reconciliation in the postwar era. It helped that ASEAN-5 and Japan were non-communist in foreign and security policy orientations.
- Track 2 activities – These include various schemes of an ASEAN-Japan dialogue (initiated by non-government think tanks including the Japan Centre for International Exchange and the Global Forum of Japan), quadrilateral programs involving scholars from Japan, South Korea, the United States and ASEAN), and APAP activities (Asia Pacific Agenda Project started with Japanese Government support), among others. These were policy dialogue mechanisms which produced policy-oriented studies on East Asia cooperation for the consideration of policy makers. At the same time, networks of track two actors developed which contributed in no small measure to people-to-people contacts as foundations for regional community building.
- Track 1.5 – These are activities in which participants from both government and non-government groups were involved and were initiated, funded, and organized by the Japanese Government, such as the generation of concrete recommendations for the implementation of the Hanoi Plan of Action (HPA) and for the enhancement of people-to-people contacts and human resource development. The HPA sought to narrow the development divide among ASEAN member states, a condition that is widely seen as essential to regional integration. The report and recommendations of the expert group on the enhancement of people-to-people exchanges and human resource development paved the way for the opening of the Japanese market to medical professionals to alleviate Japan’s shortage in this sector to care for its ageing population. The bilateral agreement still pending ratification in the Philippine Senate (viz., the Japan-Philippine Economic Partnership Agreement or JPEPA) is one concrete outcome of this track 1.5 consultation between ASEAN and Japan.

With the adoption of the ASEAN Vision 2020 following the financial crisis, Japan found another

vehicle for enhancing bilateral cooperation in building the foundations of a regional community. Japan assisted ASEAN in the implementation of the HPA whose main thrust as already noted was to narrow the development gap among ASEAN member states. It bears repeating that narrowing this gap conduces to coherence among the ten countries and facilitates economic integration, clearly a critical component of regional community building.

An important landmark in bilateral relations came with the signing of the “Tokyo Declaration for the Dynamic and Enduring ASEAN-Japan Partnership in the New Millennium” and the adoption of the “ASEAN-Japan Plan of Action” at the ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit held in Tokyo on 11-12 December 2003. It is noteworthy that this summit followed closely the adoption by ASEAN of Bali Concord II which seeks the realization of an ASEAN Community with the three pillars representing an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), an ASEAN Security Community (ASC)<sup>2</sup>, and an ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC).

### **The State of East Asia Community Building**

East Asia community building is formally in the beginning of its second decade. As already noted, the second joint statement on ASEAN+3 cooperation had been adopted in Singapore in November 2007 to govern regional cooperation in the next 10 years. The first decade of cooperation yielded a number of concrete achievements, including:

- A vision for an East Asia community with measures for its achievements (contained in the EASG and EAVG Reports)
- Cooperation in anti-terrorism, maritime security, poverty alleviation, gender issue.
- Cooperation in addressing energy security, climate change, mitigating the consequences of natural disasters, as well as pandemic diseases, among others.

However, ASEAN’s decision to build an ASEAN community of three pillars and its initiative in launching the East Asia Summit (EAS) in 2005, distinct from the recommendation of the East Asia Study Group (EASG) that the ASEAN+3 summit evolve into an East Asia Summit appeared to have stalled, even temporarily the project of East Asia community building. ASEAN needs to focus on realizing the goals of the Bali Concord II. To date, ASEAN has not firmly decided on which East Asia it is building with the EAS. Track 2 circles seem to prefer the ASEAN+3 framework as the basis for building an East Asia community and to use the EAS as the region’s forum for strategic dialogue with players outside of the ASEAN+3 footprint.

Whether this idea can be supported by Japan remains unclear, even as this view would most likely sit well with both China and South Korea. Japan has worked to cover its flank in its structural competition with China by calling for a dialogue among the region’s democracies<sup>3</sup> to include Australia, New Zealand and India in addition to the democracies within ASEAN, clearly an attempt to exclude China, and perhaps as a counterpoint to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) centered on China and excludes other East Asian strategic actors like Japan and the US.

Unless there is an agreement among the regional players on what really constitutes East Asia in the community they are trying to build, East Asia community building would not be a coherent and focused project at all. This could be further undermined by ASEAN’s priority project of building a community in Southeast Asia in order to maintain its role as driving force in a wider East Asian

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<sup>2</sup> This has since been renamed the ASEAN Political Security Community or APSC, perhaps to avoid its being confused with the acronym for the ASEAN Standing Committee (ASC).

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes labeled as an “alliance of democracies”.

regionalism.

### **Japan-ASEAN Relations and an East Asian Community**

Needless to say, although there are region-wide activities that are being carried out as part of community building, the ASEAN practice of 1+1 meetings permeates the region's primary processes. In this regard, it is important to examine Japan-ASEAN bilateral relations in activities related to the building of an East Asia community, especially as ASEAN is keen to remain an autonomous actor in regional and global affairs, and not to be seen as dominated or in close embrace by one great power. This is believed to help the grouping to maintain its relative independence in global affairs.

The ASEAN-Japan Plan of Action has stressed bilateral cooperation for reinforcing the integration of ASEAN by (1) narrowing the development gap through the Initiative for ASEAN Integration (IAI), the Mekong region development, the Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East Asia Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA) and economic cooperation among Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand, as well as infrastructure development; (2) cooperation for enhancing the competitiveness of ASEAN member states including investment promotion, forging economic partnerships, promoting education, human resource development, and institutional capacity building; and (3) cooperation for addressing terrorism, piracy and other transnational issues, as well as human and institutional capacity building for law enforcement agencies.<sup>4</sup>

Among its most important and latest achievements is the successful conclusion of the negotiations for the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership on 21 November 2007 during the 11<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit in Singapore. The comprehensive agreement includes trade in goods, trade in services, investment, and economic cooperation. In addition, Japan has supported the implementation of the Vientiane Action Programme (VAP) to realize the ASEAN Community<sup>5</sup> and its declared intention to appoint an Ambassador for ASEAN once the ASEAN Charter comes into force. The ASEAN Charter seeks to enhance the realization of the ASEAN Community among other goals. Although the Charter has been ratified by seven (7) out of the ten (10) member states, there is a view, strongly held by some of the region's activists that the Charter has not empowered ASEAN to build its own community, an important building block for East Asian community building.<sup>6</sup> This is because a more coherent and effective ASEAN can help ensure that the grouping will remain the core, center or driving force of the broader East Asia community building. Without an effective ASEAN, its partners in Northeast Asia would not be able to advance this regional project among them. ASEAN's role in this regard is critically important for as long as the major obstacles to the broader East Asia community building process remain.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The ASEAN-Japan Plan of Action seeks to implement priority measures and actions following their commemorative summit in 2003.

<sup>5</sup> A new twist to the VAP is its substitution by the blueprints for each of the three pillars of the ASEAN Community, only that for the economic community having been adopted by the ASEAN member states so far.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Jusuf Wanandi's presentation at the Plenary Session Ten – The ASEAN Charter and the Future of the ASEAN Community at the 22nd Asia Pacific Roundtable, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, 2-5 June 2008, and the author's "An ASEAN Community and the ASEAN Charter", a draft paper presented at the 2008 Asia Pacific Security Forum, Honolulu, Hawaii, 10-12 August 2008.

<sup>7</sup> See for example the author's "Obstacles to East Asia Community Building", in Jusuf Wanandi and Tadashi Yamamoto, editors, *East Asia at a Crossroads* (New York and Tokyo: Japan Centre for International Exchange, 2008), pp. 38-52.

In this regard, the sustained diplomatic niceties expressed in formal statements expressed by Japan (China and South Korea) about ASEAN's critical role in the community building project do not help ASEAN improve its effectiveness. In their frustration with ASEAN, key regional players have gone their own ways to try to improve existing mechanisms or propose new ones in order to achieve regional peace and stability. The desire to create a Northeast Asia security mechanism out of the six party talks and the notion about an "alliance of democracies" as well as Australian PM Rudd's proposal for an Asia Pacific Community (APC) in the broader region are only some of the symptoms of this regional deficiency being sought to be reduced through these initiatives.<sup>8</sup> These, however are seen as threats to the existing mechanism such as the ARF, or attempts to encircle China as in the "alliance of democracies". These dynamics do not conduce to the trust and confidence building that is critical to the realization of a regional community.

Because bilateral cooperation between ASEAN and each of the plus three countries constitutes a building block for community building, it is important for the purpose of this present dialogue to examine the challenges and opportunities facing ASEAN and Japan in order to redress the former and maximize the latter.

### *Challenges*

ASEAN is a veteran of weathering and responding to challenges as seen in its four decades of life. It knows how to "bite the bullet" so to speak, when the occasion calls for it, such as during the 1997 financial crisis. Therefore, it is not unlikely that it would not act positively to challenges facing its relations with Japan. The question is whether the two partners can both respond to the challenges they face in their bilateral relations. Among the most important challenges in this regard are the following:

- Varying foreign and security policy of ASEAN member states due to history, ideology, personal ties, etc. with implications for relations with Japan. There is a tendency, for example to stoke the dying embers of concern over Japan's remilitarization among countries with closer ties to China, particularly Japan's capacity to transform its nuclear technology from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons should the strategic environment change dramatically such as Pyongyang's success in becoming a nuclear weapons state.
- Lack of leadership within ASEAN that in the past yielded coherence among its member states. This has plagued ASEAN since the financial crisis that undermined Indonesia's former informal leadership role. A leader should be able to forge consensus on key issues where otherwise agreement would not be forthcoming. ASEAN has suffered from a lack of such leader.
- Japan's loss of economic leadership to China undermining ASEAN's close and interdependent relations with Tokyo and related perception of Japan's inability to be pro-active in bilateral cooperation with Japan seen as playing catch up with China.

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<sup>8</sup> From the presentations of Shin Dong-Ik, "North Korean Nuclear Issue in the Context of the NPT and Security Cooperation in Northeast Asia" and Zhao Quancheng, "Nuclear Disarmament and Six-Party Talks", at the 20<sup>th</sup> United Nations Conference on Disarmament Issues in Saitama jointly organized by the United Nations Office of Disarmament Affairs, Saitama City, and Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 27-29 August 2008, as well as Brendan Taylor, "Rudd's Asia-Pacific Community: Dead in the Water?" presented at the 2008 Asia Pacific Security Forum, jointly organized by the PACForum/CSIS, Institute of National Policy Research, Centre Asie, and Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, 10-12 August 2008.

Many in ASEAN remain frustrated by the slow pace of Japan's responses to regional cooperation schemes, including the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) agreement.

- Perceived lack of a truly independent foreign and security policy on the part of Japan, posing some difficulty with ASEAN member states suspicious of the United States. For example, the perception that Japan seeks to isolate China through the concept of an "alliance of democracies" is unsettling for some ASEAN member states eager to make progress in East Asia community building.
- The continuing perception that even if ASEAN does not improve its effectiveness and coherence as an actor, it shall remain at the core of East Asia community building because the key actors in Northeast Asia (Japan and China) continue to need ASEAN support..

### ***Opportunities***

On the other hand, the opportunities for improving ASEAN-Japan cooperation conducive to community building are many. They include:

- Residual goodwill and long habit of working together.
- Congruence in values on inclusiveness, good governance principles, comprehensive security.
- Shared goal of building an East Asia community.
- Japan's role in enabling ASEAN to pursue an equidistant policy *vis-à-vis* the great powers.
- Japan's continuing need for ASEAN's interlocutory role in East Asian community building especially in its relations with Northeast Asian neighbors.
- Continuing complementary and interdependent economies of Japan-ASEAN.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Much still need to be done to improve upon an already dense and rich set of bilateral relations Japan and ASEAN have forged since the 1970s. Both sides had set aside historical and other barriers to cooperate in constructive ways in order to realize regional peace, prosperity, and stability. Japan has helped in immeasurable ways its neighbors in Southeast Asia in the building of the economic, social, and physical infrastructural framework that became the foundation for ASEAN's positive economic, social, and political change. It helped that both sides understood security as comprehensive and cooperative. It also helped that both sides were non-communist during the critical founding years of ASEAN.

However, Japan needs to be more pro-active in undertaking initiatives for regional cooperation, and in particular to increase its attentiveness to signals and suggestions from its ASEAN partners. Japan needs to remain supportive of ASEAN's continuing guideline in external relations – to maintain equidistant relations with all the region's strategic players and not to be perceived as or put in a position of having to make a choice between one of the other, especially in regard to China. To do otherwise is to further complicate an already complicated set of dynamics within ASEAN whose existing gaps are beyond the developmental. To do otherwise is to undermine the building of an East Asia Community where ASEAN's role as interlocutor between and among the major regional powers is likely to remain important, at least until the medium term. In this regard, however, Japan needs to be more forthcoming in signaling to ASEAN that the grouping needs to be more effective and capable

to remain at the center of regionalism in this part of the world.

For its part, ASEAN needs to enhance its coherence in its partnership with Japan. This would be conducive to a more even implementation of cooperation schemes and hasten regional integration and community building not only within ASEAN, but also in the broader East Asian region. Consistent adherence to its age-old policy of equidistant relations with the region's great powers, particularly Japan and China, as well as sustaining its role as interlocutor for both of these powers would enable ASEAN to hold the center in the building of regional order, and an eventual regional community in East Asia. The latter can be immensely helped by a more empowering ASEAN Charter whose ability to empower ASEAN should be a concern not only of its member states, but also of its partners such as Japan..

## SOEYA Yoshihide

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### *An East Asian Community and Japan-China Relations*

The most important prerequisite for discussions on an East Asian Community is to have a clear perspective of Japan-China relations. A clash between Japan and China over an East Asian Community is an unrealistic “myth.” In fact, Japan-China relations are basically complementary in the actual process of regional integration of East Asia which has been fostering functional cooperation.

It is therefore almost meaningless to argue which of the two countries, Japan and China, is a pioneer of FTA with ASEAN and more proactively addressing it. If we look back at the history, as a matter of fact, it was Japan that was first engaged in FTA. While Japan actively supported China’s entry to WTO in the latter half of 1990s, it started the negotiation of EPA (Economic Partnership Agreement), which is more comprehensive than FTA, with Mexico and Singapore. It also reached an agreement with South Korea to launch a joint study project on the occasion of President KIM Dae-jung’s visit to Japan in 1998.

Looking sideways at such movements, China started to actively propose FTA with ASEAN in 2000 after completing the negotiations over its entry to WTO. At that time, Japan had no feelings of competition against China. Rather, China seems to have been captured by a rivalry against Japan. After the policy speech by Japanese Prime Minister KOIZUMI Junichiro, many Chinese people including scholars and government officials argued in the international society that China was a pioneer of FTA which was followed by Japan.

Such an argument has created a “myth” later, but it does not have any meaning. Japan-ASEAN relations as well as China-ASEAN relations are respectively interdependent, but their economic realities are essentially different. From the viewpoint of ASEAN, the fruits gained from FTA with Japan and the economic benefits brought about from China are complementary rather than competitive.

If there is a competitive aspect in Japan-China relations over the concept of an East Asian Community, it would be a conceptual and ideological competition regarding a desirable vision of future regional order in East Asia. That is a real significance of Prime Minister KOIZUMI’s policy speech in Singapore in January 2002. It is true that this speech has a political aspect in that it was intended to tackle China’s aggressive approach towards FTA with ASEAN. But Japan’s primary aim was to engage itself in an ideological competition, rather than to secure its regional influence, nor to contest for power.

An East Asian regional order which is comfortable for China is quite different from an order which is comfortable for Japan. To calmly consider such difference and bridge the gap between the two is essential for the process of an East Asian community building.

### *Japan's Vision of East Asia: KOIZUMI's speech and East Asia Summit*

With the Asian financial crisis in 1997 as a turning point, the momentum of regional cooperation among East Asian countries has suddenly increased. East Asian Vision Group (EAVG), organized as an expert panel by the proposal of President KIM Dae-Jung of South Korea, referred to a roadmap of the evolution of ASEAN+3 Summit to East Asian Summit as one of the measures to realize an East Asian Community in its report submitted to ASEAN +3 Summit in 2001. East Asia Study Group (EASG), consisting of government officials, in its report submitted to ASEAN +3 Summit in 2002, also proposed to hold an East Asian Summit as one of the longer-term measures to build an East Asian Community in the future.

As a result, at ASEAN +3 Summit in 2004, it was agreed that the first East Asia Summit would be held in Kuala Lumpur in December 2005. Participating countries were not yet determined, but at the informal foreign ministers meeting of ASEAN +3 held in Kyoto in May 2005, the participation of Australia, New Zealand and India was basically agreed on. It was officially approved at the foreign ministers meeting of ASEAN+3 in Vientiane in July 2005.

It was the Japanese government that played a major role in expanding the membership of East Asia Summit beyond that of ASEAN+3. This expansion of participating countries was foreshadowed by the policy speech of Prime Minister KOIZUMI in Singapore in January 2002. In a speech entitled "Japan and ASEAN in East Asia", Prime Minister KOIZUMI proposed to build an "East Asian Community" and presented a vision of East Asia strategy in which China was also included.

The bottom line was that Australia and New Zealand were included as a member of the community. In retrospect, as the implicit background of this vision, there was the possibility that East Asian regional order centering on China could become exclusive. Therefore, instead of that, the vision of open regional order in East Asia was indicated. The role two countries of Oceania were expected to play was a bridge with the United States in the areas of universal values and security.

The stance of the Japanese government which emphasizes East Asia Summit as a major device to promote East Asian cooperation could be summarized in the following three points. 1) Regional cooperation in East Asia, based upon the principle of "open regionalism," welcomes the participation of Australia, New Zealand, and India in East Asian Summit. 2) Functional cooperation in various areas including socio-economic issues, terrorism and piracy should be promoted. 3) Process of East Asian cooperation should be based on such universal values as democracy, human rights as well as global rules such as WTO agreements.

China does not necessarily feel comfortable with this kind of vision of East Asia. The Chinese government has still emphasized the respect of sovereignty and the principle of non-interference. Therefore China has rapidly lost its enthusiasm for East Asia Summit. But this kind of difference between Japan and China is nothing new and has been clearly reflected in their respective policy in East Asia.

Anyway, the process of an East Asia community building should be considered from a long term perspective. Japan should take a lead both regionally and globally in constructive discussions about a desirable regional order in East Asia by explicitly promoting its vision of East Asia from a long term perspective.

*Japan-ASEAN relations: a truly equal partnership*

In doing so, it is important that Japan should reaffirm that ASEAN is a truly equal partner for Japan, not as a mere slogan. Since the end of World War II, Japan has never had a geopolitical ambition towards Southeast Asia nor shown interest in balance of power diplomacy. Japan has promoted the economic development and the regional integration of Southeast Asia mainly through its development strategy. In post-Cold War era, Japan has endeavored to open a new frontier of human security.

Of course, in the process of building an East Asian Community, geopolitical factors cannot be neglected. But, as US-China relations were the key in this respect, Japan is not a player on an equal basis. Japan and ASEAN are located between US-China strategic relations. In this sense, Japan and ASEAN should share common perception and pursue common agenda from an equal perspective.

Japan and ASEAN both agreed that a certain degree of US presence in East Asia should serve as a stabilizing factor in the region. At the same time, they agree that US-China confrontation in East Asia is not desirable. Japan and ASEAN should have close consultation over desirable roles of the United States and China in East Asia and give in unison a friendly advice to both countries when necessary. Also, in the field of functional cooperation, Japan and ASEAN should share the same understanding of its meaning for the stability and the development of East Asia and have already achieved it to some extent.

An East Asian Community should not be seen from the viewpoint of whether it can be immediately realized. It is important for us to envision a desirable regional order in East Asia as a goal. In this sense, the concept of an East Asian Community is a vision which can be referred to when we think about immediate policy measures through deductive back-calculation. An East Asian Community as terminus ad quem should go beyond an economic community and encompass the possibility of a political and security community.

Given this perspective, we can realize the importance of close consultation between Japan and ASEAN on an equal basis over principles of desirable regional order in East Asia. In addition, we should promote functional cooperation on the axis of Japan-ASEAN cooperation, and develop it into an important infrastructure for regional order in East Asia. In doing so, human security has a huge potential as a basic concept to support Japan-ASEAN cooperation.

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## *Session II : “Japan-ASEAN Cooperation for Sustainable Development”*

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### 1. Background

This paper aims to discuss Japan-ASEAN cooperation from three areas, i.e., globalization, global warming, and human security. Because these three issues are closely interrelated, we need to strengthen mutual collaborations.

First, the rapid globalization has contributed to the internationalization of capital flows and supply chain within the region, thereby maintaining the economic growth. On the other hand, it has also escalated to the high competition for human resources who have a strong technical and financial background. The shortage of human resources might limit growth potential of a company.

Second, on the issue of global warming, we need a framework under which technology transfer could be accelerated towards low carbon societies.

Third, regarding human security, we are faced with the challenge of how to deal with the problems which are threatening people’s life, including the increase of diseases caused by industrialization, water shortage and natural disasters.

Therefore, now it is timing to propose a common agenda for the Asian region, regardless of cities and nationalities to realize a sustainable society.

### 2. Concrete Approaches for Policy-Making levels

#### 1) Reorganization of economic and social indicators

For a good portion of the 20th century there was an implicit assumption that economic growth was synonymous with progress: an assumption that a growing Gross Domestic Products (GDP) meant life must be getting better. But now the world recognizes that it wasn’t quite as simple as that. Increased income has come at the expense of increased insecurity, longer working hours and greater complexity in our lives.

Indicators are instruments that summarize information that is relevant to a particular phenomenon. Hundreds of initiatives already exist that aim to understand and measure progress. These initiatives are being undertaken across the globe and in every sector of society, including national and local governments, international agencies, statistical agencies, etc.

Example, the OECD statistical committee has already started the Forum on Measuring of the progress of the societies, which is to be held on a 23-24 March, 2009 at Kyoto University. Some indicators are extracted from fields, such as high education, environment, energy and public health as well as the composite indicators.

#### (2) The networking of higher education and new scholarship (Asian Network University)

As a cooperation framework in this area, we need to give top priority to human resource development, including an open advanced education, acceptance of foreign students, credit transfer system, and the expansion of internship.

Seen from creating Asian identity and promoting mutual understanding, It is not wise to wait the speed of university reform lead by national policies. It is imperative to introduce a new education system which aims at creating a common sense for problem solving at the Asian regional level. It is not the continuation of international exchange program of students but the knowledge sharing education.

For this reason, a double degree should be accepted by collaborative universities, between Japan and ASEAN countries. This will accelerate a training of the talented people who can respond to the issues relative to Asian businesses.

### (3) Acceleration of technology transfer and Asian Sustainability Certificate

The government of each country does research and development for energy efficiency and eco-production. This is related to direct subsidies or to incentive systems. Although those technologies are usually put into application by the private enterprises, an international market can't make full use for those benefits to resolve environmental problems of ASEAN countries as such energy-saving technologies which is fully developed in Japan. How about advancing cooperation to develop the transfer scheme of such technology?

Although the scheme is already developed by ESCAP (the United Nations and the economic social committee/APCTT)<sup>1</sup>, it is necessary to develop support a road map which makes technology transfer accelerate to make linkage with new certification system such as Asian Sustainability Certificate(see below).

### (4) Future CO2 emission trading market and the international accreditation systems,

Although the emission-trading market is expanded in Europe, Asian nations have taken the form of participation through the CDM. Although the number of the CDM is increasing, impacts are limited because of complexity of technical procedures.

It is said that environmentally sound technology of Japan is a high level. But regrettably, it is not evaluated enough and not implemented enough in the ASEAN market. The wisdom of Japanese experts is not utilized either. Therefore, to establish the evaluation system of best practices of reduction of CO2 and an accreditation system Asian Sustainability Certificate is important.

### (5) International cooperation towards creating wellness industries

In ASEAN countries, aging is progressing and needs more social welfare services. Thereby, it is predicted that there will be increasing population who receive service abroad regardless of the health insurance of its own country

The delay of the approval of advanced medicine in some countries like Japanese cases will also accelerate more services in foreign countries.

In this line, the training of human resources to compensate shortage of the welfare services has also started across the border. Therefore, the framework of research of service and of the shared structure of medical data is required.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.apctt.org/index.html> Business cooperation of 20 or more nations in the world.

Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Nepal, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Qatar, Russia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, the United Arab Emirates, Britain

## **Hank LIM**

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The Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation was announced on 20 November 2008 in Singapore by Heads of Government on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ASEAN Plus Three cooperation. It is for the first time that ASEAN + 3 member countries accorded their priority and policy focus on the issue of energy, environment, climate change and sustainable development in a comprehensive manner. The Joint Statement deals not only with the broad subject but went further to the issues of implementation. This includes measures to enhance international and regional cooperation to combat trans-boundary environmental pollution, including haze pollution, through among other things, capacity building, enhancing public awareness, strengthening law enforcement, promoting environmental sustainable practices. It also reaffirms that the ASEAN Plus Three would remain as the main vehicle towards the long-term goal of building an East Asian Community as ASEAN is the driving force.

Arising from the Second Joint Statement, ASEAN Plus Three governments strongly agreed to take an effective approach on energy, environment, climate change and sustainable development cooperation and the interrelated issues of climate change, energy security and the environment. On energy security, particular emphasis should be made on improving energy efficiency, diversification of energy supply and the development of new and renewable sources of energy. On food security, the Joint Statement stressed the importance of regional and international efforts to ensure the efficient functioning of market forces as well as to come up with longer term agricultural solutions such as to minimize price-distorting export subsidies and other protectionist policies and to provide market access to competitive food exports. On sustainable development cooperation, policy measures should be focused on mitigation of and adaptation to climate change, as well as compatibility between environmental protection and sustained economic growth and social development. In this context, social-cultural and development cooperation are important collective policy objectives of sustainable development towards increasing efforts in eradicating poverty and achieving the Millennium Development Goals in East Asia, narrowing development gap through supporting the Vientiane Action Programme and Initiative for ASEAN Integration. Sustainable development requires not only concrete regional efforts on energy and food security but equally needs to enhance cultural cooperation, education collaboration, deepening mutual understanding and forging a sense of an East Asian identity and consciousness, people to people exchanges, addressing social issues such as gender, children, prevention of infectious diseases and natural disaster risk reduction and encouraging policy consultation and coordination with NGOs to foster civic participation and state-civil society partnerships in addressing social problems.

To achieve those objectives, ASEAN Plus Three governments have agreed to establish an ASEAN Plus Three Cooperation Fund and to strengthen the ASEAN Plus Three Unit of the ASEAN Secretariat and enhance cooperation projects through rationalization and pursuing synergy. The purpose of the Second Joint Statement will be realized through the implementation of concrete priority activities and flagship projects through relevant sectoral bodies and incorporate them in their respective programs and plans of action.

Japan as the most developed economy in the region has a special role to play and contribute towards achieving the Second Joint Statement objectives. Since the inception of the First Joint Statement on East Asia

Cooperation in 1999, Japan has implemented its commitments to regional cooperation. In this context, as part of its support for ASEAN integration, Japan has extended assistance to 24 Initiative for ASEAN Initiative projects covering human resource development in the areas of energy, transportation, vocational training, industrial relations, environmental protection, irrigation system management and management program for senior officials of CLMV countries. As part of ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit in 2006, Japan had achieved its three-year target to provide assistance totaling over USD1.5 billion for the Mekong Region Development. Japan has also extended continued assistance to BIMP-EAGA member countries in developing the East ASEAN Growth Area in 2006.

In the area of environmental education, Japan organized the Third Dialogue on Environmental Education under the Asian Cooperation Dialogue in June 2006 in Sendai to promote the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development in the region, in recognition of the importance of Japan-ASEAN cooperation for the early realization of UN reform for the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD). Japan and ASEAN countries re-affirmed the importance of setting goals and formulating actions plans to improve energy efficiency by 2009 under the Cebu Declaration on East Asian Energy Security and the Singapore Declaration on Climate Change, Energy and Environment. At the G8 Hokkaido Toyako Summit in July 2008, Japan, as the Host country, has taken strong initiatives in establishing an effective future framework in which all major economies, including the United States, China and India participate in a more responsible manner, and re-affirmed the importance of promoting co-benefits approach which addresses domestic environmental pollution and climate change simultaneously.

Japan is the most energy efficient country in the world, as measured in terms of its GNP: energy use ratio. As a major partner, donor and investor in the ASEAN economies, there is much scope and depth that Japan can do to foster energy efficiency in East Asia. As Japan is a high technology country that has a strong tradition in research and engineering, it is well positioned to support ASEAN in the search for innovative technologies that can be test-bedded. In this respect, Japan's commitment to provide USD2 billion at the East Asia Summit in January 2007 (Cebu Declaration) in aid to Asian countries to help improve energy efficiency and to adopt clean technologies that would reduce greenhouse gases is a strong case in point.

Sustainable development is complex and interrelated issue that can be best approached and tackled globally and regionally but supported by strong and long-term commitment by individual country. Every country has a share to play, and major countries are expected to lead by example and by assisting developing countries in transferring clean and sustainable technology and in building institutional capabilities. Over the years through various comprehensive sustainable development programs, Japan has worked closely with ASEAN countries to promote sustainable regional development in ASEAN and in East Asia through the infusion of both ODA and private sector involvement.

It is expected that ASEAN should take full advantage of the assistance and technology transfer extended by Japan. This is consistent with the ASEAN Community objective to achieve economic integration through competitive region, narrowing development gap and sustainable development as spelled out in the Second Joint Statement on East Asia cooperation based on the framework of "One ASEAN at the Heart of Dynamic Asia"\*

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\* Joint Communique of the 41<sup>st</sup> ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, Singapore, 21 July 2008

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*Session III: "Japan-ASEAN Cooperation for  
Political and Security Partnership"*

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**STRENGTHENING ASEAN-JAPAN SECURITY COOPERATION**

1. The year of 2008 is really a special year for ASEAN-Japan relations. It is on this year that ASEAN and Japan celebrate the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of cooperation. This year, Japan's relations with the largest Southeast Asian nation, Indonesia, entered its 50<sup>th</sup> year of uninterrupted cooperation. And, this year will also mark the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit which took place in December 2003 in Tokyo.
2. The Commemorative Summit was an important milestone for ASEAN-Japan relations. It was during the summit that the "Tokyo Declaration for the Dynamic and Enduring Japan-ASEAN Partnership in the New Millennium" and the Japan-ASEAN Plan of Action were unveiled, providing the basis for future cooperation encompassing economic, political, and security areas. If we look at official reports on the progress in the implementation of the Plan of Action, there has been a proliferation of activities that suggests the Action Plan is indeed being implemented.
3. In various diplomatic pronouncements, particularly on the occasion of ASEAN-Japan annual summit in an ASEAN capital, leaders of ASEAN and Japan also repeatedly emphasise their optimism that ASEAN-Japan cooperation would continue to strive and expand, and the relationship would continue to be strong. During the 11<sup>th</sup> ASEAN-Japan Summit in Singapore in November 2007, ASEAN and Japanese leaders "reiterated the importance of the longstanding friendship between ASEAN and Japan, and reaffirmed the importance of the ASEAN-Japan strategic partnership which has contributed to peace, stability and prosperity in the region and the world."
4. Indeed, there is no doubt that Japan is important to ASEAN as much as ASEAN to Japan. Japan, for example, is the most important contributor to ASEAN's economic development and prosperity in the past four decades. Japan still allocates around 30 percent of its Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Southeast Asia. Japan is still an important leading export market and leading source of imports for ASEAN. More importantly, Japan remains the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest trading partner for ASEAN. In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that ASEAN's relationship with Japan has been the closest and deepest in ASEAN's external relations with any regional and global partner.

5. Such achievement, however, should not be taken for granted. It needs to be expanded. The ASEAN-Japan strategic partnership embodied in the Tokyo Declaration suggests that the relationship is no longer confined to social-cultural and economic cooperation alone, but it has also included the long-overdue political and security cooperation. Indeed, within the fast changing regional and global politics in the post-911 world, political-security cooperation can no longer be regarded as a secondary priority. In fact, political-security cooperation should serve as the foundation for a sustained economic cooperation.
6. For ASEAN and Japan, then, the question is how such close security cooperation should be promoted, and under what circumstances the imperative of promoting ASEAN-Japan security cooperation could lose its momentum.
7. The foundation for political and security cooperation is indeed solid. Last year, in this Forum, I argued that ASEAN and Japan shared at least six common security interests, and this could serve as the framework for cooperation in the years ahead between the two sides.
8. First, ASEAN and Japan share common interests in addressing various threats to human security, especially the problems of infectious diseases, natural disaster, food crisis, and poverty.
9. Second, common interests also exist regarding the imperatives of creating non-proliferation regime and eradicating WMD in the region.
10. Third, Japan and ASEAN need to address non-traditional security challenges, especially maritime security, terrorism, environmental problems, human trafficking, energy security, and conflict prevention and post-conflict peace building.
11. Fourth, ASEAN and Japan share common interests in ensuring that the “power shift” taking place among major powers –involving China, Japan, India, and the US—would not be detrimental to stability and security of East Asia, but should contribute to the emergence of a more stable and predictable regional order in East Asia.
12. Fifth, related to the fourth, it is in the interest of both ASEAN and Japan to ensure that the rise of China will continue to be peaceful even after China has arisen as a great power.
13. Sixth, some ASEAN countries do share common interests with Japan in promoting democracy and human rights.
14. The implementation of cooperation in the six areas mentioned above could not be carried out within a single overarching framework. ASEAN is not a single entity. In fact, ASEAN is once again at the cross-road. It is still debating which direction it should be heading, and it is not even sure how the much-celebrated “ASEAN Community” ideal could be attained by 2015. Even more importantly, member states have both common and diverging interests when it comes to political and security matters.

15. Understanding the problems and challenges facing ASEAN is crucial for Japan if it seeks to strengthen political-security cooperation with the Association within a single, coherent, and institutional cooperative framework. Therefore, in order to be effective, it is imperative for Japan to undertake a multi-level strategy that encompass bilateral, regional, and even global arrangements in its relations with either ASEAN as an institution or with its individual member states.
16. So far, Japan's security role in Southeast Asia has been welcome by regional states. Over the past ten years has been playing an important role both as a promoter of human security and as a "peace-maker" in the region. For example, Japan has always been at the forefront in alleviating poverty in Southeast Asian countries; a commitment which significantly reduces the causes of conflict in the society. Japan has also been quick and committed in providing financial and medical support to combat infectious diseases in the region, such as in the case of SARS outbreak. Japan has also been involved significantly in peace-building efforts in East Timor, Aceh and Mindanao, and in peace-making in Cambodia and Aceh. The important role Japan is playing in this peace-making and peace-building areas should increase with Japan's role in the Peace-Building Commission (PBC) of the UN.
17. Japan's role beyond human security is particularly welcome in areas such as maritime security, food crisis, trans-national crimes, and energy security. Japan's assistance to improve the capacity of littoral states in Malacca Straits, for example, is crucial for ensuring the security and safety of this important sea lane. Japan and ASEAN have also stepped up their efforts to combat trans-national crimes. Both sides have also pledged to increase their cooperation in addressing global issues such as energy security, climate change and food crisis.
18. The problem, however, lies in the strategic context within which future cooperation between ASEAN and Japan would be carried out. In this regard, ASEAN-Japan relations should take into account (a) the changing regional perceptions of Japan in Southeast Asia within the context of major power realignments; and (b) the feasibility of regional community-building in East Asia; and (c) the prospects for the emergence of a new regional architecture in the wider Asia-Pacific.
19. On the perceptions of Japan in the region, it is discernable in Southeast Asia that Japan is now increasingly perceived as a stagnating power or a power in decline, playing catch-up to China, and reactive and defensive in its approach and policies towards Southeast Asia.<sup>1</sup> This emerging image of Japan clearly does not bode well if we want to build a sustainable, deep-rooted, and everlasting security cooperation between Japan and Southeast Asian countries. Japan needs to correct this perceptions if it wants its long-term security relationship with Southeast Asia guaranteed.
20. Japan and ASEAN need also to start rethinking how the regional community-building process in East Asia could be made more effective. At the moment, it seems that the three major powers in the region put different emphasis on different institution in East Asia: the US apparently still focuses

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<sup>1</sup> Talk by Rodolfo Severino, "ASEAN and Japan: Towards A New Relationship," at the Joint International Forum hosted by the Japan Institute of International Affairs and Ishikawa Prefecture, Yanazawa, Japan, 8 March 2008.

on APEC, China on the APT, and Japan on the EAS. Diverging views, priorities, and attitudes towards regional institutions need to be sorted out if we are to move the process of East Asia community-building into the next stage.

21. Japan and ASEAN need also to begin serious debate regarding how the Asia-Pacific regional architecture should be constituted in the future. The Kevin Rudd's proposal for an Asia-Pacific community could serve as a starting point in this regard.

## **OGASAWARA Takayuki**

**Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University**

1 If we compare the Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation with the First Joint Statement, we can find that some progress has been made in political and security fields. Among them, the following three points are worthy to be noticed. First of all, the Second Joint Statement has put emphasis on the fact that East Asian cooperation takes “open, transparent and inclusive” process. Secondly, it has stipulated that East Asian cooperation supports “internationally shared values” including democracy. Lastly, various goals for political and security cooperation for the next decade are listed in the Work Plan.

2 While the wide-ranging goals are listed in the Work Plan, the following three are of special importance. First, ASEAN Plus Three process should be emphasized as the framework for building mutual understanding, confidence and solidarity, and ASEAN Regional Forum (APF) should be also utilized for regional peace and stability. Next, large space of the statement was devoted to non-traditional security issues including counter-terrorism and maritime cooperation which are important tasks for East Asian cooperation. Finally, the Work Plan has referred to the enhancement of cooperation in disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the effective export control for that purpose.

3 The above-mentioned issues are crucial for the future of East Asian cooperation. It is because East Asian cooperation can be thought as effective and feasible only when it can be a relevant framework in political and security fields. At the same time, however, we have to recognize the fact that various goals set in the Work Plan constitute a part of security issues. The goals listed in the Work Plan are mainly related to conflict prevention. Although there is no doubt that conflict prevention is important, it alone cannot be a sufficient condition of security. I would like to consider two things.

4 First, it is two big powers, the U.S. and China, that decide the power balance in East Asia. Large uncertainty has existed surrounding the future prospect of China. It is difficult to predict if China would become a great power which can increase its influence in East Asia or if China would become an unstable region with internal confusions. In the latter case, we need to minimize the impact of destabilization. The development of Greater Mekong Subregion and the strengthening of ASEAN integration are also beneficial in that context. On the other hand, it is necessary for us to assume the former case too. However, it is difficult to predict various impacts of the rise of China in the region. Large uncertainty has also existed there.

5 Both Japan and ASEAN countries hope that the rise of China could be peaceful. However, it is not the peace under the “Pax-Sinica” that Japan and ASEAN countries are seeking. China has been prudent to use its military forces externally and is expected to continue such behaviour. I think that such a pattern of behaviour is based on a Chinese traditional political philosophy of “to prevail without fighting.”

6 How to deal with the rise of China is not limited to one approach. For the past 30 years, Japan has made economic assistance to China and also made efforts to take China into a network of international interdependence. Regional cooperation mainly driven by ASEAN has also contributed to the stability between China and neighbouring countries. However, these do not change the fact that it is the U.S. and China that determine the balance of power in East Asia.

7 The unilateralism of the U.S., especially after 9.11, has certainly worsened the image of the U.S. in the global community. However, as the physical existence of the U.S. is far from East Asia, it is quite natural that there is a limit on the influence of the U.S. in East Asia. Because of the fact that the U.S. is a global power, the U.S. cannot focus only on East Asia. The current situation of North Korea issue is an evidence of that. Although the Taiwan issue is still complex, the possibility of decisive confrontation between the U.S. and China is reduced. There was an argument several years ago that Japan-U.S. alliance and East Asian cooperation would not be compatible. But, Japan-China relationship has dramatically improved without any contradiction with Japan-U.S. alliance in the last one or two years.

8 Now Japan has its national interests all over the world. Therefore most of the Japanese are not interested in regional hegemony of East Asia. However, at the same time, they hope to avoid the emergence of vertical order in which China is positioned at the top. They also hope that ASEAN countries support such an idea.

9 Second, East Asia cannot address conflicts in the region by itself. East Asia countries do not need to be ashamed of it at all. In Europe, EU and NATO coexist and supplement each other. However, what should be noted here is the fact that EU has recently taken an active role in peace-keeping operations in the region and brought it into shape in some cases. This has increased the effectiveness and the presence of EU as a regional community.

10 Will the day come when East Asia countries can actively engage themselves in peace-keeping operations in the region? It is difficult to be optimistic about this question. Although it is seemingly natural that neighbouring countries play a central role in peace-keeping operations in regional conflicts, it is not always the case. Rather there are many opposite examples. In addition, while a non-military section or organization has an important role in peace-keeping operations, the participation of military forces is also indispensable in many cases. Appropriate enforcement measures need to be taken against a group which violently disturb peace-keeping operations.

11 The conflict in Georgia, which happened in the middle of the Beijing Olympic Games, has been throwing a gloomy shadow over the international society. There are some causes of such a dismal situation, which include an obvious violation by Russia of Georgia's national sovereignty, the escalation of conflict by Russia at the time when the U.S. has to devote its energy into other areas, Russian's behaviour of taking advantage of international common anxiety over energy security. In addition to these elements, what has made the Georgian conflict gloomier is the fact that Russia occupied a part of Georgian territories under the name of peace-keeping operations.

12 It is obvious that East Asia countries should not pursue prematurely the idea of peace-keeping operations within the region. However, at the same time, we should have as a long-term goal the

possibility that East Asian countries will cooperate in peace-keeping operations in small conflicts under the condition of agreement of the party. Before we go any further, it might be practical that as many East Asian countries as possible participate in peace-keeping operations by the United Nations in the region, thereby accumulating common experiences. In addition, if peace-keeping operations can be done within the ASEAN Security Community (ASC) which will be formed in 2015, it could be a good precedent for East Asia.

13 In any case, mutual understanding and trust among East Asian countries is the goal of political and security cooperation as well as its premise. Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation has provided us with the foundation of political and security cooperation. Japan-ASEAN partnership can play an important role in advancing this process. The starting point has been already provided by Tokyo Declaration in 2003, and various efforts to implement Plan of Action are under way.

14 ASEAN countries should not doubt the intention of Japan that it will advance East Asian cooperation by emphasizing the partnership with ASEAN. In the Japanese foreign policy, Japan-U.S. relationship, Japan-China relationship, and Japan-ASEAN relationship are mutually interrelated. Japan is one of the pioneers in the partnership with ASEAN and has always supported many decisions which were the turning points of ASEAN. It is clear that it is impossible to promote East Asian cooperation without the improvement of Japan-China relationship. Japanese efforts to increase its role in the area of security could contribute to increasing the influence of Japan towards the U.S. Japan-ASEAN partnership is a precious asset for Japan and we can further strengthen it from now on.

# 4 . An Introduction to The Global Forum of Japan

## ( 1 ) Introduction

**【Objectives】** As we embrace the 21st century, international relations are becoming increasingly interdependent, and globalization and regionalism are becoming the big waves. In this global tendency, communicating with the world, especially neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region at both governmental and non-governmental level, is one of the indispensable conditions for Japan to survive. 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 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 DAVIGNON, 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 Chairman and ITO Kenichi as President. The membership is composed of 12 Business Leader Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 86 Opinion Leader Members including the four Governors, ITO Kenichi, MURAKAMI Masayasu, OKAWARA Yoshio, and SHIMADA Haruo; and 21 Diet Members including the three Governors, KOIKE Yuriko, HATOYAMA Yukio, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu. Friends and supporters of The Global Forum of the Japan are organized into the Supporters' Club of the Global Forum of Japan. Financially the activities of GFJ have been supported by the annual membership fees paid by 12 leading Japanese business corporations (with 2 corporations, Toyota Motor Corporation and Kikkoman Corporation contributing 5 shares each and the other 10 corporations contributing 1 share each) as well as by the grants provided by The Japan Foundation, Japan-ASEAN Exchange Projects, The Tokyo Club, The Japan-Korea Cultural Foundation, etc. WATANABE Mayu serves as Executive Secretary.

**【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, Australia, European countries, and 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 last five years is given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2004	July	A Roadmap towards East Asian Community	ASEAN-ISIS
	September	Future Prospect of East Asian Community and Japan-China Relationship	China Association for International Friendly Contact (China)
	November	Future of Korean Peninsula and Japan-U.S.-Korea Security Cooperation	The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, The Fletcher School (US), Yonsei University (Korea)
2005	April	The Prospect of East Asian Community and Japan-Korea Cooperation	Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative (Korea)
	November	The Prospect for East Asian Community and Regional Cooperation Peace and Prosperity in the Wider Black Sea Area and the Role of Japan	ASEAN-ISIS University of Shizuoka, The Black Sea University Foundation (Romania), The International Center for Black Sea Studies (Turkey)
2006	February	Review and Perspective of the Japan-Taiwan Relationship	Taiwan International Studies Association (Taiwan)
	June September	An East Asian Community and the United States Prospect for Japan-ASEAN Strategic Partnership after the First East Asia Summit	The Pacific Forum CSIS (US), The Council on East Asian Community ASEAN-ISIS
2007	January	The China-Japan Relationship and Energy and Environmental Issues	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China), Energy Research Institute, National Development and Reform Commission (China), The Japan Forum on International Relations
	June	The US-Japan Alliance in the 21st Century	National Committee on American Foreign Policy (US)
	July November	The Challenges Facing Japan and ASEAN in the New Era Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World	ASEAN-ISIS Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), Embassy of Turkey, University of Shizuoka
2008	January	An East Asian Community and the US	The Council on East Asia Community, The Pacific Forum CSIS (US)
	June	Cooperation in Environment and Energy	The Council on East Asian Community , The East Asian Institute of National University of Singapore(Singapore)
	July	Japan -China Relations Entering A New Stage	Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China)
	September	Prospect of Japan-ASEAN Partnership after the Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation	ASEAN-ISIS

## ( 2 ) Membership List of The Global Forum of Japan

As of Sep 2, 2008

In alphabetical order

### 【Chairman】

OKAWARA Yoshio, President, Institute for International Policy Studies

### 【President】

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

### 【Executive Governor】

MURAKAMI Masayasu, Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

### 【Business Leader Governors】

MOGI Yuzaburo, Chairman and CEO, Kikkoman Corporation

TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation

### 【Diet Member Governors】

HATOYAMA Yukio, Member of the House of Representatives (DPJ)

KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP)

TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP)

### 【Opinion Leader Governors】

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc.

MURAKAMI Masayasu, Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

OKAWARA Yoshio, President, Institute for International Policy Studies

SHIMADA Haruo, President, Chiba University of Commerce

### 【Business Leader Members】 (12 Members)

IMAI Takashi, Honorary Chairman, Nippon Steel Corporation

ISHIKAWA Hiroshi, Director, Kajima Corporation

KATSUMATA Tsunehisa, President, Tokyo Electric Power Company

KOBAYASHI Yotaro, Chief Corporate Advisor, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.

KUSAKARI Takao, Chairman, Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha

MATSUNO Haruki, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation

MOGI Yuzaburo, Chairman and CEO, Kikkoman Corporation

OKAYAMA Norio, Chairman, Sumitomo Electric Industries, Ltd.

SEYA Hiromichi, Senior Corporate Adviser, Asahi Glass Co., Ltd.

TAKAGAKI Tasuku, Senior Advisor, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.

YAGUCHI Toshikazu, President, Biru Daiko Co., Ltd.

TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation

(T B D), Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation

### 【Diet Member Members】 (21 Members)

AICHI Kazuo, Member of the House of Representatives (LDP)

HATOYAMA Yukio, M.H.R. (DPJ)

HOSODA Hiroyuki, M.H.R. (LDP)

IWAKUNI Tetsundo, M.H.R. (DPJ)

KITAGAMI Keiro, M.H.R. (DPJ)

KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP)

NAGASHIMA Akihisa, M.H.R. (DPJ)

NAKAGAWA Masaharu, M.H.R. (DPJ)

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SHIOZAKI Yasuhisa, M.H.R. (LDP)

SUZUKI Keisuke, M.H.R. (LDP)

TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP)

UEDA Isamu, M.H.R. (NK)

YAMAGUCHI Tsuyosi, M.H.R. (DPJ)

YAMANAKA Akiko, M.H.R. (LDP)

ASAO Keiichiro, Member of the House of Councillors (DPJ)

FUJITA Yukihisa, M.H.C. (DPJ)

HAYASHI Yoshimasa, M.H.C. (LDP)

HIRONAKA Wakako, M.H.C. (DPJ)

NAITO Masamitsu, M.H.C. (DPJ)

SEKOU Hironari, M.H.C. (LDP)

### 【Opinion Leader Members】 (86 Members)

AKASHI Yasushi, Chairman, The Japan Center for Conflict Prevention

AOKI Tamotsu, Commissioner, Agency for Cultural Affairs

AMAKO Satoshi, Professor, Waseda University

ASOMURA Kuniaki, Professor, North Asia University

CHINO Keiko, Columnist, The Sankei Shimbun

EBATA Kensuke, Defense Commentator

FUKUSHIMA Teruhiko, J.F. Oberlin University

GYOHTEN Toyoo, President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs

HAKAMADA Shigeki, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University

HARUNA Mikio, Professor, Graduate School of Nagoya University

HASEGAWA Kazutoshi, Deputy Chairman, Japan-Korea Cooperation Committee

HATA Kei, Vice Principal, Sakushin Gakuin

HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Councilor, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc.

HIRONO Ryokichi, Professor Emeritus, Seikei University

HONDA Masaru, Senior Staff Writer Political News Department, The Asahi Shimbun

ICHIKAWA Isao, Executive Advisor for Financial Affairs, Keio University

IKEO Aiko, Professor, Waseda University

IMAGAWA Yukio, Former Ambassador to Cambodia

INA Hisayoshi, Columnist, The Nikkei Newspaper

INOUCHI Takashi, Professor, The University of Tokyo

IOKIBE Makoto, President, The National Defense Academy of Japan

ITO Eisei, Advisor, Toyota Auto Body Co., Ltd.

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc.

ITO Tsuyoshi, Professor, Meiji University

IWAMA Yoko, Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

IZUMI Hajime, Professor, University of Shizuoka

JIMBO Ken, Associate Professor, Keio University

KAKIZAWA Koji, former Minister of Foreign Affairs

KAMIYA Mataka, Professor, National Defense Academy

KANEKO Kumao, President, Japan Council for Economic Research

KAWAI Masao, Guest Professor, Hakuo University

KIMURA Takayuki, Guest Professor, International Christian University

KINOSHITA Hiroo, Advisor, National Small Business & Information Promotion Center

KOGURE Masayoshi, former Professor, Toyo University

KOKUBUN Ryosei, Professor, Keio University

KONDO Tetsuo, President, Institute for New Era Strategy (INES)

KUBO Fumiaki, Professor, Keio University

MANO Teruhiko, Professor under special assignment, Seigakuin University

MATSUMOTO Kenichi, Professor, Reitaku University

MIYAMOTO Nobuo, Diplomatic Commentator

MIYAZAKI Isamu, Honorary Advisor, Daiwa Institute of Research

MIYOSHI Masaya, Chairman and CEO, Miyoshi Networks Co., Ltd.

MORI Toshimitsu, Advisor, The Michinoku Bank, Ltd.

MORIMOTO Satoshi, Professor, Takushoku University

MURAKAMI Masayasu, Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

MURATA Koji, Professor, Doshisha University

MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Professor, The University of Shizuoka

NAKAGANE Katsuji, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University

NAKAHARA Nobuyuki, President, The American Studies Foundation

NAKANISHI Terumasa, Professor, Kyoto University

NAKOSHI Kenro, Foreign News Editor, Jiji Press

NISHIKAWA Megumi, Foreign News Editor, Mainichi Newspapers

OGASAWARA Takayuki, Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University

OKAWARA Yoshio, President, Institute for International Policy Studies

OKONOGI Masao, Professor, Keio University

ONUMA Yasuaki, Professor, The University of Tokyo

OHYA Eiko, Journalist

RYU Ketsu, Professor, Waseda University,

SAITO Akira, President, Yomiuri Nippon Symphony Orchestra Tokyo

SAKAKIBARA Eisuke, Professor, Waseda University

SAKAMOTO Masahiro, Vice-president, Japan Forum for Strategic Studies

SAJIMA Naoko, Professor, Senshu University

SHIMADA Haruo, President, Chiba University of Commerce

SHIMIZU Yoshikazu, Director, U.N. Association of Japan

SHIRAIISHI Takashi, Vice President, The National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

SOEYA Yoshihide, Professor, Keio University

SONE Yasunori, Professor, Keio University

SUDO Shigeru, Director of Energy and Environment Program, International Development Center of Japan

TAHARA Soichiro, Journalist

TAIDA Hideya, Member of the board of trustees, Akita International University

TAJIMA Takashi, Guest Professor, Toyo Eiwa Women's University

TAKAHARA Akio, Professor, the University of Tokyo

TAKAHASHI Kazuo, Guest Professor, International Christian University

TAKASHIMA Hatsuhisa, Councilor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TAKEUCHI Yukio, Honorary Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

TAKEMI Keizo, Professor, Tokai University

TAKUBO Tadae, Guest Professor, Kyorin University

TANAKA Akihiko, Professor, The University of Tokyo

TANAKA Toshiro, Professor, Keio University

TANINO Sakutarō, former Ambassador to China

URATA Shujiro, Professor, Waseda University

UTSUMI Yoshio, Honorary Advisor, TOYOTA InfoTechnology Center Co., LTD.

YAMAUCHI Masayuki, Professor, The University of Tokyo

YAMAZAWA Ippai, Professor Emeritus, Hitotsubashi University

YOSHITOMI Masaru, Special Advisor, Research Institute of Economy, Trade & Industry

YUSHITA Hiroyuki, Guest Professor, Kyorin University

### 【Supporters' Club Members】 (18 Members)

### 【Executive Secretary】

WATANABE Mayu

[Note] DPJ: Democratic Party of Japan  
LDP: Liberal Democratic Party  
NK: New Komeito

### (3) Acknowledgment

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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### [GFJ Governors] [5 share]

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Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation

Asahi Glass Co. Ltd.

The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.

Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation

Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd

Biru Daiko Co., Ltd.

(In the order of enlistment)

## **5. An Introduction to ASEAN-ISIS**

The ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) is a loose association of institutes in the region that aims at strengthening regional cooperation through joint studies and seminars.

The group has established a series of meetings that have become a major venue for exchanges of ideas, not only amongst Southeast Asians but also with experts and government officials from other parts of the world.

ASEAN-ISIS also organizes regular bilateral seminars with counterpart institutions in China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, India and Europe. Southeast Asia Regional Program sponsored by The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has provided financial support to promote these activities.

ASEAN-ISIS was founded in 1988, comprised of following institutes: The Centre of Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Indonesia; The Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia; Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Philippines; Singapore Institute of International Affairs (SIIA), Singapore; and Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS), Thailand.

ASEAN-ISIS has now nine member institutions: CSIS, Indonesia; ISIS, Malaysia; ISDS, Philippines; SIIA, Singapore; ISIS, Thailand; Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (BDIPSS), Brunei Darussalam; The Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace (CICP), Cambodia; Institute of Foreign Affairs (IFA), Laos; and The Institute for International Relations (IIR), Vietnam.

The network came to the attention of governments through its policy papers, leading to the development of close relations with the ASEAN senior officials meeting (SOM). What is now known as track two or the second track came into being. ASEAN-ISIS has become a model for a number of similar activities.



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