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# The Japan-China Dialogue

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**“The Japan-China Relations at Crossroads”**

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## Conference Papers

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Wednesday, October 26, 2011  
Conference Room, The Japan Forum on International Relations  
Tokyo, Japan

Co-sponsored by  
The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)  
China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)

# Table of Contents

1. Program.....	1
2. Participants' List.....	2
3. Biographies of the Panelists.....	3
4. An Introduction to GFJ.....	5
5. An Introduction to CICIR.....	8

# 1. Program

## 日中対話 The Japan-China Dialogue

### 「岐路に立つ日中関係」

#### "The Japan-China Relations at Crossroads"

2011年10月26日(水) / Oct. 26, 2011

日本国際フォーラム会議室 / Conference Room, The Japan Forum on International Relations

東京、日本 / Tokyo, Japan

共催 / Co-sponsored by

グローバル・フォーラム / The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

中国現代国際関係研究院 / China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)

#### 開幕挨拶/議長 Opening Remarks/Chairperson

9:30-9:40 伊藤 憲一 グローバル・フォーラム執行世話人  
ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ

#### セッション / Session I

9:40-10:45 中国側の見解  
Chinese Perspective

基調報告 (15分間)  
Keynote Speech (15 min.) 胡 継平 中国現代国際関係研究院日本研究所所長  
HU Jiping, Director, Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR

コメントA (5分間)  
Lead Discussant A (5 min.) 川島 真 東京大学准教授  
KAWASHIMA Shin, Associate Professor, the University of Tokyo

コメントB (5分間)  
Lead Discussant B (5 min.) 崔 立如 中国現代国際関係研究院院長  
CUI Liru, President, CICIR

コメントC (5分間)  
Lead Discussant C (5 min.) 山本 秀也 産経新聞東アジア室長  
YAMAMOTO Yideya, Director of East Asia Office, The Sankei Shimbun

コメントD (5分間)  
Lead Discussant D (5 min.) 樊 小菊 中国現代国際関係研究院日本研究所副研究員  
FAN Xiaoju, Associate Research Professor, Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR

自由討議 (30分間)  
Free Discussions (30 min.) 出席者全員  
All Participants

#### セッションII / Session II

10:45-11:50 日本側の見解  
Japanese Perspective

基調報告 (15分間)  
Keynote Speech (15 min.) 天児 慧 早稲田大学教授  
AMAKO Satoshi, Professor, Waseda University

コメントA (5分間)  
Lead Discussant A (5 min.) 袁 鵬 中国現代国際関係研究院院長助理  
YUAN Peng, Assistant to the President, CICIR

コメントB (5分間)  
Lead Discussant B (5 min.) 谷野作太郎 元駐中国大使  
TANINO Sakutarō, former Ambassador to China

コメントC (5分間)  
Lead Discussant C (5 min.) 孫 建紅 中国現代国際関係研究院日本研究所副研究員  
SUN Jianhong, Associate Research Professor, Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR

コメントD (5分間)  
Lead Discussant D (5 min.) 園田 茂人 東京大学教授  
SONODA Shigeto, Professor, the University of Tokyo

自由討議 (30分間)  
Free Discussions (30 min.) 出席者全員  
All Participants

#### 閉幕挨拶 / Closing Remarks

11:50-12:00 崔 立如 中国現代国際関係研究院院長  
CUI Liru, President, CICIR

#### Lawry's The Prime Rib, Tokyo

#### 閉幕昼食会 \*特別招待者のみ / Closing Lunch \* Invitation Only

12:10-13:00 大河原良雄 グローバル・フォーラム代表世話人主催閉幕昼食会  
Closing Lunch hosted by OKAWARA Yoshio, Chairman, GFJ

## 2. Participants' List

### [China Panelists]

CUI Liru	President, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)
YUAN Peng	Assistant to the President, CICIR
HU Jiping	Director, the Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR
QI Baoliang	Head, Division for Korean Peninsula Studies, CICIR
SUN Jianhong	Associate Research Professor, Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR
FAN Xiaoju	Associate Research Professor, Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR

### [Japan Panelists]

AMAKO Satoshi	Professor, Waseda University
ITO Kenichi	President, Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)
KAWASHIMA Shin	Associate Professor, the University of Tokyo
OKAWARA Yoshio	Chairman, GFJ
SONODA Shigeto	Professor, the University of Tokyo
TANINO Sakutarō	former Ambassador to China
YAMAMOTO Hideya	Director, East Asia Office, the Sankei Shimbun

### [Participants]

Baatar	Researcher, Mitsui Global Strategic Studies Institute
FUKIURA Tadamasa	President, Eurasia 21 Research Institute
FURUSAWA Tadahiko	Research Fellow, Eurasia 21 Research Institute
HARA Satoshi	Visiting Professor, Kyoto University of Foreign Studies
HASHIMOTO Hiroshi	former Ambassador to Singapore
HATTORI Kenji	Director, Foreign News Section, Jiji Press
IKEO Aiko	Professor, Waseda University
INOUE Akiyoshi	Advisor, Sanyu Appraisal
KINOSHITA Hiroo	Adviser, National Small Business Information Promotion Center
KOGURE Masayoshi	former Professor, Toyo University
KURODA Makoto	President, Center for Information on Security Trade Control
MANO Teruhiko	former Advisor to the President, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi
NAKAHARA Nobuyuki	Chairman, American Studies Foundation
OGAWA Hajime	Visiting Professor, Edogawa University
SAJIMA Naoko	Professor, Senshu University
SAWAI Hiroyasu	former Commander, Japan Coast Guard Headquarters
TAJIMA Takashi	former Ambassador to Canada
UCHIDA Tomio	President, The Japan-Korea Cultural Foundation

YUSHITA Hiroyuki                    former Ambassador to Philippines

(In Alphabetical Order)

**[The Secretariat of GFJ]**

WATANABE Mayu	Opinion Leader Governor, GFJ
KIKUCHI Yona	Acting Executive Secretary, GFJ
SUZUKI Izumi	Secretarial Staff, GFJ
TAKAHATA Yohei	Secretarial Staff, GFJ
ITO Wakako	Secretarial Staff, GFJ
OTA Toru	Secretarial Staff, GFJ

### 3. Biographies of the Panelists

#### [ Chinese Panelists ]

##### **CUI Liru**

***President, CICIR***

Graduated from Fudan University in 1976. Served various positions, including Visiting Fellow at State University of New York in 1984, Counsellor of PRC Mission to the UN HQ in New York (1992-1994), Deputy Director of American Studies of CICIR, Director of Division for International Exchanges of CICIR, Director of American Studies of CICIR. Held the current position since 2005.

##### **YUAN Peng**

***Assistant President, CICIR***

Received M.A. East China Normal University in 1991 and Ph.D. from Northeast Normal University in 1997. Served as Visiting Scholar at the Atlantic Council and Senior Fellow of the Brookings Institution. Held the current position since 2011. Concurrently serves as Director of the Institute of American Studies at CICIR.

##### **HU Jiping**

***Director, the Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR***

Received M.A. from Peking University in 1994 and Ph.D. from CICIR in 2009. Served as Deputy Director of the Institute of Japanese Studies and Director of the President's office of CICIR. Held the current position since 2010.

##### **QI Baoliang**

***Head, Division for Korean Peninsula Studies, CICIR***

Received M.A. from PLA University of Foreign Languages. Served as Visiting Scholar of Kim Il-sung University, Korea Institute for National Unification, and Sejong Institute. Held the current position since 2006.

##### **SUN Jianhong**

***Associate Research Professor, Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR***

Received M.A. from Beijing Foreign Studies University in 2002. Served as the North East Asia Program Manager of the Department of International Exchanges in CICIR in 2002 and Visiting Researcher of Aoyama Gakuin University in 2006. Held the current position since 2011.

##### **FAN Xiaoju**

***Associate Research Professor, Institute of Japanese Studies, CICIR***

Received Ph.D. from school of International Studies at Peking University and entered CICIR in 2007. Held the current position since 2011.

## [ Japanese Panelists ]

### **AMAKO Satoshi**

***Professor, Waseda University***

Graduated from Waseda University in 1971. Received M.A. from Tokyo Metropolitan University in 1974 and Ph.D. from Hitotsubashi University in 1986. Served as Professor at Kyoritsu Woman's University, Professor at Aoyama-Gakuin University, and Dean of Graduate School for Asian Pacific Studies at Waseda University. Visiting Professor at American University, the University of British Columbia, and Australian National University. Held the current position since 2002. Also served as Director of Waseda University Institute for Asian Human Community since 2010.

### **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 serves as President of The Japan Forum on International Relations, President of The Council on East Asian Community, and Professor Emeritus of Aoyama Gakuin University.

### **KAWASHIMA Shin**

***Associate Professor, the University of Tokyo***

Received M.A. from the University of Tokyo in 1994 and Ph.D. in 2007. Served as Associate Professor of Faculty of Law at Hokkaido University (1998 - 2006), and Visiting Associate Professor of International Research Center for Japanese Studies (2002-2005). Held the current position since 2006. Concurrently serving as Senior Researcher of the Institute for International Policy Studies.

### **OKAWARA Yoshio**

***Chairman, GFJ***

Graduated from the 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 Special Adviser of Institute for International Policy Studies and President of America-Japan Society, Inc

### **SONODA Shigeto**

***Professor, the University of Tokyo***

Received B.A. in 1984 and M.A. in 1986 from the University of Tokyo. Served as Research Associate of Department of Sociology at the University of Tokyo, Associate Professor of Department of Sociology at Chuo University, and Professor at Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies Waseda University. Held the current position since 2009. Currently serves as Professor at Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Information Studies, Course Director of ITASIA Course of GSII and Deputy Director of RICAS of IASA at the University of Tokyo.

**TANINO Sakutaro**

***former Ambassador to China***

Graduated from the University of Tokyo and entered the MOFA in 1960. Served as Director of China Division MOFA, Executive Secretary to the Prime Minister, Director-General of Asian Affairs Bureau MOFA, Director for Cabinet Councilor's office on External Affairs, Ambassador to India and Ambassador to China. Retired in 2001 and served as Director of Toshiba Corporation and Visiting Professor at Graduate School for Asian Pacific Studies of Waseda University. Trustee of Toshiba International Foundation, Vice President of Japan-China Friendship Center.

**YAMAMOTO Hideya**

***Director, East Asia Office, the Sankei Shimbun***

Graduated from Peking University in 1985. Entered the Sankei Shimbun in 1986. Served various positions, including branch manager of Singapore, Taipei, and Hong Kong, Chairman of China General Administration, and branch manager of Washington. Held the current position since 2010.

(In Alphabetical Order)

## 4. An Introduction to The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

**【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 levels, 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 the 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, and TOYODA Shoichiro in 1982, GFJ is currently headed by OKAWARA Yoshio as Chairman and ITO Kenichi as President. The membership is composed of 11 Business Leader Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 25 Diet Members including the five Governors, ASAO Keiichiro, HATOYAMA Yukio, KOIKE Yuriko, SUEMATSU Yoshinori, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu; and 84 Opinion Leader Members including the three Governors, HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, SHIMADA Haruo, and WATANABE Mayu. Friends and supporters of The Global Forum of 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 10 leading Japanese corporations (Toyota Motor Corporation and Kikkoman Corporation contributing 5 shares each, and the other 9 corporations contributing 1 or 2 shares each) as well as by the grants provided by The Japan Foundation, Japan-ASEAN Exchange Projects, Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund, The Tokyo Club, The Japan-Korea Cultural Foundation, etc.

**【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 the U.S., 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 the last five years is given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2011	October	The Japan-China Relations at Crossroads	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China) National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, etc
	July	The Great East Japan Earthquake and Regional Cooperation on Disaster Management	
2010	February	The Japan-U.S. Relations in the Era of Smart Power	The Center for Strategic and International Studies (U.S.) International Studies Department, Vietnam National University (Vietnam)
	February	East Asia in Transition and New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation	
	January	Prospects of Changing Black Sea Area and Role of Japan	
2009	September	East Asian Regional Architectures and Japan-India Relations	The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (India) National Bureau of Asian Research (U.S.)
	May	Promoting Japan-U.S. Cooperation in Non-Traditional Security: the Case of Counter Piracy	
2008	September	Promoting Japan-China Cooperation on Environmental Issues of the 21st Century: In Pursuit of Recycling Society	School of Environment, Beijing Normal University (China)
	July	Prospect of Japan-ASEAN Partnership after the Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation	
2007	June	Japan-ASEAN Cooperation amid the Financial and Economic Crisis	ASEAN-ISIS China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China) National Committee on American Foreign Policy (U.S.)
	April	Prospect of Japan-China Relationship in the Changing World	
2007	September	US-Japan Relations Under the New Obama Administration	ASEAN-ISIS Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China) The Council on East Asian Community, The East Asian Institute of National University of Singapore (Singapore) The Council on East Asia Community, The Pacific Forum CSIS (U.S.)
	July	Japan-China Relations Entering A New Stage	
2007	November	Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World	Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation, Embassy of Turkey, University of Shizuoka ASEAN-ISIS National Committee on American Foreign Policy (U.S.) China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China), Energy Research Institute, National Development and Reform Commission (China), The Japan Forum on International Relations
	July	The Challenges Facing Japan and ASEAN in the New Era	
	January	The US-Japan Alliance in the 21st Century	
	June	The China-Japan Relationship and Energy and Environmental Issues	

## **5. An Introduction to CICIR**

China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) is a comprehensive research institution for international studies. In compliance with the directive of the State Council to set up a series of new institutions for international studies, the predecessor, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, announced its official establishment in 1980. In 2003, the Institute was renamed and upgraded to China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations. CICIR consists of 11 institutes, 2 research divisions under direct supervision of CICIR leaders, 8 research centers and several administrative departments, e.g. the President's Office. CICIR has now a staff of 380, including researchers, administrative and logistic personnel, among whom 150 are research professors or associate research professors.

### **[CICIR's Leadership]**

President: Cui Liru

Executive Vice President: Ji Zhiye

Vice Presidents: Li Huiying, Yang Mingjie, Lei Hong, Wang Zaibang, Li Shaoxian

Assistant President: Fu Mengzi, Feng Zhongping, Yuan Peng

### **[Areas of Research]**

CICIR's research work includes world strategic, political, economic and security studies; country and regional studies; China's relations with other countries, etc. The research findings are either submitted to relevant government departments as reports or published in academic journals. Besides, CICIR also undertakes commissioned research projects and cooperates with its counterparts at home and abroad on issues of common concern.

### **[International Exchanges]**

CICIR maintains academic exchanges with many research institutions worldwide, receiving annually hundreds of overseas experts or scholars as invited guests, stop-over visitors or participants to CICIR-sponsored seminars, and sending out a number of scholars for further studies, researches, lectures and bilateral or multilateral international symposiums.

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