
THE “JAPAN-EAST ASIA DIALOGUE”

East Asia in Transition and New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation

Conference Papers

February 24, 2011
Lecture Hall of the International House of Japan
Tokyo, Japan

Co-sponsored by

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)



International Studies Department, Vietnam National University

The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)



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1. Program

「日・東アジア対話」
JAPAN-EAST ASIA DIALOGUE

「変動する東アジアと地域協力をめぐる新視点」
"East Asia in Transition and New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation"

2011年2月23-24日 / February 23-24, 2011
東京、日本 / Tokyo, Japan

共催 / Sponsored by
グローバル・フォーラム / The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)
ベトナム国立大学国際関係学部 / International Studies Department, Vietnam National University
日本国際フォーラム / The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

2011年2月23日 (水) / Wednesday, 23 February, 2011

開幕夕食会 * 特別招待者のみ / Welcome Dinner * Invitation Only

18:00-20:00 伊藤憲一グローバル・フォーラム執行世話人主催開幕夕食会
Welcome Dinner hosted by ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ

2011年2月24日 (木) / Thursday, 24 February, 2011

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

開幕挨拶 / Opening Remarks

10:00-10:05 大河原 良雄 グローバル・フォーラム代表世話人
OKAWARA Yoshio, Chairman, GFJ

本会議 I / Session I

10:05-11:55 「変動する東アジアと地域協力の新たなビジョン」
"East Asia in Transition and New Visions for Regional Cooperation "

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| 議長挨拶 (5 分間) Greeting by Chairperson (5 min.) | 平林博 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人、日本国際フォーラム副理事長 HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Opinion Leader Governor, GFJ/Vice President, JFIR |
| 報告A(10分間) Speaker A (10min.) | 伊藤 剛 明治大学教授 ITO Go, Professor, Meiji University |
| 報告B(10 分間) Speaker B (10 min.) | ファン・カン・ミン ベトナム国立大学国際関係学部長(ベトナム) Pham Quang MINH, Dean, International Studies Department, Vietnam National University (Vietnam) |
| 報告C(10 分間) Speaker C (10 min.) | 高原 彦二郎 コンサルビューション代表 TAKAHARA Hikojiro, CEO, Consul Bution Co. |
| 報告D(10分間) Speaker D (10min.) | 任 曉 駐日中国大使館一等書記官/復旦大学教授(中国) REN Xiao, First Secretary, the Chinese Embassy in Japan & Professor, Fudan University, Shanghai (China) |
| 自由討議 (55分間) Free Discussions (55min.) | 出席者全員 All Participants |
| 議長総括(10分間) Summarization by Chairperson (10 min.) | 平林 博 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人 HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Opinion Leader Governor, GFJ |

昼食 / Lunch

11:55-13:00 昼食休憩/Lunch Break (会議場外で各自でお取り下さい)

本会議 II / Session II

13:00-14:50 「東アジア地域協力の内向性・外向性をめぐって」
"On the Nature of Regional Cooperation in East Asia: Introvert or Extrovert?"

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| 議長挨拶 (5分間) Greeting by Chairperson (5 min.) | ファン・カン・ミン ベトナム国立大学国際関係学部長(ベトナム) Pham Quang MINH, Dean, International Studies Department, Vietnam National University (Vietnam) |
| 報告A(10分間) Speaker A (10min.) | 渡辺 紫乃 埼玉大学准教授 WATANABE Shino, Associate Professor, Saitama University |
| 報告B(10 分間) Speaker B (10 min.) | ロバート・デュジャリック テンプル大学現代アジア研究所所長(アメリカ) Robert DUJARRIC, Director, Institute of Contemporary Asia Studies, Temple University (U.S.) |
| 報告C(10 分間) Speaker C (10 min.) | 小笠原 高雪 山梨学院大学教授 OGASAWARA Takayuki, Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University |
| 報告D(10分間) Speaker D (10min.) | キン・ベン・ファー マレーシア外交政策研究所戦略研究主幹 (マレーシア) KIM Beng Phar, Director of Strategy/Research, Foreign Policy Study Group (Malaysia) |
| 自由討議(55分間) Free Discussions (55 min.) | 出席者全員 All Participants |
| 議長総括(10分間) Summarization by Chairperson (10 min.) | ファン・カン・ミン ベトナム国立大学国際関係学部長(ベトナム) Pham Quang MINH, Dean, International Studies Department, Vietnam National University (Vietnam) |

14:50-15:10

休憩/Break

本会議 III / Session III

15:10-17:00 「開かれた地域主義に向けた地域協力の新たな視点」
"New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation toward Open Regionalism"

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| 議長挨拶(5分間) Greeting by Chairperson (5 min.) | 伊藤 剛 明治大学教授 ITO Go, Professor, Meiji University |
| 報告A(10分間) Speaker A (10min.) | 真田 幸光 愛知淑徳大学教授 SANADA Yukimitsu, Professor, Aichi Shukutoku University |
| 報告B(10 分間) Speaker B (10 min.) | 権 宅明 KEB財団常務理事(韓国) KWON Taek-myung, Standing Director, KEB Foundation |
| 報告C(10 分間) Speaker C (10 min.) | 矢野 卓也 グローバル・フォーラム事務局長、日本国際フォーラム主任研究員 YANO Takuya, Executive Secretary GFJ / Senior Research Fellow, JFIR |
| 報告D(10分間) Speaker D (10min.) | 堀金 由美 明治大学准教授 HORIKANE Yumi, Associate Professor, Meiji University |
| 自由討議(55分間) Free Discussions (55min.) | 出席者全員 All Participants |
| 議長総括(10分間) Summarization by Chairperson (10 min.) | 伊藤 剛 明治大学教授 ITO Go, Professor, Meiji University |

2. Biographies of the Panelists

【East Asia Panelists】

Pham Quang MINH *Dean, International Studies Department, Vietnam National University*

Received Ph. D in Southeast Asian Studies from Humboldt University in Germany in 2002. Serves as the co-ordinator of several international projects such as “Vietnam’s access into WTO” supported by the German Konrad Adenauer Foundation, and “Renovating the Undergraduate Teaching of International Relations / Studies in Vietnam” supported by the Ford Foundation. Teaches world politics, international relations of Asia-Pacific, and Vietnam’s foreign policy.

REN Xiao *First Secretary, the Chinese Embassy in Japan & Professor, Fudan University, Shanghai*

Received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Fudan University in 1992. Studied in the University of Essex in England and served as Associate Professor (1996-2001), Professor (2001-02) in Fudan University, Senior Fellow and Director of the Asia Pacific Studies Department, Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS). Currently Serves as the Director of the Center for Chinese Foreign Policy Studies at the Institute of International Studies (IIS), Fudan University.

Robert DUJARRIC *Director, Institute of Contemporary Asia Studies, Temple University*

Graduated from Harvard College and received an MBA from Yale University. He is a frequent contributor to the public debate on Japanese affairs and international political and economic issues. Mr. Dujarric took his current position at Temple University Japan Campus in 2007 after having worked closely with the university for several years organizing events. He served as visiting fellow of the Japan Institute of International Affairs in Tokyo (2005-2007) and from 2004-05, he was a Council on Foreign Relations Hitachi Fellow in Japan.

KIM Beng Phar *Director of Strategy/Research, Foreign Policy Study Group*

Graduated from International Islamic University, Malaysia. Received M.A. in International Peace Studies from University of Notre Dame, MPhil in International Relations from University of Cambridge and Ph.D from The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. Served as Weekly Columnist of The Asia Times (Hong Kong), Head of Teaching Fellow at Harvard University, Senior Correspondent of Straits Times Singapore, Senior Researcher of University of Hong Kong and University of Hong Kong and Visiting Scholar of Waseda University.

KWON Taek-myung *Standing Director, KEB Foundation*

Graduated from Hanyang University and received MBA in Business Administration from Yeongnam University. Joined in Korea Exchange Bank (KEB) in 1969 and served as Chief of Business Innovation Dept., Shinpyeong Branch, Bupyeong Branch, Gangnam Regional Marketing Headquarter with 7-year service in Tokyo Branch, Japan. Has been serving as Executive Director of KEB Foundation since 2005, a charity foundation of the bank under its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program. Serves as an elder of Sarang (Love) Presbyterian Community Church in Seoul since 2001.

【Japanese Panelists】

OKAWARA Yoshio

Chairman, The Global Forum of Japan (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.

HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi

Opinion Leader Governor, GFJ / Vice President, JFIR

Graduated from The University of Tokyo. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1963. From 1991 to 2006, served successively as Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington, D.C., Director-General of Economic Cooperation Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chief Cabinet Councilor on External Affairs at Prime Minister's Cabinet, Ambassador to India and Ambassador to France. Concurrently, Executive Vice-President of The Council on East Asian Community (CEAC), President of the Japan-India Association, Visiting Professor of the Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies of Waseda University, and so forth.

ITO Go

Professor, Meiji University

Graduated from Sophia University. Received Ph.D. at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver in 1997. Served as Associate Professor at Meiji University in 1998, and assumed the current position in 2006. Also served as Adjunct Professor (International Security) at Waseda University as well as Sophia University, and as Adjunct Researcher of the House of Councilors. Recipients of the Eisenhower Fellowships in 2005 and the Nakasone Yasuhiro Award in 2006.

TAKAHARA Hikojiro

CEO, Consul Bution Co., Ltd

Graduated from Faculty of Commerce of Waseda University and joined the Idemitsu Kosan Co., Ltd. in 1980. Served as various positions including Deputy Manager of Hong Kong Office, Deputy Manager of Beijing Office, Manager of Beijing Office in 1998 and Planning Manager of Overseas Department in 2002. Left the Idemitsu Kosan Co., Ltd. in 2004 and founded the Consul Bution Co., Ltd. in 2005.

WATANABE Shino

Associate Professor, Saitama University

Graduated from The University of Tokyo in 1994, received her M.A. in Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School, Tufts University in 2000 and earned her Ph.D. from the Woodrow Wilson Department of Politics, University of Virginia in 2007. Served as a visiting fellow at the Institute of Social Science, The University of Tokyo, a visiting research associate at the Faculty of Law, Keio University, a research associate at the Japan Foundation, and a research fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs. Held the current position since 2010.

OGASAWARA Takayuki

Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University

Graduated from the Faculty of Law of Keio University. Received LL.M. from Keio University in 1989. 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. Held the current position since 2002.

SANADA Yukimitsu

Professor, Aichi Shukutoku University

Graduated from Faculty of Law of Keio University and joined the Bank of Tokyo in 1981. Served as various positions including Assistant Manager of Bank of Tokyo, Assistant G.M. of Capital Markets Div1 of Bank of Tokyo, Associate Director of Tokyo-Mitsubishi International, Senior Manager of Bank of Tokyo Mitsubishi and General Manager of Dresdner Bank. Held the current position since 1998.

YANO Takuya

Executive Secretary, GFJ / Senior Research Fellow, JFIR

Graduated from the Faculty of Literature of Keio University in 1998. Received Master of Law from Keio University in 2000. Completed Doctoral Program at Keio University in 2004. Served as Associate Research Fellow and Research Fellow of The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR). Held the current position since 2009. Concurrently serves as Executive Secretary of The Council on East Asian Community.

HORIKANE Yumi

Associate Professor, Meiji University

Graduated from Asian Studies, Department of Liberal Arts, The University of Tokyo in 1983, received M.Phil and earned Ph D from Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cambridge. Served as Program Officer, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Researcher, Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development (FASID) and Assistant Professor, School of Political Science and Economics, Meiji University. Held current position since 2005.

(In order of appearance)

3. Presentation Papers

Session I: East Asia in Transition and New Visions for Regional Cooperation

ITO Go
Professor, Meiji University

East Asian in Transition and New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation

1. Regional Frameworks in the Asia-Pacific
 - (1) Australia→APEC, China→ASEAN+3, Japan→ASEAN+6, South Korea→Bilaterals FTA, US→TPP
 - (2) Asia as the global engine of growth
 - (3) From “poor Asia” to “rich Asia”
 - (4) From a “disintegrated Asia” to an “integrated Asia”
 - (5) Newcomers into the established frameworks
 - (6) Increasing demands from the newcomers to participate in the frameworks
 - (7) Reluctant, gradual supply of their responsibilities (or international public goods) within the frameworks
2. The Purpose of this Project
 - (1) “East Asia in Transition and New Visions for Regional Cooperation” aims to highlight the impact on Asia’s regional cooperation of China’s rise, salient in the past decades, and to listen to Vietnam’s perceptions on it. It will then shed light on two speakers’ ideas concerning opportunities and risks brought about by China’s rise.
 - (2) “On the Nature of Regional Cooperation in East Asia: Introvert and Extrovert?” aims to examine the Chinese neighboring countries’ perceptions toward regional cooperation frameworks in the Asia-Pacific. How these countries have sought to make use of the regional frameworks for their own sake will also be discussed.
 - (3) “New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation toward Open Regionalism” aims to include Japan’s future strategies on regional cooperation frameworks. It will also discuss whether countries that look like seeking the “open regionalism” strategies, such as South Korea and Singapore, could become a frame of reference for Japan’s future.
3. Regional Frameworks in the Asia-Pacific and Japan’s Strategies
 - (1) What should be exposed to international competition, and what should be protected by the government?
 - (2) What should be done by the market, and what should be the public missions worth spending Japan’s public money?
 - (3) What type of public-private partnership should be proceeded in the entire globalization?
4. Strategies as an “art of possibilities”
 - (1) Multiple strategies should be implemented all at once.
 - (2) Some will fail, but the others will become successful.

Pham Quang MINH
Dean, International Studies Department, Vietnam National University
(Vietnam)

**Continuity and change in East Asia Region:
A Perspective from Vietnam**

Abstract: The first decade of 21 century marked many dynamic developments in East Asia region which attracted the attention of the international community. The main objective of this presentation is to analyze these recent developments in the region by arguing that East Asia is characterized by both continuity and change. The presentation is divided into three parts. The first is focusing on major recent trends of East Asia. The second part analyses the position and role of Vietnam as a regional security player. The presentation ends with some suggestions for further cooperation.

Outline:

1. Major trends of East Asia strategic environment:
 - (1) The global economic and financial crisis
 - (2) China's military modernization and transformation
 - (3) The United States' stepped-up engagement
 - (4) Increased arms procurements
 - (5) The heightened importance of the maritime domain
 - (6) The increasing of salience of non-traditional security issues
 - (7) The persistence of everyday security challenges'
 - (8) The evolution of the regional security architecture

2. Vietnam as a regional security player
 - (1) A transformed successful model
 - (2) A maritime state
 - (3) An emerging middle income country
 - (4) Gradual defence modernization
 - (5) Key player in ASEAN
 - (6) Potential strategic partner of US
 - (7) Active mediator

3. Some suggestions for further cooperation
 - (1) A comprehensive approach
 - (2) Increase the role of ASEAN as a driving force
 - (3) Increase the engagement of global players
 - (4) Continue dialogue and confidence-building measures (Track II diplomacy)
 - (5) Towards regional security architecture (COC; ADMM+....)
 - (6) Increase the role of Japan and China as regional East Asia powers

TAKAHARA Hikojiro
CEO, Consul Bution, Co.

Centering on so-called the China risks

1. How to deal with the “China risks”

So-called the “China risks” should rather be dealt with in a way that takes into account two types of “risks” than in a conventional way that many Japanese adopt.

(1) How to understand “risks”

There are two types of “risks”: one is risks related to business opportunity and the other related to business performance.

(a) Risk related to business opportunity.

This type of risks exists in managerial decision-making process, and is also known as ‘upside risk’ which is expected to bring profit opportunities.

(b) Risk related to business performance

This type of risks is related to business activity and is also known as ‘downside risk’ as it poses threats the success of business performance.

(2) How to deal with the China risks – Risk Management and Commitment

About 30,000 Japanese companies have already entered China. In order for the Japanese companies to preserve their independence and to ensure adequate profits, it is important to adopt the attitude of ‘risk management and commitment’ described below.

(a) The perspective of “commitment” -taking in the China’ s market

The economic development of China, needless to say, is huge business opportunity for Japanese companies. In particular, in view of such issues as declining domestic consumption and declining birthrate, China’s domestic market growth is a great opportunity. The attitude of enhancing their commitment to Chinese society is essential. In other words, it is necessary to harmonize themselves with Chinese society actively by taking advantage of the geo-proximity and commonality of “Asian sensitivity.”

‘Commitment’ is a management style of a company as a member of the Chinese society that fulfills its commitment to the policy of the Chinese government and creates win-win relationship for example in the case of labor management.

(b) The perspective of “risk management” - the aspect of competition

On the other hand, it is also critical to observe objectively the influence of China’s economic growth on Japanese companies. According to the report on “the real condition of Japanese companies activity in Oceania and Asian region” issued by JETRO (Japan External Trade Organization) on October 21, 2010, Chinese companies are the top competitor among the local markets* of the 13 countries when it comes to selling middle-and-low range price products and services: Chinese companies (38.1%), Korean companies (10.5%), Thai companies (10.3%). Japanese companies – especially for the middle-and-small companies that comprise 98% of Japanese enterprise – are greatly threatened by China. In the changing East-Asian region, Chinese companies are continuously establishing their position and certainly becoming the real competitor.

* Local Markets: China, Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam, Myanmar, India, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Australia, New Zealand.

In addition to the above mentioned risks, external business risks as follows are assumed to be dealt with.

< External Business Risk Factors >

1. Environmental crisis, infectious diseases, slowdown of domestic economy, popular riots, leadership crisis of the Communist Party, intervention by the PLA, suspension of economic activity and confusion of supply chain caused by tensions between the two countries.
2. China's over-consumption of primary products, price hike in special raw materials like rare earth, influences on corporate activities from inaccessibility to such materials.
3. Disadvantage of foreign capital and adoption of protective measures due to China's priority on state-owned companies (conglomeratization based on national capitals)
4. Under pricing competition resulted from "destruction of value" by China's violation on the intellectual property

Besides in its domestic market, competition with Chinese companies is expected in other countries' market with an increasing rate for the years to come. Thus, risk management is especially important to secure fair competition and to prevent suspension of business caused by breakup of supply chain in the international market in regard of the intellectual property protection.

REN Xiao

**First Secretary, the Chinese Embassy in Japan &
Professor, Fudan University, Shanghai (China)**

The Nature of Regional Cooperation in East Asia: A Chinese Perspective

Opening thoughts

1. China's development goals and external strategy
 - (1) A corresponding international strategy: to build a peaceful and stable external environment, especially the immediate environment
 - (2) Complex geographical reality
 - (3) The three key words as doctrine: peace, development, and cooperation
2. To the west: Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)
3. To the south: China-ASEAN FTA
4. To the east: China-Japan-ROK (CJK) tripartite cooperation
 - (1) Joint feasibility research into a CJK FTA involving government, business, and academic communities
 - (2) A new secretariat soon to be created
 - (3) Summitry: second round
 - (4) Mechanisms for functional cooperation
Diversion?
5. Wither East Asia Summit (EAS)?
 - (1) A modest start and unclear mission
 - (2) The participation of the U.S. and Russia
 - (3) What forum is EAS?

6. Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)
 - (1) An emerging new grouping
 - (2) Japan's decision by June?
 - (3) The negotiations are expected to be completed by the November APEC in Hawaii?
7. A more networked region with competing visions
 - (1) Asia rising as the global financial crisis recedes
 - (2) Crisis-driven regional integration
 - (3) A budding community?

***Session II: On the Nature of Regional Cooperation in East Asia
: Introvert or Extrovert?***

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| <p>WATANABE Shino Associate Professor, Saitama University</p> |
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**China's Regional Diplomacy:
China's Response toward the Current International Order**

1. China and the Current International Order
 - (1) China's self-analysis on its present position
 - a regional power with clout in the international system
 - no ability to establish international order or institutions on her own initiative
 - (2) China's own image of its future position
 - a growing influence on the international economic system
 - willingness to change the current arrangements of the international system by taking peaceful means ⇔ waging a war
 - (3) China's strategy: 「以参与求发展」战略
 - participation in the current international system
 - reform within the international system
2. China's Regional Diplomacy
 - (1) The meaning of "region" in China's diplomacy
 - neighboring developing countries
 - emphasis on the relations with Southeast Asia and with Central Asia
 - (2) The role of regional diplomacy
 - enhancing favorable environments for economic development and political stability in China
 - improving relations with developing countries
 - securing support base for backing China's side in the international arena
3. Major Developments in China's Regional Diplomacy
 - (1) Toward Southeast Asia
 - ASEAN, ASEAN plus X, and others
 - (2) Toward Central Asia
 - the Shanghai Five and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)
4. Implications

Robert DUJARRIC
Director, Institute of Contemporary Asia Studies,
Temple University (U.S.)

Nature of Regional Cooperation in East Asia: Introvert or Extrovert?

1. Basic facts that hinder regional cooperation in East Asia:
 - (1) Numerous active or latent political-military tensions:
 - North Korea – South Korea
 - Taiwan – China
 - Japan – China
 - ASEAN – China (South China Sea islands)
 - Thailand – Cambodia
 - India – China
 - (2) Affected by regional geopolitical rivalry between China and the US.
 - (3) Divergent levels of economic development (from high-income to low-income).
 - (4) Widely different political systems.
2. Factors which promote regional cooperation in East Asia:
 - (1) Shared commitment to economic growth (with a few minor exceptions).
 - (2) Integrated supply industrial supply chains.
 - (3) Need to mitigate regional tensions.
 - (4) Tool to maximize political influence.
3. Balance sheet of regional cooperation in East Asia:
 - (1) Significant development of formal and informal institutions.
 - (2) Has – sometimes – managed to insulate economics from politics.

Conclusion:

- (1) Fundamentally prospects depend on geopolitics. Regional cooperation cannot survive a major clash involving China and the US and its allies.
- (2) Recent Chinese policy towards Japan, ASEAN, US raises serious doubts about the future.

OGASAWARA Takayuki
Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University

Vietnam's Reactions to the Rise of China

1. Can Southeast Asia Survive?
 - A Distinct Region
 - Re-definition of East Asia
2. Vietnam's Foreign Strategy
 - "Single World Market" (1984)
 - "Strong Economy" "Appropriate Defence Capability" "International Cooperation" (1988)
 - "Expansion" "Diversification" "Multilateralisation" (1994)

3. Soft Balancing
 - Economic Development
 - Bilateral Cooperation with ASEAN countries, Asia-Pacific countries
 - ASEAN Membership

4. Stratified Engagements
 - Multifaceted Consultations with China
 - “ASEAN plus X” Formula
 - Greater Mekong Subregion

5. Outcomes and Limitations of Engagements
 - Border Demarcation
 - Water Management of the Mekong River
 - South China Sea

6. The Changing Strategy
 - Enhancing of Defence Cooperation
 - Closer Relationship with the United States

7. Japan’s Option
 - Economic Partnership
 - Mekong Region Development
 - “Freedom of Navigation”
 - Defence Cooperation

KIM Beng Phar
Director of Strategy / Research, Foreign Policy Study Group (Malaysia)

**US Expectation on the bilateral alliance
 with Japan and implication for Japan’s strategy
 East Asia Cooperation: Introvert or Extrovert ? Universalism, Open Regionalism,
 Cultural Relativism, ASEAN Way**

Is East Asia cooperation introvert or extrovert ? This question has to be answered at two levels. One, is East Asia embracing universal values in total, or, merely implementing some of them for strategic and commercial reasons to empower and entrench the rule of the current elites. Second, is East Asia capable of seeing the benefits of democratization as more than deregulation and digitization combined. If East Asia cannot see democratization as a COMPLETE GOOD-----more powerful and beneficial even than digitization and deregulation combined----then the region will continue to function based on cultural relativism and selective interpretation of open regionalism. What is true, however, is that democratization will continue to occur with or without the consent of the leaders in East Asia. At the beginning of the middle of 20th century, there were 16 political parties that ruled their countries almost indefinitely. Almost all of them had fallen in elections, except UMNO and PAP in Malaysia and Singapore. Even the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, and the Kuomintang Party in Taiwan, had failed too. Indeed, UMNO was badly defeated in the March 8 2008 election in Malaysia. Although Singapore's PAP remained strong, it is not representative of Asia. Only the Communist Party and Vietnam remained standing. But then they are there not by virtue of open elections. All said, East Asia is extrovert in capturing commercial

gains, but misguidedly introverted in assuming that democratization cannot give even more benefits and gains.

Introduction: East Asia and 3 Ds

1. To the degree, Western values are truly extrovert (marked by a propensity to defend and promote deregulation, digitization, and democratization i.e. 3 Ds), East Asia being part of the global/Western system, will also cherish the same principles. The question arises as to how evenly East Asia can enthusiastically embrace 3 Ds in the name of open regionalism ?
2. Embedded in the crucible of 3 Ds is the notion that all these mechanisms, if allowed to function freely, can promote the absolute gains of all countries. Nation-states that adhere to the tenets of free trade (deregulation), free exchange of information (digitization), and freedom of association coupled with the right to elect their own government (democratization) can raise the welfare of all through win-win outcome, as marked by the theory of comparative advantage, first espoused by David Ricardo.
3. Yet, the modern history of East Asia between 19th and mid 20th century has been marked most profoundly by free trade only, and not the subsequent tenets. Akamatsu's concept of the 'flying geese' described how a group of civilized states, seeking to follow the example of Japan, transformed itself into an export powerhouse by 1960s. Yet, emerging economies like Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, Hong Kong and Indonesia, did not given much emphasis to the importance of other things.
4. Democratization has always taken a back seat to the importance of trade. East Asia did not mind the importance of deregulating the economy, and digitizing parts of it to make immediate monetary gains. Yet it took measures to curb the middle class from being actively involved in political activities. If democratization is defined as the willingness of the incumbents to face the risk of defeat in an open and fair election, most regimes in East Asia did not openly and institutionally raise the risk. Legal templates like internal security acts (ISA), printing and publications act (PPA) and, official secrets act (OSA) were still maintained by the executive. The parliament and the judiciary were not properly empowered to allow most of the countries in East Asia to make the switch from authoritarian regimes into liberal and democratic ones, except perhaps the example of Indonesia.
5. A very good example of how democratization was controlled was the resistance offered by East Asia on the universality of human rights---with the alternate emphasis on the importance of Asian Values, and by extension, the ASEAN Way. Prior to the World Conference on Human rights in 1993 in Vienna, the governments of China, Indonesia, Singapore, Vietnam and Malaysia spoke in favor of Asian Values. Encouraged by this development, the Indo Chinese countries like Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar subsequently joined ASEAN in the mid 1990s. Cultural relativism in a sense became the Siamese twin of open regionalism: That while East Asia will grow with the rest of the world, it will not as a rule give in freely to democratization, and digitization.

*Session III: New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation
toward Open Regionalism*

SANADA Yukimitsu
Professor, Aichi Shukutoku University

Lessons from South Korea
South Korea's Strategies toward Open Regionalism:
Lessons for Economic Development

1. Introduction

The topic of my presentation today is talk to you about the overseas business strategy of S.Korean Government as well as Korean companies.

Namely, as you may be aware that S.Korean Economy is relatively stronger among major industrial countries and profitability of S.Korean companies is higher than that of major competitors of other countries and I will show you my idea why that is!!

And also if there were hint for the recovery of Japan, I will express you how Japanese Government and Japanese companies will use such strategy of S.Korean's.

2. Current situation of South Korean economy

I want to confirm how the South Korean economy is strong recently.

The GDP growth rate in Third Quarter 2010 was 4.4%.

Especially, the expansion with a high capital investment (24.3% increase) and private consumption (3.3% increase) changing steady by improving the employment environment was recorded.

Moreover, the external demand continues to support the South Korea economy

3. What is the background that supports good South Korean economy?

If the strong point of South Korea is enumerated, it becomes as follows;

These points combining and the strong point of South Korea is made an embodiment as of now.

- (1) Achievement of system of management support by top-down management of prompt decision by owner management and specialist board member.
- (2) Realization of efficient social management that makes industrial field reorganization after the Asian currency crisis in 1997.
- (3) Promotion of school training to educate real cosmopolitan.
- (4) Promotion of corporate education to cultivate international business-men.
- (5) International business development of which background is limit of domestic market.
- (6) Realization of industrial-government-academic, financial integral strategy promotion system.
- (7) Co-operations with the United States.

And, we must not overlook the foundation of economic development promotion system of South Korea. In addition, it is necessary to point out that the strength of the president's constitutional powers.

4. Shadow of South Korean economy

However, there is naturally a problem also in the South Korea economy said it is good.

Therefore, I want to enumerate some such key points to make sure.

- (1) The problem of the feared fiscal revenue and expenditure must exist when deteriorating in the future.
- (2) Be in the state of the balance of international payments balance in which the vulnerability is left still.
- (3) Further weakening anxiety of domestic demand section according to falling birthrate and aging
- (4) The anxiety of the unbalance in the economic framework.

5. Complex international situation and South Korea

It might be U.S.-Britain Israel the possession of the anxiety though the posture of cooperation is shown to politics, military affairs, and China that strengthens the influence on the economic front in the world.

Recognition that Lee Myung-bak administration well understood the world power balance and well use it for its diplomatic economic policy.

6. What is the point Japan should learn from South Korea?

- (1) "[Nunchirurupoda]" = [nunchi] perceiving the best situation for oneself beforehand while analyzing it = Mind.
- (2) The top down decision making system. And strong will that thinks change to be naturally healthy
- (3) Promotion of the education system for cultivating cosmopolitan.
- (4) Promoting the strategy to which economic growth is maintained, and stabilized by the external demand dependence.
- (5) Promotion of industrial-government-academic cooperation with financial sector.
- (6) South Korea develops the business exchanges such as the Middle East and Africa Russia, Australia, Canada, China, India and so on. Those are the so-called resource countries, volume zone area and the niche markets.

【Material 1】

| | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 |
|----------------------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| GDP (Bio US\$) | 930.9 | 832.9 | *9,863(P) |
| GDP Growth Rate (%) | 2.3 | 0.2 | *QIII 4.4 |
| Trade (Bio US\$) | 857.3 | 686.6 | *QIII 222.9 |
| Trade Growth Rate (%) | +17.7 | -2.0 | N.A. |
| Export (Bio US\$) | 422.0 | 363.5 | *QIII 117.2 |
| Export Growth Rate (%) | +13.6 | -13.9 | *QIII +23.7 |
| Import (Bio US\$) | 435.3 | 323.1 | *QIII 105.7 |
| Import Growth Rate (%) | +22.0 | -25.8 | *QIII +24.6 |
| Export/GDP (%) | 45.3 | 43.6 | N.A. |
| Foreign Debt (Bio US\$) | 377.6 | 399.8 | 415.4 |
| Foreign Reserve (Bio US\$) | 201.2 | 270.0 | 289.8 |
| Exchange Rate (Won/1US\$) | 1,100.50 | 1,275.00 | 1,181.10 |
| End of the year | | | |
| Interest Rate (%) | 3.00 | 2.00 | 2.25 |
| End of the year | | | |
| KOSPI (Index) | 1,124.50 | 1,682.80 | 1,904.60 |
| End of the year | | | |
| CPI (%) | 4.7 | 2.8 | *QIII 2.9 |
| Unemployment Rate (%) | 3.2 | 3.6 | *QIII 3.6 |
| Population (Mio) | 48.61 | 48.76 | 48.91 |

As of 2009: Fiscal Deficit against GDP=5.0%

As of 2009: Samsung Group against GDP= about 20%
against Export=about 20%

【Material 2】

Major Country/Economic Outline

| Source:The Official Date of Each country | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------|---------|------------|----------|---------|-----------|---------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| Item | S.Korea | M.China | Phillipins | Thailand | Malasia | Indonesia | Vietnam | India | U.S.A | German | Japan |
| Population(MIO) | 49 | 1,328 | 91 | 66 | 27 | 228 | 86 | 1,182 | 305 | 82 | 128 |
| GDP(Bio US\$) | 986 | 4,520 | 168 | 272 | 222 | 512 | 90 | 1,207 | 14,441 | 3,673 | 4,887 |
| GDP per Person(US\$) | 20,164 | 3,403 | 1,852 | 4,108 | 8,118 | 2,238 | 1042 | 1021 | 47,393 | 44,729 | 38,271 |
| GDP Growth Rate(%) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2007年 | 5.1 | 13 | 7.1 | 4.9 | 6.2 | 6.3 | 8.5 | 9.4 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.4 |
| 2008年 | 2.3 | 9.4 | 3.8 | 2.5 | 4.6 | 6 | 6.2 | 7.3 | 0.4 | 1.2 | -1.2 |
| 2009年 | 0.2 | 8.7 | 0.9 | -2.3 | -1.7 | 4.5 | 5.3 | 5.7 | -2.4 | -5 | -5.2 |
| 消費者物価上昇率(%) | 2.8 | -0.7 | 3.2 | -0.8 | 0.6 | 4.8 | 6.7 | 10.9 | -0.3 | 0.1 | -1.4 |
| Foreign Reserve(Bio US\$) | 290 | 23,992 | 378 | 1,354 | 954 | 635 | 188 | 2,652 | 1,197 | 605 | 10,249 |
| Long Term Coutry Rating | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Moody's | Aa | A1 | Ba3 | Baa1 | A3 | Ba2 | Ba3 | Ba2 | Aaa | Aaa | Aa2 |
| S&P | A | A+ | BB+ | A- | A+ | BB+ | BB+ | BBB- | AAA | AAA | AA |

KWON Taek-myung
Standing Director, KEB Foundation (Korea)

Open Regionalism through the Open Mindedness of the People in the Region

1. Korea's view on "Regionalism" or "Open Regionalism"

Heavily dependent on its global counterparts, Korea inevitably embraces openness to global economic activities. Hence, it is necessary to pursue comprehensive cooperation and close solidarity with East Asia in many areas including economic activities. Given that open regionalism, rather than closed regionalism, is preferred in formulating desirable regionalism in East Asia. There are views that encompass the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, India, Mongolia, and Russia (the Far East), in addition to ASEAN plus 3.

Of late, it has become more common to find such terms as "One Asia" or "New Asia" in Korean journalism. *Maeil* Economic Daily, one of the major financial dailies in Korea, has published a "One Asia Strategic Report," after running a column on that issue. This year, it began a column under the title of "New Asia and Korea," and continues to draw much attention to that theme.

Recently, *Maeil* Economic Daily and North-East Asia Research (NEAR) Foundation put forth the concept of the "New Asia Hexagon: as Korea's New Asia strategy: 1. A small triangle comprising of Korea, China and Japan. 2. A large triangle that links Korea/China/Japan, ASEAN, and India. 3. A Lozenge that links the large triangle and Australia/New Zealand. 4. A hexagon that links Lozenge and Middle East/Central Asia/ Mongolia/Siberia. According to the New Asia Hexagon, it goes beyond East Asia to embrace an expanded Asia based on more open regionalism.

2. Suggestions for regional cooperation toward "Open Regionalism"

Just as in the term "Market-driven Integration," economic issues are the most basic driving factor. Cooperation at government and corporate levels among countries in East Asia has already been well established through various channels. However, when sensitive issues arise between regions or countries, the established governmental or corporate channels of cooperation tend to revert to rigid relations, or go through difficult times.

Having said that, I think it is necessary to first of all approach the "New Perspectives" in regional cooperation toward open regionalism in East Asia, with an open mindedness among countries in the region. Although it looks idealistic, utopian, or theoretical, the following are to be presupposed and mutually agreed.

- (1) Preparation of institutional and normative frames that can back up the market/economy-driven integration
 - (a) The spirit of pursuing the similarity while respecting the difference
 - (b) A win-win spirit

- (2) Some methodological proposals
 - (a) Expanded exchange of peoples between countries
Above all, the following areas will have to be boosted: ① Academic exchanges of educated people ② Cultural exchanges of artists ③ Exchanges of youths and students
 - (b) Strengthened NGO, NPO activities
 - (c) Enhanced corporate responsibilities
 - (d) Increased media participation
 - (e) Enhanced understanding of other cultures (multiculturalism)

YANO Takuya
Executive Secretary GFJ / Senior Research Fellow, JFIR

**New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation in East Asia:
What is Expected of Japan?**

1. Triad of Globalism-Regionalism-Nationalism

- (1) These 3 “isms” are not exclusive to each other, but complementary to each other
- (2) Regional cooperation should be discussed within the context of interactions of these 3 “isms”
- (3) Open Regionalism: not “isolationism” or “autarkism,” but a movement to strategically combine global norms with regional order
- (4) End of dichotomy

2. Asia’s rise

- (1) Asia’s emerging economies; from “factory of the world” to “market of the world”
- (2) Shift from export driven economy to internal demand-led economy
- (3) Expansion of urban middle-class
- (4) High intensity of FDI
- (5) A case of Singapore
- (6) Weakness of rising economies; lack of incentives to contribute to rule making in line with universal values and norms, and formation of international public goods

3. Japan’s relative decline

- (1) Failed to shift from export driven economy based on US and EU markets
- (2) Low birth rate, aging society, shrinking domestic market
- (3) Boasts high level of technology but lacks strategic thinking how to take advantage of it
- (4) Strength of Japan; high level of technology, willingness to become a responsible player in the international community, potentials to revitalize its economy

4. Agenda for Japan to lead Asia to become a responsible player in the international community

- (1) To restore globally balanced economy in trade and investment
- (2) To devise ways to achieve green and sustainable regional economy
- (3) To-create internal demand of East Asia as a whole
- (4) Validity and possibility of “Wimbledon Effect” in East Asia
- (5) Strategy for setting East Asian regional standard to serve as international public goods

HORIKANE Yumi
Associate Professor, Meiji University

East Asia as the Framework for Japan’s Regional Cooperation

1. “Shrinking” Japan and Emerging Opportunities in Asia

- Huge and diverse demands for better quality goods
- Japan perceived as “cool” and reliable in the region
- But huge costs are expected for transformation/accommodation
 - How to manage the costs and take the opportunities?

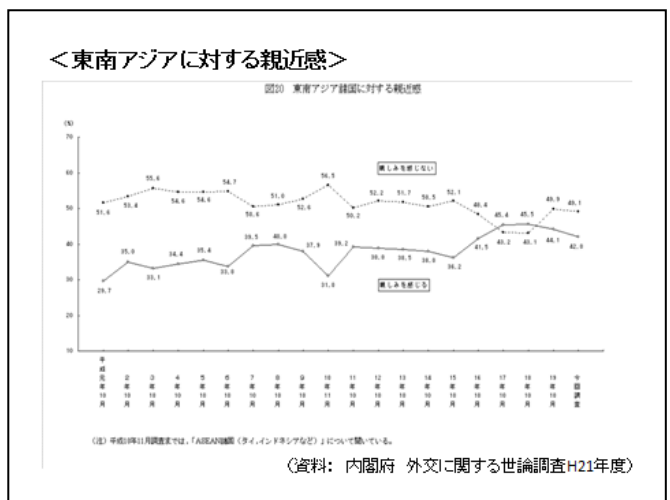
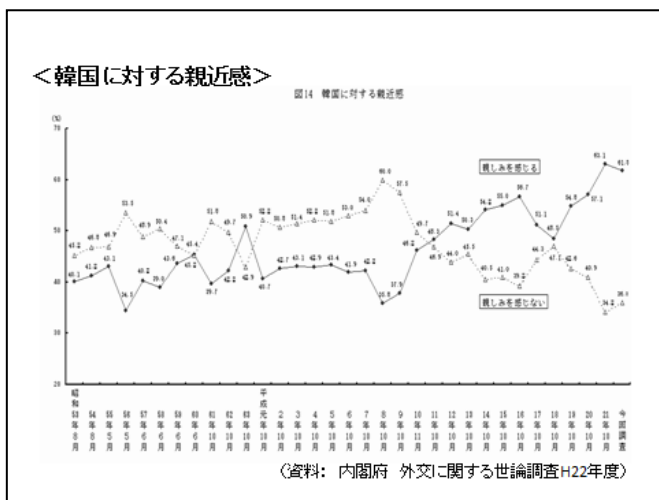
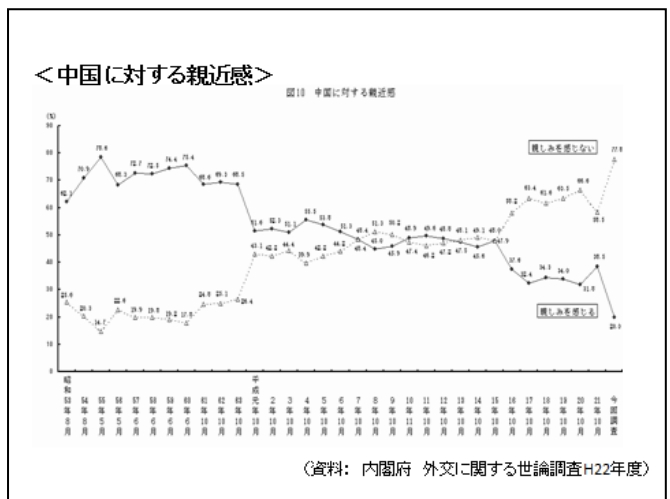
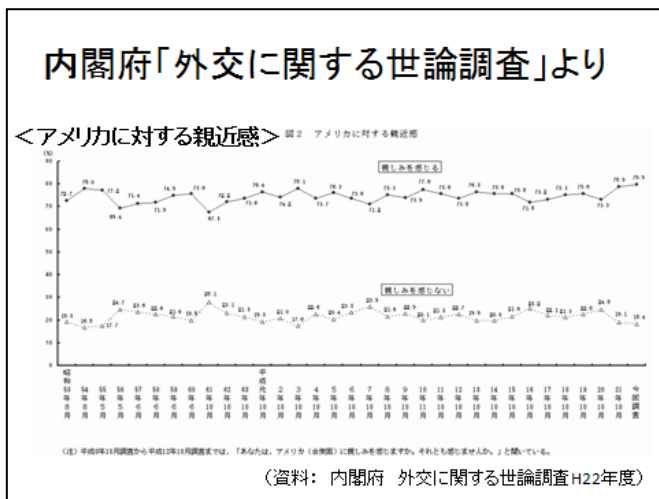
2. East Asia as a Region

- Rapid economic growth and *the East Asian Miracle*
- The Flying Geese and deepening inter-dependence
- The Developmental State and embedded autonomy
- Sense of “crisis” and the national consensus for economic growth
- The Crises of 1997 and the search for regional cooperation

3. Japan in East Asia: A Prospect for Becoming a Regional Soft Power to Facilitate Cooperation

- Needs for change—“the Opening (*Heisei no kaikoku*)” ?
- Change to be driven by incentives to enhance motivation rather than just by a political will
 - (1) New priorities and rents, PPP(Public-Private Partnership), etc.
 - (2) Creation of social capital for regional cooperation
- “Cool Asia” campaign in Japan to fill the perception gaps?

【Material】



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 Yoshiki, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu; and 82 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 11 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. YANO Takuya 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 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 six years is given below.

| Year | Month | Topic | Co-sponsor |
|-----------|---|--|---|
| 2011 | February | East Asia in Transition and New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation | International Studies Department, Vietnam National University |
| | | The Japan-U.S. Relations in the Era of Smart Power | The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) |
| 2010 | January | Prospects of Changing Black Sea Area and Role of Japan | Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation |
| | February | Promoting Japan-China Cooperation on Environmental Issues of the 21st Century: In Pursuit of Recycling Society | School of Environment, Beijing Normal University (China) |
| | May | Promoting Japan-U.S. Cooperation in Non-Traditional Security: the Case of Counter Piracy | National Bureau of Asian Research (U.S.) |
| September | East Asian Regional Architectures and Japan-India Relations | The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (India) | |
| 2009 | April | US-Japan Relations Under the New Obama Administration | National Committee on American Foreign Policy (U.S.) |
| | June | Prospect of Japan-China Relationship in the Changing World | China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China) |
| | September | Japan-ASEAN Cooperation amid the Financial and Economic Crisis | ASEAN-ISIS |
| 2008 | January | An East Asian Community and the US | The Council on East Asia Community, The Pacific Forum CSIS (U.S.) |
| | June | Cooperation in Environment and Energy | The Council on East Asia 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 | |
| 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 (U.S.) |
| | July | The Challenges Facing Japan and ASEAN in the New Era | ASEAN-ISIS |
| | November | Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World | Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), Embassy of Turkey, University of Shizuoka |
| 2006 | February | Review and Perspective of the Japan-Taiwan Relationship | Taiwan International Studies Association (Taiwan) |
| | June | An East Asian Community and the United States | The Pacific Forum CSIS (U.S.), The Council on East Asia Community |
| | September | Prospect for Japan-ASEAN Strategic Partnership after the First East Asia Summit | ASEAN-ISIS |

5. Faculty of International Studies Department, Vietnam National University

International Studies became one of the majors in the Faculty of History in 1993 in a close association with the Department of World History. Two years later, Vietnam National University-Hanoi decided to establish the Faculty of International Studies belonging to the University of Social Sciences and Humanities on October 21st, 1995. International Studies was then a new subject in Vietnam.

The Faculty has been favored by Vietnam's open policy and extension of its external relations and the University's objective to become an interdisciplinary, multi-disciplines one. However, the process of setting up this new subject has faced with many obstacles such as the limitation of the number of faculty, the inadequate of curricula, textbooks, facilities and the difference in understanding what International Studies is. After more than ten years of development since its inception, the Faculty of International Studies has recorded some great achievements.

The Faculty provides three specialties including International Relations (IR), European Studies and American Studies. In addition to completing and upgrading its undergraduate curricula, the Faculty has accomplished its graduate program of International Relations at the master level.

Apart from training activities, the Faculty pays much attention to researches to serve its training activities and international integration. These researches focus on two objectives: to best serve its training activities and international integration. Researches, including those on Globalization, International Relations after the Cold War, NAFTA, US Economics, US Foreign Policy, US Cultural Characteristics, EU Foreign Policy, German Cultural Life, British Common Wealth, have well served the Faculty as textbooks and reference materials and improved training quality. There have been many researches and scientific projects such as Vietnam-ASEAN Relations and other articles were published on prestigious journals.

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6. An Introduction to the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

【History and Purpose】

The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. (JFIR or The Forum) was founded on March 12, 1987 in Tokyo on the private initiative of Dr. OKITA Saburo, former Foreign Minister, Mr. HATTORI Ichiro who contributed the endowment, and 61 other independent citizens from business, academic, political, and media circles of Japan, recognizing that a policy-oriented research institution in the field of international affairs independent from the government was most urgently needed in Japan. JFIR celebrated its 20th anniversary on March, 2007.

The Forum is a private, non-profit, independent, and non-partisan organization dedicated to improved understanding of Japanese foreign policy and international relations. The Forum takes no institutional position on issues of foreign policy, though its members are encouraged not only to analyze but to propose alternatives on matters of foreign policy. Though the Forum helps its members to formulate policy recommendations on matters of public policy, the views expressed in such recommendations represent in no way those of the Forum as an institution and the responsibility for the contents of the recommendations is that of those members of the Forum who sign them alone.

【Organization】

JFIR is a membership organization with four categories of membership, namely, ① corporate, ② associate corporate, ③ individual and ④ associate individual. It is governed by the *Board of Directors*, which is in charge of the management, and is supervised by the *Board of Trustees*, which elects the Directors and advises the Board of Directors. The *Steering Committee* coordinates the annual work program while fundraising and financial matters are handled by the *Financial Committee*. Advisors give advice at Board of Directors meetings, while Counselors serve the President as his advisors. The Chairman, President and Executive Director are elected for two-year terms by the Board of Directors and are eligible for reelection.

【Board of Directors】

The members of the Board of Directors are:
[Chairman] IMAI Takashi, [President] ITO Kenichi,
[Vice President] HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi,
[Members] HANDA Haruhisa, TAKUBO Tadae,
WATANABE Mayu.

【Activities】

Policy Recommendations :

The fundamental purpose of JFIR is to promote policy-oriented research. Therefore, all the activities of JFIR are directed towards that purpose. Two Councils were set up specifically for this. One is for the policy recommendations in the long-term perspective and the other is for those in the short-term and immediate perspective. The former is the *Policy Council* and the latter is the *Emergency Policy Council*. In the case of the Policy Council, a Task Force headed by a member of the Policy Council and staffed by research fellows of JFIR serves the Plenary Council as assistants for making an intensive in-depth analysis of the issue and working out a draft of the policy recommendations. When more than two thirds of the full members of the Policy Council endorse the draft or its revision, it is approved and becomes the recommendations of those members of the Policy Council who sign it. Please note that in this and other cases, the Forum takes no institutional position on issues of foreign policy, though its members are encouraged not only to analyze but to propose alternatives on matters of foreign policy. Though the Forum helps its members to formulate policy recommendations, the responsibility for the contents is that of those members of the Forum who sign them alone. Since 1988 the Policy Council has publicly announced 33 policy recommendations and presented them to the Prime Minister of Japan. Recent Policy Recommendations have covered themes such as "Prospects and Challenges for the Acceptance of Foreign Migrants to Japan", "Positive Pacifism and the Future of the Japan-U.S. Alliance," "Japan's Strategy for its Agriculture in the Globalized World," "Nature of Russian State and Japan's Strategy towards Russia," and "India's Leap Forward and Japan." Currently JFIR is preparing new recommendations on "Expansion of China and Japan's Response."

Internet Activities : In tandem with the core activities of policy recommendations, another important pillar of "*Hyakka-Seiho*"

(<http://www.jfir.or.jp/cgi/m-bbs/>) started on April 12, 2006. The BBS is open to



English website of JFIR
(<http://www.jfir.or.jp/e/index.htm>)

the public, functioning as an interactive forum for discussions on foreign policy and international affairs. All articles posted on the BBS are sent through the monthly e-mail magazine "*Meru-maga Nihon Kokusai Fōramu*" in Japanese to 10,000 readers. Furthermore, articles worth attention are translated into English and posted on the English website of JFIR as "*JFIR Commentary*," as well as introduced in the e-mail magazine "*JFIR E-Letter*" in English as "JFIR Commentary of the Month." "JFIR E-Letter" is delivered monthly to 10,000 readers worldwide.

International Exchanges : Through policy-focused international exchange, JFIR not only keeps abreast of global public opinion, but strives to play a part in the formation of a public opinion that reflects Japan's positions. With this in mind, JFIR has been sponsoring international dialogues, meetings, symposia and workshops. As of September 2010 JFIR has held 75 such international exchange meetings. The latest event was "Japan-U.S. Roundtable to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty," under the theme of "The Japan-U.S. Alliance at 50: Crossroads or Continuity?" in Tokyo on 24 May, 2010. In addition, JFIR supports similar activities of its sister organization, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ).

Foreign Policy Briefing : Foreign Policy Briefing meeting is organized monthly to provide an occasion for members of JFIR to meet, in an informal and confidential manner, senior officials of the Japanese Government and other authorities in the field of international affairs. Speakers are invited to give a talk and is followed by questions and answers. The meeting is conducted in Japanese. Foreign Policy Briefing meeting is held under the co-sponsorship of JFIR with its sister organizations, GFJ, and The Council on East Asian Community (CEAC).

Diplomatic Roundtable : Diplomatic Roundtable meeting is organized, taking advantage of an occasion of a visit to Japan of a person prominent in various fields of activities abroad, for the purpose of providing an occasion for the visiting speaker to meet and exchange views with members of JFIR. Unless the speaker agrees to speak in Japanese, English is, in principle, the language used in the Roundtable and no Translation is provided. Diplomatic Roundtable meeting is held under the co-sponsorship of JFIR with its sister organizations, GFJ and CEAC.

Regular Research Programs : JFIR's various researchers from both Japan and abroad are engaged in research projects either collectively or individually, and the results of their research are published in a series of reports. Currently JFIR is carrying out several Research Programs including on "the U.S.-Japan Alliance and Japanese Diplomacy in the Era of 'Smart Power'," and "New Perspective on East Asian Regional Cooperation and Challenges of Japan's Policy." The former explores the future visions of the U.S.-Japan alliance and its implications for Japanese foreign and security policies in an era when the spectrum and the characteristic power in international relations is transforming to include both hard and soft powers. The latter explores and proposes Japan's future policies from new -points of view toward East Asia where a regional community is being created.

Special Study Projects : In addition to the Regular Research Programs cited above, JFIR organizes multi-year Special Study Projects on an ad hoc basis to conduct research, exchanges, and recommendations on international and diplomatic issues that demand attention, with the results announced to the public. The main projects which have been conducted recently are as follows:

1. "Japan-U.S. Joint Research Program on Counter Piracy" aims to explore how the Japan-U.S. relations could contribute in addressing piracy, which in recent years has become a source of threat to the international community.
2. "Study Group on Japan's National Strategy" aims to play the role of a bridgehead for strengthening strategic way of thinking in Japan. The members of the Study Group consisted of scholars, politicians and government officials.
3. "Network of East Asian Think-tanks (NEAT)" aims at the creation of a network of think-tanks in ASEAN+3 nations, for research collaboration on the integration of the East Asia region.
4. "East Asia Forum (EAF)" aims at enhancing understanding and cooperation among industry-government-academia in ASEAN+3 nations.
5. "Russian Study Group" aims to study Japan's strategy toward Russia, particularly in relation to the Northern Territories issue.
6. "Chechnya Study Group" aims to raise understanding and awareness of the Chechnya issue in Japan. It invited to Japan an eleven member.



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