
THE JAPAN-U.S.-CHINA DIALOGUE

The Asia-Pacific Region in Transition and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations

Conference Papers

February 23-24, 2012
at the International House of Japan
Tokyo, Japan

Co-sponsored by

The Global Forum of Japan

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies

The Japan Forum on International Relations

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日米中対話
The Japan-U.S.-China Dialogue

「変容するアジア太平洋地域と日米中関係」

The Asia-Pacific Region in Transition and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations

2012年2月23 - 24日 / February 23-24, 2012

国際文化会館「講堂」、東京、日本 / International House of Japan "Lecture Hall", Tokyo, Japan

共催 / Co-sponsored by

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

カーネギー国際平和財団 / the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

中国社会科学院中国アジア太平洋学会 / China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Science

日本国際フォーラム / The Japan Forum on International Relations (FIR)

2012年2月23日 (木) / Thursday, 23 February, 2012

International House of Japan "SAKURA" / 国際文化会館「SAKURA」

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

18:00 - 20:00

開幕夕食会

Welcome Dinner

2012年2月24日 (金) / Friday, 24 February, 2012

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

セッション / Session I

10:05 - 12:00

成長するアジアと日米中関係
Growing Asia and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations

議長 Chairperson	高原 明生 東京大学教授 TAKAHARA Akio, Professor, The University of Tokyo
報告A (12分間) Presenter A (12 min.)	小川 英治 一橋大学副学長 OGAWA Eiji, Vice President, Hitotsubashi University
報告B (12分間) Presenter B (12 min.)	ジェハ・パク アジア開発銀行研究所副所長 Jae-Ha PARK, Deputy Dean, Asian Development Bank Institute
報告C (12分間) Presenter C (12 min.)	木村 福成 慶應義塾大学教授 KIMURA Fukunari, Professor, Keio University
報告D (12分間) Presenter D (12 min.)	鐘 飛騰 中国社会科学院アジア太平洋研究所外交安全研究室副主任 ZHONG Feiteng, Deputy Director, Research Department for Security and Foreign Relations, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, CASS
報告E (12分間) Presenter E (12 min.)	丸川 知雄 東京大学教授 MARUKAWA Tomoo, Professor, The University of Tokyo
自由討議 (55分間) Free Discussions (55 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants

昼食 / Lunch

12:00 - 13:05

昼食休憩 / Lunch Break (会議場外で各自でお取り下さい)

セッション / Session II

13:05 - 15:00

アジア太平洋地域の平和と安定と日米中関係
Peace and Stability in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations

議長 Chairperson	木村 福成 慶應義塾大学教授 KIMURA Fukunari, Professor, Keio University
報告A (12分間) Presenter A (12 min.)	村田 晃嗣 同志社大学教授 MURATA Koji, Professor, Doshisha University
報告B (12分間) Presenter B (12 min.)	ダグラス・パール カーネギー国際平和財団研究部門担当上席副会長 Douglas PAAL, Vice President for Studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
報告C (12分間) Presenter C (12 min.)	高原 明生 東京大学教授 TAKAHARA Akio, Professor, The University of Tokyo
報告D (12分間) Presenter D (12 min.)	ナラヤナン・ガネサン 広島平和研究所教授 Narayanan GANESAN, Professor, Hiroshima Peace Institute
報告E (12分間) Presenter E (12 min.)	佐藤 考一 桜美林大学教授 SATO Koichi, Professor, J.F.Oberlin University
自由討議 (55分間) Free Discussions (55 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants

2 . Biographies of the Panelists

[Foreign Panelists]

Jae-Ha PARK

Deputy Dean, Asian Development Bank Institute

Graduated from Seoul National University and received his Ph.D. in Economics from Pennsylvania State University. Served as Senior Advisor to the Minister of Finance and Economy of Korea, Director General of the Task Force for Economic Restructuring in the Office of the President of Korea, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Shinhan Bank, and Vice Chairman of Korea Money and Finance Association. Entered ADBI in October 2011.

ZHONG Feiteng

Deputy Head, Department of Security and Diplomacy Studies, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, CASS

Received his Ph.D. of Philosophy in International Studies from Waseda University. Received his Ph.D. of Law from Peking University. Served as Assistant Research Professor in Department of Security and Diplomacy Studies, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, CASS (2009), and Associate Research Professor in CASS (2011).

Douglas PAAL

Vice President for Studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Received his Ph.D. in History and East Asian Languages from Harvard University. Served as director of Asian Affairs of the National Security Council staffs of Presidents Reagan and George H.W. Bush (1986-1993), Unofficial U.S. Representative to Taiwan as director of the American Institute in Taiwan (2002–2006) and Vice chairman of JPMorgan Chase International (2006–2008). He held positions in the policy planning staff at the State Department, as a senior analyst for the CIA, and at U.S. Embassies in Singapore and Beijing.

Narayanan GANESAN

Professor, Hiroshima Peace Institute

Received his Ph.D. of Political Science in Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, Illinois, U.S. Served as Visiting Associate, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore (1988-89), Instructor, Comparative Politics, Department of Political Science in Northern Illinois University (1989), Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Science and Southeast Asian Studies Programme in National University of Singapore (1996-2003) and Associate Professor, Hiroshima Peace Institute in Hiroshima City University (2004-06).

[Japanese Panelists]

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.

TAKAHARA Akio*Professor, The University of Tokyo*

Received his DPhil from the University of Sussex in 1988. Served as visiting scholar at the Consulate-General of Japan in Hong Kong (1989-1991), the Japanese Embassy in Beijing (1996-1998), and at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research of Harvard University (2005-06). Concurrently serves as the Secretary-General of the New Japan-China Friendship 21st Century Committee (Japanese side).

OGAWA Eiji*Professor, Hitotsubashi University*

Received his Ph.D. in Commerce from Hitotsubashi University in 1999. Served as Visiting Scholar of the Department of Economics of University of California at Berkeley and Visiting Scholar of Research Department of the International Monetary Fund. Concurrently serves as Chairperson of Governing Board of EU Studies Institute in Tokyo, Councillor at the Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies of Bank of Japan, Faculty Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry.

KIMURA Fukunari*Professor, Keio University*

Received his Ph.D. in economics from the Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1991. He worked for the International Development Center of Japan as Researcher (1982-1986), the Department of Economics, State University of New York at Albany as Assistant Professor (1991-1994). Concurrently serves as Chief Economist, Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA), and President, Japan Society of International Economics.

MARUKAWA Tomoo*Professor, The University of Tokyo*

Received his B.A. in Economics from University of Tokyo in 1987. Served as Visiting Scholar at Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Visiting Professor at the Institute d'Asie Orientale CNRS in France, Researcher at the Institute of Developing Economies. Received the 19th Masayoshi Ohira Memorial Prize in 2003.

MURATA Koji*Professor, Doshisha University*

Received B.A. from Doshisha University in 1987 and M.A. and Ph.D. is from Kobe University in 1995. Also received M.Phil. from the George Washington University as a Fulbright student. Academic interests include U.S. foreign policy and Japan's foreign policy. Currently, serves as the dean of the Faculty of Law and professor of political science, Doshisha University, Kyoto

SATO Koichi*Professor, J.F.Oberlin University*

Received his Ph.D. in International Studies from Waseda University. Served as Sales Engineer of Hitachi Chemical Co. Ltd., Research Fellow of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), and Lecturer of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Concurrently serves as Lecturer of Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) Staff College, Policy Adviser to Japan Coast Guard, Lecturer of National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS).

(In order of appearance)

3. Presentation Papers

Session I: Growing Asia and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations

OGAWA Eiji
Professor, Hitotsubashi University

Alliances Still Matter: Power Shift and the Asia-Pacific Region Order

1. Because of its surpassing function as a means of exchange, the US dollar key currency system has been sustainable even though it has been poorly functioning as a means of store of value. This situation gives little governance over the currency policy of the US government. Currency competition under a multi key currency system should work in giving more effectively governances over the US currency policy. However, given the current situation of the euro, it is not easy to achieve currency competition. It is necessary that other governments persuade the US government to conduct sound currency policy and macroeconomic policy and that the governments should have surveillances over them at any forums including G7 and G20.

2. The current European fiscal crisis occurred in a process of the accumulation of fiscal deficits caused by capital injection into damaged financial institutions in Europe and fiscal stimulus during the global financial crisis. Because the major cause of the global financial crisis is subprime mortgage problem in the US, surveillance over the macroeconomic policy of the US government is important. Because of a fear of transmitting financial crisis from Europe to other countries, it is desirable for other countries to give international cooperation to the EU in funding for European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) and European Stability Mechanism (ESM) in order to prevent from developments in European fiscal crisis into any financial crisis. Specifically, it is desirable to invest in bonds which the EFSF and the ESM issues for raising money.

3. The global financial crisis had asymmetric effects on East Asian currencies although it did not directly affect on East Asian economy. The uncoordinated currency policies among the East Asian countries have brought about volatility and misalignments among the East Asian currencies, which have had adverse effects on intra-regional trade and intra-regional investments in production networks and, in turn, made mis-allocation of resources in this region. Thus, it is necessary for East Asian countries to conduct surveillance over their macro-economy including intra-regional exchange rates and conduct coordinated currency policies among them in order to reduce volatility and misalignments of the intra-regional exchange rates. The Chinese government has already announced a RMB reform including adoption of a managed floating exchange rate system with reference to a currency basket. The neighboring countries in East Asia should persuade the Chinese government to adopt the announced currency policy. Moreover, the euro-zone economy faced the US dollar liquidity deficit after the Lehman shock even though it used the euro as a regional key currency in the EU. In East Asia, weights of the US dollar in international trade and capital transactions are still relatively high. It is important to shift a regional key currency from the US dollar to East Asian own currencies including a regional common currency unit. The regional common currency unit should be a composite of East Asian currencies with convertibility in terms of current and capital accounts. The RMB should be internationalized in terms of not only current account but also capital account.

Jae-Ha PARK
Deputy Dean, Asian Development Bank Institute

Emerging Asia and Japan–U.S.–People’s Republic of China Relations

1. *Growth and Challenges of Emerging Asian Economies*

Recently, emerging Asian economies, particularly the People’s Republic of China (PRC), India and ASEAN, have continued their rapid economic growth. As a result, the Asian region has emerged as the growth center of the global economy. For example, these three economic giants together held nearly a 15% share of the global GDP in 2010. If these countries continue to grow at a projected average growth rate of 6.9% during 2010–2030, their share of global GDP is expected to almost double, to 28% by 2030. By contrast, the global GDP share of the U.S. is projected to decrease from 24.3% in 2010 to 19% in 2030 and that of Japan from 8.6% in 2010 to 5% in 2030.

However, in the course of this radical transformation, emerging Asian economies will face unprecedented challenges as they strive to reduce income and non-income inequality, avoid the middle income trap, accommodate a rising middle class, respond to rapid urbanization, develop the social sector, raise the quality of life, enhance productivity, transform industry, build infrastructure, manage resources, protect the environment and reduce climate change, develop economic and financial institutions, generate innovations and new technologies, and forge new cooperative relations and partnerships in the region and worldwide.

2. *Issues Arising from the Rise of Asian Economies*

The rise of emerging Asian economies, and in particular the growth of the PRC economy, will have a great impact on the rest of the world. In general, the impact will be positive as the rapid economic growth of Asia is expected to contribute to the growth of the global economy. The emergence of large middle-class populations in the PRC and India will have a great impact on global demand.

Currency policy and external imbalances will remain contentious issues between emerging Asia and other developed countries. However, global imbalances are expected to unwind gradually as developed economies increasingly raise their domestic savings to address fiscal deficits. Meanwhile the PRC is expected to shift its growth path away from export and investment-led growth. Emerging Asia’s rapidly growing demand for commodities, particularly natural resources and food, will also be a significant issue for the global economy.

3. *Japan–U.S.–People’s Republic of China Relations*

Developed countries such as Japan and the U.S. will need to find the best way of living with these rapidly growing emerging Asian economies, including allowing them a much larger role in global governance, together with responsibilities that they will need to abide by. In particular, developing Asian countries need to have a greater voice in international forums and to play a major role in finding solutions to such issues as currency policy, external imbalances, financial regulations, investor protection, climate change, commodities prices, and the free trade system.

KIMURA Fukunari
Professor, Keio University

Opportunities for deeper economic partnership in East Asia and Asia-Pacific : trade and investment

Japanese participation in Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) will change the trajectory of economic integration in East Asia and Asia-Pacific in a benevolent direction. Japan should realize the value of economic diplomacy and act strategically so that the U.S. and China can effectively utilize their dynamism for regional prosperity.

1. The removal of agricultural protection, particularly border measures and price support, has been undue homework for decades and should be cleared up in order for Japan to gain a large degree of freedom and negotiating power in economic diplomacy.

2. China and Japan should support ASEAN initiatives for deeper and wider economic integration and nurture regional identity of "East Asia," which presents a new development model and works on novel challenges for deepening economic integration, narrowing development gaps, and sustainable development.

3. The U.S., China, and Japan should promote 21st century regionalism in which a new international economic order supports a 21st-century-type international division of labor or "the 2nd unbundling." TPP and ASEAN++ FTA (or RCEP) can play complementary roles by effectively combining high-level FTAs with well-structured development agenda.

ZHONG Feiteng
Deputy Head, Department of Security and Diplomacy Studies,
Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, CASS

Alliances Still Matter: Power Shift and the Asia-Pacific Region Order

1. In recent years, China's rise has received great concerns around the world due to its huge size and rapid growth. The Obama administration's "Return to Asia" strategy has stimulated great debates in China. Thus, the biggest challenge in the Asia-Pacific region is the two kinds of political economy system. Is there a separation of politics and economics in the region to other countries, or could it be sustainable?

2. The Asia-Pacific region has experienced power shift. China's rapid growth has contributed to an increase in its share in world GDP from nearly 4.2 percent (PPP basis) in 1991 to about 13.6 percent in 2010. China's foreign trade value gradually increased from less than 140 billion US dollars in 1991 to 3.3 trillion U.S. dollars in November 2011, 24 times as much as 1991. Now, China is the largest exporter in the world.

3. Thus, does Japan depend on China in trade? To some extent, the answer is yes. However, we should take a political economy view on this issue. Japan's trade volume with the U.S. alliance system is still larger than with China. The conventional saying "politics cool, economic hot" misunderstands the alliance politics. And, in some important industries, such as automobile, Japan has very close relationship with U.S. From the perspective of production chain, the U.S. automobile market was suddenly and seriously influenced by the Great East Japan Earthquake. While the influence to China's market lags one month or late. That means the connection in automobile industry between Japan and China is not so close and deep.

4. China is a broker in region trade. According to data released by China's General Administration of Customs, the "Nuclear reactors, boilers, machinery, etc" and "Electrical, electronic equipment" are the two most important commodities in China's foreign trade. Korea, Japan, U.S., Philippines, and Thailand are important import origins for China; U.S., Japan, Korea, Australia and Thailand are important destination of China's export. Thus, we can say China join economic interdependence with U.S. alliance system.

5. In the latter of 2011, U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton announced that the 21st century is "America's Pacific Century." In November, 2011, Obama said at Honolulu, that "the TPP has the potential to be a model not only for the Asia Pacific but for future trade agreements." The trade background of "return to Asia" is Asia's rise, Europe's decline in U.S. trade. During the past decades, Asia's share of U.S. increased 2% and became the largest export destination, while Europe's share decreased 3.7%. At the same time, the United States still has great competitiveness in service trade. The total export of China and Japan's service products only accounts 60% of U.S. export. Partly due to political relationship between Japan and U.S., U.S. service products exports largely to Japan than to China.

6. Due to relative small GDP share and trade share in the world, TPP countries, including Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Vietnam, Chile and Peru, could not solve U.S. trade imbalance. Japan's economic relationship with U.S. alliance system was reinforced. Thus, TPP's potential is not so great.

7. Although China grows quickly in trade, it still needs to integrate more deeply into global trade and update its division status. The strategic stability among the great powers could be expected due to economic interdependence. However, competing for small and middle trade partnership in the region may produce uncertainty in the near future due to their political reason. And in the long run, Japan might also confront dilemma of politics and economics separation.

MARUKAWA Tomoo
Professor, The University of Tokyo

**Some Proposals for the Japanese Industry in the Face of Deepening
U.S.-China Business Relationship**

1. *Make use of the capabilities of rising Asian manufacturers*

Trade disputes arise quite frequently between the United States and China, but this is a reflection of the deepening of business relationship between them. In high-tech industries, U.S. and China have created a division of labor, with Taiwan assuming the intermediary role. In the case of semiconductors, for example, American fabless makers, i.e., semiconductor vendors which specialize in designing, and Taiwanese foundries, i.e., semiconductor companies which specialize in manufacturing, which have their factories in China as well as in Taiwan, have created a powerful tag which overwhelms the competition against Japanese integrated device manufacturers (i.e., vertically-integrated semiconductor vendors). In electronic products, American lead firms and Taiwanese and Chinese electronic manufacturing services (EMS) jointly create innovative products that compete against Japanese products. Japanese manufacturers have been relatively reluctant in using the supply base of Asian foundries and EMSs for fear of technology leakage and for the self-confidence in their competence in manufacturing. Such hesitation has led to the decline of Japanese high-tech manufacturers' share in many parts of the world market, including Japan itself. Japanese manufacturers must not hesitate in making use of the powerful supply base created by Taiwanese and Chinese manufacturers.

2. *Make Japan a platform for the emerging Asian multinational corporations*

Since around 2005, many Chinese firms had their stocks listed in American stock exchanges, such as New York Stock Exchange and NASDAQ. As of November 2011, 168 Chinese firms were listed in NASDAQ. These Chinese firms typically have their headquarters in China, but in order to bypass Chinese regulations they establish nominal headquarters in British Virgin Islands or in Cayman Islands, and after raising funds by IPO they usually invest these funds back to China. Chinese firms which have been listed in NASDAQ include promising firms in rising industries, such as Baidu, Sohu, and Netease in internet services, Home Inn and China Lodging Group in hotels, Spreadtrum, Vimicro, and UTStarcom in electronics. By contrast, only three Chinese companies have been listed in Tokyo Stock Exchange with limited success. The listing of promising Chinese and other Asian enterprises in the Japanese stock markets can become a stimulus for invigorating the markets. We must consider how to invite Asian enterprises to Japanese stock markets and study the impediments that hamper their listing.

3. *Be prepared for the slowdown of Chinese economic growth*

We estimate that the growth rate of China will slow down to 7-8% in 2010s, mainly because of the end of the growth of its working age population and its decrease, which is expected to start from 2015. But still China will be the most dynamically developing market in the world. We must not be obsessed too much with short-term fluctuations of Chinese economy and turmoil in Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. China will no doubt be the largest economy in the world within a decade or so. Corporate strategies and national industrial policies must be designed on this assumption.

*Session II: Peace and Stability in the Asia-Pacific Region and
the Japan-U.S.-China Relations*

MURATA Koji
Professor, Doshisha University

Chinese Challenges to Global and Regional Security for Japan and the United States and Possibilities of the Triangle Cooperation

The rise of China both in military and economic terms poses serious security challenges to Japan and the United States at global and regional levels. China now may be similar to Japan in the past. The rise of Chinese economy may be similar to Japan in the late 1970s and the 1980s. Chinese military expansion may be similar to Japan in the 1930s. And, Chinese environmental and demographic situations might be similar to Japan in the late 1960s and the early 1970s.

Japan, even at the economic zenith of the 1980s, however, never successfully exercised future projection capabilities, the abilities of manipulating the images in future, as does China now. Also, China is expanding power projection capabilities in East Asia. Increasing in anti-access, and area denial capabilities, Beijing may seek to make the South China Sea the second Persian Gulf.

On the other hand, the United States is going to return to Asia from the post-9.11 Middle East. Nonetheless, due to strict budgetary restrictions and the above-mentioned Chinese military expansion, Washington might decrease in power projection capabilities in the Asia-Pacific area. At least, the United States must relocate its overseas military presence in the region in more effective ways.

To sum up, in short or middle terms, Japan is in between increasing Chinese future projection capabilities and decreasing U.S. power projection capabilities. In long terms, however, China has a lot of socio-economic problems, and the United States has enough socio-economic potentials.

First, Tokyo must stabilize domestic politics in order to stabilize the alliance relationship with the United States. Second, Japan must promote multilateral security cooperation with neighboring countries such as South Korea and Australia. Third, in order to develop inclusive, not exclusive, policies towards China, Japan and the United States must expand human networks with China at various levels. Finally, Japan and the United States should try to share the political, economic, and social experiences, both successful and unsuccessful, with China.

Douglas PAAL
Vice President for Studies at the Carnegie Endowment
for International Peace

The commanding narrative of 2011 was the ongoing process of how the United States and China are shaping their relations for the decades ahead, diplomatically, strategically, and economically, amidst major shifts in their relative wealth and power. The pivotal event of 2011 in this regard arrived early in the year with the January 19-21 state visit of Chinese President Hu Jintao to the United States. That chapter in US-China history, opened by Hu, was closed at the end of the year with President Barack Obama's participation in the East Asian Summit (EAS) in Bali, Indonesia, after hosting the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) leaders meeting in Honolulu, November 12-13.

The risks for the entire Asian-Pacific region in worsening US-China ties became unusually clear in 2010, when incidents involving China in the South China Sea, near the Senkaku Islands (Diaoyudao), and on the Korean peninsula, brutally reopened sensitive territorial and political disputes, and startled many of China's neighbors out of a decade's complacency.

Linking the incidents of 2010 with the summitry of 2011 was a little remarked journey to Beijing in September 2010 by two senior White House officials, then Deputy National Security Advisor Thomas Donilon and National Economic Council Chair Lawrence Summers. They were on a mission to induce China to manage growing disputes and find a more constructive path to durable bilateral and regional relations.

Donilon and Summers presented a "road map" to better relations during their meetings in Beijing. The road map started with suggested steps to address issues that were eroding political support in the US for cooperation with China. They included appeals for concrete progress on straightforward business matters such as market access, indigenous innovation requirements, intellectual property protection, undervalued currency, and government procurement.

But the roadmap crucially underscored the need to seek restraint of North Korea's violent provocations against South Korea, recommencement of dialogue between the two militaries, and a retreat from China's increasingly fiery rhetoric against the US and others emerging from official and unofficial channels in China. The enticing milestone on the road map presented to China was the offer of a successful state visit to the US in 2011, before President Hu is to complete his ten years in office in 2012. (This was in contrast with a generally unsatisfying state visit to the George W. Bush White House in 2006.)

Following the Donilon-Summers visit, the outlines of an internal debate emerged in China over whether or not to accept the American terms for the state visit as an emblem of a stabilized relationship. The debate evidently concluded in favor of better relations in early December, when Beijing conveyed to the White House Hu's acceptance of the invitation to a state visit. Almost simultaneously, China's state councilor for foreign affairs, Dai Bingguo, posted an article on the Foreign Ministry's website calling for China to return "to the path of peaceful development."

Dai Bingguo's message of restraint was instantly recognized as an authoritative admonition to "cool it" to diplomats, military officers, and China's growing pool of hot-headed commentators. There are indications of other unpublished circulars instructing military officers and academics to stick to official themes or seek prior authorization for their published views. In the end, Chinese commentary on a host of sensitive issues cooled considerably (and has remained so) as preparations raced ahead for Hu's January state visit to the US. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates made a hurried trip to China just before the Hu state visit, reopening military-to-military contacts and removing an impediment to a successful visit.

Wisely, the Obama administration sought not just a one-off state visit, whose influence might or might not endure. US officials also sought Chinese agreement to a series of exchanges over a year or more, including visits to each other by their vice presidents, Joe Biden and Xi Jinping. When China agreed, this had the virtue of prolonging the mutual restraint started in December 2010. It gave bureaucracies on both sides goals to demonstrate constructive cooperation with each visit. And, in the case of Xi Jinping, it offered a chance to give China's most likely leader for the next ten years a personal stake in the relationship he might otherwise have ducked.

Vice President Biden made his visit to China (as well as to Mongolia and Japan) in late August. Xi Jinping's return visit has not yet been formally announced, but it is widely expected to be before the Chinese New Year's holiday in early 2012.

In the background of the year's diplomatic activity there flowed a lively and continuing debate about the rise of China and presumed permanent decline of the United States. Gloom persisted over the American economy and the political gridlock in Washington, as China's estimated gross domestic product surpassed Japan's in mid-year, ranking China number two behind the US. China's evident success bubbled up in patriotic public sentiment, symbolized and motivated by the impressive 2008 Olympics, 2009 Asian Games, and 2010 Shanghai Expo, as well as by the first flight of a Chinese built stealth fighter and sea trial of its first aircraft carrier in 2011.

China's holding of roughly \$1.3 trillion in US securities was a perennial topic, however misinformed the debate often was about which country was the more vulnerable. While 2011 commenced with seemingly monotonous commentary about inevitable US decline, toward the end of the year, the range of opinion had broadened to include some reflections on the high environmental price China is paying and the economic and social risks it is running with break neck economic growth and excess liquidity and accompanying high levels of bad debt. These were mirrored by reports, including one from China's Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), that in a preponderant number of important categories the US remains well ahead of China and will not soon be superseded.

It is possible some of these second thoughts were fathered by the wish to keep the US powerfully engaged in the region. Since the eruption of various disputes in 2010, certainly Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan and South Korea have made evident their desire to keep the Americans close as security partners and to counter balance growing Chinese power.

This marked a sharp turnaround from the previous decade, when China quite skillfully and successfully deployed leaders, diplomats, and business opportunities to win approving audiences in the region. By the end of 2011, it was manifest that China's year of less volatile rhetoric and regional restraint had not undone the damaging lessons taught by the 2010 frictions.

Natural disasters reinforced the sense of vulnerability in general for populations, especially in Japan and Thailand. Japan's great northeastern earthquake on March 11 took 20,000 lives and brought Japan's nuclear-dependent power grid to worrying lows with consequent effects on industry and exports. Japan's long and winding road from the previously efficient political system under the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to a new multi-party arrangement is still meeting impediments, including opposing, as the Japanese say, "twisted" (nejiri), majorities in the Upper and Lower houses of the Diet.

The US military threw itself into a massive rescue effort, known as Operation Tomodachi (Friend), and demonstrated anew the practical value of the alliance (and of Japan's own armed forces) to ordinary Japanese. But the government of Prime Minister Naoto Kan, of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), the fifth prime minister in five years, proved disappointing, leading to his departure in September. His successor, Yoshihiko Noda, sought to break through a number of festering issues, including how safely to re-start a

number of nuclear power plants shut down in the wake of the March 3 earthquake and tsunami. He compromised with the LDP and Komei parties on tax increases to finance the recovery efforts.

Japan's industrial supply lines were damaged by the earthquake, and then were worsened by massive and rare floods in Thailand, in October and November. Japan is Thailand's largest foreign investor, and constructing new capacity there appeared to be specially promising after the earthquake, as an alternative to new investment in China, where many companies and officials fear becoming overly dependent.

The loss of life in Thailand was in the hundreds, but the heavy rains exposed recent lack of investment in infrastructure in favor of various subsidies to less privileged voters. The government of neophyte Prime Minister Yingluck Shinowatra was over-stretched in attempting to meet the needs of the vast displaced population of the lower Chao Phraya River reaches. As in Japan, great resources will be needed for the recovery, providing a proportionately small but an aggregate measurable stimulus to anemic global economic growth.

Thailand's western neighbor, Myanmar (Burma), surprised long time observers in 2011, when newly inaugurated President Thein Sein introduced a number of policies suggesting departures from the previous twenty years of political stasis. The authorities in capital Naypyidaw relaxed the house arrest restrictions on Nobel Peace Prize laureate and long time opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi. Media muzzles were loosened, and hundreds of political prisoners (out of some 3,000) were released.

At the end of the year, it was not yet clear how deep the willingness to pursue reform might prove to be. Presumably, at least, the military commanders backing the government will be wary of letting the new tolerance go too far, too fast. The measures taken so far may be merely to loosen foreign sanctions and gain the regime respectability, perhaps just enough to chair the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) events in 2013, when its turn arrives.

But, in October, Thein Sein surprised observers when he ordered a moratorium in the construction of a hydroelectric dam at Myitsone in the upper Irrawaddy under construction by Chinese firms. The president may have acknowledged the importance of civil society in opposing the costs of moving populations and damaging the ecology. Yet there was no questioning that he defied Chinese interests despite their strong international and economic support in recent years. Much of the power from the dam would have fed Chinese appetites for electricity.

Early in his term, President Thein Sein made a trip to Beijing pledging cooperation, so his decision in October to oppose the dam construction raised questions about whether Myanmar is seeking decisively to loosen the recent smothering dependency on China, as have Burmese leaders in previous centuries, or making only a tactical maneuver.

Australia and New Zealand, both prospering from expanding commodity trade with China, nonetheless sought to reaffirm their alliance relationships with the US. Successive governments in Canberra and Wellington defied skeptics at home to provide support for Washington's wars in Iraq and more obviously in Afghanistan. But in 2011, they chose to draw closer to Washington in ways intended to send a message of caution to Beijing.

Wellington returned to the inner circle of the Australia-New Zealand-U.S. (ANZUS) Alliance, regaining access to intelligence denied since the 1980s, when the Lange government rejected port calls by US Navy ships that might carry nuclear weapons. In contrast, Prime Minister John Key made a positive visit to Washington this summer, and Wellington welcomed a contingent of US Marines to march in ANZUS 60th anniversary celebrations.

Canberra also celebrated the anniversary, with an Australia-US Ministerial (AUSMIN) meeting of defense and foreign ministers in San Francisco in September. They put final touches on announcements to be made during Obama's twice-delayed state visit to Australia in November. The decisions included a new agreement for regular exercises by US forces in northwestern Australia and an aircraft dispersal arrangement to permit US planes to access Australian airports. Obama also chose to deliver his most significant speech on Asia policy to the Parliament in Canberra.

Following the killing of Osama bin Laden on May 1 in Pakistan, Washington's relations with Islamabad endured an increasingly severe series of strains that were already difficult after an American diplomatic employee killed two Pakistanis in Lahore in January. Unable to relax their reliance on each other because of their respective needs, such as continued aid for Pakistan and air and land access to Afghanistan for the US, the two capitals are nonetheless full of skepticism and distrust about each other's intentions.

Tensions between India and Pakistan failed to increase to a critical level, despite their deep suspicions. But by the end of the year, Pakistan's leaders seemed to have recognized that they needed to dial back their overt hostility toward Afghanistan, after Afghan President Hamid Karzai signed a new Strategic Partnership Agreement with his Indian counterpart, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in October. Allegations of Pakistani intelligence support for terrorist attacks on Kabul appear to have led Karzai to show a willingness to tilt toward India's interests in Afghanistan if Pakistan continues to be facilitating Taliban aggressiveness.

India continued to disappoint Americans hopeful of a new strategic relationship with the major power in South Asia. Washington's officials continued to articulate convergence in US and Indian policies in Southeast and East Asia, in a tacit alliance against non-democratic China, should China's behavior warrant a joint reaction. But when tested in practice, over India's acquisition of a new type of fighter aircraft for its air force, or commercial nuclear power (for which the Bush and Obama administrations adjusted the application of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to accommodate India's acquisition of nuclear weapons), India looked other than to the US for suppliers.

By the time Barack Obama reached Bali, Indonesia, in November to be the first American president to attend the nascent East Asian Summit, Washington was articulating forcefully its argument that it had brought the US "back" to Asia. In a drumbeat of speeches and briefings, the Obama team argued that the US had misdirected lives and resources to secondary struggles in Iraq and Afghanistan and neglected America's interest in the main theater of 21st century history, the Asia-Pacific region. They argued it is time to "pivot" to Asia, a term that may sound more military than intended.

Bush veterans argued they had not neglected Asia, but the truth is that the US had its eye on counter-terrorism for ten years at the expense of many other interests, including the engagement of senior officials in Asia, where China had vastly stepped up its involvement in the interim. Indeed, an argument can be made that the US gaze had overlooked Asia after the Asian financial crisis of 1997, when the Clinton administration chose not to be as helpful as China appeared to be to the afflicted economies. It is neatly ironic that Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is now the cheerleader of the "back to Asia" argument.

With an election looming in 2012 in the US and in most capitals of consequence in the region, including China's election-like party congress, it was unsurprising that the Obama administration departed from its deft touch at the beginning of the year and grew heavy handed in organizing the president's trip through Asia. Needing to promote jobs at home, Obama overcame Democrat party reservations and finally endorsed passage of the Korea-US Free Trade Agreement (KORUS) on the occasion of pro-US Korean president Lee Myung-bak's state visit in October.

As host of the APEC meeting in Honolulu in November, Obama chose to make a centerpiece of his Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which is intended to be a high-standard free trade agreement among nine

nations (US, Korea, Brunei, Peru, Chile, Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand) largely building on existing bilateral free trade agreements. But by excluding China from prospective participants, the proposal fed suspicions that it is a new anti-China league. The last minute decision by Japan's new Prime Minister Noda to seek to participate in the TPP, welcome on many counts, nonetheless fed the suspicions, additionally because Japan has so many internal hurdles to overcome to enter into an effective free trade agreement.

The US, having shown a deft hand in cooling tensions in 2010. It succeeded in developing productive ties with China and the region simultaneously in 2011, but was at risk of succumbing to a new round of tensions as 2012's political year began. Disputes over the South China Sea, North Korea's nuclear weapons programs and unease over the correlation of power between the US and China remained unresolved. They stirred emotions among the region's populations, as their leaders failed to find paths toward their resolution.

TAKAHARA Akio
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How Can We Promote Japan-China Relations? : Some Proposals

1. *“Strengthen the resilience, weaken the fragility”*

There is a lot of uncertainty about the future of China: e.g. can it succeed in soft-landing?

Japan is an eternal neighbour of China: cannot move, cannot run away

Create a virtuous circle: Japan-China relations Japan-US relations US-China relations

Japan-China relations (and US-China relations) is both resilient and fragile

Both countries jointly should reinforce the resilience, and deal with the fragility

I.e. further develop economic, cultural and societal exchange; discuss strategic coexistence and ways to control exclusive nationalism

2. *Collaborate to realise human security*

China is in the midst of modernisation, aspiring to become wealthier and mightier

Patriotic education inspires people to achieve the Great Revival of the Chinese Nation, but at the same time reproduces the sense of humiliation and victim mentality

Increase in social contradictions and the rise in the aggressive language of the military reminds us of Japan in the 1930s

China must develop stably to make a post-modern society soon; Japan makes a good reference

Japan should collaborate with the affluent Chinese for human security in China and other parts of East Asia.

3. *Promote research and publish in Chinese*

One element of fragility is distrust and overly negative image of the other side

Japan should establish a contemporary China study centre, and institutionalise a mechanism of trilateral research exchange between China and US

Send out information in Chinese about various views that exist in Japan

4. *Increase the diplomatic power and soft power of Japan*

Japan and China should compete in their public diplomacy

Inform not only foreign countries but also its own nationals of Japanese diplomacy

Japan must do better in PR

Japan should increase its soft power, for example by promoting science & technology and improving its language education

**SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE GREAT POWERS:
PREFERENCES AND POLICIES**

1. *General Observations*

Most countries prefer a balance of power among great powers
Indonesia and Malaysia more committed to active and independent foreign policy
Singapore committed to overwhelming American power as small vulnerable state
Indonesia and Myanmar are skeptical about benign American interests
Muslim majority states think US worsens Middle East problems by supporting Israel
Most countries welcome economic investments and aid without conditionalities

2. *United States*

Traditionally worked with hub and spokes allies Thailand and the Philippines
Thailand has drifted after 1975 and had a strategic alignment with China till 1988
Philippines voted out the bases in 1991 but has increased cooperation since VFA in 1999
Singapore has the strongest policy of alignment now after 1990 MOU, Addendum and Implementation Arrangements by hosting COMLOG WESTPAC, F16 aircraft on rotational deployment and berthing and resupplying for aircraft carriers
Relationship with Vietnam has increased significantly and now has decided to strategically engage Myanmar
Has extensive economic interests in region and is heavily invested

3. *China*

Traditional ally of Myanmar and has renewed relations with Vietnam though some outstanding issues remain and close to Laos and Cambodia
Fears of Indonesia and Malaysia regarding threat perceptions have dissipated
Singapore's bilateral relationship has significantly strengthened
Dense economic transactionalism with region and overseas Chinese immigrants
Philippines is the occasional thorn in the region on maritime issues
Clearly a rising power that aims to secure soft power and diplomatic support

4. *Japan*

Residual distrust in region from older generation
Strong economic linkages especially in construction, infrastructure, automotive, electronic and extractive industries, continuation of Yoshida Doctrine
Strong engagement of states along Malacca Strait, especially Malaysia and Indonesia
Much goodwill accumulated in Indochina for infrastructural development and ODA
Attempting to rapidly reengage Myanmar to offset China's influence

SATO Koichi
Professor, J.F.Oberlin University

Policy Recommendations on “The Japan-U.S.-China Dialogue: The Asia-Pacific Region in Transition and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations

Much has been said about the rapid increase in the number of Chinese maritime deployments, including the activities of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) navy and the Chinese maritime security agencies in the South China Sea and the East China Sea. These sea areas are believed to be rich in oil and fishery resources. The Chinese government claims the all South China Sea Islands including the Spratly Islands and the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea. They have sovereignty disputes with the Southeast Asian neighbors and Japan on these maritime features. The U.S. government also opposes the Chinese interference with the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea. If so, what can we do for the prevention of the maritime disputes, and promotion of the Japan-U.S.-China Cooperation?

1. *Establish the Maritime Security Cooperation Committee (MSCC) among Japan, the U.S, and China.*
2. *Promote the contribution to the Japan-U.S. Alliance for strengthening of Security of Asia-Pacific Region.*
3. *Support the establishment of the Council for the Cooperative Projects in the South China Sea (CCPSCS) and encourage the solution of South China Sea Conflict.*
4. *Reinforce the Japanese domestic maritime law regime and practice the maritime patrol and training against the violation of territorial waters by the foreign ships.*
5. *Dispatch the meteorologists, ecological and environmental researchers periodically to the remote islands including the Senkaku Islands, and restore the lighthouse keepers’ presence in these islands for the defense purpose. The nationalization of the remote islands may be realized, too.*
6. *Establish the East Asia Future Community Dialogue (EAFPD)*

Establish the EAFPD, a forum for the East Asian friendship, and comprehensive cooperation of security, economic and cultural fields, and future visions including the U.S., India, Australia, New Zealand. The cooperation should cover the disaster-relief, prevention and cure of infectious diseases, fish farming & marine preserve, anti-marine pollution, prevention of climate change, regional finance & trade, education & support for the students from regional countries, academic exchanges, and alleviation of the cultural frictions among the citizens in the region.

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 10 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 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. KIKUCHI Yona serves as Acting 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 five years is given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2012	March	The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role	ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies
	March	The Rise of Emerging Countries and the Future of Global Governance	Fudan University
	February	The Asia-Pacific Region in Transition and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations	Nanyang Technological University The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies
2011	October	The Japan-China Relations at Crossroads	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)
	July	The Great East Japan Earthquake and Regional Cooperation on Disaster Management	National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, etc
	February February	The Japan-U.S. Relations in the Era of Smart Power East Asia in Transition and New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation	The Center for Strategic and International Studies (U.S.) International Studies Department, Vietnam National University (Vietnam)
2010	September	East Asian Regional Architectures and Japan-India Relations	The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (India)
	May	Promoting Japan-U.S. Cooperation in Non-Traditional Security: the Case of Counter Piracy	National Bureau of Asian Research (U.S.)
	February January	Promoting Japan-China Cooperation on Environmental Issues of the 21st Century: In Pursuit of Recycling Society Prospects of Changing Black Sea Area and Role of Japan	School of Environment, Beijing Normal University (China) Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation
2009	September	Japan-ASEAN Cooperation amid the Financial and Economic Crisis	ASEAN-ISIS
	June	Prospect of Japan-China Relationship in the Changing World	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China)
	April	US-Japan Relations Under the New Obama Administration	National Committee on American Foreign Policy (U.S.)
2008	September	Prospect of Japan-ASEAN Partnership after the Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation	ASEAN-ISIS
	July	Japan-China Relations Entering A New Stage	Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China)
	June January	Cooperation in Environment and Energy An East Asian Community and the US	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.)

5. An Introduction to The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations and promoting active international engagement by the United States. Founded in 1910, its work is nonpartisan and dedicated to achieving practical results.

The last decades have seen rapid internationalization in all kinds of fields—from small business to terrorism to religion, entertainment and social activism. Oddly, think tanks—even those whose interests are international—remained largely national enterprises, rooted in the views of one country. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was the first to break the pattern.

In 1994, the Endowment launched the Carnegie Moscow Center, pioneering the idea that in today's world a think tank whose mission is to contribute to global security, stability, and prosperity requires a permanent international presence and a multinational outlook at the core of its operations.

Building on the strength of this success and following its century-long practice of changing as global circumstances change, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace undertook a fundamental redefinition of its role and mission.

As it celebrates its Centennial, the Carnegie Endowment, led by Chairman Richard Giordano and President Jessica T. Mathews, is pioneering the first global think tank, with flourishing offices now in Washington, Moscow, Beijing, Beirut, and Brussels. These five locations include the centers of world governance and the places whose political evolution and international policies will most determine the near-term possibilities for international peace and economic advance.

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6. An Introduction to China Association of Asia Pacific Studies

China Association of Asia Pacific Studies (President: Zhang Yunling) is a non-governmental and non-profit academic organization, which was established by the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS). It has dedicated to promote and coordinate academic studies in the Asia-Pacific region, and to enhance mutual understandings and friendship between China and Asia-Pacific countries.

The Association organizes experts of Asia-Pacific studies and undertakes research projects commissioned by the Chinese Government. It also promotes academic exchanges domestically and internationally, and strengthen cooperation with many research institutes in the Asia-Pacific Region and worldwide.

The Association sponsors and organizes the nationwide symposium and seminar every year. In 2011, the association held the symposium, titled as “Economic Development and Building Bridgehead in Asia-Pacific Region”, co-sponsoring with Yunnan Provincial Federation of Social Science Circles and the government of Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Prefecture. Each Asia-pacific Research Institute in China and more than 100 scholars over 30 Universities attended.

The Association has published a comprehensive journal of Asia-Pacific Studies biannually, emphasizes on researches in relation to on Asian-Pacific politics, economics, foreign relations, literature, philosophy and linguistics.

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

The Forum conducts a variety of activities hosting conferences, organizing research programs, and publishing research reports and policy recommendations, etc.

[History]

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, Mr. HATTORI Ichiro, Mr. ITO Kenichi, and 60 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 12, 2007. And on April 1, 2011, JFIR was reincorporated as a “public interest foundation” with the authorization granted by the Prime Minister in recognition of its achievements.

[Purpose]

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. As for the organizational structure of JFIR, the “Board of Trustees” is the highest decision making body, which is in charge of electing the “Directors” and of supervising overall activities of JFIR, while the “Board of Directors” is an executive body, which is in charge of the management of day-to-day operations of JFIR.

[Activities]

In tandem with the core activities of the “Policy Council” in making policy recommendations, another important pillar of JFIR’s activities is the BBS “Hyakka-Seiho” which means “Hundred Flowers in Full Bloom” (<http://www.jfir.or.jp/cgi/m-bbs/>). The BBS, which started on April 12, 2006, is open to 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 bimonthly e-mail magazine “Meru-maga Nihon Kokusai Fōramu” in Japanese to about 10,000 readers in Japan. Furthermore, articles worth attention for foreigners are translated into English and posted on the English website of JFIR (<http://www.jfir.or.jp/e/index.htm>) as “JFIR Commentary.” They are also introduced in the e-mail magazine “JFIR E-Letter” in English. “JFIR E-Letter” is delivered bimonthly to about 10,000 readers worldwide.



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