# **Report of**

# The 9th Japan-ASEAN Dialogue

on

# "The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role"

March 13-14, 2012

Tokyo, Japan

Sponsored by

The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

Co-sponsored by

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS)

Supported by Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF) Worldwide Support for Development The Japan Foundation

# Preface

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) aims to promote a policy-oriented exchange of views between business, opinion and political leaders of Japan and their counterparts in the rest of the world, and to contribute to the deepening of mutual understanding and the formation of the consensus. For this purpose, GFJ has been actively engaged for the past 30 years in organizing policy-oriented bilateral and/or multilateral "Dialogues" every year between Japan and the international community.

It is for this reason that GFJ held the Japan-ASEAN Dialogue, "The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role", in Tokyo on 13-15 March 2012. On the last day of the Dialogue, "Policy Recommendations Drafting Meeting," which was closed to the public, was held for the first time in the history of the "Japan-ASEAN Dialogue" in order to work on Policy Recommendations based on the achievements of the discussions in the Dialogue, GFJ and each of the ASEAN-ISIS member institutes submitted the Policy Recommendations to the respective governments of Japan and ASEAN. This report intends to summarize the achievements of these discussions between Japanese and ASEAN counterparts. Though the printed version of the report will be made available to only a restricted number of people such as members and friends of GFJ and their counterparts from ASEAN, the full text of the report will be available at http://www.gfj.jp/.

The Japan-ASEAN Dialogue "The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role" was supported by the Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund(JAIF), Worldwide Support for Development and The Japan Foundation, co-sponsored by GFJ, ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International and Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), and The Japan Forum on International Relations, and was attended by 101 participants including 26 panelists. Participants exchanged opinions on matters of significant importance related to the future of Japan-ASEAN relations. We would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to JAIF, Worldwide Support for Development and The Japan Foundation which generously supported this Japan-ASEAN Dialogue.

April 27, 2012

ITO Kenichi President The Global Forum of Japan

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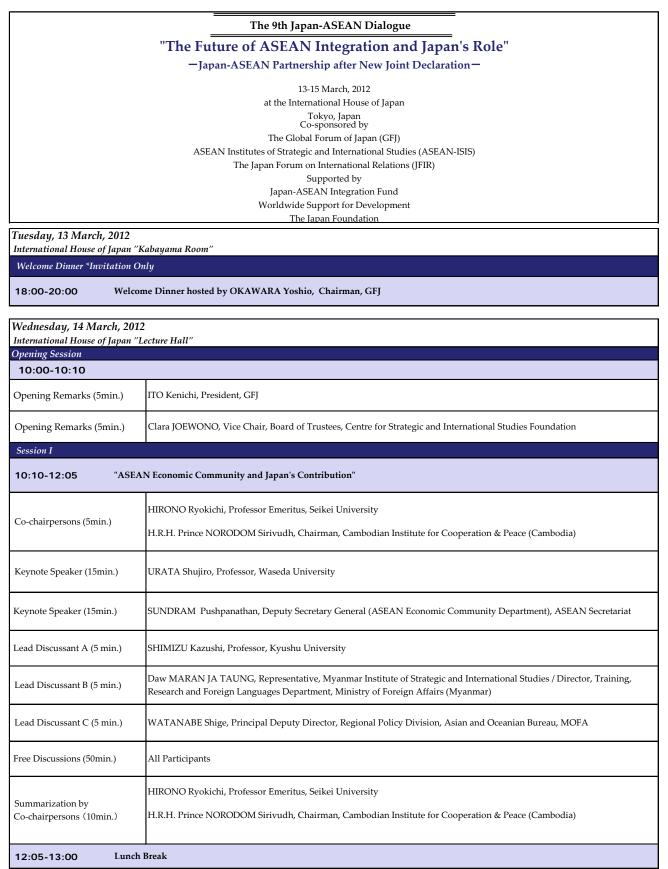
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I . Program of THE JAPAN-ASEAN DIALOGUE

# 1. Program



Session I			
13:00-14:55 "East Asia Security and Japan-ASEAN Cooperation"			
Co shairparsons (Emin)	HASHIMOTO Hiroshi, former Ambassador to Singapore		
Co-chairpersons (5min.)	Phillips J. VERMONTE, Researcher, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)		
Keynote Speaker (15min.)	Carolina G. HERNANDEZ, Founding President, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (Philippines)		
Keynote Speaker (15min.)	OGASAWARA Takayuki, Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University		
Lead Discussant A (5 min.)	NGUYEN Duc Hung, Representative, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam / former Viet Nam Ambassador to Canada (Vietnam)		
Lead Discussant B (5 min.)	KAKIZAWA Mito, Member of House of Representatives (Your Party)		
Lead Discussant C (5 min.)	Karim WAHAB, Head, Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (Brunei Darussalam)		
Lead Discussant D (5 min.)	HANDA Haruhisa, Chairman, Worldwide Support for Development		
Free Discussions (50min.)	All Participants		
Summarization by	HASHIMOTO Hiroshi, former Ambassador to Singapore		
Co-chairpersons (10min.)	Phillips J. VERMONTE, Researcher, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)		
14:55-15:05 Break			
Session III 15:05-17:00 "Entangled Regional Architecture and ASEAN Community"			
15:05-17:00 "Entan	gled Regional Architecture and ASEAN Community"		
15:05-17:00 "Entan			
15:05-17:00 "Entan Co-chairpersons (5min.)	gled Regional Architecture and ASEAN Community" TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia)		
	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University		
Co-chairpersons (5min.)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia)		
Co-chairpersons (5min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia) YEO Lay Hwee, Director, European Union Centre, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore)		
Co-chairpersons (5min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia) YEO Lay Hwee, Director, European Union Centre, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore) HATOYAMA Yukio, former Prime Minister		
Co-chairpersons (5min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Lead Discussant A (5 min.)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University         MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia)         YEO Lay Hwee, Director, European Union Centre, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore)         HATOYAMA Yukio, former Prime Minister         KAVI Chongkitavorn, Senior Fellow, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Thailand)		
Co-chairpersons (5min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Lead Discussant A (5 min.) Lead Discussant B (5 min.)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia) YEO Lay Hwee, Director, European Union Centre, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore) HATOYAMA Yukio, former Prime Minister KAVI Chongkitavorn, Senior Fellow, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Thailand) SAHASHI Ryo, Associate Professor, Kanagawa University		
Co-chairpersons (5min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Lead Discussant A (5 min.) Lead Discussant B (5 min.)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University         MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia)         YEO Lay Hwee, Director, European Union Centre, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore)         HATOYAMA Yukio, former Prime Minister         KAVI Chongkitavorn, Senior Fellow, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Thailand)         SAHASHI Ryo, Associate Professor, Kanagawa University         Khamphao ERNTHAVANH, Director General, Institute of Foreign Affairs (Lao People's Democratic Republic)		
Co-chairpersons (5min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Keynote Speaker (15min.) Lead Discussant A (5 min.) Lead Discussant B (5 min.) Lead Discussant C (5 min.) Lead Discussant D (5 min.) Free Discussions (50min.) Summarization by	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University         MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia)         YEO Lay Hwee, Director, European Union Centre, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore)         HATOYAMA Yukio, former Prime Minister         KAVI Chongkitavorn, Senior Fellow, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Thailand)         SAHASHI Ryo, Associate Professor, Kanagawa University         Khamphao ERNTHAVANH, Director General, Institute of Foreign Affairs (Lao People's Democratic Republic)         ASAKAI Kazuo, former Ambassador to Myanmar		
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18:00-20:00

Roundtable Dinner hosted by HANDA Haruhisa, Chairman, Worldwide Support for Development

Thursday, 15 March, 2012 Conference Room of JFIR			
Closed Session			
10:00-12:00       Policy Recommendations Drafting Meeting         "The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role"			
Co-chairpersons (10min.)	ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ Carolina G. HERNANDEZ, Founding President, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (Philippines)		
Lead Proposal I "ASEAN Economic Community and Japan's Contribution" (20min.)	HIRONO Ryokichi, Professor Emeritus, Seikei University H.R.H. Prince NORODOM Sirivudh, Chairman, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation & Peace (Cambodia)		
Lead Proposal II "East Asia Security and Japan-ASEAN Cooperation" (20min.)	HASHIMOTO Hiroshi, former Ambassador to Singapore Phillips J. VERMONTE, Researcher, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia)		
Lead Proposal III "Entangled Regional Architecture and ASEAN Community" (20min.)	TERADA Takashi, Professor, Waseda University MAHANI Zaenal Abidin, Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia)		
Free Discussions (40min.)	12 ASEAN Panelists and Japanese Co-Chairpersons, Keynote Speakers, Lead Discussants		
Closing Remarks (10min.)	ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ		
[Note] In English only in Closed Session			

 Closing Lunch \*Invitation Only

 12:10-13:00
 Closing Lunch Hosted by ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ

## 2. Participants List

[ASEAN Panelists] Clara JOEWONO H.R.H. Prince NORODOM Sirivudh SUNDRAM Pushpanathan Daw MARAN JA TAUNG

Phillips J. VERMONTE Carolina G. HERNANDEZ NGUYEN Duc Hung

Karim WAHAB MAHANI Zaenal Abidin YEO Lay Hwee Kavi CHONGKITTAVORN Khamphao ERNTHAVANH

[JAPANESE Panelists] OKAWARA Yoshio ITO Kenichi HIRONO Ryokichi URATA Shujiro SHIMIZU Kazushi WATANABE Shige HASHIMOTO Hiroshi OGASAWARA Takayuki KAKIZAWA Mito HANDA Haruhisa TERADA Takashi HATOYAMA Yukio SAHASHI Ryo ASAKAI Kazuo

[Participants] ARAKI Yoshinobu ARIMA Tatsuo ASADA Ryuichi ATSUKAWA Wataru CHEW Hwee Yong DOKYU Seiichiro FUJISUE Kenzo FUKUSHIMA Akiko FURUKATSU Tadanobu FURUSAWA Tadahiko FURUYA Chikara HANAMI Kikuko HIROSE Tetsuya HOJO Minoru HOSOKAWA Daisuke HYODO Nagao IKEO Aiko

Vice Chair, Board of Trustees, Centre for Strategic and International Studies Foundation Chairman, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation & Peace (Cambodia) Deputy Secretary General, ASEAN Economic Community Department, (ASEAN Secretariat) Representative, Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies / Director, Training, Research and Foreign Languages Department, MOFA(Myanmar) Researcher, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia) Founding President, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (Philippines) Representative, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam / former Viet Nam Ambassador to Canada (Vietnam) Head, Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies (Brunei) Director General, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Malaysia) Director, European Union Centre, Singapore Institute of International Affairs (Singapore) Senior Fellow, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Thailand) Director General, Institute of Foreign Affairs (Laos)

Chairman, GFJ President, GFJ / JFIR Professor Emeritus, Seikei University Professor, Waseda University Professor, Kyushu University Principal Deputy Director, Regional Policy Division, Asian and Oceanian Bureau, MOFA former Ambassador to Singapore Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University Member of House of Representatives (Your Party) Chairman, Worldwide Support for Development Professor, Waseda University former Prime Minister Associate Professor, Kanagawa University former Ambassador to Myanmar

(In order of appearance)

Professor, Musashino University President, The Middle East Research Institute of Japan Staff Writer, Kyodo News

Chief of Organizational Development, Menicon Member of the House of Representatives Member of the House of Councillors (DPJ) Research Fellow, Joint Research Institute for Peace and Culture, Aoyama Gakuin University

Research Fellow, Eurasia 21 Research Institute Professor, Toyo Gakuen University Member, The International House of Japan Secretary-General Central Secretariat, Asian-Pacific Parliamentarians' Union Staff Writer, Jiji press Professor, Osaka University of Economics former Ambassador to Poland Professor, Waseda University

Delegate to AALCO / Special Assistant to the Foreign Minister ISHIGAKI Yasuji ISHIGOOKA Ken Professor, University Research Center, Nihon University ISHIZUKA Yoshikazu Editorial Adviser, Keizai Koho Center ITABASHI Fuminori Secretary to KAKIZAWA Mito Member of The House of Representatives KUNIEDA Yasuo Manager, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi UFJ KURODA Makoto President, Center for Information on Security Trade Control KUROIWA Ikuo Director General, Development Studies Center, Institute of Developing Economies, JETRO MATSUI Akira former Ambassador to Kazakhstan MATSUSHIMA Toshio Executive Officer, Menicon David MILLIOT Political Advisor, Delegation of the European Union to Japan Amalina MURAD First Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Brunei Darussalam NAKAGAMI Rvo Student, Waseda University NAKAGAWA Juro President, Bussiness Intelligence Society of Japan Daniela NIKOLOVA Political Affairs, Embassy of Bulgaria in Japan NINOMIYA Hideaki Student, Waseda University NODA Tetsuya Court Clerk, Tomakomai Summary Court OI Koichi Student, Waseda University **OIKAWA** Maki Regional Policy Division, Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau, MOFA OGAWA Gotaro President, Kizunago OGAWA Yayoi Alumni Ambassador, Georgian Court University, NJ, U.S. Mukhlis RAJAB First Secretary, Embassy of Iraq in Japan SAITO Shoji former Adviser, Mitsubishi Chemical SAKAMOTO Masahiro Visiting Superior Research Fellow, The Japan Forum on International Relations SATOH Jiro Center Director, Japan Ground Research Department SHIRAI Motohiro Member, Shibusawa Memorial Foundation SHINDO Eiichi Professor Emeritus, University of Tsukuba SHINJYO Tomoko External Affairs Dept, International Strategy Division, Hitachi H.E. Datuk Shabaruddin Md SOM Ambassador, Embassy of Malaysia to Japan SUN Zhigiang Third Secretary, Embassy of China in Japan Associate Individual Member, JFIR TAKAO Akira TAKAGI Kiyomitsu Representative, East Asia Strategic Centre TAKAHASHI Toshiya Lecturer, Niigata University TAKEDA Tsuneharu Adviser, Seiko Holdings Corporation TAJIMA Takashi former Ambassador to Myanmar TSUBOI Masao Director, The Japan Singapore Association TSUMORI Shigeru Visiting Professor, Toin University of Yokohama Sanjin VLASTELICA Third Secretary and Cousul, Embassy of the Republic of Croatia WANG Shu Second Secretary, Embassy of China in Japan WATANABE Mayu Opinion Leader Govenor, GFJ YAGI Kazumi Program Coordinator, The Japan Foundation YAMAZAKI Yoko Assistant Manager, Hitachi YAMAZAWA Ippei Professor Emeritus, Hitotsubashi Unibersity YAMASHITA Eiji Professor Emeritus, Osaka City University YOSHIDA Hiroshi Managing Director, Nbk Rail Finance

(in Alphabetical Order)

# **3**. Biographies of the Panelists

#### **(ASEAN Panelists)**

<u>Clara JOEWONO</u>	Vice Chair, Board of Trustees, Centre for Strategic and
	International Studies Foundation (Indonesia)

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

H.R.H. Prince NORODOM Sirivudh Chairman, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation

#### and Peace (Cambodia)

His Royal Highness Prince NORODOM Sirivudh, the son of the late Majesty King NORODOM Suramarit and the late Look Khun Tep Kanha Sophear, and half brother of His Majesty King NORODOM SIHANOUK, was born on June 8th, 1951 in Phnom Penh, Kingdom of Cambodia. Received Master's Degree in Economics at Paris IX of Dauphine University in 1976. Joined the National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) in 1981. In the July 2003 General Elections, Prince NORODOM Sirivudh was elected as Member of Parliament for Kandal Province of the third legislature and was nominated as Deputy Prime Minister and Co-Minister of Interior of the Royal Government until March 2006. From March 2006, Prince NORODOM Sirivudh is Privy Counselor to His Majesty the King and Member of Parliament. In May 2010, King Norodom Sihamoni appointed Prince Norodom Sirivudh as a new member of the Constitutional Council.

#### SUNDRAM Pushpanathan

Deputy Secretary General, ASEAN Economic Community Department (ASEAN Secretariat)

Graduated from the National University of Singapore. Received Master in Public Policy from the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. Held several senior positions in the ASEAN Secretariat, including Principal Director of the Bureau for Economic Integration and Finance, Director of Plus Three and External Relations, and Special Assistant to Secretary-General of ASEAN. Received the Lee Kuan Yew School Outstanding Alumni Award in 2011 for his work in ASEAN.

Daw MARAN JA TAUNGRepresentative, Myanmar Institute of Strategic and InternationalStudies / Director, Training, Research and Foreign Languages Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

#### <u>(Myanmar)</u>

Graduated from the University of Education, Yangon in Myanmar. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Myanmar in 1980. Currently serving as a Director at the Training, Research and Foreign Languages Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

# Phillips J. VERMONTE Researcher, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Indonesia) (Indonesia)

Graduated from Universitas Padjadjaran, Indonesia in 1996. Received M.A. from University of Adelaide, Australia in 2001. Received Ph.D. in Political Science from Northern Illinois University. His most recent publications include "Small is (not) Beautiful: the Problems of Small Arms in Southeast Asia" (2004) and "Conflict and Election: a Study of the 2004 General Election in Four Conflict Areas in Indonesia"(2005).

# Carolina G. HERNANDEZFounding President, Institute for Strategic and DevelopmentStudies (Philippines)

Graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in Foreign Service from the University of Philippines. Received Master's degree in International Relations from the University of Karachi, and Ph.D. from the State University of New York, Buffalo. Served various positions including, Chair of ASEAN-ISIS, ASEAN Co-Chair of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) (2009-2011). Founding President and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS) Philippines, and Emeritus Professor of Political Science at the University of the Philippines.

#### NGUYEN Duc Hung Representative, Diplomatic Ac

#### <u>Representative, Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam /</u> <u>former Viet Nam Ambassador to Canada (Vietnam)</u>

Joined Vietnam Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a career diplomat in 1973. Ambassador of Vietnam to Singapore and Canada. While working at the MOFA headquarters in Ha Noi, he held different positions as Chief of Staff; Assistant-Minister, Chief of Advisory Board to the Ministerial Leadership; Assistant-Minister and Director General of Americas Department. From 2010 up to date : He has been appointed as Ambassador, Governor for Vietnam in Asia – Europe Foundation (ASEF), and Senior Advisor for Strategic Studies , Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam, MOFA.

#### Karim WAHABHead, Brunei Darussalam Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies

#### <u>(Brunei Darussalam)</u>

Graduated from Staffordshire University, United Kingdom in 1985. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 1985. Served various positions, including the Deputy Permanent Representative at the Permanent Mission of Brunei Darussalam in New York (2008-2011); Charge de Affaires, Brunei Embassy in Moscow, Russia (1998-1999); Minister Counselor, Brunei Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia (1993-1998) and Second Secretary, Brunei Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand (1987-1990).

# MAHANI Zainal AbidinDirector General, Institute of Strategic and InternationalStudies Malaysia (Malaysia)

Received Ph.D. in Development Economics from the University of London. Served as Professor of University of Malaya, Member of the Working Group for the National Economic Action Council, Economic Advisor to the Bank Industrial & Technology Malaysia Berhad, Deputy Director-General, Department of higher Education, Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia. Concurrently, serves as the Deputy President of the Malaysian Economic Association, Chief Executive, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), etc.

# YEO Lay HweeDirector, European Union Centre & Senior Research Fellow,<br/>Singapore Institute of International Affairs(Singapore)

Graduated from National University of Singapore (NUS). Received M.A (with Distinction) in Political Science from University of Canterbury, and Ph.D from NUS. Concurrently, serves as Adjunct Research Fellow at the S Rajaratnam School of International Studies, and International Fellow at School of Social & Political Studies, University of Melbourne. She was awarded the Nakasone Yasuhiro Award in June 2007.

# Kavi CHONGKITTAVORN Senior Fellow, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Thailand) (Thailand)

He has been a journalist, covering domestic and international affairs as well as commentaries and editorials. Served as Bureau chief in Phnom Penh (1987-88) and Hanoi (1988-90), Special assistant to Secretary General of ASEAN(1994-95), Reuter fellow at Oxford University(1993-94) and a Nieman fellow at Harvard University (2000-01). Currently, he is a columnist of the Nation and the vernacular language, Nation Sudsubda (Nation Weekender) and Kom Chat Luek Daily as well as the host of Inside Asia, a current affairs program. Khamphao ERNTHAVANH

#### Director General, Institute of Foreign Affairs (Lao People's Democratic Republic)

Graduated from the State Pedagogical Institute in Kiev, Ukraine. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1987. Served various positions including Second Secretary in Kuala Lumpur (1999-2002), Director of Training Division. (2004 – 2007), Director of the International Cooperation and Administration Division. (2007-2010), Deputy Director General of the Institute of Foreign Affairs, and (2010 - present ) Director General of the Institute of Foreign Affairs.

#### [Japanese Panelists]

#### OKAWARA Yoshio

<u>*GFJ*</u> 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.

#### ITO Kenichi

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Studied at Harvard University (1961-1963). Served various positions, including Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Served as Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University (1984-2006). Concurrently serving as President of the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR), President of Council on East Asian Community (CEAC), and Professor Emeritus at Aoyama Gakuin University. Received an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Cambodia (2011).

#### HIRONO Ryokichi

Professor Emeritus, Seikei University

Graduated from the University of Chicago in 1958, taught for 38 years till 1998. Served as Visiting Professor at National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies during the years 1998-2011. Concurrently serving as member of the board of several research, academic and civil society organizations including the Institute for Global Environmental Studies and the Japan Committee for UNICEF.

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#### Chairman,

President, GFI / JFIR

#### URATA Shujiro

Received B.A from Keio University in 1973, M.A. in 1976 and Ph.D. in 1978 from Stanford University. Served as various positions including Research Associate of the Brookings Institution, Economist of the World Bank, and Director General of Research Institute at People's Finance Corporation. Concurrently serving as Research Fellow of Japan Center for Economic Research and Senior Research Advisor at Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA).

#### SHIMIZU Kazushi

#### Professor, Kyushu University

Graduated from Hokkaido University in 1984. Received Ph.D from Hokkaido University. His research interests include ASEAN Economic Cooperation, and Regional Economic Cooperation and Automobile Industry. He is the author of Intra-ASEAN Economic Cooperation, Minerva-Shobo. He co-edited ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), JETRO. He was the coordinator of Asian International Forum in Fukuoka, 2001-2006.

WATANABE Shige	Principal Deputy Director, Regional Policy Division,
	<u>Asian and Oceanian Bureau, MOFA</u>
Graduated from Hitotsubashi Univer	sity. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1994. Served
in various sections including Southwe	est Asia Division and Embassy of Japan in the Republic

in various sections including Southwest Asia Division and Embassy of Japan in the Republi of Iran as Counselor. Held the current position since 2011.

# HASHIMOTO Hiroshiformer Ambassador to SingaporeGraduated from Hitotsubashi University. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1964. Servedvarious positions including Director of Second Southeast Asia Division, Counselor toEmbassy of Japan in Malaysia, Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Embassy in theUSA, Japanese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Austria, Slovenia, Bosnia &Herzegovina and FRY Macedonia. Served as Senior Advisor, ITOCHU Corporation.

# OGASAWARA TakayukiProfessor, Yamanashi Gakuin UniversityGraduated from the Faculty of Law of Keio University. Received LL.M. from Keio University.Served as Researcher at Japan Institute of International Affairs, Visiting Scholar at NationalUniversity of Singapore, Visiting Research Fellow at Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences,and Associate Professor at Hokuriku University. Held the current position since 2002.

#### KAKIZAWA Mito

Member of House of Representatives (Your Party)

Graduated from The University of Tokyo, Faculty of law. Entered Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) in 1995. Elected to a member of the Tokyo metropolitan assembly in 2001. Currently is most frequent House member who makes questions (Total 106 times in 2011). In 2009 elected to the House of Representatives.

HANDA HaruhisaChairman, Worldwide Support for DevelopmentChairman of Worldwide Support for Development (WSD); Chancellor and Professor of the<br/>University of Cambodia; Professor at the College of Japanese Language and Culture at<br/>Zhejiang Gongshang University, China; Advisor to the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of<br/>Cambodia (rank of minister); Honorary Consul of the Kingdom of Cambodia in Fukuoka;<br/>Founder and Chairman of Asia Economic Forum (AEF) ; Vice President of Royal National<br/>Institute for the Blind (RNIB) in UK; President of the Board of Kyowa Foundation; Director of<br/>The Japan Forum on International Relations; Business Leader Member of The Global Forum<br/>of Japan; Advisor of The Council on East Asian Community; Director of The Japan India<br/>Association.

**TERADA Takashi**Professor, Waseda University, Doshisha University (from April 2012)Received his Ph.D from Australian National University in 1999. He was an assistant professor<br/>at National University of Singapore and associate and full professor at Waseda University. He<br/>is currently staying as a public policy scholar at Woodrow Wilson International Center for<br/>Scholars in Washington DC and serving as an editorial board member for The Pacific Review<br/>and Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs. His areas of specialty include international<br/>relations in Asia and the Pacific, and theoretical and empirical studies of regionalism. He is<br/>the recipient of the 2005 J.G. Crawford Award.

#### HATOYAMA Yukio

<u>former Prime Minister</u>

Received Ph.D. in Engineering from Stanford University. Served as Assistant Professor, Senshu University. Elected Member of the House of Representatives in 1986, Parliamentary Vice Minister to Hokkaido Development Agency (1990), Vice Chief Cabinet Secretary of Hosokawa Cabinet (1993), President of the Democratic Party of Japan (1999), The 93rd Prime Minister (2009).

#### SAHASHI Ryo

#### Associate Professor, Kanagawa University

Received his Ph.D. from the Graduate Schools of Law and Politics at the University of Tokyo and a BA from International Christian University. Served as a Postdoctoral Fellow at Australian National University as well as an Assistant Professor at the University of Tokyo. Concurrently serving as a Senior Research Fellow at the Sasakawa Peace Foundation, a Tokyo Foundation–German Marshall Fund Partnership Fellow and a Research Fellow at the Japan Center for International Exchange.

#### ASAKAI Kazuo

former Ambassador to Myanmar

Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1965. Served various positions including Deputy-Director General for Economic Affairs (1993-95), Director-General for economic and social issues of the UN(1995-97), Ambassador based in Tokyo responsible for environmental issues and for trade issues (2000- 2002), Japanese Ambassador to the EU (2002-2005). Concurrently serving as Visiting Professor at Ritsumeikan University. He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from his alma mater, Amherst College (US).

(In order of appearance)

# II. Outlines of Discussions of THE JAPAN-ASEAN DIALOGUE

# **Outlines of Discussions**

The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR), the Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) and the ASEAN Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS) co-sponsored the 9th Japan-ASEAN Dialogue in Tokyo on March 13th-15th.

The "Dialogue," which had 101 participants in total, featured lively discussion among the experts in attendance. The "Dialogue" began with the Welcome Dinner on the 13th, followed by a full-day "Dialogue" consisting of three Sessions open to the public and a Roundtable Dinner on the 14th and a "Policy Recommendations Drafting Meeting" closed to the public on the 15th.

#### Session I: ASEAN Economic Community and Japan's Contribution

In Session I, entitled "ASEAN Economic Community and Japan's Contribution," two keynote speakers made presentations. Prof. URATA Shujiro stated, "the object of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is to transform ASEAN into a region with free movement of goods, services, investment, and skilled labor, and a freer flow of capital. Substantial progress has been made toward establishing the AEC but there still remains much to be done. The extent of progress varies widely by area. Significant progress has been made with trade in goods, for example, while difficulties have been encountered in service trade and investment. Japan has three ways of contributing to the AEC. Firstly, Japan can help achieve a single market and a highly competitive region through infrastructure-building to improve logistics. Secondly, Japan can also endeavor to bring about a region with equitable economic development by assisting SME and supporting efforts to address gender issues. Lastly, in order to achieve full integration with the global economy, Japan should liberate its agricultural sector and promote the realization of the CePEA framework."

Next, Mr. SUNDRAM Pushpanathan remarked, "In 2007, the ASEAN leaders agreed to hasten the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) by 2015 and to transform ASEAN into a region with free movements of goods, services, investment, and skilled labor, as well as a freer flow of capital. The ASEAN economic integration framework is generally characterized by internal integration. In addition to this, however, we also need to consider external economic relations, basically comprising the ASEAN FTAs and CEPs now being implemented or pursued. ASEAN-Japan economic relations are very important. We in ASEAN sincerely appreciate Japan's continued support, cooperation and partnership over the years, especially in the field of technology transfer. By creating a win-win situation in our cooperation, the ASEAN-Japan relationship will progress further."

#### Session II: East Asia Security and Japan-ASEAN Cooperation

Session II looked at the topic of "East Asia Security and Japan-ASEAN Cooperation," and two keynote speakers offered presentations. Prof. Carolina G. HERNANDEZ commented, "Japan and ASEAN have a long history of friendship and mutually beneficial relations almost from the very establishment of ASEAN, and the 2011 Bali Declaration will further develop this cooperative relationship. The declaration endorsed five strategies to further enhance regional peace, stability and prosperity. It also adopted twelve broad principles and commitments for political-security cooperation. From now on, firmer political will is required to craft concrete cooperation measures such as improving cooperation within the various ASEAN organizations, reframing maritime security from the viewpoint of ensuring people's livelihoods, enhancing law enforcement cooperation, upholding the freedom and safety of navigation and peaceful settlement of disputes, and lastly developing multi-stakeholder

dialogues. While we know that there are many challenges ahead, we also see many opportunities for achieving this cooperation."

Subsequently, Prof. OGASAWARA Takayuki stated, "The main factor in exploring political-security cooperation between ASEAN and Japan has been their common interest in non-traditional security issues. It is undeniable that China's rapid military buildup and assertiveness in the region has become another factor in promoting cooperation. Japan will be putting continuous emphasis on the socio-economic development of ASEAN countries in a manner that enhances ASEAN connectivity. Peace and stability in the seas connecting ASEAN and Japan are essential for the prosperity of the region. However, we need to realize that the US-China strategic equilibrium is the keystone to maintaining peace and stability in the East Asia region. 'ASEAN's centrality' and ASEAN-Japan cooperation will not be effective unless the equilibrium brings peace and stability to the region. It is advisable for Japan and ASEAN countries to upgrade their own security capabilities through defense cooperation and capacity building, while cooperating with the US as it reconfirms its status as an Asia-Pacific nation."

#### Session III: Entangled Regional Architecture and ASEAN Community

Session III featured two presentations on the subject of "Entangled Regional Architecture and ASEAN Community." Ms. YEO Lay Hwee asserted, "Since ASEAN was founded, it has always been an outward-looking organisation. ASEAN is an instrument designed to enable member states to enhance their autonomy and minimize any interference from major powers or neighbouring countries. With the end of the Cold War and the intensifying global economic competition today, it is necessary for ASEAN to enhance regional community-building and at the same time manage "external affairs" in the region. Although there are many overlapping architectures in Asia, it is necessary for ASEAN to manage all these architectures and help drive the process to collectively solve problems at the regional and global level. On the other hand, the role of Japan remains significant. Henceforth, Japan will be required not only to support ASEAN in many of its community building initiatives but also to play an active role in coordinating the various interests and challenges that different architectures face."

Mr. HATOYAMA Yukio followed up by noting, "The East Asia Community initiative is extremely important, and at the core of this initiative are ASEAN, Japan, South Korea and China. While ASEAN is making efforts towards becoming a community in 2015, Japan, China and South Korea need to strengthen their relationships in order to overcome historical barriers. When talking about the East Asia Community, I am often asked about the scope of 'East Asia.' I answer that there is no need to establish a rigid boundary for the region; instead, we should extend a multi-tiered network of communities across the region. It is important for countries to practice "cooperation to ensure mutual prosperity", "cooperation to save lives", "cooperation to save the environment in Asia" and "cooperation to create a future of fraternalism." Since we cannot address the matter of the region's security without the United States, it is in our best interest to discuss political and security matters at EAS and APEC."

#### **Policy Recommendations Drafting Meeting**

On the following day (the 15th), the "Policy Recommendations Drafting Meeting" which was closed to the public was held to draft specific "policy recommendations". JFIR and each of the ASEAN-ISIS member institutions submitted the Policy Recommendations to their respective governments of Japan and ASEAN.

# III. Policy Recommendations of THE JAPAN-ASEAN DIALOGUE

#### POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS of The 9<sup>TH</sup> Japan-ASEAN Dialogue Tokyo, Japan, 14-15 March 2012 on "The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role: Japan-ASEAN Partnership after New Joint Declaration"

The 2011 Bali Declaration by ASEAN and Japan recognizes the changing global and regional environments that will impact on their bilateral cooperation as well as their respective societies. The current European sovereign debt crisis that followed the global financial and economic crises of 2008/09, global warming and climate change that have increased the risks to human security from natural disasters, major power shifts across the globe and within East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region that offer both opportunities and challenges to the well-being of peoples and states, the continuing challenges posed by nuclear proliferation and other weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and transnational crimes, as well as sustainable and equitable development are certain to have far-reaching global, regional and domestic implications.

Recognizing these realities and the value of collaborative and collective action, the new joint declaration can serve as an important vehicle to further Japan and ASEAN strategic partnership especially to ensure East Asia's peace and prosperity as well as ASEAN integration both as a statement of commitment to broad principles of cooperation and avenues for concrete joint action to ensure peace and prosperity for all in this region.

Responding to the need to assist in the success of Japan-ASEAN cooperation, including in the implementation of the 2011 Bali Declaration, the 9<sup>th</sup> Japan-ASEAN Dialogue is pleased to present this set of policy recommendations to the governments of Japan and the ASEAN Member Countries for their consideration.

#### **ASEAN Economic Community and Japan's Contribution**

Welcoming the decision of the ASEAN Leaders to build an ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), recognizing the progress made by ASEAN in implementing the AEC Blueprint, acknowledging the remaining tasks towards the full realization of the AEC, and the significant contribution Japan can make towards the realization of the AEC, the 9<sup>th</sup> Japan-ASEAN Dialogue makes the following set of policy recommendations:

- 1. ASEAN should accelerate intra- and extra-ASEAN trade, investment and financial flows through further reduction of non-tariff barriers particularly in service, trade, and foreign direct investments; its further extension to the movement of skilled and professional manpower and businessmen within ASEAN and between ASEAN and Japan that can be facilitated by the implementation of MRAs among them.
- 2. ASEAN governments should more effectively deal with poverty reduction, income inequality and environmental degradation in order to ensure sustainable and equitable development in their societies through various/appropriate policy measures.
- 3. Japan should further liberalize its imports of agricultural products while promoting agricultural restructuring based on comparative advantages and the provision of support to its farmers adversely affected.
- 4. Japan should expand its technical and financial assistance to ASEAN economic integration and for reinforcing national-cum-regional standards for food, drug and industrial safety, improving youth education, health and social services, and expanding people-to-people and cultural exchanges.
- 5. To help narrow the development gap within ASEAN, Japan should provide more technical and financial support to ASEAN late-comer countries in the fields of trade, SME development, agricultural modernization, food security, climate change, environmental protection and human resource development.
- 6. Japan should increase its effective disaster prevention and post-disaster relief programmes in ASEAN in the light of their common location in the 'Ring of Fire' as seen in the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake/Tsunami and the series of natural disasters suffered by ASEAN countries in recent years.
- 7. Based on the 2011 Bali Declaration, Japan should accelerate its assistance to ASEAN countries in infrastructure and connectivity development, technology upgrading and capacity enhancement in all the pillars of sustainability such as economic, social, environmental, and cultural.
- 8. Japan and ASEAN should extend to their national policies on trade, investment and other cross-border measures the conduct of peer review of macroeconomic policy measures that are done under the Chiang Mai Initiative of the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) countries in order to accelerate closer economic integration between Japan and ASEAN.

9. Ahead of the realization of the AEC, Japan and ASEAN should coordinate their policies on pressing global issues such as climate change, biodiversity, food and energy security, water and natural resources conservation for presentation to regional bodies such as the APT, EAS, APEC, UNESCAP, and wider groupings to which they both belong such as ASEM and the international community.

#### East Asia Security and Japan-ASEAN Cooperation

Having worked as Dialogue Partners in constructive cooperation activities since 1973, having shared the view of comprehensive security and optimized the opportunities that opened up at various historical junctures to promote regional peace and prosperity in East Asia, recognizing the various complex factors shaping East Asia security at present, and guided by the 2011 Bali Declaration, the 9<sup>th</sup> Japan-ASEAN Dialogue is pleased to make the following set of policy recommendations for the consideration of the governments of Japan and the ASEAN Member Countries:

- 10. ASEAN and Japan should improve their cooperation within the APT, ARF, ADMM Plus and its Experts Working Groups (EWGs) by ensuring to put in the agenda of these bodies cross-cutting issues such as natural disaster risk reduction.
- 11. ASEAN and Japan should enhance existing framework for maritime-related cooperation between them and also consider reframing maritime security to include both traditional (such as piracy and anti-terrorism) as well as maritime-related risks to the security of their peoples such as illegal fishing, over-fishing, other crimes at sea, and marine pollution.
- 12. ASEAN Member Countries should consider restructuring their maritime security forces such as the establishment of civilian coast guard in order to enable them to enhance cooperation with Japan (which can extend such technical assistance as coast guard training) for ensuring East Asia security.
- 13. ASEAN and Japan should contribute to the upholding of freedom and safety of navigation and peaceful settlement of disputes including in areas that form part of the sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) in the East Asian region.
- 14. ASEAN and Japan should continue their constructive engagement with external powers including the U.S. and China to promote mutual understanding as responsible stakeholders in East Asian security cooperation.

#### **Entangled Regional Architecture and ASEAN Community**

Acknowledging that East Asia's regional architecture consisting of political, economic, functional, and other mechanisms and bodies is more 'overlapping' rather than 'entangled', that the concentric circles of cooperation mechanisms have been useful in building the regional architecture, and that ASEAN has enabled its growth and development over time, recognizing that ASEAN integration is necessary to sustain its crucial role in the further development of the regional architecture and that Japan fully supports the leading role ASEAN plays in this regard, the 9<sup>th</sup> Japan-ASEAN Dialogue makes the following set of policy recommendations:

- 15. ASEAN should use the concentric circles in the regional architecture for internal community-building and forging strong external relationships to facilitate the process of building an Asia-Pacific regional architecture.
- 16. ASEAN should do more to acknowledge Japan's contribution to the economic and social development of the ASEAN region that was achieved through the use of Japan's soft power.
- 17. ASEAN should ensure its leading role in the process of building a regional architecture by implementing the blueprints for the three pillars of the ASEAN Community: AEC, APSC, and ASCC using creative and innovative approaches and methods.
- 18. Japan and ASEAN should jointly help clarify the goals, objectives, and scope of the concentric circles in the regional architecture towards making the Asia-Pacific a vibrant global growth center and also work closely in order to play an influential role in dealing with key global issues such as the global financial architecture and environmental protection to benefit the region.
- 19. Japan should enhance its assistance to ASEAN to ensure the achievement of the ASEAN community of three pillars through various programmes such as the Mekong River Development Initiative as well as the streamlining of Japanese developmental and aid agencies operating in ASEAN countries towards more strategic collaboration between Japan and ASEAN countries.

# **IV. Keynote Papers of Discussions of THE JAPAN-ASEAN DIALOGUE**

#### Session I: ASEAN Economic Community and Japan's Contribution

## URATA Shujiro Professor, Waseda University

#### ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)

AEC envisages the following key characteristics: (a) a single market and production base, (b) a highly competitive economic region, (c) a region of equitable economic development, and (d) a region fully integrated into the global economy. The AEC areas of cooperation include human resources development and capacity building; recognition of professional qualifications; closer consultation on macroeconomic and financial policies; trade financing measures; enhanced infrastructure and communications connectivity; development of electronic transactions through e-ASEAN; integrating industries across the region to promote regional sourcing; and enhancing private sector involvement for the building of the AEC. In short, the AEC will transform ASEAN into a region with free movement of goods, services, investment, skilled labour, and freer flow of capital. The ASEAN Leaders adopted the ASEAN Economic Blueprint at the 13th ASEAN Summit on 20 November 2007 in Singapore to serve as a coherent master plan guiding the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community 2015.

#### Policy Measures to Achieve AEC: AEC Blueprint

(1) elimination of tariffs, (2) elimination of non-tariff barriers (NTBs), (3) trade facilitation,
(4) liberalization of service trade, (5) investment liberalization and facilitation, (6) mutual recognition agreements (MRAs for free flow of skilled labor), (7) competition policy and intellectual property right protection, (8) SME development, (9) transport, infrastructure and logistics

#### **Progress toward AEC**

Substantial progress has been made toward achieving AEC but there still remain much to be done. The extent of progress varies widely among different areas. For example, good progress has been made for trade in goods, particularly in the areas of tariff elimination. However, considerable progress has to be made in the areas of non-tariff barriers, trade facilitation (e.g. implementation of ASEAN Single Window) and standards and conformance. Service trade has been liberalized but there still remain substantial barriers. Difficulty lies in that in order to achieve free flow of services service trade liberalized but much remains to be done. Progress on MRAs on professional services varies among the countries and among services. For example, progress has been most advanced in implementation for architectural and engineering services.

#### Japan's Contribution

Toward achieving a single market and a highly competition region

- (1) Infrastructure building for improving logistics, etc.
- (2) Provision of technical assistance in formulating and implementing programs for achieving AEC through various programs conducted by the Japanese government, JETRO, JETRO-IDE, JICA, ERIA and others.
- (3) Identification and reporting of the bottlenecks (problems) faced by Japanese businesses to ASEAN member states and ASEAN Secretariat both directly through business organizations

such as chamber of commerce and indirectly through government channels.

- (4) It may be advisable for the ASEAN secretariat to set up committee to collect the private sector's opinions on the problems in achieving free movement of goods, services, investment and professionals.
- (5) Open up Japan's market for ASEAN products (including agricultural products) via ASEAN-Japan EPA.

#### Toward achieving a region with equitable economic development

- (1) Provision of assistance for SME development
- (2) Provision of assistance for gender development
- (3) Provision of assistance to deal with poverty
- (4) Provision of assistance for human resource development (assist students to study in Japan)

#### Toward achieving full integration with the global economy

As a step toward full integration with the global economy, Japan should make efforts to realize ASEAN+6 (CEPEA) FTA.

## SUNDRAM Pushpanathan Deputy Secretary General, ASEAN Economic, Community Department (ASEAN Secretariat)

#### Overview

- In 2007, the ASEAN Leaders agreed to hasten the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) by 2015 and to transform ASEAN into a region with free movements of goods, services, investment, skilled labour, and a freer flow of capital. The AEC Blueprint is founded on four pillars: (a) single market and production base; (b) highly competitive economic region; (c) equitable economic development; and (d) fully integrated into the global economy.
- 2. ASEAN economic integration framework is generally characterized by (a) internal integration, mainly working towards the creation of a single market and production base under the AEC; and (b) external economic relations, comprising basically ASEAN's FTAs and CEPs which are being implemented or pursued. The framework and approaches are intended to strengthen ASEAN economic performance as well as achieving ASEAN Centrality on a multi-faceted basis.

#### ASEAN-Japan Economic Relations

- 3. Japan is a major trading partner for ASEAN. Japan has been ASEAN's top two trading partner till 2009, when China overtook Japan in terms of trade value with ASEAN. Japan was ASEAN's third largest trading partner in 2010 with 10% share of ASEAN's total trade. In 2010, total trade grew by 28.4%, amounting to US\$206.6 billion.
- 4. Japan is also an important source of foreign direct investment (FDI) to ASEAN. Since 2000, Japan maintained as the top four largest sources of FDIs, except for 2008 and 2009. In 2010, FDI from Japan to ASEAN showed a significant increase of 124.3% from US\$3.8 billion in 2009 to US\$8.4 billion. Japan contributed 11.4% of total inward investment into ASEAN in 2010.
- 5. The ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) Agreement was signed in April 2008 and entered into force in December 2008. All Parties have ratified the AJCEP Agreement. ASEAN and Japan are currently negotiating the Services and Investment. Japan has bilateral Economic Partnership Agreements with Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.
- 6. The devastating earthquake and tsunami which hit Japan a year ago provided a glimpse of the significant economic interdependence between ASEAN and Japan. The disaster that struck Japan on 11 March 2011 destroyed, damaged or interrupted thousands of businesses within Japan and across the globe. Although the area that suffered most account for around 4% of the GDP, the region hosted major automotive, electronics and other manufacturing firms that contribute to the extensive supply chain network between ASEAN and Japan, in particular.

#### Japan's Contribution towards AEC

7. As the very first "Dialogue Partner" for ASEAN, Japan and ASEAN have forged a robust partnership that has contributed significantly to the region's economic, social, and political development. Under the institutional framework of ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership, there are more than 20 sectoral bodies under the economic pillar, ranging from the Ministerial Consultations such as ASEAN-Japan Economic Ministers (AEM-METI) Consultations, ASEAN-Japan

Telecommunications and IT Ministers (TELMIN+Japan) Meeting as well as ASEAN and Japan Transport Ministers' Meeting (ATM+Japan) to ASEAN-Japan Senior Officials and Working Groups meetings on specific areas such as AJCEP, information and communication technology (ICT), energy, Customs and transport.

8. ASEAN-Japan cooperation and initiatives under the various sectoral bodies include the following:

i.Smart Community Initiative and the Asian Sustainable Chemical Safety Plan initiated by Japan;

- ii. The ASEAN-Japan Senior Officials Meeting on Energy (SOME-METI) Work Programme 2010-2011 comprising three major projects: 1) Energy Supply Security Planning in ASEAN (ESSPA); 2) Promotion of Energy Efficiency and Conservation (PROMEEC); and 3) Multi-Country Training Program on Energy Conservation for ASEAN (MTPEC);
- iii. ASEAN-Japan Transport Partnership Work Plan for 2011–2012, including the "Automobile Technical Cooperation Project on Safety and Environment", "Action Plan on Environment Improvement" and "ASEAN-Japan Logistics Partnership"; and
- iv. ASEAN-Japan Collaboration Framework on Information Security that expanded the cooperation to a higher level, notably on the joint awareness raising initiatives, information security screening, and a framework on information security. The ASEAN Smart Network Concept was proposed to support the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity.
- 9. The "New Partnership for Peace and Prosperity" announced by then Prime Minister Nobuo Takeshita and his ASEAN counterparts in 1987 recognised the growing significance of private sector cooperation in the region's growth. Japanese MNEs in ASEAN contribute toward:
  - i.the development of production network in East Asia, taking advantage of the ASEAN's intra and extra- free trade agreements;
  - ii. economic growth of the region by spurring the development of SMEs and supporting industries;
  - iii. technological capability of local industries through technology transfers and upgrading skills of local employees; and
  - iv. improved infrastructure and business environment through lobby of Japanese investors with local/federal governments.
- 10. The ASEAN-Japan 10-Year Strategic Economic Cooperation Plan is being developed to provide the framework for ASEAN and Japan to cooperate and collaborate in mutually beneficial areas; realise the shared vision of a prosperous and sustainable society; and consolidate existing cooperation initiatives in order to enhance economic/industrial cooperation programs which will appropriately respond to the actual business needs. The Roadmap is an outcome of the dialogue between the Economic Ministers of ASEAN and Japan, the Secretary-General of ASEAN and the Federation of Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry in ASEAN (FJCCIA) held on 9 July 2011 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, and is targeted for completion by the 18<sup>th</sup> AEM-METI Consultations in 2012.

#### Japan's Contribution towards Capacity Building

11. Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) program has played a particularly important role in the region's economic dynamism and continues to be a pillar of support for ASEAN's newest members. One of the many initiatives includes the attachment programme for the CLMV young diplomats at the ASEAN Secretariat. Japan has been very active and supportive of the implementation of the IAI Work Plan II as well as to other sub-regional frameworks in particular the Greater Mekong Sub-region, Japan-Mekong Cooperation. For example, in December 2003, Japan committed to contribute USD 1.5 billion for the Mekong Region Development project within three years as an initiative under the ASEAN-Japan Plan of Action.

- 12. In March 2006, Japan established an initial 7.5 billion yen (approximately 70 million US Dollars) to support ASEAN integration. The objectives of the Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF) include:
  - i.supporting the efforts of the ASEAN Member States to pursue the comprehensive integration of ASEAN towards the realisation of an open, dynamic and resilient ASEAN Community;
  - ii. supporting the implementation of the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), and ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Blueprints; and
  - iii. promoting cooperation between Japan and ASEAN (as well as between Japan and the Member States of ASEAN), including transfer of technology and inflow of investment from Japan to ASEAN Member States
- 13. JAIF plays a pertinent role in the implementation of cooperation projects between ASEAN and Japan. From April 2010 to February 2012, 73 projects have been implemented under JAIF, 45 on-going and 18 pending approval. JAIF will continue supporting the implementation of many ASEAN-Japan initiatives, including the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC) and narrowing development gap.
- 14. Since 2008 to 2011, the AEM-METI Economic and Industrial Cooperation Committee (AMEICC) has implemented 91 projects which include training programmes, seminars, workshops, investment promotion missions, expert services and feasibility studies. Future cooperation will strive to realise the sectoral integration initiative and equitable development such as promotion of SMEs and development of CLMV countries.

#### Japan's Contribution towards Connectivity

- 15. Japan has conveyed strong commitment for enhancing connectivity under the visions of "Formation of the Vital Artery for East-West and Southern Economic Corridor" and "Maritime Economic Corridor", among others. Japan had identified 33 flagship projects related to the three ASEAN corridors (East-West Corridor, Southern Economic Corridor and Maritime Economic Corridor). Japan's support in the implementation of the MPAC include the development of ports, infrastructure and transportation network including logistics improvement.
- 16. Japan's strong commitment is substantiated by the establishment of a Task Force on Connectivity, which comprises relevant Japanese Ministries, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), Keidanren and Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI). This special Task Force aims to promote Japan's participation in the implementation of the MPAC and interact with the ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee.

#### Conclusion

17. In Japan's "New Growth Strategy" which was launched in June 2011, the Government of Japan clearly shows its intention to support the economic growth of its Asian neighbours, and pursue Japan's own growth together with ASEAN. That has remained unchanged even after the devastating natural disaster. Japan has been a mentor and a close friend to ASEAN. We in ASEAN sincerely appreciate Japan's continued support, cooperation and partnership over the years and in the future.

## Carolina G. HERNANDEZ Founding President, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (Philippines)

#### EAST ASIA SECURITY AND JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION<sup>1</sup>

Japan and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have a long history of friendship and mutually-beneficial relations almost since ASEAN's establishment in 1967. It helped that both parties adopted the concept of comprehensive security manifestly different from the concept embraced by the rest of the world especially during the Cold War. It also helped that they had complementary economies, making economic cooperation almost a natural development. Natural-resource rich ASEAN and capital and technology-endowed Japan made for a perfect economic and functional partnership. Japan's wartime exploits in Southeast Asia were also somewhat muted by good neighborly relations. Economic and functional cooperation fitted in very well with their comprehensive conception of security, i.e., economic and socio-cultural security cooperation.

Military cooperation was beyond the scope of Japan-ASEAN security cooperation. ASEAN does not have a single set of foreign and security policies. Each member state adopts its own, and because ASEAN is a hugely diverse grouping of nations, its members continue to espouse different foreign and security policies as individual countries. As a group, though, ASEAN has consistently followed the policy of independence from any of the foreign and security policies of key actors in the region and in the world. A policy of equidistance from the major powers at any point in time is evident in ASEAN's engagement with the outside world.

As dialogue partners since 1973, Japan enabled the building of physical infrastructures and human skills for economic development in ASEAN. Their economic interdependence helped make ASEAN the most economically dynamic region in the world before the 1997/8 financial crisis. Japan's competition with China contributed to the forging of closer economic and functional relations with ASEAN including the 2003 Tokyo Declaration.

The 2011 Bali Declaration endorsed five (5) strategies to further enhance regional peace, stability, and prosperity: (1) strengthening political-security cooperation, (2) intensifying cooperation for ASEAN community-building, (3) enhancing ASEAN-Japan connectivity to consolidate bilateral ties, (4) jointly creating a more disaster-resilient society, and (5) jointly addressing common regional and global challenges. It adopted twelve (12) broad principles and commitments for political-security cooperation. It is against these twelve (12) broad items that one can imagine the likely direction of Japan-ASEAN cooperation to promote East Asian security. Some can be used as bases for concrete measures in security cooperation, but many are simply guiding principles.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Keynote Presentation, Session II, 9<sup>th</sup> Japan-ASEAN Dialogue, "The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role – Japan-ASEAN Partnership after the New Joint Declaration", Global Forum of Japan and ASEAN ISIS, International House of Japan, Tokyo, 14-15 March 2012.

A firmer political will is required to craft **concrete cooperation measures**. Among those that can be concretized are (1) improved cooperation within the APT, EAS, ARF, ADMM Plus and its Experts Working Groups (EWGs) by adopting an issue such as natural disaster risk reduction and management in the agendas of these bodies; (2) addressing the concerns of their peoples by reframing maritime security to include illegal fishing, over fishing, marine pollution, crimes at sea other than piracy and anti-terrorism<sup>2</sup>; (3) improving law enforcement cooperation to redress transnational crimes, including by restructuring maritime security forces (i.e., demilitarizing navies through the establishment of civilian coast guards), and capacity building for ASEAN coast guards; (4) upholding freedom and safety of navigation and peaceful settlement of disputes using the ADMM Plus and its EWGs; and (5) developing multi-stakeholder dialogues to build regional constituencies around sensitive issues in the Bali Declaration that are critical to East Asia's security.

These are hugely challenging matters, but they are necessary to achieve East Asian security. Due to the region's attachment to state sovereignty, a useful and easier starting point is the conduct of dialogues among various stakeholders in and outside governments to eventually develop regional constituencies around items for political-security cooperation outlined in the Bali Declaration.

The trajectory of global peace could very well be decided in East Asia and the broader Asia-Pacific region as we see the focal points of the shifting array of power and influence shaping our present world concentrated in this broad and dynamic region. The world's surviving great powers – the US and Russia - are located in this region. The new emergent powers of China and India are also in this region. And so are middle powers or combination of actors with some political weight in the current global power structure such as Australia, ASEAN, Canada, South Korea, among others. It is also in this region where the two remnants of the Cold War reside – two divided nations that refuse to merge or whose parts simply would not wither away: the Chinese and the Koreans. Their continuing division poses a risk to East Asian security.

Indeed, the **challenges** are many, and they are transborder requiring transnational solutions. The common goal of Japan and ASEAN to realize a peaceful, stable and prosperous region remains challenged generally by the international system of sovereign states following the 1648 Peace of Westphalia. Since then, various technologies have shrunk the world, rendering national boundaries almost meaningless and blurring the distinction between the domestic and external domains. Major wars altered international relations including international law and international organizations. New global values emerged out of the ashes of human brutality against each other. And states adjusted accordingly, until their situation became intolerable leading to changes in the way international life used to be lived.<sup>3</sup>

ASEAN member states being highly diverse and too far apart in their foreign and security policies, security cooperation with Japan will have to be on a case-by-case basis. Many ASEAN member states are also far too small and unable to stand up against their historical and traditional patrons (Cambodia in relation to China, and the Philippines in relation to the US are obvious examples). Myanmar has become extremely dependent on Chinese financial and political support. And all countries of Southeast Asia but Thailand were victims of Japanese invasion during the Pacific War. Also, the adage that 'success has many fathers while failure is an orphan' unfortunately applies in the case of East Asia where most of Japan's partners during the golden age of the flying geese model of development have since been sucked by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Rizal Sukma, "Maritime Security in Southeast Asia: The Human Security Dimension", and Jun Honna, "Crimes at Sea and Human Insecurity in Southeast Asia: Towards a New Paradigm," in Carolina G.

Hernandez, (ed.), *Mainstreaming Human Security in ASEAN Integration: Regional Public Goods and Human Security-* Volume 1 (Quezon City: Institute for Strategic and Development Studies, 2011), pp. 35-52; and 53-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This theme has been a major focus of the author's graduate seminars in International Relations and International Studies over the past decade or more at the University of the Philippines where she is Professor Emeritus.

Beijing's magnetic pull during its phenomenal economic rise. The relevant question facing bilateral cooperation between Japan and ASEAN especially under the 2011 Bali Declaration is whether the present political and other realities framing East Asia are conducive to more effective security cooperation between them.

The **opportunities** for enhanced security cooperation between Japan and ASEAN may well lie in the continued perception that Beijing's political-security behavior remains distant from its diplomatic-political rhetoric; its assertiveness in the regime of East Asia's oceans, its continuing unsatisfactory record in the area of human rights and democracy, as well as fiscal and economic policies that are seen as detrimental to the interest of ASEAN member states and others. Among some claimant states in the South China Sea disputes whose experience of Chinese assertiveness in the oceans resonates with those Japan experienced, closer cooperation in maintaining freedom and safety of navigation might be feasible. Also, in combating transnational crimes that plague Southeast Asian states, closer cooperation through better law enforcement including through coast guard cooperation is feasible. ASEAN has also much to gain from Japan's support - especially if matched by resources – for ASEAN's centrality in East Asian regionalism. Successful integration and community building by ASEAN can enhance its prospects for this role being sustained into the future, in spite of a risen China because the latter needs the support of the rest in the region to assume regional leadership, especially should the US refuse to fade away.

Additionally, some individual ASEAN member states share similar defense policies with Japan. For instance, both the Philippines and Thailand remain military treaty allies of the United States (US), and although Singapore does not have a formal military alliance with Washington, its defense policy is closely identified with that of the US as seen in its hosting of US military personnel and naval ships in Changi Naval Base and its participation in the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) led by the Pentagon after the 9/11 attacks. Singapore appears wedded to a close defense and military relations with the US while others such as Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia have military arrangements on a commercial basis with Washington. Also, Indonesia and the Philippines benefit from Japan's coast guard capacity building programs to strengthen maritime security and enhance maritime security cooperation in East Asia following the organization of a separate civilian coast guard from their navies. Malaysia and Singapore belong to the Five Power Defense Arrangement (FPDA) with Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom (UK), and following the increasing assertiveness of China especially in the South China Sea, Vietnam forged military ties with and opened up some of its military bases to the US.

Given these examples and insights, Japan and ASEAN should be able to find areas to enhance their security cooperation among those identified in the 2011 Bali Declaration. The issue is how to proceed without unnecessarily rocking the East Asian security boat.

## OGASAWARA Takayuki Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University

### ASEAN-Japan Cooperation for Peace and Stability of East Asia

The 2011 Bali Declaration endorsed five strategies including Political-Security cooperation. Among notable points are: enhanced ASEAN Connectivity and the future plan of ASEAN connectivity plus; emergency preparedness, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief; maritime security and maritime safety; open, transparent and inclusive regional architecture in which ASEAN maintains centrality; policy dialogue and cooperation in various areas including Korean Peninsula.

The main factor of exploring the political-security cooperation between ASEAN and Japan has been their common interest in non-traditional security issues such as heavy armed pirates, illegal flow of small arms, and non-state terrorism. It is undeniable, however, that China's rapid military build-up and assertiveness in the region has become another factor of promoting the cooperation.

Japan will continuously put emphasis on socio-economic development of ASEAN countries in a manner of enhancing ASEAN connectivity. This is not only because of diversity among ASEAN countries but also of Japan's own strength of comprehensive security. A strong and integrated ASEAN Community would serve as a strategic anchor in East Asia to maintain peace and stability as well as to promote prosperity within the region and beyond.

Peace and stability in the sea that connects ASEAN and Japan is essential for the prosperity of the region. The United States, along with other partners of ASEAN and Japan, is a legitimate stake holder in "freedom of navigation" in the sea. East Asia Summit (EAS) focusing on strategic issues, as well as ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), has become a manifestation of hedging strategy through consultation and cooperation. The US confirmation of "Asia-Pacific Power" is also encouraging.

It is advisable for Japan and ASEAN countries to upgrade their own security capacity. One way in which they can enhance their denial capability is through defence cooperation with their partners. Most of the defence cooperation with the US in this region is organised by US forces stationed in Japan. Also Japan should collaborate with willing members of ASEAN for their capacity building.

## YEO Lay Hwee Director, European Union Centre & Senior Research Fellow, Singapore Institute of International Affairs(Singapore)

#### Introduction

ASEAN was founded in 1967, and over the last four decades, ASEAN despite all its trials and tribulations had managed to stitch together a network of groupings centred on ASEAN. Besides the various ASEAN plus One dialogue partnerships, we now have in the Asian region, the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) process, the East Asia Summit (EAS) and across regions, ARF, ASEM and APEC. However, ASEAN's solidarity and ability to drive the regional processes in Asia have been increasingly questioned over the last few years. The active chairmanship of ASEAN by Indonesia in 2010-2011 has helped to lower the tone of criticisms, particularly those coming from outside ASEAN.

Yet, it is also increasingly evident that for ASEAN to continue to drive the regional processes and ensure that the various evolving processes and forums do not become entangled, ASEAN need to be more cohesive and coherent and united as a Community while at the same time nimble and flexible. Let me elaborate.

#### ASEAN Community with Big Cs

ASEAN has always been an outward looking regional organisation, founded in the 1960s not for pursuing integration, but really as an instrument for the member states to enhance their autonomy and minimise any interference from major powers or neighbouring states. The environment in the immediate post-Cold War era with intensifying economic competition globally and regionally forced the ASEAN countries to look within to strengthen its economic cooperation with an eye to making themselves competitive to the outside world vis-à-vis emerging competitors such as China and the Central and Eastern European economies. The need for ASEAN to pursue an integrated dual-track strategy of more internal community-building and at the same time continuing with adept management of "external affairs" in the Asian region has become ever more important. The Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) has acted as a catalyst for ASEAN to re-evaluate its own development and its capacity to manage relations with the major powers in the region by promoting both "regional autonomy of Southeast Asia and the centrality of ASEAN in Southeast Asia's security architecture" (Thayer, 2011:315).

In 2003, ASEAN declared in Bali Concord II its aspirations to build an ASEAN Community comprising three pillars – the ASEAN Political and Security Community, the ASEAN Economic Community and the ASEAN Socio-cultural Community – by 2020. This was brought forward to 2015 in recognition of the urgency for community-building within ASEAN. Without a cohesive ASEAN, ASEAN would not be able to address the broader geo-political and geo-economic challenges and specific problems of the region made more complex by the rise of China and India.

Yet to suggest that ASEAN must be cohesive and coherent does not imply ASEAN becoming a formal and rigid organisation. Instead ASEAN needs Creativity and Connectivity to remain a relevant player that that can extend its reach and amplify impact within a larger community. It needs to be nimble and flexible while maintaining a strong common understanding and solidarity amongst its members for it act with confidence in managing these complex challenges.

#### **Overlapping Architectures**

In Asia right now, there are indeed many overlapping architectures which have remained, at least rhetorically, ASEAN-driven. Major powers in these overlapping architectures are engaged in a small tug-of-war for institutional supremacy. China prefers the ASEAN Plus Three (APT) framework, while Japan is more at ease with the East Asia Summit (EAS), and has also proposed the Comprehensive Economic Partnership for East Asia (CEPEA). These overlapping groupings may be untidy but they need not become entangled. Instead as argued by some, they may prove to be "more effective in organising relationships where there is great diversity and several centres of power" (Ho, 2012), as is the case in Asia. The key is for all major players to be cognizant of each other's interests and views, and the need for ASEAN to further develop the Capacity and Capability to manage all these overlapping architectures. More importantly, there is need to work towards a form of issue-based leadership comprising at least 3 to 4 members in these different architectures to not only deepen the dialogue on the different issues and challenges, but to help drive the process from dialogue to concrete cooperation and collective problem solving at regional and global level.

#### The Role of Japan

Japan remains a significant power in Asia but is increasingly hampered in its ability to act by contentious domestic politics that has seen six different prime ministers in the last six years. Its special relationship with the US also added another layer of complexity in its regional role.

The Asian financial crisis in 1997-98 had offered an important opportunity for Japan to intensify its engagement with East Asia and proposed ideas on regionalism in the region. However, its proposal then for an AMF was opposed by the US, and since then, Japan has adopted a more low-key approach to engage in a range of bilateral and collective initiatives simultaneously. Still Japan has been instrumental in supporting ASEAN in many of its community-building initiatives, and should continue to do so. However, Japan could also do more to provide some sort of coherence to the various overlapping architectures. Instead of competing for leadership in any one of the architectures, Japan can work with ASEAN to promote and develop issue-based leadership in the different architectures and becoming an active player in this networked approach to coordinate the different interests and address different challenges.

## HATOYAMA Yukio former Prime Minister

While in office as prime minister, I was advocating the importance of creating an East Asia community. During that time, I was questioned how far East Asia would reach. I used to answer that there was no need to fix the countries that belong to the region and that it is better to keep it that way. My opinion is basically still the same.

ASEAN is making efforts towards becoming a community in 2015. I believe that it holds great political significance for ASEAN countries to share their values and to unite for peace while being aware of the expansion of Chinese influence in the region. Moreover, by jointly developing the Mekong region and becoming a competitive economic community through free trade while reducing disparity, ASEAN will surely strengthen its influence in the international economy.

On the other hand, Japan, China and the Republic of Korea which are linked with deep historical ties should strengthen their relationship by overcoming historical barriers and jointly address North Korean problems, cooperate for nuclear safety and renewable energy, and promote the CAMPUS Asia initiative. This trilateral relationship will not only develop Asia's economy but it will also bring peace and stability to the region.

The ASEAN+3 which ties the two regions together was established during the Asian Financial Crisis and has so far developed 66 cooperation mechanisms in 24 fields. The EAS which includes ASEAN+3, Australia, New Zealand, India as well as the USA and Russia is a framework that is effective in dealing with such matters which require cooperation throughout a wider region as the prevention of infectious diseases like bird flu, energy, environment and disaster prevention. Also exist multilateral frameworks such as APEC which seeks economic integration throughout the Asia-Pacific region and ARF which seeks confidence building in the region with the participation of EU.

It should be understood that the creation of multi-layer regional partnerships for a number of different causes is not negative but rather an effective way to increase the resilience of the region. Japan should also make extensive use of these open multi-layer frameworks. In particular, when addressing political and security matters, it is in Japan's best interest to discuss the matter at EAS and ARF which include the United States of America. As a country that caused a nuclear accident, it is our responsibility to establish a growth model in a low carbon society and to exercise leadership in this field at the EAS and offer regional fora. In the fields of education and culture, it is adequate for Japan, China and the ROK to cooperate among the three first and then extend it to ASEAN+3 and EAS. The fast growing ASEAN is Japan's second largest trading partner and the base of Japanese companies' production network. Therefore, Japan should actively support the establishment of the ASEAN community and help ASEAN strengthen the relationship among the member countries and the connectivity by assisting the development of human resources and the Mekong Basin.

# V. Appendix

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

#### (1) Introduction

**(Objectives)** As we embrace the 21st century, international relations are becoming increasingly interdependent, and globalization and regionalism are becoming the big waves. In this global tendency, communicating with the world, especially neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region at both governmental and non-governmental 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	Торіс	Co-sponsor
	March March	The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role The Rise of Emerging Countries and the Future of Global Governance	ASEAN-ISIS Fudan University (China)
2012	February	The Asia-Pacific Region in Transition and the Japan-U.SChina	Nanyang Technological University (Singapore) The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (U.S)
		Relations	China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies (China)
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 May	East Asian Regional Architectures and Japan-India Relations Promoting Japan-U.S. Cooperation in Non-Traditional Security:	The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (India) National Bureau of Asian Research (U.S.)
	February	the Case of Counter Piracy Promoting Japan-China Cooperation on Environmental Issues of the 21st Century: In Pursuit of Recycling Society	School of Environment, Beijing Normal University (China)
	January	Prospects of Changing Black Sea Area and Role of Japan	Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation
	September	Japan-ASEAN Cooperation amid the Financial and Economic Crisis	ASEAN-ISIS
2009	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	ASEAN-ISIS
	July	Statement on East Asia Cooperation 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.)

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

As of April 27, 2012 (Chairman) OKAWARA Yoshio, Director, Institute for International Policy Studies (President) ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. [Business Leader Governors] MOGI Yuzaburo, Honorary CEO and Chairman of the Board, Kikkoman Corporation TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation [Diet Member Governors] ASAO Keiichiro, Member of the House of Representatives (YP) HATOYAMA Yukio, M.H.R. (DPJ) KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP) SUEMATSU Yoshinori, M.H.C. (DPJ) TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP) [Opinion Leader Governors] HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Vice President, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc SHIMADA Haruo, President, Chiba University of Commerce WATANABE Mayu, Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc [Business Leader Members] (10 Members) HANDA Haruhisa, Chairman, Chairman, Worldwide Support for Development, President and CEO, Misuzu IMAI Takashi, Honorary Chairman, Nippon Steel Corporation ISHIKAWA Hiroshi, Director, Kajima Corporation MIYAZAKI Toshihiko, President, JAPAN AUDIO VISUAL Co., Ltd MOGI Yuzaburo, Honorary CEO and Chairman of the Board, Kikkoman Corporation TANAKA Tatsuo, Managing Officer, Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group YAGUCHI Toshikazu, President, Biru Daiko Co., Ltd. YAMAMOTO Tadahito, President and Representative Director, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd. TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation (TBD), Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation [Diet Member Members] (25 Members) ASAO Keiichiro, Member of the House of Representatives (YP) DOKYU Seiichiro M.H.R. (DPJ) HATOYAMA Yukio, M.H.R. (DPJ) HOSODA Hiroyuki, M.H.R. (LDP) KAKIZAWA Mito, M.H.R. (YP) KITAGAMI Keiro, M.H.R. (DPJ) KIUCHI Takatane, M.H.R. (DPJ) KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP) NAGASHIMA Akihisa, M.H.R. (DPJ) NAKABAYASHI Mieko, M.H.R. (DPJ) NAKAGAWA Masaharu, M.H.R. (DPJ) NISHIMURA Chinami, M.H.R. (DPJ) OGATA Rintaro, M.H.R. (DPJ) OGUSHI Hiroshi, M.H.R. (DPJ) SAKAGUCHI Naoto, M.H.R. (DPJ) SHIOZAKI Yasuhisa, M.H.R. (LDP) SUEMATSU Yoshiki, M.H.R. (DPJ) TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP) YAMAGUCHI Tsuyosi, M.H.R. (DPJ) FUJITA Yukihisa, Member of the House of Councillors (DPJ) HAYASHI Yoshimasa, M.H.C. (LDP) INOGUCHI Kuniko, M.H.C. (LDP) MAKIYAMA Hiroe M.H.C. (DPJ) MATSUDA Kouta, M.H.C. (YP) SEKOU Hironari, M.H.C. (LDP) [Opinion Leader Members] (84 Members) AICHI Kazuo, Chairman, Japan Forum for Strategic Studies AKASHI Yasushi, Chairman, International House of Japan AOKI Tamotsu, Contract Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University AMAKO Satoshi, Professor, Waseda University ASOMURA Kuniaki, Professor, North Asia University CHINO Keiko, Columnist, The Sankei Shimbun FUKUSHIMA Teruhiko, Professor, National Defense Academy GYOHTEN Toyoo, President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs HABA Kumiko, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University HAKAMADA Shigeki, Professor, The University of Niigata Prefecture HASEGAWA Kazutoshi, former Ambassador to Australia HATA Kei, Vice Principal, Sakushin Gakuin

HIRONAKA Wakako, former Member of the House of Councillors HIRONO Ryokichi, Professor Emeritus, Seikei University ICHIKAWA Isao, Auditor, Institute for World Politics and Economy

IKEO Aiko, Professor, Waseda University INA Hisayoshi, Columnist, The Nikkei Newspaper

INOGUCHI Takashi, President, University of Niigata Prefecture ITO Eisei, former Member of the House of Representatives ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc. ITO Tsuyoshi, Professor, Meiji University IWAKUNI Tetsundo, Professor, University of Virginia IWAMA Yoko, Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies IZUMI Hajime, Professor, University of Shizuoka KAMIYA Matake, Professor, National Defense Academy KAWAI Masahiro, Dean and CEO, Asian Development Bank Institute KAWAI Masao, Guest Professor, Hakuo University KIMURA Takayuki, Special Assistant to the Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs KINOSHITA Hiroo, Advisor, National Small Business & Information Promotion Center KOGURE Masayoshi, former Professor, Toyo University KOKUBUN Ryosei, President, the National Defense Academy KUBO Fumiaki, Professor, Keio University MANO Teruhiko, former Advisor to the President, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd. MIYAMOTO Nobuo, Diplomatic Commentator MIYAZAKI Isamu, Honorary Advisor, Daiwa Institute of Research MIYOSHI Masaya, Chairman and CEO, Miyoshi Networks Co., Ltd. MORI Toshimitsu, former Ambassador to Kazakhstan MORIMOTO Satoshi, Professor & Director, Institute of World Studies, Takushoku University MURATA Koji, Professor, Doshisha University MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Professor, The University of Shizuoka NAKAGANE Katsuji, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University NAKAHARA Nobuyuki, President, The American Studies Foundation NISHIKAWA Megumi, Foreign News Editor, Mainichi Newspapers OKAZAKI Kenji Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies OGASAWARA Takayuki, Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University OKAWARA Yoshio, Director, Institute for International Policy Studies OKONOGI Masao, Professor, Keio University OHYA Eiko, Journalist SAKAKIBARA Eisuke, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University SAKAMOTO Masahiro, visiting Superior Research Fellow, JFIR SAJIMA Naoko, Professor, Senshu University SHIMADA Haruo, President, Chiba University of Commerce SHIMIZU Yoshikazu, former Director, The United Nations Association of Japan SHIRAISHI Takashi, Visiting Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies SOEYA Yoshihide, Professor, Keio University SONE Yasunori, Professor, Keio University SUGIYAMA Fumihiko, Foreign News Editor, Jiji Press SUZUKI Keisuke, former Member of the House of Representatives TAHARA Soichiro, Journalist TAIDA Hideya, Member of the board of trustees, Akita International University TAJIMA Takashi, former Ambassador to Canada TAKAHARA Akio, Professor, The University of Tokyo TAKAHASHI Kazuo, former Professor, International Christian University TAKASHIMA Hatsuhisa, President, The Tokyo Club TAKEUCHI Yukio, Justice, Supreme Court of Japan TAKEMI Keizo, Professor, Tokai University TAKUBO Tadae, Professor Emeritus, Kyorin University TANAKA Akihiko, President, JICA TANAKA Toshiro, Professor, Keio University TANINO Sakutaro, former Ambassador to China URATA Shujiro, Professor, Waseda University UTSUMI Yoshio, former Secretary General, International Telecommunication Union WAKISAKA Noriyuki, Editorial Writer, Asahi Shimbun WATANABE Mayu, Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc YAMANAKA Akiko, former Member of the House of Representatives YAMAUCHI Masayuki, Contract Professor, Meiji University YAMAZAWA Ippei, Professor Emeritus, Hitotsubashi University YUSHITA Hiroyuki, former Ambassador to the Philippines

In alphabetical order

[Supporters' Club Members] (23Members) AKASHI Yasushi, ASAO Keiichiro, HASHIMOTO Hiroshi, HASHIMOTO Masuo, HIROKAWA Norio, ITO Kenichi, Rentsendoo JIGJID, KOYAMA Seiji, OKUMURA Naohito, OSHIMA Seiji, SHIMIZU Yoshikazu, SUEMATSU Yoshinori, TAKAGI Kiyomitsu, TAKAGI Noriaki, TAKAO Akira, TSUJII Seigo, YAMAMURA Yoichi, WAKABAYASHI Shigeru, WATANABE Mayu

[Acting Executive Secretary] KIKUCHI Yona

> [Note] DPJ: Democratic Party of Japan LDP:Liberal Democratic Party YP: Your Party

## 2. An Introduction to ASEAN-ISIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 3. 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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## The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

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