
Japan- East Asia Dialogue

What Should We Do
toward Reliable International Relations in Asia?

Conference Papers

February, 9, 2015

At International House of Japan
Tokyo, Japan

Co-Sponsored by

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

The Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADR-ISIS)

The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

Table of Contents

1. Program.....	1
2. Biographies of the Panelists	2
3. Presentation Papers	4
<i>Session I: New Security Issues in Asia</i>	4
ITO Go.....	4
GUAN Yiyiing	6
Iis GINDARSAH.....	8
<i>Session II: Proposals for Reliable International Relations in Asia</i>	9
SATO Koichi	9
WANG Jiangli.....	12
YUMINO Masahiro	13
Renato Cruz De CASTRO.....	15
4. An Introduction to The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ).....	16
5. An Introduction to the School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University	17
6. An Introduction to the Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADR-ISIS)	18
7. An Introduction to The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR).....	19

1. Program

日・東アジア対話 Japan- East Asia Dialogue

我々は何をなすべきか：アジア諸国間の信頼のために What Should We Do toward Reliable International Relations in Asia?

共催／Co-sponsored by
 グローバル・フォーラム / The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)
 浙江大学公共管理学院 / School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University*
 アルバート・デル・ロサリオ戦略国際問題研究所 / the Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies(ADR-ISIS)*
 公益財団法人 日本国際フォーラム / The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

2015年2月9日(月) / Monday, 9 February, 2015

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

開会挨拶 / Opening Remarks	
13:30-13:40	
開会挨拶 (5分間) Opening Remarks (5 min.)	伊藤 憲一 グローバル・フォーラム代表世話人・日本国際フォーラム理事長 ITO Kenichi, Chairman, GFJ / President, JFIR
セッション I / Session I	
13:40-14:55 アジアにおける安全保障上の新課題 New Security Issues in Asia	
議長 (5分間) Chairperson (5 min.)	石川 薫 日本国際フォーラム研究本部長 ISHIKAWA Kaoru, Director of Research, JFIR
報告A (10分間) Presenter A (10 min.)	伊藤 剛 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人 / 明治大学教授 ITO Go, Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, Meiji University
報告B (10分間) Presenter B (10 min.)	管 一穎 中国海洋大学副教授 GUAN Yiyang, Associate Professor, Ocean University of China
報告C (10分間) Presenter C (10 min.)	アイース・ジンダルサ インドネシア戦略国際問題研究所研究員 Is GINDARSAH, Reseacher, The Centre for Strategic and International Studies(CSIS), Indonesia
自由討議 (50分間) Free Discussions (50 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
14:55-15:05 休憩 / Break	
セッション II / Session II	
15:05-16:50 アジア諸国間の信頼へ向けての提案 Proposals for Reliable International Relations in Asia	
議長 (5分間) Chairperson (5 min.)	伊藤 剛 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人 / 明治大学教授 ITO Go, Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, Meiji University
報告A (10分間) Presenter A (10 min.)	佐藤 考一 桜美林大学教授 SATO Koichi, Professor, J. F. Oberlin University
報告B (10分間) Presenter B (10 min.)	王 江麗 浙江大学公共管理学院副教授 WANG Jiangli, Associate Professor, School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University
報告C (10分間) Presenter C (10 min.)	弓野 正宏 早稲田大学現代中国研究所招聘研究員 YUMINO Masahiro, Research Fellow, Waseda Institute of Contemporary Chinese Studies
報告D (10分間) Presenter D (10 min.)	レナート・デ・カストロ フィリピン・デラ・サール大学教授 Renato Cruz De CASTRO, Professor, De Lasalle University, the Philippines
自由討議 (50分間) Free Discussions (50 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
総括セッション / Wrap-up Session	
16:50-17:00	
総括 (10分間) Wrap-up (10 min.)	伊藤 剛 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人 / 明治大学教授 ITO Go, Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, Meiji University

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

2. Biographies of the Panelists

【Foreign Panelists】

GUAN Yiyong

Associate Professor, Ocean University of China

Received Ph.D. in law from the Faculty of Law at Kanazawa University in 2001. Served as a Post-doctoral fellow at School of Law, Zhejiang University (2001-2003). Assumed the current position in 2004. His Research Interest includes Diplomatic History of Japan, China-Japan Relations and Asia Pacific Relations, such as Article Nine of the Japanese Constitution, Japanese maritime development strategy, etc. Concurrently serves as Senior Researcher, the Center of Japanese Research at Ocean University of China.

Iis GINDARSAH

Researcher, The Centre for Strategic and International Studies(CSIS), Indonesia

Received M.Sc. in International Relations from the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia in 2009 and in Strategic Studies from the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University in 2010. Served as a Research Analyst at the Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies (IDSS), Singapore. His research interests include defense transformation, military technological innovations, civil-military relations, defense diplomacy and regional security complex in East Asia. Published essays and commentaries in journals and media outlets, including Contemporary South East Asia, Defense and Security Analysis, and the Jakarta Post. Concurrently serves as an Adjunct Lecturer at the Department of International Relations, University of Indonesia.

WANG Jiangli

Associate Professor, School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

Received Ph.D. in Theory of Political Science from Zhejiang University in 2009. Served a Visiting Fellow at the Asia Research Centre of the London School of Economics and Political Science. Published “The English and Chinese Schools of International Relations: Comparisons and Lessons” in *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* No. 7, Vol 1 with Barry BUZAN in 2014, “The Historical Turn of Contemporary IR Study in China” in *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)* Issue 4 in 2013, “‘Security Community’ in the Context of Non-traditional Security” as a research result for the Non-Traditional Security Research Fellowship Project in 2007 by the Nanyang Technological University, and *An Introduction to Non-traditional Security* (Zhejiang People’s Publishing House, 2006) with YU Xiaofeng and PAN Yihe, etc.

Renato Cruz De CASTRO

Director, The Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and

International Studies (ADR-ISIS) / Professor, De Lasalle University, the Philippines

Received M.A. from the University of the Philippines and Ph.D. from the University of South Carolina as a Fulbright Scholar. Served as the U.S. Department ASEAN Research Fellow from the Philippines in 2009. His research interests include Philippine-U.S. security relations, Philippine defense and foreign policies, U.S. defense and foreign policies in East Asia, and International politics of East Asia. He has written over 70 articles on international relations and security that have been published in a number of scholarly journals and edited works in the Philippines, South Korea, Canada, Malaysia, France, Singapore, Taiwan, Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States. Holds the Charles Lui Chi Keung Professorial Chair in China Studies.

【Japanese Panelists】

ITO Kenichi

Chairman & President, GFJ / President, JFIR

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University and joined Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Studied at GSAS of Harvard University. Served in Japanese Embassies in Moscow, Manila and Washington and also as Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Since then he served as Tokyo Representative of CSIS (1980-1987) and professor of international politics at Aoyama Gakuin University (1984-2006). He has been President of Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) since it was founded in 1987 and now concurrently serves as Chairman & President of Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) and Chairman of Council on East Asian Community (CEAC). He is Professor Emeritus and holds Honorary Doctorate in International Relations.

ISHIKAWA Kaoru

Director of Research, JFIR

Graduated from the University of Tokyo and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1972. Studied at l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration in France. Served as Research Associate of International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), London and Minister-Counselor to France, G8 Summit foreign affairs Sous-Sherpa (1999-2001 and 2005-07), Ambassador in charge of Civil Society (2002), Director General of Global Affairs Department (2002-05), Director General of Economic Affairs Bureau (2005-07), Ambassador to Egypt, Ambassador to the Arab League and then Ambassador to Canada. Also having served as Part time lecturer at Waseda University and Visiting Professor at the University of Tokyo.

ITO Go

Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, Meiji University

Graduated from Sophia University. Received Ph.D. at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver in 1997. Served as Associate Professor at Meiji University in 1998, and assumed the current position in 2006. Also served as Visiting Professor at Beijing University, Academia Sinica(Taiwan), Bristol University(Britain), Australian National University, and Victoria University (Canada), Adjunct Professor (International Security) at Waseda University as well as Sophia University, and as Adjunct Researcher of the House of Councilors. Recipients of the Eisenhower Fellowships in 2005 and the Nakasone Yasuhiro Award in 2006. Concurrently serves as Superior Research Fellow of Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR).

SATO Koichi

Professor, J.F.Oberlin University

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

YUMINO Masahiro

Research Fellow, Waseda Institute of Contemporary Chinese Studies

Received M.A. in Law (Diplomatic Studies) from Beijing University in 2003 and completed Ph.D. Program in Politics at Waseda University in 2008. Served as a Visiting Lecturer at the Waseda Institute of Contemporary Chinese Studies in 2008 and as a Researcher at the National Institutes for the Humanities of Japan. Published some articles such as "The Enforcement of the 'National Defense Education Law of the People's Republic of China'" in Waseda Journal of Political Science and Economics in 2007 and "People's Liberation Army as a Local Community-Based Army" in Waseda Asia Review No. 10, 2011 etc.

(In order of appearance)

3. Presentation Papers

Session I: New Security Issues in Asia

ITO Go

Academic Governor of GFJ / Professor, Meiji University

I. The Purpose of this “Network Project”

- Neighboring Countries: “Special Relationship” → What is special?

II. The “Memory Trap”

- Our tragedies must be compensated, while your tragedies ought to be accepted.
- Understandings by both winners and losers will be needed for reconciliation.
- As the time goes, bad “memories” are healed, while at the same time distorted to the wrong direction.

III. Deng Xiao-Ping’s Wisdom

- To postpone the issue with no resolution, or to avoid the excessive focus on the territory issue

IV. China’s Face as a “Big Country”

- Does leadership mean that the leader is able to do anything?
- Followers are needed.
- supply of and demand for leadership

V. Rampant Ideas of “Realism”

- power vs. power
- Japan should prepare China’s possible intimidation by coercive power.
- John Mearsheimer’s Visit to Japan

VI. ”Division of Labor” in International Relations

- Competition for Leadership by China and Japan
- China + Japan = Zero

1. このネットワーク・プロジェクトは、2012年日中関係が難しくなっていく中で構想したものである。政府間対話では討議しにくい内容に関して相手国の有識者と討議するネットワークを形成しようとするものである。「人ベース」のネットワークと、「組織ベース」とのそれを有効に織り交ぜながらこれまで対話を行ってきた。概して、どの国同士も「隣の国」というのは、special relationshipという言葉で片付けたがる傾向がある。肝心なのは「特別」の中身である。
2. 一般的に、「自分たちの被害は救済されるべきで、相手の被害は『当然の報い』だ」とする傾向が強い（「歴史認識トラップ」とでも呼べるだろう）。それに加え、戦争には勝者と敗者とが存在するので、話は複雑になる。「歴史の和解」を進めるためには加害者・被害者双方の努力が必要。すでに戦争のころから世代も幾つか変わり、勤労世代はすでに戦争を「記憶」としてしか留めていない。「記憶」は「実体験」ではない。時間が経つにつれ、戦争の「記憶」は癒されもするが、歪曲されて再生産もされる。加害者による「謝罪」と、被害者による「赦し」との双方がないと、前者は「いつまで謝ればいいのか」という苛立ちが、後者は「いつになったら謝るのか」という猜疑心が継続する。また、戦勝国が受けた被害は救済されるべきで、敗戦国が受けた被害は当然の報いという考えは、戦争が双方による暴力行為であるという事実から離れた「勝者の論理」に過ぎない。
3. 日本とアジア諸国との相互依存関係は、貿易・投資のみならず、留学・出張（往復切符）や移民（片道切符）などの人の交流を始めとして多層的・複合的である。それを領土問題という一点に「矮小化」すべきでない。矮小化は不必要なナショナリズムを招く。その意味で、「次の世代は賢明」かもしれない。つまり、「結論を先延ばしにする」という意味でなく、「矮小化を避ける」という文脈で、この鄧小平の知恵を活用すべきである。
4. 中国は今や誰もが認める「大国」となった。東南アジア諸国を平気で「小国」と発言し、アメリカとの関係を「新型大国間関係」と自称する背景には、「自分たちは大きい」という面子もあるのだろう。だから、かつては多国間協議の場になかなか出てこなかった中国が、近年登場してリーダーシップを発揮するようになった。ただ、真のリーダーシップとは、自分たちの意のままに国際政治を動かすという意味でなく、国際社会全体における「負担」や「責任」も引き受ける（いわゆる「国際公共財」）ことではないと、leaderについて行く follower を形成することができない。これだけグローバル化した国際社会において、炭素ガスやPM2.5を世界中に撒き散らし、南シナ海を「中国の内水」と言ったところで、「大国」としての贅意を他国から得ることは不可能。リーダーシップと責任分担とが同時に成り立つ必要がある。
5. この中国にとっては「中華民族の復興」なるものが、周辺国には「力による現状変更」に見えることとなる。だから、周辺国は中国に「面従腹背」することとなる。東アジア国際政治を語るときに、近年リアリズム国際政治学がうまく当てはまるようになったのは、「力による現状変更」には「力」で対抗しない限り勝ち目はないという意識が生成されてきたことの現れ。日本はこれまで憲法 9 条の下で、「戦わない自衛隊」と共存してきたが、これからは「それではいざというときに対処できない」という焦燥感がある。だから「戦後レジーム」を変容することが「美しい」ということになる。また、本プロジェクトは米国シカゴ大学の John Mearsheimer 教授を昨年 12 月に招聘したが、その際の各地の講演は大盛況であった。これほど単純で分かりやすいが、地域の事情を考慮しない「攻撃的リアリズム」に喝采が送られる背景には何が存在するのか。
6. しばらくはアジア地域のリーダーシップを求めて、日中は競合状態となる。ASEAN 諸国はできるだけそれに関わりたくはない。アメリカにとってアジア安定のための方程式は 20 世紀初め以降今まで「中国+日本=ゼロ」であった。結果的に我々は、第三国が最も得となる関係を続けていくしかないのか。国際政治における「分業」は、要求と同時に責任においても確保されないといけない。

GUAN Yiying

Associate Professor, Ocean University of China

Security of East Asia: New Situation and New Issues

1. After the Cold War, the situation in Asia as in the world security trend entered an unprecedentedly complicated phase.

The year 2009 was a notable turning-point for the security in East Asia. Since then, the security trend of East Asia has entered a period of tension because of some issues, such as the destabilization in South China Sea and issues related to the Diaoyu (Senkaku in Japanese) islands, provoked by multiple factors including the US's strategic transition toward the East, the shock of recession in the West, and the "shift in power" due to the rise of China.

2. Since the year 2014, the security situation in East Asia has witnessed some new trends to emerge and raised new topics.

China and the US have accomplished positive development in establishing new major power relations and new military relations appropriate for it. In reality, however, the structural contradiction between China and the US sets up the competitive nature of the mutual relations. The key to successfully establish the new relations is that the two countries well overcome the structural contradiction.

3. The Chinese and Japanese leaders achieved the meeting, given the "four shared political views". Both sides determined to make efforts to establish mutual political trust and to continue the China-Japan Mutually Beneficial Relationship based on Common Strategic Interests. Regarding issues related to the view of history, the two sides reached some agreements to overcome political obstacles that affect the relations of the two countries. Although both sides hold their own interpretation regarding their territories, recognizing "one island, different interpretations" is practically equivalent to mutually admitting the other's position.

4. In order to enhance further regional integration, establish a stable framework for regional cooperation, and create a security order which all Asian countries may share and develop together within, China proposed a new "Comprehensive, Cooperative, Common, and Sustainable" Asian security concept as well as "One Belt, One Road" and "Connectivity" initiatives.

5. In arranging the process of regional security, how to avoid the confrontation between the two different security concepts is a major challenge in the future.

東アジアの安全保障：新たな状況と新たな問題

1、冷戦後、世界の安全保障状況におけるアジアの情勢は前例のない複雑な局面となっている。

2009年は東アジアの安全保障にとって重要なターニングポイントだった。この年から米国の東向き戦略転移、西側の景気後退の衝撃、中国の台頭による「パワー変化」の影響など複数の要因の作用で、東アジアの歴史に残っているいくつかの問題、例えば、南シナ海の紛争、釣魚島（日本名で尖閣諸島）問題などは刺激され、東アジアの安全情勢はある程度の緊張期に導入されてしまう。

2、2014年に入ってから、東アジアの安全保障状況は、いくつかの新しい状況が現れ、また新しいトピックをもたらした。

中国と米国は新たな大国関係とそれに適切な新たな軍事関係の構築に積極的進展が成し遂げた。しかし、現実的に、中国と米国間の構造的矛盾は相互関係の競争性質を決定している。両国は、構造的矛盾をうまく克服することこそ、新たな関係構築を成功させる鍵である。

3、中国と日本の指導者は、「四つの政治共同認識」に基づいて会談を実現した。双方は、政治的相互信頼の樹立、中日戦略的互惠関係の継続に努力することを確定した。歴史観の問題を巡って、両国関係に影響する政治的障害を克服するため、いくつかの合意に達した。領土問題をめぐって、互いにはそれぞれの解釈を持っているが、「一つの島、各自の解釈」という形は実際に互いに相手側の立場を認めることに当たった。

4、さらなる地域統合を強化し、安定した地域協力の枠組みを構築し、アジアすべての国が共有、また共同発展できるセキュリティ秩序を作るため、中国はアメリカの「勢力均衡」概念と異なった「総合、協力、共同、持続可能」という新しいアジアセキュリティの概念と「一帯一路」「互連互通」構想を提唱した。

5、地域の安全保障のプロセスを調整するには、二つの異なるセキュリティ概念の対立をどう回避するかは将来の主な課題である。

Iis GINDARSAH

Researcher, The Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia

Regional Security Architecture Building

East Asia is currently under-going strategic transformation. The rise of China constitutes the most salient aspect of power shift in the region. As its economic and military power increases, Chinese government most likely seeks greater role and recognition from regional countries. Although the United States remains the pivot power in East Asia, its influence and capability is increasingly limited by the growing power of China. In an effort to preserve the U.S. regional primacy, Obama administration has declared a renewed commitment and interest to play a more active role in the region.

As the rise of China is inevitable and the U.S. pursues a rebalancing strategy, the Sino-U.S. rivalry is no longer a remote possibility but emerging reality in East Asia. Recent developments suggest that the major powers appear becoming more assertive in regional competition for economic influence. Meanwhile, their rivalry over maritime access is another challenge to regional security. Rich in natural resources and crucial for sea-lanes of commerce, the Indian Ocean and South China Sea are increasingly important for national interests of not only the great powers but also the entire region.

Against that backdrop, ensuring peace and stability in East Asia remains the prevailing concern of regional countries. Over the past two decades, Southeast Asian countries have made significant contributions in consolidating and strengthening regional cohesiveness through ASEAN Community building. However, the relevance and role of ASEAN depends on its ability to shape the emerging regional order amid on-going strategic changes in the region.

Apart from many skepticisms, ASEAN has been actively participating in regional order building. For Southeast Asian countries, any regional security architecture should serve four strategic objectives: preserving ASEAN's autonomy and centrality; facilitating regional integration; accommodating the interests of extra-regional powers; and avoiding rivalries among major powers. This approach is anchored in ASEAN-driven multilateral frameworks—such as the East Asia Summit, ASEAN Regional Forum and ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting to promote cooperative engagements among regional countries, while enmeshing extra-regional powers into norms-based regional order.

In a nutshell, all-inclusive security cooperation enables regional and extra-regional countries not only to shape a cohesive regional order, but also peacefully managing strategic change in East Asia.

Session II: Proposals for Reliable International Relations in Asia

SATO Koichi

Professor, J. F. Oberlin University

【Not for Citation】

Years of the Dragon have come?

China's Maritime Deployment and the Future of Asia-Pacific Region

President Xi Jinping stressed the Strong Maritime Power as the national goal at the Communist Party Bureau Study Session on 30 July 2013, and many of the Chinese ministries have attached importance on it. We can observe two remarkable trends in China's maritime deployment. First, China asserts its sovereignty of the maritime features in the East and South China Seas. China may consider these two sea areas as China's internal lakes. Secondly, the PLA navy's activities such like the circum-navigations of the sea-lanes of Japan and the Southeast Asia, and its navigations in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, are also remarkable. These activities show the PLA navy's ambition to be the sea power as Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan said. This essay is to survey these two trends, their negative impact on the Asia-Pacific Region, and some idea for the prescription.

China asserts its sovereignty of all the maritime features in the South China Sea, and the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea, because of its huge demand for fishery and energy resources. These factors are common to the East and South China Seas. Further, China attaches importance to the South China Sea for its defense and security reason. The PLA navy demands the deep sea area of the South China Sea for the operation of the Ballistic Missile Submarines (SSBNs). China deploys the PLA navy gunboats, China Coast Guard (CCG) patrol vessels for the maritime administration, and the Chinese fishery boats for the Chinese fishing industry to the East and South China Seas.

The neighboring countries have complained about the Chinese deployments in their own sea areas as a matter of course, and these activities have become the sub-regional issues. China's activities surrounding the sea area of the Senkaku Islands are rather moderate, because of the strong maritime presence of the Japan Coast Guard (JCG) and the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF). The JCG patrol vessels and the CCG patrol vessels have confronted each other in the sea area of the Senkaku Islands, almost every day, and the situation is rather fixed, though China declared the Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea in November 2013.

China's activities surrounding the sea areas of the Paracel Islands, Spratly Islands, and Macclesfield Bank in the South China Sea are more provocative and aggressive, because the ASEAN claimants' maritime presence is not equivalent to China. The PLA navy has begun to reclaim some reefs in the Spratly Islands. The CCG patrol vessels overwhelm the small Vietnamese and Philippines patrol vessels, and their fishery boats. The Chinese oil detection rig and fishery boats activities also attract attention. The situation is fluid and dangerous. China may build the air-strip at the reclaimed reefs equivalent to the air-strip in Woody Island (2,700mL) in the Paracel Islands. China may also declare the ADIZ in the South China Sea, and control the whole sea areas of the South China Sea.

The PLA navy south fleet departed Hainan Island on 20 January 2014 and navigated to the Paracel Islands and the Spratly Islands, conducted several naval exercises such like the landing exercises with the Landing Ship Dock (LSD) and anti-submarine warfare, then the fleet passed through the Strait of Sunda and entered the eastern end of the Indian Ocean. The fleet navigated along the Java Island, and passed through the Strait of Lombok and Makassar, and reached the western end of the Pacific Ocean, and conducted the live fire exercise. The fleet passed through the Bashi Channel, and returned to the port of Zhanjiang on 11 February 2014. This is the first time for the PLA navy south fleet to cross the first island chain, and reached the Indian Ocean.

The PLA navy north fleet passed through the Strait of Osumi on 4 December 2014, then reached the Pacific Ocean, and conducted refreshment at sea (RAS). The fleet passed through the Strait of Soya at 2:00 AM on December 25, and entered the Sea of Japan, and navigated along the Main Island of Japan, then returned to the East China Sea. This is the second time for the PLA navy north fleet to circum-navigate a part of the Japanese sea-lanes of communication, and pass through the Strait of Soya. The PLA navy would like to show its capability to break through the first island chain in the Southern part and the Northern part against the Japan-U.S. Alliance. We can understand that the PLA navy's strong attachment for the blue water operation, and their desire to overcome the "US naval containment." This is the Indo-Pacific regional issue.

Years of the Dragon have come? We don't think so. China's aggressive maritime deployment heightens the tensions between China and the regional states including Japan, and the United States. The maritime confrontation between JCG and CCG at the Senkaku Islands has already developed to the tense situation. The PLA north fleet's passage of Strait of Soya at mid-night also made the Japanese people angry, though the navigation itself is not unlawful. We hope that the Chinese friends will guess the scene of JMSDF fleet passage through the Strait of Qiongzhou between Hainan Island and Leizhou Peninsula. We don't think the Chinese people will permit it.

The PLA navy's reclamation of the reefs, and the activities of the CCG vessels, Chinese oil companies,

and fishery boats have led to the maritime conflicts between China and some ASEAN countries such like Vietnam and the Philippines, and if it becomes the obstacle to the freedom of navigation, the U.S. navy will intervene. The new Indonesian government under the President Jokowi Widodo has also taken the tough stance against the poaching, and an Indonesian President's adviser predicted, "Indonesia may sink the Chinese fishery boats" on 10 December 2014.

We stress the risk of war between China and the neighboring states including the Japan-U.S. Alliance would be imminent, if China won't stop the hegemony contest at sea. We can predict that the coming war between China and the Japan-U.S. Alliance would be disastrous, the United States may survive because she would be far from the battle field. Japan and China would suffer seriously and both of the states cannot become winner. The Chinese government has always transferred the message, "Japan should study the historical lesson, and you may not become militant state, again." Yes, the Japanese have reflected the war-time history, and reconstructed Japan not as the militant state, but as *the trading state*.

The trade promotion policy and the lightly armed defense policy made the Japanese rich, and Japan becomes the economic power in the world, however the Chinese maritime provocation, possibly presses Japan to be the military power, again. We suspect that China places her hand on Pandora's Box. We should reconsider the disaster of the war. In my personal opinion, the Japanese Prime Minister should stop visiting Yasukuni Shrine and avoid the mutual misunderstanding. We, the Japanese hope China will also study the Japanese post-war history. The Strong Maritime Power is not seems to be an attainable goal for China.

There are some hopes for the peaceful co-existence among us. The regional states may construct the prosperous trading architecture including the United States. To solve the distrust between China and ASEAN, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang put forward the "2+7 Cooperation Framework" for the future development of the Sino-ASEAN relationship at the 16th China-ASEAN Summit held in Brunei on October 9, 2013. The "2" refers to two political consensuses: deepening strategic trust and expanding good-neighborly relationship, and focusing on economic development and enlarging mutual benefits. The "7" refers to seven key cooperation fields: politics, economy and trade, interconnection and mutual-trust, finance, ocean, security and humanity. Premier Li restated the importance of "2+7 Cooperation Framework" at the 17th China-ASEAN Summit held in Nay Pyi Taw on 13 November 2014.

China has also promoted the idea of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) including Japan, and has been interested in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) including Japan and the United States. Yes, *the trading state* is our common model for the interdependent Asia-Pacific region in the future. We can do many things together, promote and consolidate regional FTAs, develop the cooperation on the environmental protection, fish farming, energy detection & saving, and so on. We should be rich together!

WANG Jiangle

Associate Professor, School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

What Should We Do Based on the Wisdom of Deng Xiaoping's Generation?

Keywords: The wisdom of Deng Xiaoping's generation, Sino-Japanese Relation, Dispute of Diaoyu/Senkaku Island

Abstract:

The talk contains three parts: what we are facing now?; the wisdom of Deng Xiaoping's generation; and what we can and should do? I argue that territorial disputes are the old problems, but they easily and often get to the fuses of conflicts and make international relation in this region even tensional and worse under the current complicated situation. It is unhelpful to just simply repeat the saying about 'next generation', but we can abstract some wise points out from the generation of Deng Xiaoping on Sino-Japanese relation, such as the philosophical spirit of “和为贵”(peace/harmony is most precious); the rational and calm attitude to improve negotiation on the disputes; the flexible/wise diplomacy skill. The basic idea of that generation is that though there was a very sorry war history in 20th century between China and Japan, the two countries should look forwards and promote harmony and cooperation which is common willingness of people in two counties, and it is also very important to the peace and security in the Asia and Pacific region. We the current generation should follow and insist on this basic line while facing a tide after another of disputes between China and Japan, keep a rational, calm standpoint if both sides could not find a good way to resolve the problems so that can avoid head-on collision; also we need to create/take advantage of the normal and peaceful bilateral/multilateral channels to negotiate and exchange regularly on these issues, make sure not let it break even if in the hard difficult time between two countries; at the same time try best to take positive actions to nurture the wiser next generation; the last and important one is that both countries need to remain vigilant for domestic radical nationalism. The suggestions of concrete actions include joint writing historical textbook; reciprocal visits to historic sites; expanding exchange and cooperation officially and unofficially through IGOs and NGOs; establishing the compensation fund for the hurt people in World War II; etc.

YUMINO Masahiro

Research Fellow, Waseda Institute of Contemporary Chinese Studies

Some Perspectives from Japanese China Specialist Point of View

1. To proceed deeper and more comprehensive research about China, we need a wider and more multilateral point of view. In Japan, for long time we see China just as one closed regional power. But now China became opened and Global Power. So we need to see her as a global super power and need a broader point of view. For Research, we need to communicate more with world-wide China (Asia) Specialists.
2. We need to discuss China more to be relativized. We see China from Japanese, American, or Western point of view before. But as China becomes a Global power, we need to see China from more relativized aspects than before
.
3. China problem now became a much broader issue than I.R. specialist's territory. So we need much more specific issue dialogue and communication scheme. And we need to have more specific agenda than before, such as air pollution issue, water resource issue, and maritime interests, etc.
4. "Universal Value" needs to be re-emphasized. Sometimes we are faced with dilemma between universal value and economic interests. Chinese communist regime usually emphasizes economic cooperation instead of human-rights, freedom of speech, and Taiwan issues, but we as western civilized society need to keep our identity and states as democratic society. And we need to keep close tie with Chinese domestic liberal groups and need to keep their support. So we need to hold some dialogue about human-rights issue, freedom of speech, and so on.

1. グローバリゼーション時代の中国を巡る問題についての考察を日、中の枠を超えて進める。地域的なパワーとして捉えられていた中国はもはやそのような型には当てはまらず、開放的でグローバルなパワーとなったことからこれに相応の「日本と中国」とか「アジアの中の中国」という枠に限定されないグローバルな視点（中国とアフリカ、中国と中南米、中国と中東欧といったより広い枠組みからの分析）から見る必要が出ている。具体的には欧米の中国問題専門家だけでなく、世界各地のアジア問題専門家との交流。

2. 「中国の問題」を考える際に「相対化させて考える必要」が出てきた。中国がグローバルに活動するに従い、世界各地での影響力が高まっているがそれは同時に世界に良くも悪くもいろいろな影響を与えている。それゆえ、中国の世界における影響力を日本や欧米の視点で捉えるだけでなく、より「相対化させて分析」する必要が出てきている。

3. 「中国の問題」はもはや中国や国際政治専門家の「問題」には限らないより普遍的な問題になった。（「中国問題専門家」の手に負えなくなった）。そこでより具体的な問題について定期的に意見交換し、定点観測的論議を展開する必要が出ている。例）大気汚染を巡る問題、海洋権益を巡る衝突の問題、水資源を巡る問題など

4. 「普遍的価値」の再強調の必要性の高まり。普遍的価値と経済的利益を天秤にかける事が迫られる場合が度々ある。中国共産党政権は人権や言論の自由、台湾問題と言った要素を棚上げにして、経済的協力を強調することが多々ある。しかし、私たちは私たちが享受し、維持してきた自由や民主的社会といった価値を守り、これを広めることが何よりも大事である。こうした「普遍的価値」は中国にとって必ずしもゼロサムではなく共有可能な価値であり、そのようなスタンスを取る中国国内のリベラル派の人たちとの繋がりを維持し、支援する必要がこれまで以上に強まっている。それを具体化する何らかアジェンダセッティングを行いダイアログのような形で定期的に発信していくことが有用ではないか。

Renato Cruz De CASTRO

Director, The Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADR-ISIS) / Professor, De Lasalle University, the Philippines

The Philippines in a Changing East Asia: The Challenging of Establishing Trust and Cooperative Relationship in a Fluid and Challenging Regional Security Landscape

A. The Philippines Confronts a Changing East Asia.

- 1) The odd man out in Southeast Asia.
- 2) The focus on domestic security challenges and concerns.
- 3) External changes and its effects on the domestic society.
- 4) Domestic political changes in 2010.

B. Systemic Changes and Its Impact on the Philippines.

- 1) Systemic changes in 21st Century East Asia--the emergence of a new power and its geo-strategic implication.
- 2) Implications of systemic changes: territorial disputes, and growing geo-strategic challenges.
- 3) Philippine society confronts external security challenges.

C. The Challenge of Establishing Trust and Reliable Relationship with its Neighbouring States.

- 1) Establishing trust and reliable relationship with the ASEAN states.
- 2) Establishing trust and reliable relationship with East Asian democracies.
- 3) The challenge of establishing trust and reliable relationship with the region's emergent power—China.

D. The Challenge of Fostering Trust and Reliable Relationship in a Changing Asia-Pacific.

- 1) Strengthening strategic and diplomatic with East Asia's Resident Pacific Power—the United States.
- 2) Strengthening ASEAN as a regional community.
- 3) Fostering cooperative security relations with like-minded states in East Asia—Japan and South Korea.
- 4) Managing relation and the challenge of building trust with the region's emergent power-China.
- 5) Relying on multilateral institutions to foster trust and reliable relationship with East Asian states.

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

【Objectives】

In today's world, people's attention is focused not only around the ways and means to cope with the globalization, but also the rise of new states including People's Republic of China and the geopolitical evolution both inside and outside the former Soviet Union. Under these circumstances, in addition to traditional dialogue partners in Asia-Pacific region, it has become increasingly important for Japan to establish new channels of dialogue both in the first and the second tracks with countries which she has yet to hold regular meetings with, such as member countries of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (Russia, Turkey, Romania, etc.). On the basis of such understanding, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) aims to promote the exchange of views on commonly shared interests and issues in the field ranging from politics and security to economy, trade, finance, society and culture, and to help business leaders, Diet members and opinion leaders both in Japan and in their counterpart countries to discuss about 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 DAVINGNON, and Canadian Trade Minister Edward LUMLEY, as representatives of the private-sector in their respective countries, took the initiative in founding The Quadrangular Forum in Washington in September 1982. Since then, the end of the Cold War and the altered nature of the economic summits themselves had made it necessary for The Quadrangular Forum to metamorphose into The Global Forum established by the American and Japanese components of The Quadrangular Forum at the World Convention in Washington in October 1991. In line with its objectives as stated above, The Global Forum was intended as a facilitator of global consensus on the many post-Cold War issues facing the international community and reached out to open its discussions not only to participants from the quadrangular countries but also to participants from other parts of the world. Over the years, the gravity of The Global Forum's activities gradually shifted from its American component (housed in The Center for Strategic and International Studies) to its Japanese component (housed in The Japan Forum on International Relations), and, after the American component ceased to be operative, the Board of Trustees of the Japanese component resolved, on February 7, 1996, that it would thereafter act as an independent body for organizing bilateral dialogues with Japan as a hub for all countries in the world, and amended its by-laws accordingly. At the same time, The Global Forum's Japanese component was reorganized into The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) in line with the principle that the organization be self-governing, self-financing, and independent of any other organization.

【Organization】

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) is a private, non-profit, non-partisan, and independent membership organization in Japan to engage in and promote international exchanges on policy-oriented matters of bilateral, regional and global implications. While the secretariat is housed in The Japan Forum on International Relations, GFJ itself is independent of any other organizations, including The Japan Forum on International Relations. Originally established as the Japanese component of The Quadrangular Forum at the initiative of HATTORI Ichiro, OKITA Saburo, TAKEYAMA Yasuo, TOYODA Shoichiro in 1982, GFJ is currently headed by OKAWARA Yoshio as Advisor, ITO Kenichi as Chairman & President. The membership is composed of 10 Business Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 18 Political Members including the four Governors, ASAO Keiichiro, KAKIZAWA Mito, KOIKE Yuriko, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu; and 86 Academic Members including the three Governors, ITO Go, SHIMADA Haruo and MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo.

【Activities】

Since the start of The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) in 1982, GFJ has shifted its focus from the exchanges with the Quadrangular countries for the purpose of contributing to the Western Summit, to those with neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region including US, China, Korea, ASEAN countries, India and Australia European countries, 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 past years given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2015	February	The Japan-East Asia Dialogue "What Should We Do toward Reliable International Relations in Asia?"	School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University The Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADR-ISIS) The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)
2014	December	The Japan- Asia Pacific Dialogue "The Asia-Pacific in Global Power Transition: How Many Great Powers?"	Meiji University University of Western Sydney The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)
	May	The Japan-China Dialogue "Prospect of Japan-China Relationship in the Changing World"	Institute of Japanese Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
	March	The Japan-U.S. Alliance in Changing International and Domestic Environments	Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University
	January	Toward Building Confidence Between Japan and China in 'New Domains'	The Japan Forum on International Relations
2013	October	Toward the Making of Shared Values in Foreign Policy	Washington College International Studies Program Foundation of Research on Transformation of Malaysia GUAM-Organization for Democracy and Economic Development
	March	Future Prospect of the Japan-GUAM Partnership for Democracy and Economic Development	
	February	How to Develop Japan and Black Sea Area Cooperation	Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)
	January	Toward a Future-Oriented Japan-China Relationship	School of Environment, Beijing Normal University World Resources Institute College of Public Administration, Zhejiang University

5. An Introduction to the School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University

The School of Public Affairs of Zhejiang University (SPA-ZJU in short) was founded in the July of 2005. With the belief of 'Truth as Faith and World Affair as Responsibility', the SPA-ZJU keeps the education principle to cultivate future leaders with international vision and public spirit. The SPA-ZJU provides good facilities for teaching, research, management and service.

Presently, the SPA-ZJU consists of seven departments, which respectively are Department of Public Governance, Department of Land Resource Management, Department of Public Policy and Public Economics, Department of Social Security and Risk Management, Department of Information Resource Management, Department of Political Science, and Department of Sociology. Under its administration, there are 1 strategic research base of Ministry of Education, 2 key research bases of philosophy and social sciences of Zhejiang province, 9 university-level research institutes, 10 university-level inter-discipline research centers, 4 school-level research centers, as well as the MPA Education Center. Additionally, Management Training Center of Zhejiang University is our international training center jointly with the Ministry of Education of China and Hans Seidel Foundation of Germany.

The SPA-ZJU has 130 faculties and staffs, including 32 professors, 50 associate professors. Currently, there are 23 PhD supervisors, 60 master supervisors and 44 post-doctor fellows. The college now has 489 full-time undergraduates, 453 graduates including 192 PhD candidates and 261 master students, and 985 MPA students.

Aiming at excellence and innovation, we are headed for a world-class public affairs school with a global vision. The school will go on integrating our high quality educational resources and working better inter-disciplinary advantages to cultivate public administration talents meeting social needs, to promote roles of Zhejiang University in the field of public affairs, and to improve our social services. In a word, the School of Public Affairs of Zhejiang University will make efforts to become one of most important education institutions of public administration talents, one of important theories pools of public administration theories, and one of key think-tanks for the government and other public departments in China.

【Contact Information】

38. Zhe Da Road. Hangzhou Zhejiang. P.R.China

Tel: +86-(0)571-8795-1142

6. An Introduction to the Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies (ADR-ISIS)

About the Institute

Starbase ADR (Albert del Rosario) Institute, Inc.(the “Institute”) was established in 2014 as an independent strategic and international research organization. Its principal goal is to deliver a meaningful response to the wide range of issues affecting the Philippines and East Asia. The Institute intends to achieve this through: (1) advocating for national, regional, and international policy change; (2) fostering strategic ideas based on innovative thinking; (3) providing a regional venue for collaboration and cooperation in dealing with critical issues in East Asia; and (4) participating actively in regional debates and global conversations.

The Institute believes that collaboration between the public and private sectors, especially in the context of a regional community, is instrumental in national and regional development and security. Foreign Secretary Albert Del Rosario (ADR) epitomizes this vision. A champion of economic and political diplomacy, ADR has achieved an illustrious track record in business, government, and foreign relations, three fields that the Institute believes are crucial in national development.

Programs for 2015

Programs will revolve around various social, political, and economic issues, both in the international and regional scale, that shape policy, to wit:

Security, Civil-Military and East Asian Regional Affairs:

- National Defense and Regional Security
- Foreign Policy in an Evolving World Order

Trade, Investment, and the Global Economy:

- Trade, Investment, & Infrastructure Development
- Poverty, Job Creation, Social Inequality, Education, Work Force & Healthcare

Global Environment and Energy:

- The Environment and Harnessing Natural Resources
- Energy: Innovations in Clean Power Generation and Energy-Efficiency Systems

Right Governance and Open Governments for Working Democracy:

- Governance & Political Reform: Role of the State in Open and Integrated East Asia
- Role of Local Governance in National Development

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

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

[History]

The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. (JFIR or The Forum) was founded on March 12, 1987 in Tokyo on the private initiative of Dr. OKITA Saburo, Mr. HATTORI Ichiro, Prof. 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. 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 also 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.

■ Board of Trustees

HAKAMADA Shigeki
HATTORI Yasuo
HIRONAKA Wakako
HIRONO Ryokichi
INOUE Akiyoshi
KOIKE Yuriko
KURODA Makoto
NOGAMI Yoshiji
OHYA Eiko
TANAKA Tatsuo
UTADA Katsuhiko

■ Directors

IMAI Takashi
ITO Kenichi
ISHIKAWA Kaoru
WATANABE Mayu
HANDA Haruhisa
TAKUBO Tadae

Chairman
President
Senior Executive Director
Executive Director
Director
Director

■ Auditors

ICHIKAWA Isao
TAKEUCHI Yukio

[Activities]

In tandem with the core activities of the “Policy Council” in making policy recommendations, another important pillar of JFIR’s activities is the e-Forum “Hyakka-Seiho” which means “Hundred Flowers in Full Bloom” (<http://www.jfir.or.jp/cgi/m-bbs/>). The e-Forum, 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 e-Forum 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.



The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

17-12-1301, Akasaka 2-chome Minato-ku, Tokyo, 107-0052, Japan

[Tel] +81-3-3584-2193

[Fax] +81-3-3505-4406

[E-mail] gj@gfj.jp

[URL] <http://www.gfj.jp/>