
The Second Japan-US-Asia Dialogue

“An East Asian Community and the United States”

Conference Papers

22, January, 2008

The International House of Japan
Tokyo, Japan

Co-sponsored by

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)
The Council on East Asian Community (CEAC)
The Pacific Forum CSIS

Supported by

The Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership (CGP)

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1. Program

“The Second Japan-US-Asia Dialogue: An East Asian Community and the US”

22, January, 2008 / The International House of Japan

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- Program -

22, January, 2008

9:30 Registration

The International House of Japan

10:00-12:30	Session	Community Building after the Second Joint Statement on East Asian Cooperation
<i>Opening Remarks</i>	(10 min)	Prof. ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ/ President, CEAC (Japan)
<i>Moderator</i>	(5 min)	Mr. MURAKAMI Masayasu, Executive Governor, GFJ/ Acting Executive Vice President, CEAC (Japan)
<i>Keynote Speaker</i>	(20 min)	Prof. TANAKA Akihiko, Professor, the University of Tokyo (Japan)
<i>Keynote Speaker</i>	(20 min)	Prof. YANG Bojiang, Director, Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China)
<i>Lead Discussant</i>	(10 min)	Prof. URATA Shujiro, Professor, Waseda University (Japan)
<i>Lead Discussant</i>	(10 min)	H.E. Mr. Domingo L. SIAZON, Ambassador of the Philippines to Japan (Philippines)
<i>Lead Discussant</i>	(10 min)	Prof. OBA Mie, Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Science (Japan)
<i>Free Discussions</i>	(65 min)	All Participants
12:30-13:30	Break	
13:30-16:00	Session	An East Asian Community and the US
<i>Moderator</i>	(5 min)	Amb. HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Councilor, The Japan Forum on International Relations (Japan)
<i>Keynote Speaker</i>	(20 min)	Mr. Ralph COSSA, President, the Pacific Forum CSIS (US)
<i>Keynote Speaker</i>	(20 min)	Dr. FUKUSHIMA Akiko, Senior Fellow, The Japan Foundation (Japan)
<i>Lead Discussant</i>	(10 min)	Dr. JIMBO Ken, Assistant Professor, Keio University (Japan)
<i>Lead Discussant</i>	(10 min)	Mr. Joseph R. DONOVAN Jr., Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy in Japan (US)
<i>Lead Discussant</i>	(10 min)	Prof. ITO Tsuyoshi, Professor, Meiji University (Japan)
<i>Free Discussions</i>	(70 min)	All Participants
<i>Closing Remarks</i>	(5 min)	Mr. MURAKAMI Masayasu, Executive Governor, GFJ/ Acting Executive Vice President, CEAC (Japan)

2. Biographies of the Panelists

[Foreign Panelists]

YANG Bojiang

Professor and Director, Institute for Japanese Studies, China
Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China)

Served as Visiting Fellow at National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA) in 1991, the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) in 1992, the Fairbank Centre of Harvard University in 2000 and the Brookings Institution in 2006. Also served as Director for the Center for Taiwan Related Studies (2002-2005), and the Institute of Korean Peninsula Studies (2003-2006) at the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). Concurrently serving as Committee Member of Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), China.

Domingo L. SIAZON Jr.

Ambassador of the Philippines to Japan (Philippines)

Received B.A. from University of Ateneo de Manila in 1959, B.S. in Physics from Tokyo University of Education in 1964 and M.P.A. in Public administration from Harvard University in 1979. Served as Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the International Atomic Energy Organization (IAEA, 1979-1985), Ambassador to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO, 1979-1985), Ambassador to Austria (1980-1985), President of IAEA (1982), and Director General of UNIDO (1985-1993). Also served as Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Philippines(1995-2001).

Ralph COSSA

President, the Pacific Forum CSIS (US)

Served in the United States Air Force (1966-93), achieving the rank of Colonel, and last serving as Special Assistant to the Commander-in-Chief, US Pacific Command. Served previously as Deputy Director for Strategic Studies, the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies. Concurrently serving as Board Member of the Council on US-Korean Security Studies and the National Committee on US-China Relations (NY), Member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London) and the Asia Foundation's Task Force on America's Role in Asia. Also, Member of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Experts and Eminent Persons Group and Founding Member of the Steering Committee of the multinational Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP).

Joseph R. DONOVAN Jr.

Deputy Chief of Mission, US Embassy in Japan (US)

Received undergraduate degree in Foreign Service from Georgetown University and Master's Degree in National Security Affairs from US Naval Postgraduate School. Served as Deputy Political Counselor and Chief of Political-Military Affairs Unit at US Embassy in Tokyo, Deputy Head of the Political Section at the US Embassy in Beijing, Branch Chief of American Institute in Taiwan's Kaohsiung Office, and Director for Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs, Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs at the US Department of State.

[Japanese Panelists]

ITO Kenichi

President, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) /

President, The Council on East Asian Community (CEAC)

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University and studied at Harvard University. Entered Japanese Foreign Service in 1960 and served various positions, including embassies in Moscow, Manila, Washington and Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Served as Professor of international politics at Aoyama-Gakuin University. Concurrently serving as a founding president of the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR). Also, Professor Emeritus of Aoyama-Gakuin University.

MURAKAMI Masayasu

Executive Governor, GFJ/ Acting Vice President, CEAC

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Entered the Ministry of Finance in 1997. Studied at University of California, San Diego. Served as Vice Consul of the Japanese Consulate-General in New York, Deputy Director for Research Division of International Bureau at Ministry of Finance, Deputy Director for Cabinet Secretariat. Concurrently serving as Acting Executive Director of JFIR.

TANAKA Akihiko

Professor, the University of Tokyo

Received B.A. from the University of Tokyo, Ph.D. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Served in various positions including Visiting Professor at Rhur-Universitaet (1986-87), Senior Associate Member at St Antony's College, Oxford (1994-95), Member of Asia-Europe Vision Group (1998-99), Member of East Asia Vision Group (1999-2001), and Member of Initiative toward Japan-ASEAN Comprehensive Economic Partnership Discussion Group (advisory group for Chief Cabinet Secretary) in 2002. His research includes theories of world politics, contemporary international relations in East Asia, and issues in Japan-US relations.

URATA Shujiro

Professor, Waseda University

Graduated from Keio University in 1973 and received M.A. and Ph.D. in Economics at Stanford University in 1976 and in 1978. Served as Research Associate at the Brookings Institution and Economist at the World Bank. Concurrently serving as Faculty Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, and Research Fellow at the Japanese Centre for Economic Research.

OBA Mie

Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Science

Received B.A. from International Christian University and M.A. and Ph.D. from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Tokyo. Her research interests include international relations theory, international politics in the Asia Pacific region, and regionalism in Asia.

HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi

Councilor, JFIR

Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1963. Served as Fellow of the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University in 1981, Director for Management and Coordination Division at Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1988, and Director for the Cabinet councilors' Office on External Affairs in 1995. Also served as Ambassador to India, Ambassador to France, and Ambassador in Charge of Inspection. Concurrently serving as President of Indo-Japanese Association.

FUKUSHIMA Akiko Senior Fellow, The Japan Foundation

Received M.A. from the Paul H.Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University and Ph.D. from Osaka University. Served as Senior Fellow and Director of policy studies, NIRA (1994 - 2007). Also served as Adjunct Professor at Keio University (2000-2002), Visiting Professor at University of British Columbia (2002-2003), and Visiting Professor at Kuwait University (2005). Also served as a member of numerous committees of the Japanese government, including the Defense Strategy Group and the Defense Agency's Council on Defense Facilities. Concurrently teaching at Law School of Keio University.

JIMBO Ken Associate Professor, Keio University

Received Ph.D. from Keio University in 2005. Served as Research Fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA) (1999-2003), Director of Research at JFIR (2003-2004), and Executive Secretary at CEAC (2004). Concurrently serving as Senior Fellow at Keio Research Institute, Advisor on foreign policy at Foreign Affairs Division, Policy Research Council at Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and Adjunct consultant on foreign policy at Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ).

ITO Tsuyoshi Professor, Meiji University

Graduated from Sophia University. Received Ph.D. from the University of Denver in 1997. Served as Assistant Professor in 1998 and Associate Professor at Meiji University in 2001. Also served as Adjunct Professor (International Security) at Waseda University and Adjunct Researcher of the House of Councilors. Recipients of the Eisenhower Fellowships in 2005 and the Nakasone Yasuhiro Award in 2006.

(In order of appearance)

3. Keynote Papers

Session I

“Community Building after the Second Joint Statement on East Asian Cooperation”

TANAKA Akihiko

Ten years after the Asian financial crisis of 1997, East Asia is now a region of dynamic growth and the East Asian economies are striding again. However, no one calls the dynamic growth of East Asia a miracle anymore; it is a fact of economic life in today's world. Uncertainty obviously abounds around the future of the East Asian economies, especially China's, but it has become an assumption of many businesspeople and politicians that the economies of East Asia will continue to be one of the centers of the world economy.

Along with the recovery of the East Asian economies from the 1997 crisis, voices of regionalism and efforts of community building in the region have grown. The year 2007 is the tenth anniversary of the first Association of Southeast Asian Nations plus Three (ASEAN+3) summit meeting—the gathering of the leaders of the 10 ASEAN countries, along with China, Japan, and South Korea. When the ASEAN+3 summit took place in the midst of the Asian financial crisis, it was an ad hoc meeting where 3 Northeast Asian leaders happened to be invited to join the ASEAN leaders who gathered together at the ASEAN summit. 1 In following years, however, the ASEAN+3 has been developed to be one of the pillars of East Asian regionalism. It released the “Joint Statement on East Asian Cooperation” in November 1999, which identified the vision and comprehensive areas of cooperation among member states. It is now expected to agree on the “Second Joint Statement on East Asian Cooperation” when it meets in November 2007. (Continued)*

*For the continuation of this article, please turn to pp.1-13 of *“An East Asian Community and the United States”* published by CSIS Press.

YANG Bojiang

First, it is critical for all the countries and individuals to realize that the process of East Asian integration is an irreversible historic trend. The current international structure is undergoing a major change, various regimes and different patterns of development compete and coexist with each other in a complex system. A multi-civilization world is under development. Although this process can be comprehended and described in various aspects and levels, the fundamental evolution is that, the Industrial Revolution leads to the leap forward of the global productivity, thus facilitates the world to break through in unifying from regional and political separations, and accelerates economic globalization. As a result, all countries are involved in a unified global market and the international network in which each country's own safety and interests are intertwined with others'. The world is becoming a community within which one country's success benefits while its loss harms the other countries. In comparison with other changes ever occurred in the international system, the current shift is characterized by the qualitative change or the change of pattern in international relations. This may lead to the subversion of the current rules and laws that have lasted for hundreds of years in the international society. The difference lies in several ways, for instance, gradual and peaceful structural change of the international system becomes possible; the development of a country, and furthermore, the rise of a major power does not necessarily cost damage for the established system, it is possible for peaceful rise; the hegemony discipline becomes vulnerable; and the mainstream of the relations among big powers changes from confrontation to cooperation: it is not necessary for one country to rise on the basis of containing and weakening other countries, on the contrary, one country can develop its own strength only by cooperating with other countries.

East Asia is taking a lead in such a historic trend. In the past several hundred years, East Asia has never been integrated, and there were probably only two periods of time during when the region was set within one system. One was the age of China dominant tributary system, the other was the WW II period when Japan waged a general invasion toward this region. Compared with the two periods mentioned above, the current trend of East Asian integration is characterized by natural other than factitious, economy based other than political led features, and these lay a stable groundwork for the integration process. It is fair to say that, facing the major competitors from Europe and North America, East Asian countries encounters unprecedented challenges as well as opportunities. For East Asian countries the question lies in how to realize regional integration other than whether to do it or not.

Second, East Asian integration should be global as well as regional. That is to say, East Asian integration can be effective only by opening to the world as a whole and to other countries outside this region, and by applying international standard. Meanwhile, East Asian integration should take into consideration the existent characteristics of the region, and progress in the way that adapt to the regional situation. Generally speaking, relations among East Asian countries are all long standing and complicated. The history of contradictions and disputes can be traced back to the age long before modern international relations were formed, and before European and American powers entering into this region. It surely is much longer than the history of the Cold War. Therefore, those contradictions and disputes will not disappear or be reduced along with the end of the Cold War. On the contrary, due to the loose of the environmental restriction and the change of domestic politics, those contradictions and disputes would even escalate. The

fluctuating relation between Japan and ROK in the past decade is just an example.

Another factor we should take into consideration is the existence of the network formed by the U.S. bilateral alliances. The U.S. adopts an offshore balance of power policy, however, compared with that adopted by the British in history, the American policy has its special features. The U.S. is a superpower which goes far beyond the UK of the time. Under this precondition, the U.S. on the one hand maintains alliances system in East Asia as its strategic pillar and gradually evolves its policy over alliances. On the other hand, the U.S. adopts a hedging policy toward China. This policy emphasizes both cooperation and containment. Along with the progress over cooperation and dialogue between China and the U.S., China has become an important factor that can not be ignored in U.S. policy toward East Asia. Furthermore, China has become a reliable power in regional hot issue solution. From this aspect, the U.S. East Asian policy tends to be dual-pivot: the bilateral alliances network and cooperation with China. Nevertheless, the U.S. also obviously alerts to the uncertainty of Chinese development. But compared with its containment toward the USSR during the Cold War period and its bashing policy toward Japan in 1980s and 1990s, the U.S. current policy toward China is more sophisticated and saponaceous: it avoids direct clash, and balance China through cultivating the "third power". Both the U.S. and China are making progress in dealing with each other.

East Asia is now standing at the entrance of a new system, but this doesn't help to reduce disputes or differences among each other. The diversity of political regime, developing stage, and history and culture is obvious. Concerning the power distribution, East Asia is not as balanced as the European countries, nor does it resemble the North America, it is far more complicated. What makes the situation even worse, the hostile and isolated history makes it a challenge for East Asian countries to build strategic mutual confidence. What I would like to emphasize is that, it is not the format of integration that we should pay most our attention, but how to improve confidence among nations in order to accomplish peaceful adjustment and change through promoting the process of integration. If we overemphasize the format of integration, the problem of competing for dominance will become even more outstanding. This will weaken mutual confidence among nations. In the end, none of the formats will work out. Concerning the framework for East Asia integration, there is a dispute between "pan-Asia-Pacific" and "pan-Asia". There is a "10 + 3" vs. "10 + 6" debate between China and Japan. However, I do not think the framework itself is of critical importance. So long as it is good for the development of each country, and good for East Asia as a whole to win the great competition in 21st century, any framework is adoptable.

Third, the process of East Asian integration should go together with and help to improve relations among major powers, solution of regional hot issue, and establishment of sub-regional mechanism. In order to prevent East Asian integration from being a mirage, we should adopt outcome-oriented design, and at the same time, improve the regional situation.

The importance of China-Japan relationship to East Asian integration went without saying. It is unimaginable for us to build an effective East Asian cooperation mechanism without a smooth and harmonious China-Japan relationship. Currently, China and Japan both at the strategic rising stage, both are willing to become major powers in all levels. East Asia is facing the situation of two big powers exist at the same time. The challenges ahead are unprecedented. On the one hand, there are developmental strategic and geo-political strategic collisions between China and Japan, the East China Sea issue and

Taiwan issue are representatives; in the post-Koizumi age, these collisions become even more obvious. On the other hand, the change mentioned in the very beginning created space for the two parties to walk out of the strategic dilemma. Geo-political factors certainly have great impact on China-Japan relations, but the increase of interdependence and mutual benefits determine that both parties must adopt peaceful, cooperative, and harmonious way to solve the problems between them. Besides, except for the real interests' collision, some misunderstandings and contradictions between China and Japan were exaggerated. In fact, both countries do not deny the developing right of each other, but they do care more about the way of rising and how will the power be used after rising.

As a specific measure to improve both East Asian integration and Sino-Japanese relations, the two countries should seek to maintain dialogues from the starting point of East Asian integration. This includes constructive negotiations on integration framework and process. Furthermore, informal trilateral leadership dialogue mechanism among China, Japan and the U.S. is recommendable.

During the DPRK nuclear test in 2006, China and Japan communicated and coordinated with each other, this is unprecedented. After Prime Minister Fukuda took his office, the atmosphere of cooperation between the two countries became much better. The Fukuda cabinet wants to solve the abduction issue between Japan and DPRK, and realize normalization. This provides new opportunity for China and Japan to cooperate. If we take a look at Pyongyang Declaration which was signed on Sept.17th, 2002, we can easily understand that the relations between Japan and DPRK is not only a bilateral relationship, but also involve the regional order of North East Asia, among which the most urgent issue is the building of peace regime in Korea peninsula and security mechanism in North East Asia. The multilateral cooperation among China, Japan, and the Korean peninsula is indispensable. From this year, China, Japan and ROK will hold trilateral summit besides ASEAN + 3 framework. The conservative ROK president, Lee Myungbak's inauguration next month will provide chance for the summit to have fruitful results.

Session II

“An East Asian Community and the US”

Ralph A. COSSA

Since early 2005, there has been a great deal of movement surrounding the effort to establish an East Asian community. “Movement,” one hastens to add, does not necessarily or always mean progress. Not all the movement has been in the forward direction. Some has been sideways, some even backward. Though it would be unkind to describe the process as “one step forward, two steps back,” there certainly has not been any “great leap forward” either.

One presumed step forward was the establishment of an annual East Asia Summit (EAS). The inaugural meeting was held in Kuala Lumpur in December 2005; the second took place in the Philippines in January 2007. Efforts to develop the principles and modalities that will define the future role and mission of this new multilateral gathering continue. But as disputes and confusion over its composition, direction, and relationship to both broader and more selective existing mechanisms reveal, East Asian community building still has a long way to go. At this stage in its development, the EAS does not (appear destined to) provide the foundation of an East Asian community but rather is more likely to serve as a broader-based endorsement or validation mechanism for a companion East Asian-only effort. In this respect, the EAS may prove to be one step backward rather than toward the establishment of an East Asian community. (Continued)*

*For the continuation of this article, please turn to pp.144-174 of *“An East Asian Community and the United States”* published by CSIS Press.

FUKUSHIMA Akiko

Friedberg contends that East Asia is “ripe for rivalry” and a place likely to emerge as the “cockpit of great-power conflict.” Does this assertion truly apply? If it does apply, it certainly applies to the political and security areas. With a heritage of old Cold War flashpoints namely, the divided Korean Peninsula and the Taiwan Strait East Asia shows patterns of competitive security that still demand traditional deterrence and crisis response mechanisms. The recent buildup of Chinese military power is reportedly beyond what is needed for the Taiwan Strait contingency. The U.S. Department of Defense, in the 2006 edition of its *Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People’s Republic of China*, stated: “China has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States and field disruptive military technologies that could over time offset traditional U.S. military advantages.” The legacy of the Cold War still lingers in East Asia, and it can be argued that the region has a long way to go in building a collective security community. (Continued)*

*For the continuation of this article, please turn to pp.104-143 of “*An East Asian Community and the United States*” published by CSIS Press.

4. An Introduction to The Global Forum of Japan

(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 level, 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 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 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, TOYODA Shoichiro in 1982, GFJ is currently headed by OKAWARA Yoshio as Chairman and ITO Kenichi as President. The membership is composed of 12 Business Leader Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 87 Opinion Leader Members including the four Governors, ITO Kenichi, MURAKAMI Masayasu, OKAWARA Yoshio, and SHIMADA Haruo; and 21 Political Leader Members including the three Governors, KOIKE Yuriko, HATOYAMA Yukio, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu. Friends and supporters of The Global Forum of the 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 12 leading Japanese business corporations (with 2 corporations, Toyota Motor Corporation and Kikkoman Corporation contributing 5 shares each and the other 10 corporations contributing 1 share each) as well as by the grants provided by The Japan Foundation, Japan-ASEAN Exchange Projects, The Tokyo Club, The Japan-Korea Cultural Foundation, etc. WATANABE Mayu serves as Executive Secretary.

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

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2004	July September November	A Roadmap towards East Asian Community Future Prospect of East Asian Community and Japan-China Relationship Future of Korean Peninsula and Japan-U.S.-Korea Security Cooperation	ASEAN-ISIS China Association for International Friendly Contact (China) The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, The Fletcher School (US), Yonsei University (Korea)
2005	April June November	The Prospect of East Asian Community and Japan-Korea Cooperation The Prospect for East Asian Community and Regional Cooperation Peace and Prosperity in the Wider Black Sea Area and the Role of Japan	Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative (Korea) ASEAN-ISIS University of Shizuoka, The Black Sea University Foundation (Romania), The International Center for Black Sea Studies (Turkey)
2006	February June September	Review and Perspective of the Japan-Taiwan Relationship An East Asian Community and the United States Prospect for Japan-ASEAN Strategic Partnership after the First East Asia Summit	Taiwan International Studies Association (Taiwan) Pacific Forum CSIS (US), The Council on East Asian Community ASEAN-ISIS
2007	January June July November	The China-Japan Relationship and Energy and Environmental Issues The US-Japan Alliance in the 21st Century The Challenges Facing Japan and ASEAN in the New Era The Second Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China), Energy Research Institute, National Development and Reform Commission (China), The Japan Forum on International Relations National Committee on American Foreign Policy (US) ASEAN-ISIS Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), Embassy of Turkey, University of Shizuoka
2008	January	The Second Japan-US-Asia Dialogue	The Council on East Asia Community (CEAC) The Pacific Forum CSIS

(2) Membership List

As of January 17, 2008

In alphabetical order

【Chairman】

OKAWARA Yoshio, President, Institute for International Policy Studies

【President】

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

【Executive Governor】

MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

【Business Leader Governors】

MOGI Yuzaburo, Chairman and CEO, Kikkoman Corporation
TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation

【Diet Member Governors】

HATAYAMA Yukio, Member of the House of Representatives (DPJ)
KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP)
TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP)

【Opinion Leader Governors】

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc.
MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.
OKAWARA Yoshio, President, Institute for International Policy Studies
SHIMADA Haruo, President, Chiba University of Commerce

【Business Leader Members】 (12 Members)

IMAI Takashi, Honorary Chairman, Nippon Steel Corporation
ISHIKAWA Hiroshi, Director, Kajima Corporation
KOBAYASHI Yotaro, Chief Corporate Advisor, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.
KUSAKARI Takao, Chairman, Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha
MATSUNO Haruki, Chief Executive Counselor, Member of the Board, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation
MOGI Yuzaburo, Chairman and CEO, Kikkoman Corporation
OKAYAMA Norio, Chairman, Sumitomo Electric Industries, Ltd.
SEYA Hiromichi, Senior Corporate Adviser, Asahi Glass Co., Ltd.
TAKAGAKI Tasuku, Senior Advisor, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.
YAGUCHI Toshikazu, President, Biru Daiko Co., Ltd.
TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation
TBD (To be determined), The Tokyo Electric Power Co., Inc.

【Diet Member Members】 (21 Members)

AICHI Kazuo, Member of the House of Representatives (LDP)
HATAYAMA Yukio, M.H.R. (DPJ)
HOSODA Hiroyuki, M.H.R. (LDP)
IWAKUNI Tetsundo, M.H.R. (DPJ)
KITAGAMI Keiro, M.H.R. (DPJ)
KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP)
NAGASHIMA Akihisa, M.H.R. (DPJ)
NAKAGAWA Masaharu, M.H.R. (DPJ)
OGUSHI Hiroshi, M.H.R. (DPJ)
SHIOZAKI Yasuhisa, M.H.R. (LDP)
SUZUKI Keisuke, M.H.R. (LDP)
TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP)
UEDA Isamu, M.H.R. (NK)
YAMAGUCHI Tsuyosi, M.H.R. (DPJ)
YAMANAKA Akiko, M.H.R. (LDP)
ASAO Keiichiro, Member of the House of Councillors (DPJ)
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TAKEMI Keizo, Professor, Tokai University
TAKUBO Tadae, Guest Professor, Kyorin University
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【Executive Secretary】

WATANABE Mayu

[Note] DPJ: Democratic Party of Japan
LDP: Liberal Democratic Party
NK: New Komeito

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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(In the order of enlistment)

5. An Introduction to The Council on East Asian Community

(1) Introduction

[Inauguration]

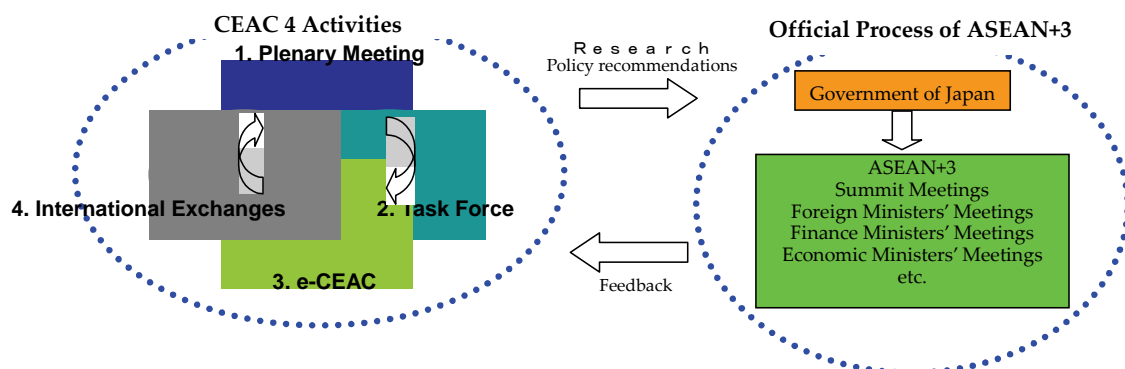
The concept of an "East Asian Community" has been spread quietly but steadily leading to the formation of a gigantic trend in the East Asian region. "The Council on East Asian Community (CEAC)" was inaugurated in Japan on May 18, 2004, considerably triggered by the launching in 2003 of "The Network of East Asian Think-Tanks(NEAT)" in Beijing and of "The East Asia Forum(EAF)" in Seoul in 2003. The establishment of CEAC was called for by 10 Think-Tanks such as the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) and the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), and 30 scholars such as TANAKA Akihiko, Professor of the University of Tokyo and YOSHITOMI Masaru, President & Chief Research Officer of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade & Industry. CEAC consists of representatives from wide-ranging fields in Japan who are interested in the concept of an "East Asian Community", including those who represent businesses corporations such as Nippon Steel Corporation and Toyota Motor Corporation, and government agencies such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. Growing momentum for East Asian Community has finally come to take root in Japan whose attitude towards the issue tended to be passive until recently.

[Organization]

As an all-Japan intellectual platform covering business, government, and academic leaders, CEAC aims at the strengthening of intellectual collaboration, the building of intellectual foundation, and the sharing of strategic ideas among them. The membership of CEAC consists of 13 think-tank members, 92 individual members and 14 corporate members as of today. CEAC elected NAKASONE Yasuhiro, former Prime Minister of Japan, as Chairman, and ITO Kenichi, President of JFIR, as President at its Founding Meeting. CEAC is governed by its "Managing Plenary Meeting" and "Meeting of President and vice-Presidents." The "Policy Plenary Meeting", which is attended by the members of CEAC, conducts policy-debate among its members, and produce policy recommendations as occasions demand.

[Activities]

The activities of CEAC consist of the following four pillars: (1) the Policy Plenary Meeting, (2) the Research and Study, (3) the Website, and (4) the International Exchange. (1) The "Policy Plenary Meeting" is a forum where the members of CEAC are assembled to promote policy debate. They met eight times in their first year of activities and adopted a policy report entitled "The State of the Concept of East Asian Community and Japan's Strategic Response thereto." (2) The "Research and Study," mobilizing scholars of Japan, Asia and the US, organized an international research workshop under the topic of "East Asian Community and Regional Governance in East Asia" in June 2006. (3) The "Website" is an online network both in Japanese and in English for the purpose of publicity and enlightenment both within and beyond Japan and is accessible at <http://www.ceac.jp/>. (4) The "International Exchange" is a series of programs, which includes the holding in Tokyo of not only "Dialogues on an East Asian Community" with Korea in April 2005, ASEAN in June 2005 and US and Asia in June 2006, but the 3rd NEAT Annual Conference in August 2005. It also dispatches its members to conferences held abroad including the NEAT Annual Conferences in Bangkok in 2004, Kuala Lumpur in 2006, Singapore in 2007.



(2) Membership List

As of November 29, 2007

[Think-tank Members] (13 Members)

GYOHTEN Toyoo President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs
HATAKEYAMA Noboru Chairman and CEO, Japan Economic Foundation
ITO Kenichi President and CEO, the Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.
ITO Motoshige President, National Institute for Research Advancement
KURODA Makoto President, Center for Information on Security Trade Control
NAITOH Masahisa Chairman & CEO, the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan
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OKAWARA Yoshio President, Institute for International Policy Studies
SATOY Yukio President, the Japan Institute of International Affairs
TAKAGI Yuki Governor, Agriculture, Forestry and fisheries finance Corporation
TERADA Haruhiko Deputy President, Japan Center for International Finance
YAMAMOTO Tadashi President, Japan Center for International Exchange
YOSHIDA Susumu Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia

[Individual Members] (92 Members)

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AMAKO Satoshi Professor, Waseda University
FUKAGAWA Yukiko Professor, Waseda University
FUKUSHIMA Akiko Director of Policy Studies and Senior Fellow, National Institute for Research Advancement
FUNADA Hajime Member of the House of Representatives
FURUKAWA Motohisa Member of the House of Representatives
HAKAMADA Shigeki Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University
HARUNA Mikio Special Correspondent, Kyodo News
HATA Tsutomu Member of the House of Representatives
HATTORI Kenji Professor, Aichi University
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HOSOKAWA Daisuke Osaka University of Economics
ICHIKAWA Isao Executive Advisor for Financial Affairs, Keio University
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INOUCHI Takashi Professor, Chuo University
IOKIBE Makoto President, the National Defense Academy of Japan
ISHIGAKI Yasuji Professor, Tokai University Law School
ITO Takatoshi Professor, the University of Tokyo
IWABUCHI Koichi Associate Professor, Waseda University
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KAWAI Masahiro Dean, Asian Development Bank Institute
KAWASHIMA Shin Associate Professor, the University of Tokyo
KAWATO Akio General Manager, Japan-World Trends
KIMURA Fukunari Professor, Keio University
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KOJIMA Tomoyuki Professor, Keio University
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MURASE Tetsuji Professor, Kyoto University
NAKAI Yoshifumi Professor, Gakushuin University
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NAKATANI Kazuhiro Professor, the University of Tokyo
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OGASAWARA Takayuki Professor, Yamanashi Gakuin University
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OKABE Naoaki Editorial Page Editor, Nihon Keizai Shimbun
OKAMOTO Yumiko Professor, Doshisha University
OKONOGI Masao Professor, Keio University
SAKAKIBARA Eisuke Professor, Keio University
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SATO Koichi Professor, J.F. Oberlin University
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SHIRAIISHI Saya Professor, the University of Tokyo
SHIRAIISHI Takashi Vice President, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
SHUTO Motoko Professor, Tsukuba University
SOEYA Yoshihide Professor, Keio University
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(In Alphabetical Order)

6. An Introduction to the Pacific Forum CSIS

Based in Honolulu, Hawaii, the Pacific Forum CSIS operates as the autonomous Asia-Pacific arm of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. founded in 1975, the thrust of the Forum's work is to help develop cooperative policies in the Asia-Pacific region through debate and analyses undertaken with the region's leaders in the academic, government, and corporate arenas. The Forum's programs encompass current and emerging issues in political, security, economic/business, and oceans policy issues. It collaborates with a network of more than 30 research institutes around the Pacific Rim, drawing on Asian perspectives and disseminating its projects' findings and recommendations to opinion leaders, governments, and publics throughout the region

An international Board of Governors guides the Pacific Forum's work; it is chaired by Brent Scowcroft, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. The Forum is funded by grants from foundations, corporations, individuals, and governments, the latter providing a small percentage of the forum's \$1.2 million annual budget. The forum's studies are objective and nonpartisan and it does not engage in classified or proprietary work.

The Pacific Forum staff is dedicated to playing an active role in fostering understanding of the Asia-Pacific region in Hawaii, as well as in the broader international community. To this end, the Forum's senior staff has participated in public speaking engagements for many community organizations and is regularly involved in media interviews and discussions both in the U.S. and abroad. In addition, the Pacific Forum enjoys collaborating with the Japan-America Society of Hawaii, the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council, the East-West Center, and the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, as well as with local educational institutions such as the University of Hawaii, Hawaii Pacific University, and Brigham Young Hawaii.

The Pacific Forum has various programs and projects such as Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP). CSCAP was founded in 1993 by Pacific Forum and nine other institutes as the first region-wide forum to foster multilateral security dialogue. Other founding institutes are based in Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Additional member committees include Brunei, Cambodia, China, India, Mongolia, New Zealand, North Korea, Papua New Guinea, Russia, Vietnam, and the European Union. Taiwan scholars also participate, increasing CSCAP's inclusivity. CSCAP members seek to enhance regional security and stability through dialogue, consultations, and cooperation on concrete policy issues and problems of mutual concern. CSCAP's research and analyses support and complement the efforts of regional governments and official multilateral dialogue mechanisms.

In addition to the weekly *PacNet* and the quarterly *Comparative Connections* journal, the Pacific Forum also publishes the Issues & Insights series, which consists of in-depth analyses authored by Pacific Forum staff, senior associates, and outside scholars, including participants at various Pacific Forum conferences and workshops. These are available free of charge from the Forum as well as on-line. The Forum also publishes its research in the CSIS *Significant Issues Series* and in *The Washington Quarterly*, *New Asia*, and other journals both in the U.S. and abroad. Pacific Forum's experts regularly contribute commentary and editorials to major regional publications such as the *International Herald Tribune*, *The Japan Times*, *The Korea Times*, *The South China Morning Post*, and *The Asia Times OnLine*, among others.

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