# The Japan-U.S.-China Trilateral Dialogue

The Changing Balance of Power in the Asia-Pacific and the Trump Administration

# **Conference Papers**

December 16, 2016 Tokyo, Japan

Co-Sponsored by

The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) The National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)

## **Rules of Proceedings**

## **Presenters: 7 minutes**

Allocated time for Presenters is 7 minutes.

One of the staff members will ring a bell to let you know the remaining time.

- > The first bell------1 minute remaining for your presentation
- > The second bell-----The end of your presentation

## Free Discussions: 3 minutes

Allocated time for a comment is 3 minutes.

One of the staff members will ring a bell to let you know the remaining time.

- > The first bell-----1 minute remaining for your comment
- > The second bell------The end of your comment

Thank you for your cooperation.

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## 1. Program

自由討議(60分間)

Free Discussions 60 min.)

#### 日米中三極対話 The Japan-U.S.-China Trilateral Dialogue

The Japan-0.5.-China Thiateral Dialogue

#### 「変容するアジア太平洋地域のパワーバランスとトランプ政権の誕生」

"The Changing Balance of Power in the Asia-Pacific and the Trump Administration"

2016年12月16日/December 16, 2016

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

共催∕Co-sponsored by

日本国際フォーラム /The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) 全米外交政策委員会/The National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP)

中国国際問題研究院/China Institutes of International Studies (CIIS)

## 【公開シンポジウム / Open Symposium】 日英同時通訳付/English-Japanese Simulteneous Interpretation Provided

開幕挨拶/Opening Remarks					
	伊藤 憲一 日本国際フォーラム理事長 ITO Kenichi, President & CEO, JFIR				
13:00 - 13:20	ローズマリー・ディカルロ 全米外交政策委員会理事長 Rosemary DICARLO, President & CEO, NCAFP				
	蘇格 中国国際問題研究院院長 SU Ge, President, CIIS				
セッション I /Session I					

13:20 - 14:50	アジア太平洋の安全保障環境とトランプ政権 Asia-Pacific Security Environment and the Trump Administration			
議長	田中 明彦 JFIR最高参与			
Chairperson	TANAKA Akihiko, Supreme Councilor, JFIR			
報告A (7分間)	エバンス・リヴィア オルブライト・ストンブリッジ・グループ上級顧問			
Presenter A (7 min.)	Evans J. R. REVERE, Senior Advisor, Albright Stonebridge Group			
報告B (7分間)	添谷 芳秀 慶応義塾大学教授			
Presenter B (7 min.)	SOEYA Yoshihide, Professor, Keio University			
報告C (7分間)	栄 鷹 CIIS副院長			
Presenter C (7 min.)	RONG Ying, Vice President, CIIS			
自由討議(60分間)	出席者全員			
Free Discussions (60 min.)	All Participants			
14:50 - 15:00	休憩/Break			
セッション II / Session II				
15:00 - 16:30	アジア太平洋地域における日米中三国協力の可能性をさぐる Prospects for Japan-U.SChina Trilateral Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific			
議長	神谷万丈 JFIR理事・上席研究員			
Chairperson	KAMIYA Matake, Director & Superior Research Fellow, JFIR			
報告A (7分間)	ステイプルトン・ロイ ウィルソン・センター・キッシンジャー研究所創設名誉所長			
Presenter A (7 min.)	J. Stapleton ROY, Founding Director Emeritus, Kissinger Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars			
報告B (7分間)	細谷 雄一 慶応義塾大学教授			
Presenter B (7 min.)	HOSOYA Yuichi, Professor, Keio University			
報告C(7分間)	沈 雅梅 CIIS米国研究所副所長 SHEN Yamei, Deputy Director, Department for American Studies, CIIS			

出席者全員 All Participants

## 2. Biographies of the Panelists

## U.S. Side

## **Rosemary A. DICARLO**

President & CEO, NCAFP

Received B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. from Brown University. Joined the Department of State and served as Director for Democratic Initiatives for the New Independent States, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Alternate Representative for Special Political Affairs to the United Nations, Director for U.N. Affairs at the National Security Council, U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Holds the current position since 2015. Concurrently serves as Senior Fellow and Lecturer at Yale University's Jackson Institute for Global Affairs.

### Evans J. R. REVERE

Senior Advisor, Albright Stonebridge Group

Graduated from Princeton University. Served as a diplomat in U.S. embassies in Beijing, Seoul, Tokyo, and Wellington, director of the State Department's offices managing relations with Korea and Japan, Cyrus Vance Fellow in Diplomatic Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, Acting Assistant Secretary and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, President/CEO of The Korea Society (2007-2010), Instructor at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Concurrently serves as a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution's Center for East Asia Policy Studies.

## <u>J. Stapleton ROY</u>

## Founding Director Emeritus, Kissinger Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Graduated from Princeton University, joined the U.S. Foreign Service in 1956. During his service, participated in the secret negotiations leading to the establishment of U.S.-China diplomatic relations, served as Ambassador to Singapore, China, and Indonesia and as Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research. Retired in 2001 with the rank of Career Ambassador, joined Kissinger Associates, Inc., becoming Vice Chairman in 2006, moved to Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars to head the newly created Kissinger Institute in 2008. Received Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson Award for Distinguished Public Service in 2001. Concurrently serves as Senior Advisor to Kissinger Associates.

## **Chinese Side**

### SU Ge

Received M.A. and Ph.D. in International Relations and Regional Studies from Brigham Young University. Held Post-doctorate position at Harvard University and Beijing Foreign Studies University. Served as Smithsonian Institution Fellow, Senior Fulbright Fellow at Johns Hopskins, Georgetown and George Washington Universities, Professor at Foreign Affairs College and Tsinghua University, Vice President at CIIS (2000-2003), Minister-Counselor at the Chinese Embassy in the U.S. (2003-2006), Ambassador to the Republic of Suriname (2006-2009), Ambassador to the Republic of Iceland (2009-2013).

### **RONG Ying**

Received M.A. in English from Beijing Normal University and Ph.D. from Peking University. Served as Visiting Scholar at the Bush School for Government and Public Service, Texas A & M University, Served as Third Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in the United Republic of Tanzania (1993-1997), Deputy Director for South Asian, Middle Eastern, and African Studies, Director for International Exchange, Director for International Strategic Studies, and Director for American Studies at CIIS (1997-2007), Minister-Counselor at the Chinese Embassy in Japan (2011-2016).

## SHEN Yamei

## **Deputy Director, Department for American Studies, CIIS**

Received M.A. in Law and Diplomacy from China Foreign Affairs University. Served as Second Secretary at the Chinese Embassy in the State of Israel (2006-2010). Specialized in American Foreign Policy and China-U.S. Relations.

## Vice President, CIIS

President, CIIS

# [Japanese Side]

## ITO Kenichi

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 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.

## **TANAKA Akihiko**

Graduated from the University of Tokyo in 1977 and received Ph.D. in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1981. Served as Professor of International Politics, Director of the Institute of Oriental Culture, Executive Vice-President of the University of Tokyo, and President of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (2012-2015). Concurrently Serves as Professor of International Politics, the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, the University Tokyo, and Adjunct Professor, the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS). Received the Medal with Purple Ribbon in 2012.

## <u>SOEYA Yoshihi</u>de

Graduated from Sophia University and Received Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1987. Served the Council on Security and Defense Capabilities in the New Era (Prime Minister's Office), Council on Defense Facilities (MOD), and the Council on Industrial Structure (METI), and as a Faculty Fellow of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry (2000-04), Director of the Institute of East Asian Studies at Keio University (2007-2013), and Japan Scholar of the Woodrow Wilson Center, in Washington D.C. (2013-2014). Concurrently serves a Council member of the Japan Association of International Studies, Japan Association for Asian Studies, the International House of Japan, and the Asia Society in New York.

## **KAMIYA** Matake

Matake Kamiya is concurrently professor of international relations at the National Defense Academy of Japan, adjunct research fellow at the Japan Institute of International Affairs, and a member of the board of directors of the Japan Association for International Security. He served as Distinguished Research Fellow at the Centre for Strategic Studies: New Zealand, during 1994-1995, and and as editor-in-chief of Discuss Japan - Japan Foreign Policy Forum (http://www.japanpolicyforum.jp/en/) from 2013 to 2016. He is co-editor of Introduction to Security Studies, 4th edition, (Tokyo: Aki-shobo, 2009), the most widely read textbook on security studies in Japan (Chinese and Korean translations have been published). Born in 1961 in Kyoto, he is a graduate of the University of Tokyo, and Columbia University (as a Fulbright grantee).

## HOSOYA Yuichi

Received his M.I.S. from the University of Birmingham and Ph.D. from Keio University. He is also Senior Researcher at Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS) and at the Tokyo Foundation (TKFD). Served as Visiting Professor and Japan Chair at Sciences-Po in Paris (2009-10), Visiting fellow at Princeton University (2008-2009). His research interests include the postwar international history, British diplomatic history, Japanese diplomacy, and contemporary international security. He was a member of Prime Minister's Advisory Panel on Reconstruction of the Legal Basis for Security (2013-14), and a member of Prime Minister's Advisory Panel on National Security and Defense Capabilities (2013), in which capacity he assisted to draft Japan's first National Security Strategy.

(In order of appearance in the "Program")

# President & CEO, JFIR

## Supreme Councilor, JFIR

## **Professor, Keio University**

Superior Research Fellow, JFIR

## **Professor, Keio University**

## Session I: Asia-Pacific Security Environment and the Trump Administration

## Evans J. R. REVERE Senior Advisor, Albright Stonebridge Group (U. S.)

Priority of the Asia-Pacific Region

- Importance of Asia to U.S. interests
- Trade, key alliances, 70+ year investment, strategic/stabilizing role, generation of relative peace
- Importance of good U.S.-PRC relations
- SLOCs, shipping lanes, freedom of navigation
- Legacy of World War II
  - Nature abhors a vacuum
  - Never again
- Legacy of the Bush years
- Diversions and distraction
  - Middle East/Central Asian distractions
  - War on Terror
- The need to show up
- Lessons learned
  - Asia matters, presence is important, engagement is critical, allies and partners are watching
- The rebalance
  - Diplomatic dimension, trade dimension, security dimension
  - It's about being there
- The irony of the rebalance a deja vu moment
- Alliances, partners, friends and the framework for peace and stability

## The Challenges

- China
  - Strategic rivalry, cooperation, a new Cold War?
    - What does China want?
    - Can U.S. accommodate/accept that?
    - "Values gap"
      - Managing systemic, ideological, political, cultural differences
    - Expanding the zone of cooperation
      - Environment, climate change, peacekeeping, anti-piracy, Iran, North Korea
  - Avoiding conflict
    - SCS, ECS, intimidation of U.S. allies, North Korea
- North Korea
  - New developments
    - Nuclear weapons and missile capabilities; explicit threats
    - Targetting U.S. homeland
      - Inaction not an option
      - Cannot subcontract U.S. security
  - Failure of diplomacy
    - Collapse of 6PT
    - Denuclearization off the table
    - Peace Treaty ploy
    - DPRK goal of permanent nuclear status
  - Limits of PRC cooperation (fear of collapse vs. necessity of pressure
  - Requirement to act in self-defense; redline

## SOEYA Yoshihide Professor, Keio University (Japan)

1. The result of the U.S Presidential election 2016 threw into relief a sharp division manifest in U.S society and politics. The "America First" principle propounded by President-elect Trump differs from those similar principles in the past in that it has inward-looking dynamism of an unprecedented scale driven by Trump's predominant personality.

2. Diplomatic course of the U.S under Trump is virtually unpredictable. One possibility is that ad hoc steps will be taken in every diplomatic scene, creating social disharmony back home.

3. Inward-looking "America First" principle would accelerate "regionalization" of the structure of international politics. This indicates increasing roles to be assumed by regional powers such as Russia in Wider Europe and China in East Asia.

4. Good personal chemistry between Trump and Putin suggests mutual non-interference in terms of their diplomatic activities. In other words, Russia's freedom of action would be expanded.

5. China would surely be the key country in East Asia. The U.S.-China economic relations will be strained for the time being, whereas Trump would not be interested in deterring China. Then, China would ensure freedom of navigation etc. in the South China Sea and seek stable relations with President Duterte of the Philippines who will chair ASEAN next year.

6. Here comes Taiwan as a wild card. Trump made a telephone conversation with President Tsai of Taiwan on Dec. 2 and confirmed firm U.S. -Taiwan ties in terms of economy, politics and security. This would for sure ignite China's grievance.

7. How Trump administration would deal with the Japan-U.S. alliance would be uncertain and in flux. Here again, the inward-looking "America First" principle is at stake. While the alliances of the US can be regarded, from a certain angle, as one-sided, Trump would not venture to destabilize them if they are recognized as bilateral, yielding profits of different nature for both sides,

8. North-Korea issues would perhaps be dealt with in a somewhat naïve way, in contrast with the "neglect" policy of the Obama administration. Trump's priority would rather be put on IS in the Middle East.

9. The birth of the Trump administration would possibly open a new horizon of regional cooperation in East Asia, not by its intention but as a result of its diplomacy.

10. A basic policy of seeking co-existence with China in the long run while addressing security concerns could be applicable to every country in East Asia. Japan in particular should note that mere adherence to China-threat theory would only result in disharmony with other East Asian countries.

## RONG Ying Vice President, CIIS (China)

1. At present, Asia-Pacific is on the whole a stable and peaceful region. Economically, it is a most fast-growing region with a relatively mature and stable framework for regional cooperation. The region, however, faces many destabilizing factors and uncertainties in security field. In addition to the Korean Peninsula nuclear issue, Afghanistan and other traditional hotspot issues, disputes on territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests between regional countries are heating up from time to time. Non-traditional security challenges such as terrorism, natural disasters and transnational crimes have also become more acute, posing a realistic threat to regional security.

2. The complex and diverse nature of security in the region is compounded by growing major powers rivalry as a result of the perceived power transition in the region. Asia-Pacific is now plagued with a security environment called "Asia Dilemma", i.e., the more integrated and interdependent economically the region becomes, the more insecure and unsafe countries feel. Discussions on a regional security architecture have been vigorous and initiatives on security cooperation mechanisms continue to emerge, a regional security architecture, however, remains elusive.

3. China is an active participant for dialogue to build a regional security architecture. China advocates that economic cooperation and security cooperation are two wheels for regional cooperation, which must be advanced in parallel. The regional security architecture China envisions has following features: led by an Asian security concept (common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security), built on international rules and laws, supported with various partnerships, and aimed for development of the region as a whole. And the future regional security architecture is going to be comprehensive and multi-layered and it would take a long and gradual process.

4. The Incoming Trump administration's security policy towards Asia-Pacific remains unknown except for being unpredictable, which adds more uncertainties and complications to the regional security environment. One can only hope that the US-led bilateral military alliances, which presumably would continue, would avoid confrontation and strengthen integration with other regional mechanisms to play a constructive role for regional peace and stability.

# Session II: Prospects for Japan-U.S.-China Trilateral Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific

## J. Stapleton ROY Founding Director Emeritus, Kissinger Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (U.S.)

- At first glance, it is easier to think of areas for bilateral cooperation among Japan, the United States, and China in the Asia-Pacific than for trilateral.
- This shows a lack of imagination. There are many areas where trilateral cooperation in the Asia-Pacific would be mutually beneficial.
- These include: Climate change. As the three largest economies in the world, trilateral cooperation would send a positive signal to other countries /Air pollution/ Arctic Ocean/ Development assistance. As the traditional heads of the World Bank, Asia Development Bank, and the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank, the United States, Japan, and China should seek strengthened coordination among the banks/ Counter-terrorism /Cyber threats/ Nuclear power safety/ Disaster relief.
- These are areas where significant multilateral cooperation is already taking place. The goal would be to strengthen habits of cooperation in these and other areas.
- However, we should not neglect non-traditional areas, especially when these are of vital importance to all three countries. Heading off a regional arms race is one such area.
- As three major industrial powers who have experienced the negative consequences of wars in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan, the United States, and China have a common interest in preventing a recurrence of such wars.
- And yet national rivalries could raise tensions and divert resources to military buildups. China is rapidly modernizing its armed forces. The United States is reluctant to lose the air and naval superiority it has maintained for the last 70 years in the Western Pacific. Japan relies on its US ally as a bulwark against potential threats.
- All three countries would benefit from a military balance in the Asia-Pacific sufficient to deter aggressive impulses without being based on superiority by any one country or group of countries. Trilateral cooperation could usefully explore how to achieve this.

## HOSOYA Yuichi Professor, Keio University (Japan)

- 1. Regardless of the fact that there exist a variety of disagreements and antagonisms among the three largest economic powers, namely the U.S., China and Japan, they can agree on several important issues such as the stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the continuity in the economic growth in this region.
- 2. We need to remind of the existence of the three important ties that bind the U.S., China and Japan; first, "U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue" (the U.S.-China relations), second, "mutually beneficial relationships based on common strategic interest" (the Sino-Japanese relations), and third, "the alliance of hope" (the U.S.-Japan relations). Even though there exists no comprehensive framework to cover the three, the combination of the three ties can create stable and predictable trilateral relationships which is vital to the peace and the prosperity in the Asia-Pacific.
- 3. It is probable that the birth of the Trump administration will increase instability in international politics in the Asia-Pacific. This instability must not result in unexpected war which the three powers become belligerency. To avoid it, the three powers should not undermine vital national interests of the other powers.
- 4. As the possibility of ratifying the TPP by the new U.S. administration is now diminished, it would be beneficial to have a trilateral summit meeting among the U.S., China and Japan at the occasion of an APEC summit meeting to discuss on the direction of trade liberalization in the Asia-Pacific which should benefit all the three powers. There must be some coordination among distinctive reginal free trade areas such as the TPP, RECP, FTAAP among others.
- 5. In August 1941, the U.S. and U.K. governments agreed on the Atlantic Charter. The two powers were then the greatest democracies which were responsible to create a new global order. It would be a good time for the three greatest economic powers to agree on some vision on the future regional order, which can be called as "the Pacific Charter".

## **SHEN Yamei**

## Deputy Director, Department for American Studies, CIIS (China)

Shaky grounds of trilateral cooperation in the Asia Pacific. Profound changes are taking place in the three countries' respective national strengths, their regional strategies and development of each set of bilateral relations. In light of the Trump presidency, imperatives and benefits of closer trilateral relations are increasing, but problems and challenges remain salient. Trilateral cooperation is constrained by a high level of complexity and vulnerability. **1. Cognitive constraints**: Traditions of geopolitical thinking lie deep in the China-Japan-US relations. Each country is prone to viewing the other from the lens of power politics. Mutual suspicion and distrust are the biggest hurdles in trilateral cooperation. **2. Behavioral constraints**: Each employs unique policy instruments to manage strategic interests. Traditional tool kits are subject to readjustments in the process of fathoming each other's bottom lines in the advent of the Trump administration, and they will find no smooth sailing in the Asia Pacific. **3. Institutional constraints**: Two sets of strategic platforms have been networked with the US and China at their core separately and excluding each other. Trilateral cooperation calls for greater institutional integration so as to pursue common interests and purposes.

Shared diplomatic agenda between the three could cover a host of mutual concerns, including: 1. On global governance: The three have been imbedded in the open international regimes and thrived in the international order. Cooperation could be explored in fields of counterterrorism, nonproliferation, climate change, cyber security, protection of the ocean environment, sustainable fishery practices, maritime security, human trafficking, and etc. 2. On geopolitical stability: Regional trouble spots are likely to intensify in a time of transition and transformation in the balance of power and influence in the Asia Pacific. They need to be defused in a manner that reflects the parameters of an enduring regional order, and that takes into account the legitimate rights and interests of the three countries as immediate players. 3. On economic and trade arrangements: Common interests abound along the track of APEC, G20, IMF's decision to admit RMB to SDRs, China-US BIT negotiations, China-Japan-South Korea dialogue. Further cooperation could be searched with regard to FTAPP, AIIB, B&R Initiatives. 4. On regional multilateral mechanisms: A reasonable construction of China-US relations in the global context is conducive to the stable development of China-Japan relations in the East Asian regional context. It is imperative for China and the US to integrate the multitude of regional mechanisms and incorporate all three countries into a compound development platform.

**Projecting the future**, three uncertainties must be addressed: **1**. The US to clarify its commitment and investment to the Asia Pacific. **2**. China to shape a grand strategy in its global outreach. **3**. Japan to readjust its mentality and position in the changing regional landscape.

## 4. Appendix: Introductions to Co-sponsoring Organizations

## (1) The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc. (JFIR or 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.

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.

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		■Board of Directors	
ARIMA Tatsuo	OHYA Eiko	IMAI Takashi	Chairman
HAKAMADA Shigeki	SAKAMOTO Masahiro	ITO Kenichi	President
HATTORI Yasuo	SATO Ken	WATANABE Mayu	Executive Director
HIRONAKA Wakako	WATANABE Toshio	HANDA Haruhisa	Director
HIRONO Ryokichi	YAMAGUCHI Norio	KAMIYA Matake	Director
INOUE Akiyoshi		MORIMOTO Satoshi	Director
ISHIGAKI Yasuji		SHIMADA Haruo	Director
ITO Tsuyoshi		TAKUBO Tadae	Director
KOIKE Yuriko		■Auditors	
KUROYANAGI Nobuo		NAITOH Masahisa	
		WATANABE Kenichi	

The Forum's activities are composed of such pillars as "Policy Recommendations," "e-Forum" "Research Programs," "International Dialogues & Exchanges," "Participation in International Frameworks," "Diplomatic Roundtable," "Foreign Policy Luncheon," and "PR and Enlightenment." Of these pillars of activities, one important pillar 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 Foramu" 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.

#### [Contact]

Address: 2-17-12-1301, Akasaka, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 107-0052, Japan TEL: +81-3-3584-2190 FAX: +81-3-3589-5120 E-mail: jfir@jfir.or.jp URL: http://www.jfir.or.jp/j/

## (2) The National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP)

#### MISSION:

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) was founded in 1974 by Professor Hans J. Morgenthau and others. It is a nonprofit policy organization dedicated to the resolution of conflicts that threaten U.S. interests. The NCAFP fulfills its mission through hosting public lectures and panels, as well as through the practice of Track I <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> and Track II diplomacy.

#### **PUBLIC PROGRAMMING:**

The NCAFP frequently hosts lecture series and public panel discussions on diverse topics. These events bring together members of the New York business, policy and academic communities to learn more about and discuss critical policy issues. Recent speakers have included H.E. Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, the Hon. Dr. Henry Kissinger, and Professor Walter Russell Mead.

#### **ACTIVE PROJECTS:**

#### Forum on Asia-Pacific Security (FAPS)

Under the direction of Professor Donald S. Zagoria, FAPS is dedicated to building peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific. FAPS runs Track I ½ and Track II dialogues with some of the region's most influential officials and policy experts on key security issues. Key focus areas include: U.S.-China Relations; CrossTaiwan Strait Relations; Denuclearizing North Korea; Regional Cooperation (U.S.-Japan-China-South Korea Relations); and Easing China-Japan Tensions.

#### **U.S.-Russia Relations**

NCAFP projects and programs related to Russia explore the challenges and opportunities in U.S.-Russia relations and the geopolitical implications of recent developments in Ukraine and Syria. Featured experts have included Dr. Ivan Safranchuk, Dr. Thomas Graham, Ambassador Gleb Ivashentsov, Jill Dougherty, and the Hon. James Collins. Further, this year, the NCAFP launched a U.S.-Japan-Russia Trilateral Dialogue to explore ways to build on our common interests and to manage our differences in an effort to open up new avenues for dialogue and cooperation.

#### **Cybersecurity Initiative**

In 2010, the NCAFP launched its Cybersecurity Initiative to study the challenges that cyber poses to U.S. security interests. The Initiative has produced regular public programs and off-the-record roundtables resulting in policy recommendations that have been widely disseminated to government, policy, academic, and business communities. Featured experts have included Melissa Hathaway, Phil Venables, John N. Stewart, Prof. Joseph S. Nye, Dr. Aaron Brantly, Dr. James A. Lewis, and Gen. (ret.) Rhett Hernandez.

#### Middle East

Since its founding in 1974 the National Committee on American Foreign Policy has conducted regular roundtables and discussions on critical issues related to security in the Middle East. Recent areas of focus include the threat posed by Iran's nuclear program and Iran's role in the broader region, intrastate conflicts in Syria and Iraq, and the implications of the rise of ISIS and violent extremism for the security of the United States and its allies. Recently featured experts have included the Hon. Frank Wisner, Dr. Vali Nasr, Dr. Gary Samore, Dr. Steven A. Cook, and the Hon. Frank Ricciardone.

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## (3) China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)

China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) is the think tank of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It conducts research and analysis on a wide range of foreign policy issues.

The Institute was founded in 1956 under the name of Institute of International Relations, and assumed the present name in December 1986. In 1998, China Center for International Affairs, formerly a research institution of China's State Council, was incorporated with CIIS. Successive presidents of the Institute include MENG Yongqian, YAO Zhongming, LI Huichuan, ZHENG Weizhi, WANG Shu, DU Gong, YANG Chengxu, SONG Mingjiang, MA Zhengang, QU Xing. The current president is SU Ge.

Research at the Institute is focused primarily on medium and long-term policy issues of strategic importance, particularly those concerning international politics and world economy. It also includes comments and policy recommendations on the world's major events and hot-spot issues. The Institute hosts various seminars and conferences to discuss latest international developments and advance issue-specific studies. It has constructed a world-wide scholarly and second-track exchange network, holding regular meetings with some foreign research institutions and running collaborative research projects with both domestic and foreign scholars on issues of shared interests.

Research findings at CIIS are presented in reports to the country's foreign policy makers and institutions, as well as in published books and articles. In both cases, the views expressed in the writings are those of the authors, not representing CIIS.

The staff of CIIS consists of more than one hundred researchers and other professionals. Among them are senior diplomats, leading area-study specialists, and preeminent experts in major fields of foreign affairs. Young scholars at CIIS all have advanced university degree in I.R. or related disciplines.

The Institute consists of Departments for International and Strategic Studies, World Economy and Development Studies, American Studies, Asia-Pacific Security and Cooperation Studies, European Studies, Developing Countries Studies, European-Central Asian Studies. Besides, there are Research Centers focused respectively on the study of the Belt and Road Initiatives, Maritime Security and Cooperation, and International Energy Strategy.

CIIS has its own Library and Information Center. The Library holdings include over 300,000 books. The collection on international affairs is among the best in the country.

International Studies is the Journal of CIIS. Its contributors include CIIS researchers and outside foreign affairs experts. The journal provides an influential forum for the discussion of important international issues and China's foreign policy. It has an English edition for foreign readers.

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