

REPORT OF THE JOINT AD-HOC STEERING COMMITTEE TO CULCON

The joint CULCON Ad-hoc Steering Committee (ASC) on intellectual and people-to-people exchange was created as a result of deliberations during a CULCON Executive Session held in Washington, D.C. September 2015. The committee is tasked to identify a few particular areas of concern in light of domestic, regional and global issues that may impact the future bilateral relationship; and suggest steps to address these issues. Taking into consideration the current state of the field, the committee, which consists of 10 members, has unanimously agreed that generational transition is most critical and recommended that at the June 2016 CULCON plenary meeting a CULCON Task Force be created to address the topic of "Fostering the Next Generation of Leadership for the U.S.-Japan Relationship."

Several broad trends are evident in the U.S.-Japan relationship. Cumulatively, they clearly indicate that bilateral success will hinge on renewing an existing intellectual human network across the Pacific and nurturing next generation leaders. With their innovative thinking and globally-minded new skill sets, these new leaders are expected to manage unrivaled challenges to the maintenance and improvement of the robust and productive bilateral relationship and contribute to the peace and prosperity of the two countries, of the Asia and Pacific region, and beyond through political, economic, strategic, scientific, cultural and educational means.

Following are key factors to consider while focusing on the next generation through people-to-people exchange.

First, the relationship has benefitted from a substantial and talented group of public intellectuals including researchers, business professionals and policymakers who are well-versed in U.S.-Japan relations and are deeply immersed in a range of challenges each country faces. The tireless efforts of these individuals who have managed the bilateral relationship for the past 70 years has successfully deepened the ties between the two nations. However, a large number of these individuals are nearing retirement and other leaders who contributed to building this reliable partnership are passing from the scene. Under these circumstances, the strategic core of U.S.-Japan relations based on intellectual dialogues and exchanges is at risk of erosion. An absence of expertise and deep mutual respect may cast a shadow on the future of the bilateral relationship as well as the stabilization of the Asia-Pacific region. Identifying a new generation of leaders, and engaging them in the existing fabric of U.S.-Japan strategic relations is a matter of utmost importance that CULCON should pursue. Whether there exists a pool of equally talented individuals among the younger generations in both countries is not clear. Moreover, while some younger scholars have proven themselves capable of alliance management, there remain many younger individuals knowledgeable about Japan and the United States who have not yet demonstrated a strong professional interest in, and an ability to shape, policy debates and the policymaking process in the range of areas central to the U.S.-Japan relationship and CULCON's broad mission of fostering mutual understanding through cultural, educational, and people to people exchanges.

A second motivation is the challenge to secure adequate funding to nurture U.S.-Japan intellectual exchange. Funding by governments and government-backed institutions such as the Japan Foundation, CGP, and the Japan-U.S. Friendship Commission have important roles to play; but these resources, particularly those of CGP, are drastically shrinking, and both governments are under tight fiscal pressure. Support from U.S. philanthropic organizations such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations have disappeared from the scene of bilateral intellectual exchange. These organizations were once critical to the establishment of the vibrant infrastructure of exchanges that was the architecture of expertise we rely on today. The U.S.-Japan related programs and exchanges from university fellowships to academic projects resulted in numerous breakthrough scholarly studies, and developed strong professional relationships. While several new funding opportunities such as the TOMODACHI Initiative and the S&R Foundation have emerged in recent years, and assistance from these entities as well as U.S. and Japanese corporate giving are important sources to augment funding, the magnitude of the decline in public funding during the past fifteen years is too large to ignore. There must be renewed efforts to restore public funding in both countries and reengage U.S. philanthropic institutions to support U.S.-Japan intellectual exchange. In spite of diminished funding, the next generation of U.S.-Japan leadership must be nurtured.

Still a third stimulus lies in the expanded context of the bilateral relationship. The U.S.-Japan relationship today confronts a vastly different set of challenges than was the case during the Cold War and its immediate aftermath. Tomorrow's U.S.-Japan relationship must address challenges that transcend borders. Today's U.S.-Japan relations are enmeshed in a far more complex regional dynamic than before, whether one is talking of the competing pulls of regional arms races, economic and financial links, historical memory, popular culture, or ways in which relations between Japan and the U.S. are complicated by their respective relations with other countries in the Asia-Pacific.

Finally a fourth motivation is linked to the third. For decades, the primary anchors of the U.S.-Japan relationship involved security and economics as well as a range of broad cultural, educational and people-to-people exchanges. While continuing to tackle ever more complex and serious security and economic challenges, both countries now confront a host of fresh challenges in myriad areas. These include non-traditional security issues such as environmental pollution, global warming, pandemics, human trafficking, and resource scarcity. They also include new and emerging problem areas such as information technology, space exploration and cyber-terror. In addition, cultural interactions have expanded beyond 'traditional' cultural areas such as drama, music and art. Recognizing that many potential future leaders have developed interests in the other country through popular culture and social media, it will be important to enhance opportunities for continued participation in the broad context of the bilateral relationship.

New regional and multilateral dynamics and the effusion of new issues they create combined with traditional and longstanding issues and the new elements and dimensions that make it imperative to foster a new generation of leaders, who are adept enough to take care of both new and old challenges with skill sets that may be quite different from that of their predecessors.

The Ad-hoc Steering Committee proposal to establish a new CULCON Task Force is modeled after the demonstrated achievement of CULCON's Educational Task Force. The ETF's targeted investigation of a specific issue, student mobility, resulted in concrete proposals for action by both governments, academic institutions and private sectors, and the positive steps that have been taken in response to ETF findings.

ASC proposes that the CULCON Task Force on "Fostering the Next Generation of Leadership for the U.S.-Japan Relationship" will be mandated to produce its final report by Fall, 2017. That report should include an in-depth assessment of, among other things, the current state of U.S.-Japan intellectual exchanges with specific focus on generational transition. The Task Force should identify any gaps that need to be addressed so as to ensure the long-term viability and salience of the now robust U.S.-Japan relationship, not only in the traditional areas of economics and security but also in ways that will allow the relationship to extend beyond traditional bilateralism so as to ensure its continued vigor and policy relevance in the new regional and functional contexts that it is likely to confront going forward.

ASC members agree that fostering the next generation can take numerous forms, but particularly promising areas include the following:

1. Linking CULCON efforts to existing programs already working on identifying and nurturing next generation leaders. These include the Mansfield programs, CGP programs, programs run by CSIS Pacific Forum, JET alumni programs and the like.
2. Creating/Expanding research and internship opportunities within both the U.S. and Japan, which may allow for hands-on training of emerging Japanese and U.S. leaders in a variety of venues, including non-profit and policy-oriented institutions. Although Japan has fewer independent think tanks and policy organizations that might welcome U.S. research interns, organizations such as the Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Tokyo Foundation, the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation, the Canon Institute for Global Studies, JCIE and JIIA all hold potential. In addition, policy-based programs and other research institutes dealing with language, arts, and culture at Japanese universities may offer opportunities to share best practices and develop professional ties.
3. Examining and learning from the experiences of existing programs developed by the governments and quasi-official organizations in East Asian nations toward nurturing next generations in order to manage future relationship with the United States, a number of which have been highly successful over the past several years.
4. Starting a high-profiled, intensive gathering and encouraging existing meetings that deal with the US-Japan relationship, either bilaterally or in a regional context to include both senior and younger participants from diverse talent pools so that the alteration of generations would advance with acceleration.
5. Deliberately involving a small number of younger leaders from different fields in various policy-oriented meetings such as those held by CSCAP (Council For Security

Cooperation In The Asia Pacific), NEACD (Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue), and the like.

6. Promoting legislative exchanges and even two-three day seminars that would include governors, mayors, Diet members and congressional staffers.
7. Fostering academic training for the next generation of leaders through language, country, regional studies and other disciplinary fields as well as educational exchanges, and public programs that will include young and diverse participants.

The new CULCON Task Force on "Fostering the Next Generation of Leadership for the U.S.-Japan Relationship" should be charged with investigating these and other promising areas and then making concrete proposals as to how best to ensure high quality and a sufficient quantity of future leaders. To this end, it should determine concrete measures that can be taken by both governments and private/non-profit sectors, including official funding. It should also investigate possible new sources of funding and reactivate the U.S.-Japan philanthropic network. Targeted U.S. philanthropy would include, but not be limited to, major independent foundations, intermediaries such as the Foundation Center, and the "Japan Affinity Group" at the Council of Foundations, which consists of Japan-related U.S. corporate foundations. Particular potential might still be found in the TOMODACHI Fund. Funding requests could include requests to support specific ad hoc activities such as meetings or symposia. It will also be important to consider ways to network among existing funding organizations to stimulate collective responses to the perceived need for continued support for programs and institutions devoted to the U.S.-Japan relationship, both in its bilateral and potentially multilateral form.

It may also prove advisable to explore the creation of a Japanese version of the German Marshall Fund in the United States. A sustained effort to establish a visionary intellectual apparatus as a return for the generosity that Japan received from the United States in the aftermath of 3/11 would serve to nurture successive generations of potential leaders, and is therefore, among the most critical need for the U.S.-Japan relationship in the future.

Finally, the ASC suggests that the 2017 CULCON symposium be devoted to addressing the next generation issues the Task Force identifies as requiring the most immediately need of attention. This symposium should draw on, but by no means be limited to, CULCON members. Outside experts, and particularly, younger leaders from various fields should be included.