

FULBRIGHT/CULCON JOINT SYMPOSIUM

Japan & US Soft Power: Addressing Global Challenges

12 June 2009

Summary of Discussions

The FULBRIGHT/CULCON Joint Symposium “Japan & US Soft Power: Addressing Global Challenges” was convened in six sessions; Opening Session, Session I: Sources of Soft Power, Session II: Projection of Soft Power, Luncheon Session: Economic Relations at a Turning Point, Session III: Looking Forward, and the Concluding Session. The outline of the sessions is as follows.

Opening Session

1. Minoru Makihara, Japan CULCON Chair, and Ronald J. Post, Fulbright Japan Chair, gave the Opening Remarks, followed by Welcome Addresses by Taro Aso, Prime Minister of Japan (read by Parliamentary Vice- Minister for Foreign Affairs Masahiko Shibayama) and James P. Zumwalt, the Charge d'Affaires, US Embassy, Tokyo. In these remarks, it was felt particularly significant that, against the backdrop of perceived waning of interest in Japan-US exchanges in recent years, this symposium was organized, following Fulbright Japan initiatives and to follow up on the Report “Re-defining the Japan-US Relationship” adopted by the 23rd Plenary Session of the CULCON in June last year, to discuss how Japan and the US can make use of their soft power to deal with new global issues facing the US, Japan, the Asia-Pacific region and the international community. Japan and the US, sharing common democratic values, must in tandem take a holistic approach in deepening our relationship. The investments that we make today in educational and cultural exchanges will continue to sustain our ties for another generation if we take advantage of opportunities such as this symposium to review our fundamental strengths and find new ways to utilize them in the contemporary environment.

2. The keynote speeches were given by Professor Joseph S. Nye, Jr. of Harvard University (video-recorded) and Professor Hiroshi Komiyama, President Emeritus, University of Tokyo.

Joseph Nye set the framework for discussions by saying that power means the ability to affect others to get the outcomes that one wants, which can be done in three different ways: threaten people with coercion (“sticks”); pay people or induce them (“carrots”); or get people to want the outcomes that you want (“soft power”). The sources of soft power come from a country's culture, its values and its policies. Japan, with its traditional and popular culture, many of its values – a stable society –, and its policies framed on the need for broader legitimacy, is well placed in terms of exercising soft power. As for the US, President Obama and Secretary of State Clinton have made clear that America must use what has been called ‘smart power,’ the full range of tools at its disposal.

Stability in East Asia rests on a triangle of good relations between the major powers – the US, Japan and China. However, this is not an equilateral triangle; the US and Japan

are closest because of their security alliance. The traditional security alliance also contributes to a public good in that it helps create stability in East Asia on which the region's prosperity rests.

There is a new, non-traditional realm for cooperation between the US and Japan as well as with other countries, that is, global public goods, such as the UN Peacekeeping Operations, global financial stability, global climate change, or energy and environment. Japan has been playing a leading role, through its creativity and technology, on energy efficiency, and, through its ODA, on development and eradication of poverty. There could be a cooperative strategy in which Japan and the US can work together using their technologies and skills to work with the Chinese to lead to cleaner coal burning inside China.

Hiroshi Komiyama emphasized that the key issue in the 21st century is the sustainable development of civilization. As the saturation of demand in developed countries has led to the current economic crisis, how can we generate new demands through new industries? The current century is marked by three distinct paradigms: (1) a smaller earth, giving rise to multiple challenges including climate change, depleted resources, pollution, food and water concerns, the financial crisis and pandemics, (2) an aging society, in Japan already and in China and India by 2050, and (3) exploding knowledge, which we need to better grasp, understand and utilize effectively. In coping with these challenges, Japan can contribute to (1) green growth through initiatives such as eco houses, eco appliances, eco cars, solar panels and windmills on the side of energy and environment, (2) platinum growth through the advancement of barrier-free infrastructure, barrier-free housing and buildings, and health monitoring on the side of the aging society, and (3) new structures of knowledge and new educational systems on the side of exploding knowledge.

On green growth, in particular, among the G7 countries, Japan ranks first in the low emission of sulfur oxides from thermal power plants. From 1960 to 1990, Japan doubled its energy efficiency in cement through improved production processes and is now nearing the theoretical limit of efficiency. On a personal level, in his own daily life, Professor Komiyama has managed to reduce his household CO₂ emissions by 80% (Komiyama Eco House). China produces 50% of the world's cement. If it were to utilize Japan's cement production technology, energy efficiency in China could be improved by an order of 40%. We must establish an international mechanism for loans that will help China and other countries make necessary investments to adopt energy efficient production processes. Doing so will be a win-win situation for all.

Japan is the most industrialized country in Asia and the second largest economy in the world. The US, for its part, is the largest industrial power in the world. Both countries should use this basis for mutual cooperation in addressing the problems of the 21st century.

Session 1: Sources of Soft Power

If soft power is to mean anything that is not coercive, it becomes an unwieldy concept. It is important to note that soft power does not just happen. You have to work at it, as the US worked hard in postwar years to export soft power to Japan through cultural foundations such as Fulbright, Rockefeller and Ford, scholarship programs and invitational programs. The budget of the Japan Foundation is considerably smaller than all comparable organizations from other countries, especially China which aims to spread its culture and language all over the world. Japan is a very popular country abroad, in terms of positive contribution to the world or a peace index, although this does not translate into power. Japan has to work hard if it wants to exercise its soft power.

A question was posed as to the purpose for which Japan wants to use soft power or whether the Japanese want to shape the world, instead of simply enjoying life. There was caution expressed about too much reliance on soft power, especially in Japan. Without hard power it is not possible to have soft power. There may also be too much emphasis on the word "soft" and not enough on the word "power", given that we engage in smart, soft and hard power because of cold calculation of our own national security. The international humanitarian activities of the Japan Self Defense Forces in Iraq were cited as an example of hard power used for soft power purposes. Cooperation between the naval forces of Japan and the US to provide support to the island states of Indonesia in disaster relief was a favorable example of collaboration. It was observed that diplomacy not backed up by credible force is ineffective, so talk should be about whether they are cooperative or complementary to one another.

On the mix of soft and hard power, it was pointed out that the US has been strong in terms of its military or geopolitical power, economic power, and also in terms of its values, most importantly, democracy. There has to be a thorough check-and-balance among these three components, and the strength of the US is its resilience with its focus on maintaining the check-and-balance. Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan pursued economic and military power. After WWII, the focus shifted to economic development. Now Japan faces a turning point, promoting international cooperation with the US, China and other countries. In these soft power efforts by Japan, the kindness of the Japanese people, as shown to visiting Chinese youths, the quality of its products, and its culture are important elements.

In Japan's relations with Russia and China, exchange programs have been a highly effective application of soft power. However, it is hard to see how soft power will affect North Korea. There are issues in the world where there are no alternatives to hard power, so the question then is how you apply it smartly. For example, sanctions that have no effect are not smart power. In contemplating possible contingencies such as an attack on Japan or South Korea or a collapse of North Korea, it should be noted that China has legitimate security concerns about North Korea and that the US is no longer in a position to manage this situation on its own but must work with the countries in the region.

In the context of Japan-US soft power collaboration, we need to figure out how to engage and how to incorporate China in international relations. One approach is to see China, with its command economy model, in an underground competition with us over who will come out of this economic recession in the quickest and most effective manner. Another is to see relations with China not as a zero-sum game; it is a win-win situation. We should attempt to deal with Chinese problems such as CO₂ emissions trilaterally. A historical parallel was drawn with Germany in the Bismarck era. Would China, like Kaiser after Bismarck's peaceful diplomacy of, feel that it should wield its power? We should work on China and lead China to a direction that we would like to see. Afghanistan, counterterrorism, the environment, global warming, energy saving and pandemics prevention were also possible areas for Japan-US collaboration based on shared national interests. If the Democratic Party of Japan becomes the ruling party, more might be invested in eliminating poverty, disarmament of nuclear weapons, women's empowerment, etc. and this would affect the diplomatic policy of Japan.

Japan-US relations of today were maturing and fundamentally strong. However, there are some problems. On the US side, US policy interests toward Japan seem to have waned, and US think tanks are less interested in Japan. There is a sense of complacency about Japan, a sense in Washington that nothing much is going to happen in Japan. On the Japanese side, the issue of collective self-defense may possibly undermine the long-term relationship between the two countries. Japan needs to develop its think tanks so that it has a better ability to send messages internationally. In its dialogue with the Obama Administration, Japan needs to bring issues to the table so that it is not pushed to the side in favor of other countries.

Session II: Projection of Soft Power

Further comments were made on soft and hard power: (1) We cannot neglect the foundation of the Japan-US relationship that is the security alliance. Soft power is no substitute for hard power. (2) Soft power is part of a toolkit of national assets and government needs to give consideration as to where and when soft power should be applied. (3) Hard power rests on a sense of fear, while soft power works on hope to move persons in society. Without solid economic power, which may be a component of hard power, soft power cannot be maintained. Economic revitalization is essential for today's Japan.

US and Japan have similar soft power bases, such as democratic values and respect for human rights. However, there are a number of differences in their approaches to the projection of soft power.

The US approach can be characterized as American "universalism", whereby the US sees itself as a beacon of freedom with values that can and should be applied universally. US government and NGOs have been active and assertive, on issues like human rights. Some call it "megaphone" diplomacy. The last eight years saw US actions and rhetoric severely weaken America's international standing, but the election of President Obama may portend less preaching and more leading by example.

An unipolar system is counterproductive since no matter what positive results are achieved they are too unilateral.

In contrast, Japan has been reluctant to project its values overseas, and has concentrated on quiet capacity building in terms of “value based” soft power issues. It is a Japanese virtue to be humble and not boast about its power. Japan should be more self-assertive. Japan has successfully convinced most other nations that it has transformed into a peaceful country. However, the pacifist tendency among young and old Japanese is a little worrisome. An increasing number of people are complacent and inward looking, as seen, for example, in the sharp decline of Japanese academics studying abroad. Far fewer Japanese obtain Ph.D.s abroad than the Chinese or Koreans.

Japan has many soft assets but they are not enough to become soft power. While Japanese ideas could transform the world, Japan lacks the determination for this to happen. Japanese development organizations such as JICA have played an important non-military role in Japan’s efforts for the international community, but there is still a lack of information dissemination; the stories and examples of JICA are not widely shared as case studies at universities worldwide. Japan is also risk-averse. Another factor constraining Japan’s soft power projection is the issue of history, particularly with its Asian neighbors, on which greater care should be taken to avoid insensitive statements.

It is worth looking at the country’s image following the example of the “National Brand” campaign in South Korea under President Lee Myung-bak. National brand is not just how popular a country is; it also entailed aspects such as values. Americans generally think that Japan is cool and this could translate into soft power. For the most part, they feel the Japanese are very trustworthy and hardworking; for example, the SDF’s help in refueling at sea has helped this image. With regard to ODA as well, Japan has been making solid efforts for a long time.

Japan’s public diplomacy budget has been in decline for the last eight years. To rectify this situation, it is not just the government but also the private sector that needs to contribute. We need to develop channels for our soft power, especially via the private sector. To leverage Japan’s soft power, much more can be done to empower Japanese civil society to project soft power. There is also the problem of the lack of focus, for example, on how to address the problem of history or how to open up Japanese society further to give opportunities to non-Japanese willing to come to Japan and work here and how to embrace such people. Chinese descendants, who are the largest minority group in Japan, can be a positive asset in this regard.

Regarding Japan-US soft power cooperation, the two countries are uniquely positioned to lead in areas like the environment, energy, pandemics, and restoring financial stability and economic growth. CULCON plays an important role in fostering cultural, grassroots and intellectual exchanges. The fabric of US-Japan coordination on global issues is well in place although missing is an overall strategic approach coordinated by the White House and Kantei. It is worth looking at revitalizing the

US-Japan Strategic Development Initiative to support the spread of democratic values. Japan has been looking too much toward the US, but in the future, multilateral thinking is needed for global development, for example, with the new vision of the Obama administration on nuclear disarmament and global disarmament. To bring about a strategic alliance involving multilateralism, suppression of nationalism might be the ultimate form of soft power. This is necessary to form a political consensus and political will that spans over regions, as happened in the European example.

Recent surveys (CSIS, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, etc.) show that elites in Asian countries, even in China, thought that promoting good governance, human rights and having democratic elections were broadly Asian values as well. The US is seen as dominant in soft power in Asia, followed by Japan in second place. As to which countries are seen by the US as an important partner, Japan is in fourth place in terms of its international relations but with regard to the degree of trust in its partners, Japan was up front. The source of Japanese soft power lies mostly in technology and innovation. Although Japan views military force as low on the list, the hope in the US is for Japan to be more engaged, through peacekeeping efforts, for example.

Climate change and green technology were prime areas for cooperation and collaboration with China and also India. There must be intense policy considerations between Japan and the US before jointly approaching China to accept the stance, leaving room for compromise with China. It is important to consider the optimal combination of power between Japan and the US.

Luncheon Session: Economic Relations at a Turning Point

Toyoo Gyohten identified four structural and fundamental problems of the world economy today.

The first problem is the current global imbalance. Household consumption, financed by the rising market value of house and stock and the easy credit, has been the main engine of American economic growth. Exporting countries including Japan enjoyed a surplus, which boosted their economies. Surplus countries invested their dollar receipts in US Treasury bonds, keeping the US long-term interest rate low and enabling the US to consume more. The collapse of housing, stock and credit that supported US household consumption has necessitated the process of adjustment, which may moderate the global imbalance at least for a while. However, the question is whether our economy will have to restore a new equilibrium at a lower rate of growth or whether we can succeed in generating new demand and thereby achieve a better savings-investments balance at a higher level. The success will depend on each country's effort to develop a new growth model even at a painful cost of internal adjustment. For the US, households need to modify their spending patterns. The manufacturing industry, particularly of consumer goods, needs to be restructured and revived. For Japan, the industrial structure needs to be altered from an export-oriented one to domestic-demand-oriented one. Adjustment needs to be made by mutual

efforts. It is not the place for recrimination between surplus and deficit countries as we witnessed in the 1980s.

Secondly, the important lesson the US learned from the current crisis is that the role of finance expanded too much, with excessive leveraging, risk taking, and greed. Will the pendulum, which had swung to the extreme of deregulation, move to the other extreme of reregulation? In Japan, the balance between manufacturing and finance is still tipped toward the former. Japanese finance needs more deregulation so that it can grow more efficient and profitable through fair and open competition. We cannot insulate our market by building a wall of regulation. Our monetary authorities need closer consultation and coordination more than before.

Thirdly, the dollar will remain as the key currency for the world in the foreseeable future for the simple reason that there is no other currency that can replace the dollar. The worrisome thing is the considerable loss of the hegemonic power of the US in the world during the last decade, due to the growing current account deficit and the mishandling of geo-political issues, particularly in the Middle East. Some of the emerging economies, particularly BRICs and some oil-exporting countries, enhanced their economic and political presence and became more vocal in global affairs. With this weakening of the leadership role of the US, will the dollar be able to regain its strength and credibility, or do we need to start to prepare for what will happen in the event of the US failure?

Fourthly, protectionism, which tries to block the natural flow of value, will distort the sound mechanism of the world economy and will create enormous damage for all. Both Japan and the US, as major trading nations, need to prevent and reduce protectionism in respective domestic markets. We also have to cooperate in fighting against protectionism in other parts of the world. The Doha Round is not dead yet, but it is dying. We have to resurrect it.

China, which has emerged as a global power, will probably be the leader of Asia in two to three decades, vying for global leadership with the US. China will not challenge US leadership now, however. It needs peace and stability, which will give it time to become stronger. Japan needs a prosperous and stable Asian market in order to support its aging population. China is growing and developing. Yet, it is still premature to accept China as the leader of Asia. China is still preoccupied with nationalistic expansionism. It does not possess the ideology with which it can lead Asia, and the world for that matter. Most Asians are uneasy about the rules embodied in the Chinese leadership. If China is going to be the leader of Asia it must be a responsible and respectable leader. Most Asians are hoping that the US and Japan together play the role of mentor for China. The US needs China as a communicative and trustworthy partner. The goal can be achieved only by the joint mobilization of the soft power of Japan and the US. By demonstrating the attractiveness of our culture, value and the legitimacy of our policies, Japan and the US can convince China of what is best to make it a prosperous and respectable partner of the world. A strong Japan and a strong Japan-US alliance, which can exercise mighty smart power, is what we need most for the future of Asia.

Robert Feldman commented that the global imbalance problem is basically a question of compatible growth strategies. China and Japan have taken export-oriented growth strategies. For these strategies to work, there must be an importer, who at the moment is the US. The real problem is that a relationship of buyer and seller has deteriorated into a relationship of bartender (with excess capacity) and drunk (with excess consumption). While the current disruption is unfortunate, the end of the bartender/drunken relationship is good for the world and good for capital allocation. The global disruption of the financial services industry happened not because of the failure of any single part of the system, but rather because the incentives for each part of the system were incompatible. The key issue for regulatory redesign is how to ensure that incentives for all players lead to an outcome that is rational for all. On the world monetary system, so long as there is only one currency that can be the key currency, the country issuing that currency has an incentive to abuse the privilege. We must redesign our international monetary system to eliminate this threat. On protectionism, in the wake of a global collapse, we have seen remarkably little protectionism. The world is so integrated that protectionist forces are no longer dominant in any country. That said, eternal vigilance is the price of not only freedom but also prosperity.

Feldman added that the term "US-Japan relations" comes from a more bilateral era. We need a more multidimensional approach that goes beyond the triangular vision of Japan, China and the US. The phrase for today is "US-Japan partnership", which extends to all global issues. The US and Japan can cooperate much more actively in areas like energy, food, and medical technology, and help raise productivity for everyone. If we can work together, and export machinery and technology to help the people of China, India, the Middle East, Africa and all other countries raise their standards of living, then we should not worry too much about which borders the goods and services cross.

A question was asked about the possibility of an EPA (economic partnership agreement) between the US and Japan. Gyohten had no doubts about the benefits that would accrue from an EPA, provided that it did not create any additional barriers to non-members. It is more practical and easier to reach an agreement between two than three, four or five. Yet, we should aim ultimately at a more broad based arrangement. On how the G7 process may be reformed, Gyohten felt that the G7 has lost much of its clout with the emergence of new players including BRICs and oil-exporting countries, who want increasingly to share responsibilities. Instead of trying to explore more opportunities by picking different numbers, we should be satisfied with the current layers of global consultation given the respective roles of the G7 and the G20, so long as there is recognition of the need and willingness for broader responsibilities by a number of countries. On ASEAN+3, Gyohten recognized that it has played a significant role in the integration of Asian economies, and, with respect to possible US involvement, felt that Asian countries will not deny the important role of the US in Asian affairs and thus there is no need for the US to be involved in each and every Asian forum to ensure its positions are represented. Feldman added that a good model to follow is that of the Benelux countries in Europe.

Asked about the possible disconnect between the political/security aspects and the economic aspects of the Japan-US relationship as Japan's economic ties with Asia, especially China, become increasingly closer than those with the US, Gyohten felt that, given that what is produced in Asia is ultimately exported to the US, it is unlikely that the imbalance between the political and security ties and the economic ties will result in heightened tension. In the coming decades, the balance between the US and Japan will shift towards Asia. The US will not remain the dominant partner for Japan, but it will remain the most important partner. On Europe and Japan, Gyohten noted that the relationship has not been as strong as many would have wished. During the postwar period, Japan was firmly entrenched with the US and once Asian considerations were taken into account, there was not much room for Europe. Yet, both Japan and Europe are responsible for the lack of closeness, and mutual efforts are necessary.

On the question of the increasing role of US government raised in conjunction with the decision to rescue automobile companies, Feldman mentioned the practical necessity given the repercussions of a bankruptcy extending far beyond the company in question, as well as the distinct lack of support in Congress for such US businesses. Noting the shift of excessive debt from the private sector to the public sector, Gyohten said that how to solve this problem is a huge problem for the world. Feldman felt that the way to reduce public debt is to expand the GDP through higher productivity.

Session III: Looking Forward

The US-Japan relations over the past 40 or 50 years is a resounding soft power success story, in which Americans, confronted with a country that even now seems very different from them, have developed a whole cluster of extremely positive images of Japan, i.e. a dependable friend and ally, a great tradition and culture, a strong economy and high technology achievement, a peaceful country, a creative pop culture, and a Western and democratic country. Thanks to the efforts of Japanese leadership, American leadership, Japanese private corporations, US foundations and individual philanthropists, and civil society organizations in Japan and the US, the past 40-50 years have been a bubbling pot of institutional innovation that has brought the US and Japan closer together. Today, we need not only to maintain the old infrastructure, but to build new kinds as well. In this light, some key issues were addressed.

Student and youth exchanges are of vital importance, because spending time together is the key to developing the mindset to understand others. However, perhaps as a sign of Japan's insularity, there has been a sharp decrease in the number of Japanese students going to America for study abroad (undergraduate and graduate) from 45,000 in 2000 to 36,000 in the last few years. Applications to the American Field Service for high school students have also decreased rapidly. A possible reason for all this may be the advance of the Internet, which has made it possible to collect information at the same time as it would be made available in the US or other places, and has affected the need to go abroad. As examples for efforts to ameliorate the situation, the Asia Youth Program, under which Asian youths get together in Okinawa for one month, and the program starting this year to enable, within the next five years, 10 percent of undergraduates at 30 leading universities in Japan have to go abroad in

exchange for students coming here, were mentioned. Further, there are few opportunities for internships by American students in Japan, and it may be necessary for the faculty at home institutions to make overtures to host countries for internship opportunities.

Japanese art is under-represented in the US because of mismatches arising from (1) pre-modern Japanese ideas of display that do not fit well with the Western concept of the public museum (2) modern Japan's tendency to protect works of art already within its borders, while the US has been an energetic acquirer of art from outside its borders, (3) a growing disinclination in Japan to accept that all loans involve some risk, resulting in extremely restrictive and expensive regulations regarding the overseas display of Japanese artworks (4) Japan's unusually secretive art market, which makes it difficult for outsiders to get direct access to collections without official intervention (5) Japanese notion of the public trust as the responsibility of government agencies, whereas in the US it is seen mainly as the responsibility of institutions or individuals (6) the consequence of elements (1) through (5), whereby Japanese museums do not play a fully empowered role in international art networks. These 6 mismatches need to be addressed if Japan is to maintain and extend its presence in the global art village. Released abroad, temporarily or permanently, Japanese masterpieces are marvelous cultural ambassadors and will promote name awareness of Japan's greatest artists.

Among performing arts, US and Japan theater exchange is limited to a narrow range of fields and collaborative interchanges are also limited. Collaboration has to embrace a broader and deeper understanding of theater as well as to take a more integrated approach. Both nations' perspectives need to be explored in the performing arts so as to investigate life as it exists now and how it existed in the 20th century in order to embrace subjects that have a critical impact on both Japan and the US. The International Drama Institute at the University of Southern California will focus on Pacific Rim drama. Likeminded institutes could also be established at other universities and organizations. The popularity of Japanese films such as the Academy Award winning film *Departures* is not very high in the US. What should be done is to take advantage of opportunities to market the films and events surrounding the film with the participation of the actual filmmakers involved.

Increasingly compartmentalized American studies in Japan have resulted in a fragmentary understanding of America, and a conscious effort is called for toward a holistic understanding of the US on the Japanese side. There is also a need for a platform to share understanding and compare notes with practitioners in politics, business, media, think tanks and civil society. In education there is a need to reach out to the students who are not majoring in American studies.

In the US, there is a tremendous increase of students' interest in Asia, but resources are being shifted to China studies. It is absolutely necessary to have the Japanese experience integrated into relevant courses and also specialized courses. With the rise of China, it should be the case that Japan gains more recognition as an area to study given the relationship and close proximity of the two countries. The generations who try to understand Japan not as "Japanologists" but as a part of their own specialized

studies are now in the mainstream. In nurturing "Chinichi-ha" (Japan experts), there is no need to limit the scope to narrowly defined "Japanologists." It is more realistic to ensure adequate input on "Japan" to those whose expertise lies in other policy and geographical areas. More contact among researchers who study Japan in the US and researchers in the US who study Japan is desirable. In California there was a decline in enrolment in Japanese language classes, losing out to Mandarin Chinese.

National interests of Japan and the US and international interests overlap on such issues as nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation, aid to poverty-stricken countries, stability of the East Asian region, dealing with global warming, development of renewable energy sources, and prevention of infectious diseases. This gives rise to new soft power resources for Japan, which may be called "The Other Cool Japan", such as Japan's experience and commitments in energy saving as a country scarcely endowed with energy resources, or in recycling, public health and environment, peace building and reconstruction. Good examples in this regard are the US-Japan dialogue project for post-disaster reconstruction in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, and the pottery culture revival assistance program for the reconstruction of Afghanistan, both conducted by the Japan Foundation, and the Japanese Foreign Ministry's invitation program for Iraqi leaders and politicians to participate in the Seminar on National Reconstruction of Iraq.

Around the world, civil society organizations are exploding. They play a crucial role in "framing", a mental construct that reorganizes our comprehension of events. Yet, there is a profound regional bias. European civil society organizations are large and strong whereas Japanese civil society organizations are relatively small and weak. Japanese voices compared to other civil society groups are weak. For Japanese views to be represented, it is necessary to streamline laws for non-profit organizations, increase tax breaks for such organizations, and work to create a more flexible labor market so some people can move back and forth between private sector and non-profit organizations.

The US-Japan relationship can be broadened and deepened by expanding "soft power cooperation" on global issues. To bring this about, it is essential that Japan develop civil society organizations with stronger professional staff and expertise that can make contributions on major global issues. Japan's funding for intellectual exchange with the US, in particular should be brought back to the level of 20 years ago, at least. The decline in funding in Japan and lack of political leadership is deplorable. To construct the nongovernmental underpinnings for new patterns of international relations in which "soft power" carries more weight, not only civil society organizations but corporations, professional organizations, and individuals should make greater contributions. Civil society organizations in Japan have immense difficulties, lacking the institutional base, professional staff members, and connections to work on global issues. They should receive substantial and stable funding from the Japanese government, corporations, private foundations, and individuals, though it is essential for them to maintain an autonomous system of governance as much as possible.

More active involvement of CULCON was called for. The government's budget for Japan-US exchanges is shrinking year to year. Political exchanges are also not adequately funded. CULCON could be more active in making appeals to the government and become more action-oriented. Improving the international communication capacity of the young is an important issue for education, which maybe taken up in the CULCON Subcommittee on EPA. CULCON should also take up the question of what the Japanese government should do to improve the under-representation of Japanese art in the US. There is also the fact that there is no wholehearted participation on the Japanese side in what are supranational networks, such as the British Museum or the Met. If there was more independence, there would be a greater pace of development and greater degree of involvement and engagement.

The importance of international broadcasting by NHK, preferably with non-Japanese involvement in the program selection, and the need to make a conscious effort to recruit more women into senior posts were also mentioned.

Concluding Session

1. The review of each of the previous sessions by their respective moderators was followed by questions and answers. There emerged the following points of salience:

- (1) The definition of soft power remains ambiguous, but the common denominator seems to be whatever is not hard power (military power, coercive economic power) and assets that have the potential to develop into soft power.
- (2) Each country should be using soft power as a tool to achieve its own national interest.
- (3) For soft assets to develop into soft power that can be exercised, there is a need to set objectives and formulate strategies to back up those objectives.
- (4) While Japan possesses many soft assets, it is not effective in utilizing these assets. Japan has to establish the strategies, leadership and the funding necessary to convert soft assets into soft power. Japan may also think about establishing its own national brand.
- (5) It is hoped that Japan will take a more proactive stance. The inward-looking tendency of the Japanese, especially among the young, is a cause for serious concern.
- (6) Japan should think about its own constraints on exercising soft power, including the issue of history in its relationship with its Asian neighbors.
- (7) For Japan-US soft power cooperation, there is a need to coordinate our overall strategic approach at the highest level.
- (8) In addition to climate change, public health or pandemics etc., development assistance, including the role of NGOs, is high on the global agenda.
- (9) The shocking decrease of the public diplomacy budget in Japan should be rectified soon. CULCON should continue to encourage politicians, businesses and NGOs to make greater efforts in this regard.
- (10) We should draw on the useful suggestions that, as the Chinese economy would not only recover but be stronger than other countries in the region, we should use our soft power to be a mentor of China.

- (11) As suggested, we should move beyond the age of bilateral Japan-US relationship to a broader Japan-US partnership.
- (12) Based on the discussions in this seminar, the five Subcommittees of CULCON will continue their respective work. CULCON also wishes to start a website to absorb the views and comments of those interested.

2. Kazuo Ogoura, President, The Japan Foundation, concluded the session by expressing his appreciation to CULCON Japan Chair Makihara and other panellists and participants and thanked His Imperial Highness, the Crown Prince for his attendance. He noted that, as implied by the saying "The strong walk softly", one needs to think about how the recipient of soft power feels. There seem to be, at present, two parallel trends or currents discernible in Japan-US relations. One is the trend that has been steadily evolving over the years, that is, the further intensification of mutual ties. The other is the sharp decline in parliamentary, student and other exchanges, at least in quantitative terms. In fact, these two trends may represent two sides of the same coin. This state of affairs indicates that the Japan-US relationship has become global in nature, and has to be considered in both quantitative and qualitative terms. It used to be the case that intellectual leaders or policy makers or opinion leaders played a large part in shaping Japan-US relations and mutual policies. Today, citizens as well as businesses play an important part, not only in grassroots and commercial exchanges but also in intellectual and cultural exchanges as well. We also have to take into consideration the economic and social difficulties which the world is now confronted with. Under the present circumstances, many governments, local authorities and businesses tend to give priority to measures that stabilize the financial market, stimulate economies and improve social inequalities. Any change or reform of a society, however, can be meaningful, only if there remains a core or essence which remains unchanged. This implies that we should not forget, in the process of reform and change, the importance of cultural and educational activities. Unfortunately, however, these activities are not necessarily given political or economic priority at the time of socio-economic difficulties or hardships. Therefore, the task before us is to keep reminding the policy makers, business communities and the social leaders of the importance of the long-term significance of cultural and intellectual exchanges in an international dimension. That is why CULCON and Fulbright are so important.

3. US CULCON Chair Thierry Porté closed the symposium. He thanked all for their participation and hard work and expressed his gratitude for all the organizers and supporters of the symposium. The Japan and US CULCON panels are committed to using these discussions and dialogues to seek action and response by both the public and private sectors. There are subcommittees preparing reports and looking for opportunities for concrete action. These subcommittees are grassroots and JET exchanges, think tanks and university networks, arts and cultural exchanges, education for sustainable development and the economic partnership agreement.

The efforts of the day's symposium will be used to refine thinking and to develop concrete action plans and recommendations for the governments and private sectors in Japan and the US. CULCON, fortified by the results of the symposium, now looks forward to its plenary session next year in Washington, DC in the first week of May.

In closing, to adopt Prof. Pharr's metaphor: There is a considerable soft power infrastructure, a highway of sorts running in both directions between Japan and the US. It has a long history and is certainly well paved. However, it must be maintained and, more importantly, it needs renewal. New roads must be built in new directions in the future. Today's symposium represents an important milestone in that process.