

## 76 Rethinking Japan's Principle on Weapons Exports

by Morimoto Masamitsu (Keio University)

While the Japanese government, in accordance with the spirit of the post-war Constitution, forbids export of weapons from its shores, yet this policy may in fact lack a sound strategic foundation. The time for clearer thinking firmly based on the current Japanese legal framework may have arrived.

## 80 What the Palestinians will gain from UN Membership - the National Authority's Strategy of "Conflict Internationalization"

by Funatsu Yasushi (Kyodo News)

A paralyzed United States, the hardline policies of Israel and the unbridgeable distance with Hamas have forced the hands of President Abbas, who has been in pursuit of peace, to seek the Palestinian National Authority's membership of the United Nations. Abbas is well aware that the move will not produce an independent Palestinian state, but he nevertheless cast the die in a desperate attempt, using the support of the Palestinian population and the International Community as leverage, to change the rules of the game imposed by the US and Israel.

## 86 Interview Operation Tomodachi, the Futenma Question and the Tasks facing the US - Japan Alliance

by Kevin Maher (former Under Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs)

The US-Japan Alliance is currently under strain caused by various issues including the Futenma question, yet has demonstrated its firmness through the cooperation between the two militaries in "Operation Tomodachi". Naturally, the success of "Tomodachi" did not come naturally or by accident, but as a culmination of decades of cooperation and trust building by the two nations. Maher, a diplomat who has been at the forefront in US-Japan relations, offers the American viewpoint on what makes an alliance not only survive through the years but remain effective as well.

### Focus

## Exchanges and Movements — What is the Nature of Japan's "Attractiveness"?

## 94 Interview "Strike while the Iron is Hot - What I learnt from Studying in the US"

Makihara Minoru (Special Advisor, Mitsubishi Corporation)

Mr. Makihara, who has long been regarded as corporate Japan's Ambassador to the United States, discusses the important of real friendship in building transnational ties through his reminiscence of his student days in St. Paul School and Harvard University.

## 98 Japanese Universities' Slow Global Opening

discussion by Honma Masao (Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University) and Inoue Hiroshi (Keidanren/Japan Business Federation) resources of a nation that is going through such transformation, should be actively accepting international students and sending abroad Japanese students, yet the result has so far been limited. To clarify the cause, experts from the academic and business worlds bring their insights together in this piece.

## 105 The meaning of "Globalization" for Japanese Higher Education

by Ishii Yojiro (University of Tokyo)

## 106 Keeping Alive the "Manjiro Spirit"

by David P. Janese (United States-Japan Foundation)

Inter-State relations is, in the end, the agglomeration of individual ties and friendships. US-Japan relations, which tends to be discussed in the context of national security and the economy, is no exception, and the military alliance and the strong and deep economic ties actually rests on a dense network of grassroots exchanges.

## 114 Re-Thinking Japanese Labor Regulations Why the Stall in the Introduction of Guest Worker Nurses?

by Okamoto Mineko (Asahi Shimbun)

Many of the young Filipinos and Indonesians who came to Japan seeking to obtain a certificate to become nurses and caretaker of the elderly, thereby getting the opportunity to work in Japan, have left in despair. This essay points to the fact that without an improvement in labor conditions, foreign workers in the nursing and caring fields are unlikely to increase in number.

## 122 Third Country Settlement Program for Burmese Refugees - the Key to Success Lies in the

Building of Ties with the Local Communities

by Ishii Hiroaki (Japan Association for Refugees)

The Third Country Settlement Program for Burmese Refugees is the new attempt by Japan, which has hitherto been seen as reluctant to accept refugees. For the refugees to blend in and establish a stable life in Japan's alien environment, increased involvement by a larger number of local actors is indispensable.

Special Feature:

# China after the “Harmonious Society”

- 13 Nationalism, or the Logic of Military Organization? De-cyphering China’s Maritime Expansion**  
by Takahara Akio (University of Tokyo)  
The steady expansion of Chinese naval forces in the surrounding seas is causing alarm in China’s East and Southeast Asian neighbors. Can China fit into the prevailing rules and norms of the international community? The article explores the motive of China’s naval moves through an analysis of the background to its actions.
- 19 The “Great Wall” of Vested Interests - How the CCP Blocks Reforms**  
Discussion by Miyamoto Yuji (Former Ambassador to the PRC) Amako Satoshi (Waseda University) Kajitani Kai (Kobe University) Sato Masaru (Nikkei)  
The participants discuss the causes of the apparent failure of Hu Chintao’s promise of delivering a “Harmonious Society”, in which growth in inequality is checked and a more equitable and harmonious economic development takes place, to the Chinese people. Light is shed on the strength of the vested interests in the one-party state, and thought is given to the possibility of the transformation of the Chinese political landscape.
- 32 Reading the Tea Leaves - Who will become the Standing Committee Members of the CCP Politburo?**  
by Inagaki Kiyoshi (Mitsubishi UFJ Securities)  
The CCP is set to introduce a new generation of its leaders in the National Congress of the CCP, scheduled to be held in Autumn 2012. The article aims at predicting the new members of the standing committee of the CCP politburo, which will be responsible for the fate of the most populous nation on earth for the next decade, which is almost certain to become a difficult phase in Chinese social, political and economic development.
- 39 Reflections on the People’s Liberation Army**  
by Anami Yusuke (Tohoku University)  
The rapidity with which the People’s Liberation Army is modernizing and strengthening itself has led analysts and pundits to form a grand “hegemony shift” scenario. This article analyses PLA expansion from the viewpoint of it being an “Army of the Party”, and, through a detached assessment of its capabilities, refutes the arguments that exaggerate China’s military threat.
- 46 The Maturing of Chinese UN PKO Activities**  
by Hirono Miwa (University of Nottingham)  
While there is much comment on the threat that the Chinese military machine poses on the international order, relatively little is known about Chinese participation in UN Peace Keeping Operations. The article reports on China’s ongoing search for its proper role as an emergent superpower through the UN PKO efforts, and enumerates the hurdles that remain to be cleared.
- 50 Japan and China - Mutually Held Perceptions As Gauged Through Survey Data**  
by Sonoda Shigeto (Tokyo University)  
Japanese and Chinese public opinion have shifted wildly through the 4 decades since the normalization of the relationship between the two countries, according to the political winds of the times. Yet the long-term data may offer a different picture, one more of continuity and gradual change in the consciousness of the populations of the two Asian powers.
- 54 Can China Really Become the Engine of Global Economic Growth?**  
by Tsugami Toshiya (Tsugami Workshop)  
The so-called advanced nations appear to have entered an irreversible phase of economic decline, a development which has raised the international community’s expectation towards China’s potential, both as a producer of industrial goods and an export destination. Tsugami, a renowned expert on Northeast Asia, demystifies Chinese economic might and makes a sober assessment about its capacity to become the world’s “engine of growth”.
- 60 The Pragmatism of Taiwan’s China Strategy**  
by Nojima Tsuyoshi (Asahi Shimbun)  
Taiwanese President Ma Ying-Jeou’s strategy towards China is a pragmatic one, which could be summarized in the Chinese proverb “solve the simple problems first and leave more difficult one for later”. Synchronizing with the change of Chinese policy towards Taiwan, the Ma administration has wisely won practical gains for Taiwan and is gradually constructing a new national identity for the island nation.