International Policy Institutions Around the Pacific Rim

compiled by
Ramón Bahamonde
with a preface by
Abraham F. Lowenthal
and an introduction by
Charles E. Morrison

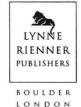
A Directory of
Resources in
East Asia, Australasia,
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International Policy Institutions

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Preface

Abraham F. Lowenthal

I am pleased to present one of the first publications of the new Pacific Council on International Policy: this unique directory of Pacific Rim institutions on international policy, profiling in concise detail some 289 institutions around the Pacific Basin that are key resources for understanding political, economic, and social issues in this vast region, and that are particularly relevant to international policy concerns.

The Pacific Council on International Policy, founded in 1995, is one such institution. It has been launched in the conviction that leaders in many sectors cannot remain provincial when economic, social, demographic, political, technological, and cultural issues are so relentlessly global. Established in cooperation with the Council on Foreign Relations (New York) and based in Los Angeles, the Pacific Council is grounded in the western region of the United States, where international policy institutions have been lacking, even though international ties—particularly with Asia, Latin America, and Canada—have been burgeoning. The Pacific Council seeks to help leaders from many sectors in the U.S. West—in business, labor, politics, government, nongovernmental organizations, academia, and the media—to improve their own understanding of key global trends, network more effectively with counterpart institutions, and contribute to illuminating and resolving shared policy concerns.

As part of pursuing this ambitious mission, we at the Pacific Council sought to inform ourselves about other organizations in the western region of the United States and around the Pacific Rim that are relevant to our mission. We found, however, that it is not easy to identify which institutions are relevant nor to obtain much information about their aims, activities, constituencies, and products, precisely because such institutions have been proliferating in recent years. Because the very notion of the Pacific Rim has been more of a mental construct than a political reality, no comprehensive source of information exists about the range of institutions with which we hope to build connections.

That is the origin and purpose of this directory. We do not claim to have compiled a fully comprehensive guide—and indeed we invite submission of additional profiles to be included in an updated and more complete edition. We are particularly conscious that we have not covered Southeast Asia and Oceania in as much depth as other regions and we aim to do better next time. Nevertheless, we believe that this publication is the most complete, accurate, and informative source available in any language to introduce interested parties to the international policy networks and institutions around the Pacific Rim.

Rather than extend my remarks about these institutions in general, we have invited Charles E. Morrison, director of the U.S. Consortium of APEC Study Centers and an experienced Pacific Rim policy analyst, to provide a substantive introduction, commenting on the rise of international policy institutions around the Pacific Rim and on their current and potential significance. I invite the attention of readers to this thoughtful, well informed, and stimulating essay, itself a contribution to the building of policy networks.

It remains for me to express the Pacific Council's appreciation to a number of individuals and institutions without which this project could

not have been completed. Ramón Bahamonde played the major coordinating and drafting role on the project, and he is appropriately credited as the book's author. Mr. Bahamonde managed a complex information-gathering, analytical, and drafting process with intelligence, skill, diplomatic tact, and perseverance.

Many others assisted at various stages with the collection of data and rewriting, checking, and editing the profiles: Andrew Oros, now a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University; David Hsu, now a Ph.D. candidate at MIT's Sloan School of Management; Mika Chambers, a graduate of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government; graduate students at the University of Southern California's School of International Relations, including Albert Cimadamore, Heather Day, Feng Xu, and especially Mohammed Hafez, who supervised the final stages of the publication process; Timothy Nelson of the Pacific Council's staff; and Linda C. Lowenthal, who edited most of the profiles.

Paul Irwin and his colleagues at the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada took the leading role in preparing the profiles on Canadian institutions, and Manfred Wilhelmy and Marcela Ugalde of the Fundación Chilena del Pacífico in Chile played a similar role in developing profiles for institutes in that country.

A large number of colleagues in many countries were consulted in the process of identifying the organizations that should be included. I will not list them all here, but we thank all who helped us prepare the directory.

Special mention should be made of the important role of the Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE), led by Mr. Tadashi Yamamoto, in building Asian networks of policy institutions and compiling useful background information on many centers. We are grateful to JCIE, and to Mr. Yamamoto and Mr. Makito Noda personally, for sharing important materials with us and providing useful advice and encouragement.

Finally, we express our appreciation to those who have contributed the resources necessary to prepare and distribute this directory. We received specific grants for this project from the Ford Foundation and from the Freeman Foundation, and we also drew upon general support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York; for distribution costs, we rely on support made available especially for this purpose by the Bank of Montreal, Coutts & Co., The Japan Times, and Payden & Rygel.

I have personally enjoyed and learned a great deal from this project, which should enable the Pacific Council to facilitate transnational communication around the Pacific Rim. I hope and believe that it will be immensely helpful to others.

Acknowledgments

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The Japan Times

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Introduction: The Rise of International Policy Institutions

Charles E. Morrison

This directory of *International Policy Institutions Around the Pacific Rim* has been developed in the belief that there is a significant need for a guide to the rich nongovernmental organizational resources on both sides of the Pacific Ocean on issues of international economics, politics, and society. Two important assumptions underlie this effort. First, the organizations we call international policy institutions already have a vital impact on the region's international relations, and this impact will continue to grow, with global implications. Second, the highly dynamic and private sector—led integrative processes around the Pacific Rim will continue to throw up new challenges and opportunities for the societies of the region. Effective collaboration among the international policy institutions of this region is essential in order to identify these trends, challenges, and opportunities; analyze them well; and suggest practical public policy responses.

THE EXPANDING ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTIONS

International policy institutions are a new phenomenon in international relations. They are a very diverse group, but have some common features. All are concerned with issues of policy import in the region's international relations; all seek to promote greater international understanding and awareness of the issues they deal with; all are open to various forms of international collaboration; and all stand outside the administrative structure of governments. Collectively they embody a gold mine of intellectual resources that can be addressed to the principal international challenges facing the region.

As individual institutions, however, they vary widely. Some have large inhouse research or educational programs, while others are brokers or network organizations, drawing upon talent from many other institutions. Some emphasize advanced research, while others mainly promote policy dialogue or public understanding of policy issues. Some specialize in a region, a part of a region, or on a topical area such as the environment, and others are broadly focused. Some are engaged in public advocacy, while others seek to be neutral brokers, fostering debate without taking an institutional position. Some are associated with larger organizations, such as universities, while others are independent.

Despite or because of this diversity, international policy institutions are increasingly significant and dynamic actors in the international relations of the Pacific Rim. The growth in the number of such institutions is associated with the great forces reshaping international society in general, but especially that of the Pacific. These include the rapid economic growth rates; the dramatically increased international movements of goods, capital, and people; the globalization of business organization and activity; the democratization and pluralization of domestic societies; and the revolution in transport and communications.

These forces are creating a more complex, robust international civil society. In the process they are establishing new and indispensable roles for nongovern-

mental policy institutions. Many governments traditionally regarded foreign policy as the special and almost exclusive province of the bureaucracy and a small elite closely connected with but formally outside the government. Today's new issues, however, require a breadth and flexibility that is all but impossible for bureaucracies to achieve. Moreover, as local communities are intimately connected with and affected by international society, the multiple forms of engagement cannot possibly be carried out through governmental mechanisms alone, much less through foreign ministries.

Governments increasingly recognize the value of nongovernmental policy organizations as sources of analysis and innovative policy ideas, as well as links with the private sector, local communities, and intellectual talent abroad. Even those East Asian governments most reluctant to engage genuinely private institutions in matters of public policy concern have established government-sponsored policy institutions outside the formal ambit of the government administrative bureaucracy, expressly to promote more flexible thinking and to engage in the collaborative exploration of international policy issues with counterparts from abroad.

The main functions of international policy institutes can be summed up as follows:

- They provide venues away from the day-to-day working environment for the
 development of more creative and long-term policy strategies. International
 policy institutes may do contract work for government agencies. More often,
 however, they may engage in "track two" projects that seek to establish new
 policy directions.
- They serve as avenues in which private citizens can influence public policy-making through the development of policy ideas or through policy advocacy.
 Policy institutes are frequently a bridge between local communities and national governments or international agencies.
- Virtually all policy institutes are engaged in public education of one form or another. Their efforts frequently take a different form than the foreign policy statements provided by government, in that many policy institutes encourage debate among competing perspectives rather than disseminate information on policies that have been already decided upon by government.

There is no more striking example of the increased role of nongovernmental institutions in the Pacific Rim than the notion of a "Pacific Community" and the establishment of intergovernmental institutions to promote that community. The idea that the nations around the Pacific Rim might have common interests and could derive benefit from international cooperation was first suggested only about thirty years ago. It continued to percolate among committed individuals in nongovernmental networks for years before becoming acceptable to governments. Thus, both the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) process and its counterpart security dialogue, the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), owe their genesis to proposals emerging from networks of international policy institutions. Several institutions, the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, the Pacific Basin Economic Council, and the PAFTAD (Pacific Free Trade and Development) group of economists share credit for APEC, while the ASEAN Institutes for Strategic and International Studies originated the ARF proposal. Not coincidentally, APEC and ARF discussions are mirrored by parallel "track two" processes sponsored by networks of private, nonprofit organizations and designed to filter ideas into government or intergovernmental tracks. As a result, a close and relatively symbiotic relationship has developed between governmental and nongovernmental processes in the development of multilateral political and economic cooperation in the Pacific.

THE WESTWARD EXPANSION OF POLICY INSTITUTIONS

Had we mapped international policy institutions sixty years ago, we would have found a few isolated dots mainly placed in the great political and commercial capitals of the Western industrial world. The first wave of private institution-building took place in the early part of the twentieth century in anticipation of or following World War I. The Council on Foreign Relations, the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, and the Foreign Policy Association, all in the United States, as well as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) belong to this generation. It was natural that these institutions, mainly although not exclusively focused on issues of war and peace, should be located in the major cities of the Western world and concerned primarily with intra-European and transatlantic relations.

A map of thirty years ago would show many more institutions. The Great Depression, World War II, the Cold War, and the development challenges in the newly independent countries of the "South" provided the stimuli for a second, more robust wave of institution-building. These new institutions, however, were still clustered in the major capitals of the Western world. The networks among them connected these capitals with a stray line or two going off in the direction of Japan or perhaps Brazil. By the 1970s, Japan had emerged as the second largest economy in the noncommunist world, but nonprofit, private, policy-oriented institutions remained remarkably underdeveloped there.

In the past ten to fifteen years, the empty areas of the map have been rapidly filled in. Institution-building is occurring at a dramatic pace outside Western Europe and North America. As this directory shows, virtually every country in the Pacific Rim region has established at least one major center focused on international economic policy and another on politics and security. The larger institutions usually have governmental or university affiliations. Moreover, in many countries dozens of other organizations have been created, often to deal with more specialized topics and frequently with precarious financial and limited human resources. Although the growth of international policy institutes outside the Western world is impressive compared with the past, truly independent institutions find their resources stretched very thinly indeed, sharply limiting their ability to engage in meaningful collaborative activities with developed country counterparts. In many countries, truly independent policy institutions remain chronically underfunded or precariously dependent upon a single, talented individual.

A parallel process is the growing density of policy-oriented institutions outside the capital cities. Increasing lines of collaboration connect them, moreover, with other national and international institutions. The western parts of the United States and Canada are leading the way. Some important international policy research and educational institutions have flourished in the North American West for decades, such as RAND, the Hoover Institution, and the area studies and foreign policy centers associated with the great public and private universities along the Pacific Coast from Vancouver to San Diego. Western North America was also the natural host for U.S. and Canadian government programs devoted to developing their links with Asia. These have included the Asia Foundation and the East-West Center, both created by the U.S. government, and the newer Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.

In recent years, there has been a proliferation of new institutions in the North American West, some engaged in advanced research at university institutes or think-tanks, others principally devoted to public education, and still others working with particular communities or specialized issue areas. This explosion reflects the region's awareness that global issues are vital to its economy and society, and the desire for the region's people to play a more effective role in their governments' foreign policies.

THE NEED FOR A SURVEY

Both these trends—the institutional explosion in developing Pacific Rim countries and its counterpart in the North American West—underscore the tremendous potential for increasing networking and collaboration among the new international policy networks. This is particularly true of the contacts among institutions in developing Latin America and developing Asia.

The directory's origins lie in the desire of the newly created Pacific Council on International Policy to identify counterparts and potential collaborators. The Pacific Council discovered that, despite the many policy institutes and policy-oriented projects and activities existing in the region, no one had attempted to map them. The Japan Center for International Exchange (JCIE) had probably done the most extensive survey work, initially collaborating with Japan's National Institute for Research Advancement to monitor think-tank activities in Europe and North America. More recently JCIE prepared an extensive overview of emerging civil society in Asia and the Pacific, including the development of international policy institutions, and it is now expanding upon its previous institutional surveys to include developing Asia and Oceania. This directory has drawn extensively on JCIE's work.

The Pacific Council has also benefited from a number of other pioneering efforts to monitor the intellectual resources of the region. The Seattle-based National Bureau of Asian Research publishes *AccessAsia*, which includes profiles of many individual scholars working on Asia and the Pacific. The London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies provides a listing of security-oriented organizations in the region and the world.

Other more specialized directories exist. But there is no other general survey of the international policy institutes of Asia, Australasia, North America, and Latin America. Identifying these institutions, making judgments about which to include, and acquiring the needed information is no simple task. We can only regard the directory as a work in progress, and surely it will always be a work in progress as civil society continues to grow more robust and more globalized. We hope, however, that the directory will be an indispensable first point of reference for individuals and organizations seeking to tap into the vast knowledge base of the Pacific Rim.

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