



Summary of a Roundtable Discussion **“China-Japan Relations and the Impact of International Education”¹**

Sophia Institute of International Relations
Thursday, May 16, 2019, 6:30-9:00 p.m.

The Roundtable Discussion “**China-Japan Relations and the Impact of International Education**” was held based on the proposal from the Schwartzman Scholars Program (SSP). The SSP’s purpose in holding this event was to raise awareness in Japan about the Schwarzman Scholarship, which provides the opportunity for international students to study at Schwarzman College located at Tsinghua University in China. Schwarzman Scholarship was established by the donation from Mr. Stephen Schwarzman, an American businessman who is the co-founder, President, and CEO of the Blackstone Group. Schwarzman College is an exclusive, well-attended campus inside the campus of the Tsinghua University. The SIIR decided to host this event, as the proposed event provided an interesting opportunity to discuss problems concerning international educational exchange with China, both historically, and with respect to the current situation.

There were nineteen participants: **Jessica Loh** (Schwarzman Scholars Program), **Tadashi Anno** (Director, Sophia Institute of International Relations), **Nancy Snow** (Professor, Kyoto University of Foreign Studies / Walt Disney Chair, Schwarzman College–Tsinghua University), **Randall Nadeau** (Professor, Trinity University), **Harry Kosato** (Japanese businessman), **Atsuyuki Fujinuma** (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan), **Nobuko Sasae** (international conference interpreter), **Hideko Sumita** (Director, Global Engagement Office, Keio University), **Obi Shinnosuke** (Professor, Keio University), **Wrenn Yennie Lindgren** (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs), **Achim Alan Merlo**, (Ph.D. Candidate, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva), **Yasemin Soysal** (Professor, University of Essex), **Linda Grove** (Social Science Research Council, Harvard-Yenching Institute), **David Wank** (Dean, Graduate School of Global Studies, Sophia University), **Hideki Yonekawa** (Vice President, Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO)), **Ryo Sahashi** (Professor, University of Tokyo), **Sophia University Master’s Student, Naomi Inoue** (Professor, Graduate School of Global Environmental Studies,

¹ This summary was composed by Ms. Ji-Young Moon, a doctoral student at the Sophia University’s Graduate Program in Global Studies, and was revised by Tadashi Anno (SIIR). The SIIR thanks Ms. Moon for the summary, but the SIIR is solely responsible for any inaccuracies in it.

Sophia University/ a former official at Japan's Ministry of Environment), and **Annette Bradford** (Sophia University, Beijing University).

Following some brief introductory remarks by Professor Tadashi Anno, the main portion of the event included two panels, which addressed issues related to international exchange programs and were called: (1) **Educational Diplomacy—Higher Education & Exchange with China**; and (2) **Impact of International Education—Challenges, Opportunities, and Looking Forward**.

Panel 1: Education Diplomacy—Higher Education & Exchange with China

In the first panel, three speakers (Linda Grove, David Wank, and Atsuyuki Fujinuma) were invited to share their perspectives on educational exchange programs with China.

Short Summary:

Professor Linda Grove gave a brief history of the development of U.S.-China educational exchange, as well as that of Sophia University and Tsinghua University's exchange program, and noted that a recurring issue that American academics and students, as well as their Chinese counterparts, faced was the Chinese government's restrictive regulations governing access to historical archives and local communities in China. But, due to the long history of educational exchange and technological advancements which have enabled American and Chinese colleagues to consult with each other anywhere around the world, Professor Grove remained optimistic about the future of educational exchange.

Professor David Wank gave an overview of the development of modern U.S.-China relations, in which the first stage of U.S.-China relations was marked by the U.S. hope of using educational exchange to transform China's political-economic system into a more pro-Western democratic-capitalistic system. By contrast, the second stage of U.S.-China relations made clear that China had its own vision of modernization and was utilizing educational exchange to enforce Chinese political objectives upon other nations. Thus, Professor Wank expressed concern about the political and ethical ramifications of participating in educational exchanges with China, which monitored both Chinese students in the U.S. and American students in China and punished those whose activities were seen as undermining Chinese political objectives.

Mr. Atsuyuki Fujinuma discussed various reasons why China actually wants closer relations with Japan and other nations in the region, such as wanting to attract Japanese business investments, to emulate Japan's governmental healthcare and environmental policies and technologies, and to have stable regional relations, which would enable China to focus on bilateral relations with the U.S. Mr. Fujinuma then argued that people-to-people exchanges had generated an internal pressure that led to a closer relationship between China and Japan. In particular, the surge in Chinese visitors to Japan had exposed a gap between the Chinese government's teachings about a hostile Japan and the

Chinese public's experiences with a friendly Japan, and these positive people-to-people exchanges meant that the Chinese government could not create a narrative about Japan that did not match the reality that the Chinese public had observed.

Long Summary:

Professor Grove, a part of the first cohort of American students sent to study in China in 1979, explained that the development of educational exchange between the U.S. and China was first pushed by American scientists. In the wake of China's first nuclear test in 1964, curious to know the extent of scientific advancement in China, the American Academy of Sciences, along with the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), established the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China (CSCPRC) in 1966. After President Richard Nixon's trip to China in 1972, the U.S. began to send small groups of academics, cancer specialists, archaeologists, and other scholars while China sent only scientists. Between 1979 to 1996, when the CSCPRC ended, the U.S. sent 700 scholars to China, and China had sent 60,000 to the U.S. Professor Grove then traced the history of China-Japan educational exchanges at Sophia University, which was initiated by Sophia's engineering department. Sophia University and Tsinghua University signed an agreement, which lasted from 1981 to 2001, under which Sophia provided a scholarship that covered tuition and living costs of Chinese students who came to study natural sciences and engineering. During those twenty years, 52 Tsinghua students studied at Sophia University.

Professor Grove continued that academics and students under international educational exchange programs with China faced a two-pronged issue—access, both then and now. Chinese researchers and students want access to cutting-edge research, and many Chinese business students want to make industry contacts that they can utilize upon returning to China. American social science students want access to national archives and to be able to do field work by talking to locals, but their access is strictly regulated by the Chinese government. When Professor Grove, as a student, went to China in the 1970s, American students were required to register with the local police of the city that they were studying in and to carry internal passports that displayed authorization to leave their city and travel to another city. The Chinese government made it so difficult for American students to do research that President Jimmy Carter's science advisor intervened, threatening that the U.S. would revoke Chinese students' access to American science laboratories if China did not allow American students to review Chinese historical archives and to speak with Chinese communities.

Professor Grove noted that for both American and Chinese scholars, access to information ebbs and flows, with some periods of restrictive access and some periods of more open access. Despite the current hostile atmosphere between the U.S. and China, Professor Grove marveled at the

technological transformation of academic life, which has made it possible for American researchers to consult with Chinese counterparts whenever and wherever, and the increased level of interaction with Chinese colleagues. Thus, Professor Grove remained optimistic that things will continue to improve.

Professor Wank has been involved in educational exchange programs with China in various capacities -- as a student studying in Taiwan in the 1970s, as a cultural foreign expert working at a Chinese agricultural college in the 1980s, as a CSCPRC-funded student in the late 1980s, and as a teacher of Chinese students. Based on those experiences, he gave an overview of the development of the U.S.-China relationship. The U.S.-China relationship could be divided into two major stages. From the 1980s to the early 2000s, the U.S. and China engaged with each other based on shared ideas of modernization and development. China sent Chinese students to the U.S. to learn about and bring back Western technology to modernize the Chinese economy. The U.S., seeking to exert soft power over China, hoped that Chinese students who came to the U.S. would be attracted to and influenced by Western ideas about free markets and democracy and would thus transform China's political-economic system into a more Westernized system. Professor Wank relayed that, as a graduate student at Harvard University in the 1980s, many of his Chinese classmates were former Red Guards and sent-down youths who exhibited an idealism that, by studying Max Weber and other Western scholars in the U.S., they could go back and change China. In the 1990s, Professor Wank observed that the kind of Chinese students who came to study in the U.S. had changed—they were younger and interested in studying business.

From the early 2000s to now, the U.S. and China were no longer on the same page, and China had developed its own ideas about modernization and development, which Professor Wank attributed to China's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2001. After joining the WTO, China's economy began to globalize, and China became concerned with projecting power globally as a great power. Chinese leader Xi Jinping made clear that his "Chinese dream" policy was China's vision of the world and not an American or European vision of the world. China, exerting smart power, then began to utilize international educational exchange programs to promote its political goals. China set up Confucius Institutes, which are Chinese language and culture centers, on university campuses around the world, and the Confucius Institutes have worked to block invitations for the Dalai Lama to speak about Tibet and conferences on the treatment of Uighur Muslims in China. China also implemented the thousand talents program in 2008, under which the Chinese government attempted to lure back Chinese expatriates who had studied in the U.S. and gone on to work at top positions at U.S. universities and corporations. The Chinese government offered huge salaries to these Chinese expatriates, mainly those who worked in the hard sciences, and promises of huge amounts of money for them to start their own research institutes at Chinese universities, and many did return to China. Professor Wank pointed out that these Chinese policies

raised a lot of red flags with universities, who saw the Confucius Institutes as censoring academic activities, and the U.S. government, who saw the thousand talents program as stealing U.S. intellectual property. The Chinese government had also begun monitoring Chinese academics and students who were studying at U.S. universities, with Chinese students expressing fear of speaking freely in the U.S. because they did not know what would be heard and reported back to China.

Professor Wank then touched upon the difficulties faced by American academics and students studying at Chinese universities. The Chinese government monitored American academics and students and would harshly punish them for participating in activities that were perceived as undermining Chinese political objectives. For example, Renmin University expelled a Cornell University exchange student who had posted a notice in support of Chinese workers' rights, which led to Cornell ending its exchange program with Renmin. Professor Wank cannot discuss Buddhism with Chinese Buddhist scholars in China because Chinese academics cannot deal with any subject that could lead to prohibited topics, such as the immolation of Tibetan Buddhist monks. Professor Wank questioned whether it was moral to continue to develop ties with an authoritarian state whose policies were increasingly oppressive against religious groups, ethnic minorities, and labor movements. Though not supporting an academic boycott of China, Professor Wank concluded by expressing concern about the political and ethical consequences of promoting and participating in educational exchange programs with the Chinese government.

Mr. Fujinuma, a Japanese diplomat who has been working on Japan-China relations for the past three years, outlined five reasons for the recent trend of warming relations between Japan and China. The first reason is that the Chinese economy is struggling, and China needs investment from Japan and other countries around the world. The second reason is that China has social problems such as an aging society and environmental pollution, and China wants to emulate Japan's policies and technologies that have led to a healthier, longer-living population as well as a cleaner, safer environment. The third reason is that China has had issues with ASEAN nations, India, South Korea, and Japan, and, now, China is fighting a trade war with the U.S. China wants a better relationship with Japan and other countries in the region so that China can focus its diplomatic efforts on the U.S. The fourth reason is that China thought that Prime Minister Shinzo Abe would not stay in office for long and then realized that, as the prime minister's term continued over the years, China would need to develop a long-term relationship with Prime Minister Abe (as of 2019).

The fifth reason is that people-to-people exchanges have not only led to closer relations between Japanese citizens and Chinese citizens but also closer relations between the Japanese government and the Chinese government. Though the Chinese government's educational system includes materials that give the impression that Japan has had a difficult history with China and is not friendly to China, after visiting Japan, Chinese citizens realized that Japanese citizens are very friendly and had great experiences in Kyoto, Tokyo, and Hokkaido. They shared their photos and

stories on social media, and they encouraged their friends and relatives to visit Japan. Their friends and relatives, in turn, also met nice Japanese people and had great experiences in Japan. This has led to a surge in Chinese tourism to Japan, which the Chinese government has noticed. As this trend exposes a difference between what the Chinese government says about Japan and what the Chinese public has experienced in Japan, the Chinese government has had to adjust its rhetoric to match the reality. The Chinese government cannot create a completely false narrative about Japan that does not match with what the Chinese public has seen. So, Fujinuma concluded that, in a way, people-to-people exchanges do work and they do influence other countries.

As evidence of the strength of the connection between Japan and China, Fujinuma mentioned that Japan and China were celebrating a Japan-China youth exchange promotion year (2019), and Japan had set up a target of offering scholarships that would bring 30,000 Chinese youths to Japan over the next five years. Additionally, Japan has a unique tradition of a high school trip to a foreign or domestic destination, and the most popular foreign destinations are Taiwan (number one), Singapore (number two), and other places like the U.S. and Australia. Fujinuma suggested that Japan's high school trip could be a way to familiarize Japanese youths with China and thus develop closer relations between Japan and China.

Panel 2: Impact of International Education—Challenges, Opportunities, and Looking

Forward

In the second panel, three speakers (Naomi Inoue, Hideki Yonekawa, and Nancy Snow) were invited to discuss the significance and future of educational exchange programs with China.

Short Summary:

Mr. Naomi Inoue credited Japan-China educational exchange programs with creating an older generation of Chinese government officials who actively facilitated Japan-China cooperation on environmental issues despite a serious political conflict between the two countries and expressed enthusiasm for Japanese government scholarships that supported educational exchange programs and could foster a new generation of Chinese and Japanese government officials that would cooperate with each other.

Mr. Hideki Yonekawa gave a current overview of Japan-China educational exchange programs. Chinese students were the largest group of international students studying in Japan, the largest group of international students studying at Japanese institutes of higher education (most were seeking advanced degrees), and the largest recipient group of JASSO scholarships awarded to international students coming to Japan. Mr. Yonekawa argued that the Chinese students could be utilized as highly skilled professionals that could assist with Japan's skilled labor shortage. On the other hand, however, Mr. Yonekawa stated that the number of Japanese students going to China was

still very small (only 7% of all Japanese students studying abroad under Japanese university exchange programs), with the majority of these students studying in China for less than a year and not pursuing advanced degrees. Mr. Yonekawa remained positive about the future of Japan-China educational exchanges.

Professor Nancy Snow expressed her sense that Japan was losing its predominance in political and educational areas to China, as evidenced by the U.S. pivot to Asia focusing on the U.S.-China relationship and its focus on increasing U.S.-China educational exchanges. Professor Snow also stated that, though Japanese universities were rising in international higher education rankings, Japanese universities were not globalizing as fast as Chinese universities were, and Japanese students, unlike Chinese students, also showed a lack of enthusiasm, curiosity, and engagement in the world outside of Japan. Nevertheless, Professor Snow saw the Schwarzman College Scholarship program as another avenue with which to bridge the divide between Japan and China and encouraged all students to participate in such educational exchanges.

Long Summary:

Mr. Inoue, who had previously worked for Japan's Ministry of Environment and spent over three years at the Japanese embassy in Beijing, discussed how Japan-China educational exchange programs helped to facilitate Japan-China governmental cooperation. Stationed at the Japanese embassy in China from 2013 to 2016, Mr. Inoue worked on Japan-China cooperation with regard to environmental issues with the aim of improving air quality on the west coast of Japan. Though he worked in China during one of the most difficult diplomatic periods in Japan-China relations (the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute), Mr. Inoue relayed that this was a very busy and exciting professional period, working with local governments, private companies, researchers, and NGOs, and that he was able to accomplish much of his work through the assistance of Chinese environmental experts, who had studied in Japan under Japanese government scholarships and actively worked to find solutions to issues. Mr. Inoue appreciated that Japan-China educational exchange programs had created an older generation of Chinese government officials who served as a bridge between the two countries even in a difficult political atmosphere.

Mr. Inoue, currently a professor at Sophia University, expressed his enthusiasm over the JDS program, which is a Japanese government scholarship offered to government officials from other countries to study at master's programs in Japan, and being a part of the process which could foster a new generation of Chinese environmental experts who could facilitate future Japan-China cooperation. Mr. Inoue also urged Japan to change its mindset from 'China needs to learn from Japan' to 'Japan and China can learn from each other,' pointing to areas where Japan could learn from China, such as China's leadership in carbon emissions trading and renewable energy. Mr.

Inoue noted a potential issue in that a growing number of Chinese students preferred going to the U.S. or the EU to study environmental issues and improve their English and worried that Chinese students would eventually have no interest in coming to Japan. Mr. Inoue also observed that a lower number of Japanese students were interested in studying in China, seeming to have certain stereotypical and biased ideas about China, and believed that promotion of educational exchange programs could foster a new generation of Japanese who were better informed about China and could also facilitate bilateral cooperation.

Mr. Yonekawa gave a current overview of Japan-China educational exchange programs, observing that though the number of Chinese students coming to Japan was still increasing, the rate of that increase was slowing down. Mr. Yonekawa reported that Chinese students were the largest group of international students in Japan, but the percentage of Chinese students out of a total of all international students compared to the percentage of students from other countries was slightly decreasing as the number of students from other countries, like Vietnam, Nepal, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka, had rapidly increased in recent years. For example, currently (as of 2019), Vietnamese students (not Chinese students) are the largest group of international students in Japanese language schools in Japan. Mr. Yonekawa observed that Chinese students were the largest group of international students in Japanese institutes of higher education (with 29,097 Chinese students at graduate schools and 38,787 Chinese students at universities), with most pursuing advanced degrees, and these Chinese students could be utilized as highly-skilled foreign professional after graduation if they remained in Japan and could help with Japan's shortage of skilled labor.

On the other hand, however, Mr. Yonekawa stated that, though the number of Japanese students going to China is increasing, the number is still very small. Out of 105,301 Japanese students who participated in Japanese universities' international educational exchange programs, 7,144 Japanese students (7%) went to China. Only 96 of these students studied in China for one year or more, meaning that the majority of Japanese students who studied in China did not pursue advanced degrees. Additionally, Mr. Yonekawa stated that, for JASSO scholarships awarded to international students that came to Japan, the largest recipient group was comprised of Chinese students coming to Japan. But, for JASSO scholarships awarded to Japanese students that went to foreign countries, the largest recipient group was composed of Japanese students going to the U.S., and the sixth largest recipient group was composed of Japanese students going to China. Though worried about the disparity, with more Chinese students having an interest in Japan and less Japanese students having an interest in China, Mr. Yonekawa concluded that Japan-China relations were improving, and the two countries remained committed to international educational exchange, with Japan designated as the country of honor for China's national education convention.

Professor Snow conveyed her sense that Japan was slowly ceding ground to China in the political and educational arenas. Professor Snow was invited to visit Japan for the International

Youth Village in 1993 and the Japan-America Leadership Exchange Committee in 1994, and those were her first professional experiences with Japan. Then, President Barack Obama announced the pivot to Asia and the 100,000-strong initiative, with the goal of sending 100,000 American students to China. In late 2009, the U.S. State Department asked Professor Snow to give talks on the U.S. pivot policy at American culture centers in Japan. After speaking with Japanese people at these events, Professor Snow realized that Japanese people were getting the impression that the U.S. was focused on China and that Japan had become a secondary concern. They asked her to tell the U.S. that its bilateral relationship with Japan was the most important relationship in Asia, and that the U.S. should continue to support people-to-people exchanges and educational exchange programs with Japan.

In 2018, Professor Snow wrote two articles in *The Japan Times* about international higher education rankings, making the point that, though Japanese universities were rising in the rankings, Japanese universities were not globalizing at the rate that Chinese universities were. Professor Snow also observed a stark difference in the attitudes of Japanese students and Chinese students. Japanese students did not display an enthusiasm, curiosity, or engagement with the world outside of Japan, were very comfortable with living in Japan, and showed little interest in foreign professors. Chinese students were extremely enthusiastic, curious, and engaged with the world outside of China, and treated their foreign professors with great admiration and showed a great desire to learn from them. Professor Snow concluded by expressing her excitement to go to China for the Schwarzman College Scholarship program, that she saw the scholarship as another way to build a stronger bridge between Japan and China, and that she highly encouraged all her students to participate in international exchanges in this new era of technological advancements that had made travel and communication much easier.