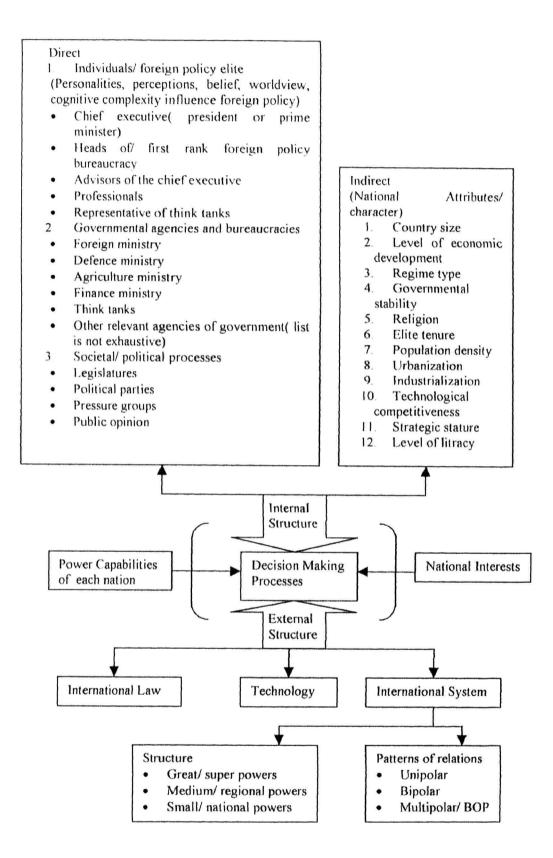
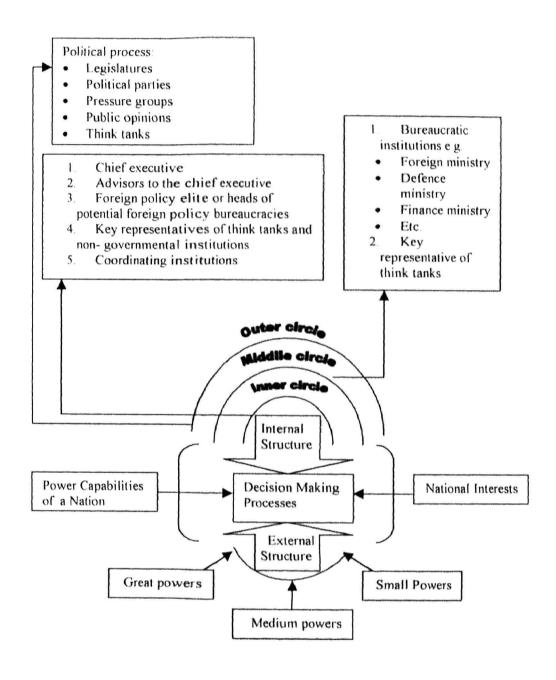
APPENDIX I

FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES



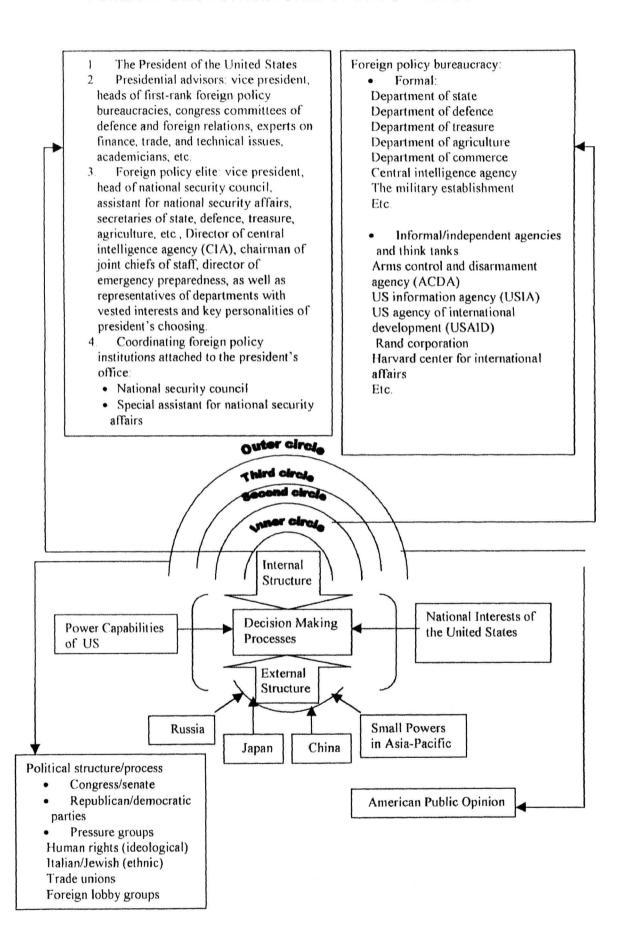
APPENDIX II

DIRECT FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES



APPENDIX III

FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF THE UNITED STATES



APPENDIX IV

FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF JAPAN

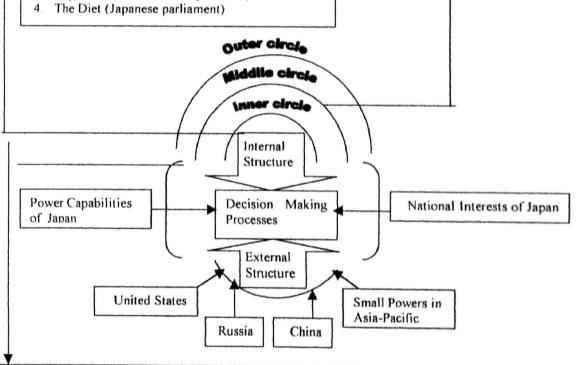
- Politicians (leaders of the ruling party (LDP)or coalitions of parties
- President
- Vice president
- Secretary general
- Party conference
- Executive council
- Assembly of party members of national Diet
- Policy affairs research council (PARC)
- 2 Bureaucracy
- Executive 1 Emperor
 - 2 Prime minister, presides over the cabinet and imperial house hold agency
- Heads of potential ministries or departments. MFA, MOF MITI, MAFF, EPA, Defence Agency
- Lower rank bureaucracy: bureaus, councils, and subdivisions of respective ministries and agencies: CCEC, MC, SWCD, MCOEC, ACOEC, NDC
- The business circle, business firms and industrial complex
- Zakai (the executive of major economic organizations such as Keidanren, Nissho, Keisei Doyukai, and Nikkeriern)
- Gyokai (the industrial groups)
- Kigyo (the individual corporations)

The circle behind the scene or extra governmental policy makers

- Business groups within LDP and oppositions who have ideological connection or political interests in the state with whom Japan intends to have friendly relations
- Individuals who have influential and intimate relations with key political figures in Japan
- Politician from LDP/ ruling coalition and opposition
- Non-governmental organizations

Strategies of this circle include

- Tsukiai (creation of conducive social environment and networking)
- Kuromaku (establishing personal contact between top policy-makers in Japan and the county with whom Japan seeks good relations)
- Nemawashi (behind the scene consensus building)



- Oppositions parties (JSP, JCP, CMP, etc.
- 2. Pressure groups
- Business circle
- Politico cultural groups (JCA, NCDR, AJIA, CSA)
- Agro-oreinted groups (CUAC, NFAC)
- Pacific and anti-nuclear groups (Japan's congress against atomic and hydrogen bombs
- Media
- Dublic estates

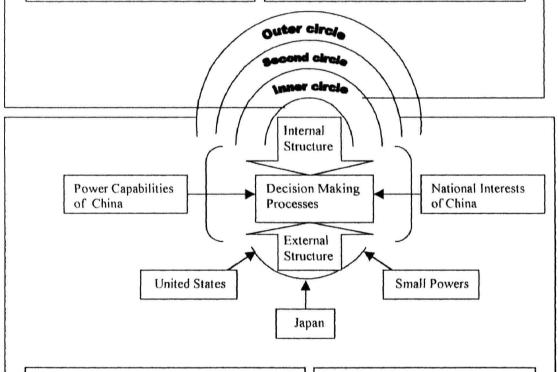
APPENDIX V

FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF CHINA

- Leadership and its affiliated institutions
- Leading nucleus (dominated by one person e.g. Mao)
- Leading nuclear circle (dominated by few key individuals)
- 2. Military
- Individuals heading the military e.g. Mao, Deng, Jiang Zimen
- Communist party central military commission (PCMC)
- The defence ministry of the state council

Communist party and its affiliated institutions

- 1. Politburo (first line during Mao) Its standing committee includes state president, chairman of standing committee of national people's congress, chairman of military commission, chairman of Chinese people's consultative conference.
- 2. Secretariat (first line in post Mao era)
- International liaison department
- Central foreign affairs leading small group
- Central committee
- Research unit
- 3. Foreign affairs office of the state council



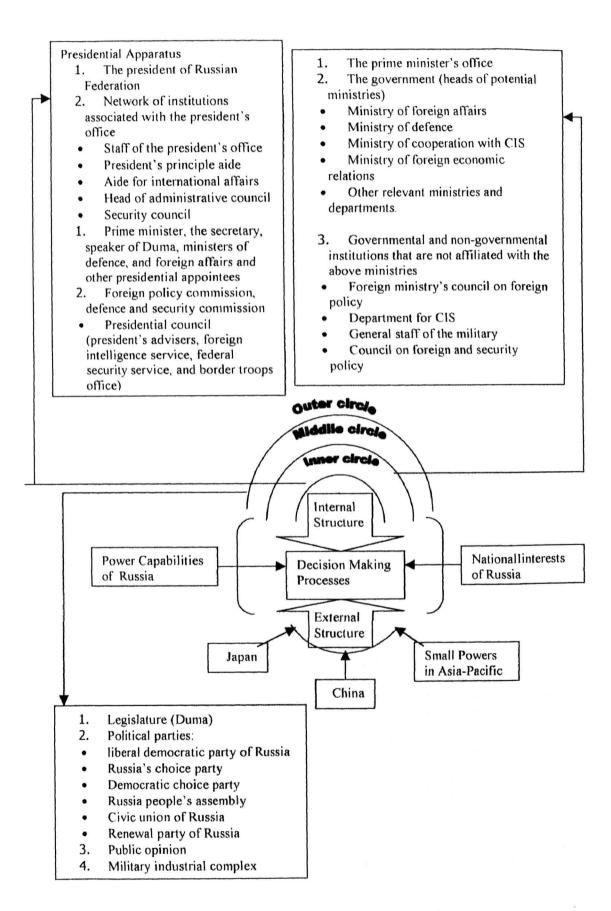
- Research institutes e.g.
- Shanghai institute of international studies
- Inst. Of contemporary int. relations
- · Foreign ministry inst. Of int. studies
- · Beijing's inst. for int., strategic studies
- 2. The press
- Xinhua (china's news agency)
- Remin ribao (the people's daily)
- Reference material
- 3. Independent organizations
- Chinese people's institute of foreign affairs
- Chinese people's association for friendship with foreign countries
- etc.

The government and its affiliated institutions

- 1. Office of the president
- National people's congress (NPC)
- 3. Inner cabinet of the state council
- 4. Ministry of foreign affairs (MFA)
- Ministry of foreign economic and trade relations (MOFERT)

APPENDIX VI

FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION



APPENDIX VII

NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE FOUR MAJOR POWERS

American Interests

- I No single power domination or American hegemonism in Asia-Pacific region
- Political integrity and economic well being of Americans.
- 3 Promotion of policy of "assertive multilateralism/ engagement" in Asia-Pacific region.
- 4. Institutionalization of a Pacific Community that integrates APEC and NAFTA.
- 5. Exertion of effective US leadership and preponderance in the Asia-Pacific affairs
- Containing economic expansion of both China and Japan and strategic rise of Russia, China, or Japan.
- 7 Promotion of peace, free market economy, democracy, and human rights
- 8 Access to market and resources in Asia-Pacific region
- Maintaining presence of American troops in Asia-Pacific region.
- 10 Promotion of bilateral security arrangements with nations in Asia-Pacific region.

Chinese Interests

- 1. Preservations of China's sovereignty and territorial integrity in other words, establishing Beijing's sovereignty over what China claims as "lost territories".
- Creation of greater China that is politically, economically, and militarily strong.
- Realization of Chinese economic circle, comprising Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.
- 4. Support for a favourable multilateral security mechanism in the Asia-Pacific region.
- Realization of China's four modernization program
- Peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.
 Thus, supports BOP situation in the region.
- Integration of China economically into the post-Cold War world economic order.
- 8. Promotion of Chinese world order (principles of freedom, democracy, human rights, equality, mutual respect, sovereignty etc. should be interpreted by individual nations.
- Pursuit of open door policy.
- Development and promotion of an economic model based on China's present experiment. (China is experimenting an economic model that is the hybrid of the best of socialism and capitalism).
- 11. Support American presence as China's short term objective.

Japanese Interests

- Creation of new economic and strategic order in Asia-Pacific. Japan to play role of "rule formulator or agenda setter" in it.
- 2. Promotion of amended capitalism
- Seeking leadership in Asia-Pacific/ wants to remain preponderant economic power.
- 4. Wants to create dependency on Japan.
- Aims to institutionalize multilateral security framework as its long-term objective in Asia-Pacific region. Despite calls for multilateral mechanism, it still aims to maintain its security pact with US for long time.
- 6. Assumption of military leadership in Asia-Pacific as well in the long run.
- Aims to attain prestige and greater role in the world affairs. Wants to share the world leadership and trilateral management of the global affairs: the Americas led by US, Europe by Germany, and Asia by Japan Thus, creation of loose economic bloc under Japanese tutelage (Pax-Nipponicca).
- 8. Diversity of its main sources of energy.
- Maintenance of peace and stability Asia-Pacific region.

Russian Interests

- Reconstruction of Russian Federation into a "super state" that is economically strong, militarily viable, and politically influential in the world affairs
- Institutionalization of effective security mechanism in the "near abroad" under the leadership of Russian Federation.
- 3. Making Russia a preponderant power in the "near abroad".
- Institutionalization of BOP situation in Asia-Pacific region.
- Creation of an overriding multilateral security framework in Asia-Pacific region that could function as conflict prevention and conflict regulation.
- Full integration of Russian economy into the Western economic order so to prevent from further decline.
- 7. Russia's long term aim is to strategically distance US from Asia-Pacific region
- 8. Aims to remain full-scale partner in the region. Wants to remain engaged in regional affairs (economic, military, security, political).
- Maintaining peace and stability in Asia-Pacific.

APPENDIX VIII

ECONOMIC INDICATORS OF THE MAJOR POWERS

Country	1993	1994	1995	1996	Membership of International Economic Organizations	Degree of Influence
US 1.GNP 2.GDP 3.Volume of Total Trade 4.Export/Imp ort 5.FDI			7247bn 1353bn 583/771bn 26.8bn	7433bn 8435.2bn 1440bn	IMF, WBG, World Bank, IDA, IFC, APEC, WTO, NAFTA, ASEAN Dialogue Partner, G-8, G-22	Founding and influential member of all these institutions. US is major contributor to these institutions
Japan 1.GNP 2.GDP 3. Volume of Total Trade 4.Export/Imp ort 5.FDI	4841b	4981b 6704b 275/396b	5153b 7789b 443/336b	5149b 227oo 7608b 411/350bn	IMF World Bank. ADB. G-8, G-22, APEC, ASEAN Dialogue Partner, WTO	Member and second largest financial cotributor to most of these institutions. Its influence is second to that of US.
China 1.GNP 2.GDP 3.Volume of Total Trade 4.Export/Imp ort 5.FDI	226b	252.3b 2500	275.9b 2800 280.96b 149.132b	906.1b 280.92b 151/139b	IMF, WBG, World Bank, IDA,IFC, APEC, ASEAN Dialogue Partner	Holds membership of some of these institutions while trying to get membership of some othrs e.g. WTO. It recieves fund.
Russia 1.GNP 2.GDP 3.Volume of Total Trade 4.Export/Imp ort 5.FDI			664b 1120 124.1b	356b 1110 124.75b 81/43.3b	IMF, WTO, APEC. World Bank, G-8, ASEAN Dialogue partner	It was admitted into these institutions. Has no or little influence. It mainly recieves or use these intitutions to recieve donations to put its economic house in order. It does not contribute financially.

IMF:

International Monetary Fund

ADB:

Asian Development Bank

APEC:

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

NAFTA:

North American Free Trade Area

WGB:

World Bank Group

IDA:

International Development Association

IFC:

International Finance Corporation

G-8:

Group of & Industrialized Nations plus Russian Federation

G-22:

Group of twenty-two developed and developing nations

GNP:

Gross national product

GDP:

gross domestic product

FDI:

Foreign direct investment

All figures are in US dollar

APPENDIX IX

MILITARY INDICATORS OF THE FOUR MAJOR POWERS

Country	1993	1994	1995	1996	Deployment of armed forces	Membership of security institutions in Asia-Pacific region
US 1.Defence budget 2 Military expenditure 3. Arms imports 4. Arms exports 5. Total number formed personnel 6. Nuclear capability			28.7bn 42.8bn 1.6mp		1. continental US 2. abroad: European Command(EUCOM), US pacific Command (USPACOM), central command (USCENTCOM), southern command (SUSSOUTHCOM), Atlantic command (USATCOM)	ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), Bilateral Security Pact with Japan, South Korea, etc.
Russia 1 Defence budget 2 Military expenditure 3. Arms imports 4. Arms exports 5. Total number formed personnel 6. Nuclear capability		82bn	62bn 95bn 9bn	48bn 1.4m	1. near abroad: former USSR territory 2. Far-abroad: Vietnam, Cuba, Mongolia, Syria, Angola, Bosnia, Croatia. Kuwait, Etc.	ARF
China 1. Defence budget 2. Military expenditure 3. Arms imports 4. Arms exports 5. Total number of armed personnel 6. Nuclear capability		6.4bn 56.4bn	7.6bn 58.97b n 725m 625m	8.4bn 63.5bn 3m	1.mainland China 2. UN peacekeeping in Kuwait (UNTSO) 3. UN peacekeeping Western Sahara(UNIKOM)	ARF
Japan 1. Defence budget 2. Military expenditure 3. Arms imports 4. Arms exports 5. Total number of armed personnel 6. Nuclear capability	47.6 bn	49.3bn	50.2bn 1.97bn	240000	Japanese islands UN peacekeeping missions	ARF, Security Pact with the United States