The Tokyo-Tambridge Gazette

In Search of Japan's Global Strategies

2010 年秋から筆者の活動の中心を東京に移した。ケンブリッジの研究者との関係を維持しつつも、米中両国、東南アジア、そして欧州の研究者との関係を強化し、グローバルな視点から読者諸兄姉と共に日本の将来を考えてみたい。従ってタイトルも Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette に変更する。

『東京=ケンブリッジ・ガゼット: グローバル戦略編』 第 123 号 (2019 年 7 月) 小誌は大量の資料を網羅的かつ詳細に報告するものではない―筆者が接した情報や文献を①マクロ経済、②資源・エネルギー、環境、③外交・安全保障の分野に関し整理したものである。紙面や時間の制約に加えて筆者の限られた能力という問題は有るが、小誌が少しでも役立つことを心から願っている。

キヤノングローバル戦略研究所 研究主幹 栗原 潤

彼れを知りて己れを知れば、百戦して 殆(あや)うからず。 彼れを知らずして己れを知れば、一勝一負す。 彼れを知らず己れを知らざれば、戦う毎に必ず殆うし。

Know the enemy and know yourself; In a hundred battles you will never be in peril.

When you are ignorant of the enemy but know yourself; Your chances of winning or losing are equal.

(孫子) If ignorant both of your enemy and of yourself; You are certain in every battle to be in peril. (Sunzi/Sun Tzu)

今月号 «目次»

- 1. Tokyo-Cambridge Gazette: グローバル戦略編第 123 号
- 2. 情報概観—①マクロ経済、②資源・エネルギー、環境、③外交・安全保障
- 3. 編集後記
- 1. Tokvo-Cambridge Gazette: グローバル戦略編第 123 号

5月30日、イタリアの祝日(Festa della Repubblica)に合わせた駐日伊国大使館での garden party に出席させて頂いた。そして素晴らしい日本庭園の中で、内外の友人達とワイングラス片手に談笑する機会を得た。

友人達との話の中心は当然のことながら欧州政治経済だった—緊張が高まる米中関係の中で、①欧州の将来、また②a muddled Brexit や a virulent nationalism の影響、更には③イタリアから見た中国による"一帯一路(Una cintura, una strada)"等。

印象的であったのは移民・難民問題で、或る英国の友人が語った言葉は意味深長だ―「ジュンなら、(英国への大量移民を批判した 1968 年の)'Rivers of Blood' speech を知っているだろ? そして現在、フランスやイタリアには"政教分離を否定するような (theocratic)"人々が押し寄せて来ている。ジュン、もしも、日本の古都、京都にモスクが林立しだすと日本はどう反応する?」、と。

6月初旬に開催された Shangri-La Dialogue から中継されてきた映像―特にパトリック・シャナハン米国国防長官代行や魏鳳和中国国防部長のスピーチ―を観つつ、①安全保障分野における相互不信の危険性、更には②その相互不信を増幅させる元凶の一つ―"不透明さ・曖昧さ"―の危険性を改めて悟った。この"曖昧さ"を回避し信頼関係を回復・強化するためには、自制心を要する信用醸成措置(confidence building measures (CBMs))が極めて重要だ。

ごく一部の専門家の間でしか知られていないが、自衛隊(SDF)の元将官が人民解放軍(PLA)との間で長年実施している CBM—「中国政経懇談会(中政懇)」—がある。これは中国側の鄧小平、徐向前、王震、廖承志等との合意に基づき 1977 年に始まり、日程調整が出来なかった 1998 年を除いて、尖閣問題の生じた 2012 年や翌年の中国海軍レーダー照射事件の際も意見交換を実施している(実は、対話は危機の時こそ重要なのだ!; この「中政懇」の訪中活動は 4 ページの年表を参照)。

CBMs に関連し、今年3月にスウェーデンの防衛研究所(Totalförsvarets forskningsinstitut (FOI); Swedish Defence Research Agency) から発表された報告書("OSCE and Military Confidence-Building in Conflicts: Lessons from Georgia and Ukraine")を思い出している。ロシアとの CBMs に努める欧州、中国との CBMs に努める日本。共に中露両国との CBMs が洗練される事を願っている。

6月12日の早朝、ハーバード大学のマーティン・フェルドシュタイン教授の訃報が届いた。教授は筆者が滞在した同学行政学院(HKS)の様々な会合にも参加されて、筆者も啓発を受けただけに心が痛んでいる。

研究者・教育者・有識者としての教授から我々は様々な知的刺激を受けていた。即ち①研究者として、基礎文献及び最新の研究論文に関する理解が不可欠な会合での示唆的な発言、②教育者として、経済学部の学生に比べ経済学関連の研究論文に疎い HKS の学生達に対する"解り易い"説明、③有識者として、学際的会合において彼が語る経済学的見地からの啓蒙的見解はまことに見事で「流石は大統領経済諮問委員会(CEA)元委員長」と感心していた。また日本の知人が HKS を訪れた際に筆者が開催した会合に対しても、教授はお忙しいなかお時間を割いて下さった。この事を今でも心から感謝している。

6月28日、小誌2月号でも触れたが国際関係の分水嶺、ヴェルサイユ条約調印から丁度100年を迎えた。 優れた米国の評論家(Walter Lippman)は、「欧米の指導者達は現代史における重要な節目に立っていた(Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Wilson and Orlando were at a critical juncture of modern history)」と述べ、英国の外交官(Harold Nicolson)は、この会議の失敗を示唆して、"公開外交(open diplomacy)"の主唱者、ウィルソン大統領が英仏伊の3ヵ国と共に主導した会議は、「史上稀に見る秘密的、実際、神秘的な外交交渉(few negotiations in history have been so secret, or indeed so occult)」であると評した。

この会議では各国代表による a "war of words"が繰り広げられたが、クレマンソー仏国首相は若い中国の外交官顧維鈞の能弁を称え、「溢れんばかりの彼の雄弁は(日本全権の一人)松井慶四郎男爵を悩ませた(Son eloquence intarissable impatientait fort le baron Matsui)」と語った。またウィルソン大統領も「(英国の政治家で詩人)マコーリーが書いた流麗な英語を話す(spoke English in the way Macaulay wrote it)」と顧維鈞を絶賛した。日本はこの会議であたかも"名を捨てて実を取る形(valuing substance over appearance)"で、"人種問題"で譲り"山東・南洋の権益"を得た。だが"silent partner"と揶揄されたように、交渉術の稚拙さ故に、中国だけでなく欧米までも敵に回してしまった。この苦い教訓を基に日本の優れた若き外交官、斎藤博大使は英語に磨きをかけ、また朝海浩一郎大使は、この会議後に創設された在外研究員制度に沿って英国で3年間過ごすことになる。

The Tokyo-Cambridge Bazette (In Search of Japan's Global Strategies)

No. 123 (July 2019)

: 島国が自制心も気力も喪失し、暗闇に包まれた奈落の底へ続く階段を降りて ゆくのを私は見つめてきた。最初は麗しく広い階段であったが、その先で敷き詰められた 絨毯が途絶え、もう少し行くと敷石に変わり、その少し先は、それらが足元から崩れ落ち てしまう。… 千年後の歴史家はこの不思議な有様について頭を抱えることになろう。 (ウィンストン・チャ

I have watched this famous island descending incontinently, fecklessly the stairway which leads to a dark gulf. It is a fine broad stairway at the beginning, but after a bit the carpet ends. A little further on there are only flagstones, and a little further on still these break beneath your feet. . . . [H]istorians a thousand years hence will still be baffled by the mystery of our (Winston Churchill)

2. 情報概観 紙面の制約上、原則、参考になると筆者が判断した最新情報のみを掲載し解説や関連資料は一切省略。

マクロ経済: Macroeconomics—Books, Papers, and Articles

Krugman, Paul, 2019, "The Trumpification of the Federal Reserve: Like It or Not, Its Next Move Will Be Political," New York Times, June 20. Wall Street Journal (Mike Bird), 2019, "Japan's Lesson for the Fed: No Central Bank Is an Island," June 19.

World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)), 2019, "World Economic Prospects: Heightened Tensions, Subdued Investments," Washington, D.C.: World Bank, June.

マクロ経済: Macroeconomics—Conferences, Workshops and Seminars

June 12: (Washington, D.C.) Congress, Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on International Trade, Customs, and Global Competitiveness: Hearing on "China's Belt and Road Initiative"; Witnesses: Carolyn Bartholomew (Chairman, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC)), Roy D. Kamphausen (Commissioner, USCC), Daniel Kliman (Senior Fellow and Director, Asia-Pacific Security Program, Center for a New American Security (CNAS)), Derek Scissors (Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)).

June 17: (Brussels) Bruegel: "Role of National Structural Reforms in Enhancing Resilience in the Euro Area."

資源・エネルギー、環境: Resources, Energy, and Environment—Books, Papers, and Articles

Center for Climate and Energy Solutions (C2ES), 2019, "Pathways to 2050: Alternative Scenarios for Decarbonizing the U.S. Economy," Arlington, VA: C2ES, May.

Harshfield, Amelia et al., 2019, "A Scoping Study on the Link between Exposure to or Interaction with the Natural Environment and Mental Health Outcomes," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, May.

資源・エネルギー、環境: Resources, Energy, and Environment—Conferences, Workshops and Seminars

June 20: (Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "Leading Carbon Price Proposals: A Bipartisan Dialogue."

June 26: (London) Chatham House: "Climate Emergency and the Role of the Corporate Sector."

外交・安全保障: Diplomacy and National Security—Books, Papers, and Articles

Ablon, Lillian et al., 2019, "Operationalizing Cyberspace as a Military Domain: Lessons for NATO," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, June. Chang, Gordon G., 2019, "It's Time for America to Break with Beijing," The National Interest, No. 162 (July/August).

Demertzis, Maria et al., 2019, "A Strategic Agenda for the New EU Leadership: Memo to the Presidents of the European Commission, Council and Parliament," Brussels: Bruegel, June.

Eberstadt, Nicholas, 2019, "With Great Demographics Comes Great Power: Why Population Will Drive Geopolitics," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 98, No. 4 (July/August), pp. 146-157.

Financial Times (Chathuri Dissanayake and Stephanie Findlay), 2019, "Sri Lankan Port Development Aims to Counter Chinese Regional Dominance,"

Fortune (Alyssa Newcomb), 2019, "Hackers Used a Cheap Raspberry Pi Computer to Breach NASA," June 20.

Hamilton, Nigel, 2019, War and Peace: FDR's Final Odyssey: D-Day to Yalta, 1943-1945, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, May.

Heintz, Sarah Anita *et al.*, 2019, "DPRK Sanctions: Countering DPRK Proliferation Activities," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, April. Interfax (Интерфакс), 2019, «Путин заявил об отсутствии планов передачи Южных Курил [President Putin announced that there are no plans to transfer the Southern Kurils]», June 22.

Mahken, Thomas G. et al., 2019, "Tighten the Chain: Implementing A Strategy of Maritime Pressure in the Western Pacific," Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessment (CSBA), May.

Reuters (Andrew Osborn and Tim Kelly), 2019, "U.S. and Russia Trade Blame over Near Collision in East Asian Waters," June 7.

Rodrik, Dani, 2019, "Globalization's Wrong Turn: And How It Hurt America," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 98, No. 4 (July/August), pp. 26-33.

United States Government, Department of Defense (DoD), 2019, "Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Regime," Washington, D.C. DoD, June.

United States Government, Department of Defense (DoD), 2019, "Report to Congress: Department of Defense Arctic Strategy," Washington, D.C.

Wall Street Journal (Mike Bird), 2019, "Prepare for a Summer Showdown between Trump and Tokyo," May 28.
Wall Street Journal (Editorial), 2019, "Nationalism and D-Day: Trump's Words Show How Sovereignty Can Serve Western Values," June 6.

Wall Street Journal (Alastair Gale), 2019, "A Novice Player Gets a Painful Lesson in Middle East Peacemaking," June 14

Wolf, Martin, 2019, "A No-deal Brexit Would Be a Lunacy Wrapped Up in a Stupidity," Financial Times, June 14.

Yahoo News (Jenna McLaughlin et al.), 2019, "Pentagon Secretly Struck Back against Iranian Cyberspies Targeting U.S. Ships," June 22.

Zakaria, Fareed, 2019, "The Self-Destruction of American Power: Washington Squandered the Unipolar Moment," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 98, No. 4 (July/August), pp. 17-25.

外交・安全保障: Diplomacy and National Security—Conferences, Workshops and Seminars

May 29~31: (Jeju/제주/濟州) The Jeju Forum (제주포럼): "Asia Towards Resilient Peace: Cooperation and Integration (아시아 회복탄력적 평화를 향하여: 협력과 통합).

May 31~June 2: (Singapore) International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS): "Shangri-La Dialogue (SLD19)."

May 31~June 2: (Singapore) International institute for Strategic Studies (1155). Shangh-La Dialogue (31274).

June 4~5: (London) Royal United Services Institute (RUSI): "RUSI Land Warfare Conference: Securing Competitive Advantage."

June 5: (Vladivostok) South Korean Consulate General in Vladivostok (블라디보스톡 대한민국 총영사관/Генеральное консульство Республики Корея во Владивостоке) and Когеа Maritime Institute (한국해양대학교/Корейский морской институт): "Far Eastern Russian-Когеаn Forum [동북아 초국경 경제협력 포럼/Дальневосточный российско-корейский форум].

The Tokyo-Cambridge Bazette (In Search of Japan's Global Strategies)

No. 123 (July 2019)

政治的・宗教的諸制度から誕生し、他者から見て 隣人としての人間を成長させるための合理的実践、 即ち・警・を存在:させる人間の諸制度への信奉、西欧 が永年抱き続けてきた合理的実践に対するこの信頼 が揺らいでいる。 (エマニュエル・レヴィナス) The long-standing Western confidence in rational practices being generated from political and religious institutions and meant to foster man's being a neighbor to the other—belief in the human institutions through which the good would succeed in being—is shaken. [L'antique confiance occidentale en la pratique rationnelle issue des institutions politiques et religieuses de devant permetre à l'homme d'être le prochain d'autrui, la croyance en les institutions humaines par lesquelles le bien arriverait à l'être, est ébranlée.]

(Emmanuel Levinas)

June 7: (Washington, D.C.) U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC): Hearing on "Technology, Trade, and Military-Civil Fusion: China's Pursuit of Artificial Intelligence, New Materials, and New Energy"; "Panel I: U.S.-China Competition in Artificial Intelligence: Policy, Industry, and Strategy"; Witnesses: Jeffrey Ding (China Lead for the Center for the Governance of AI, Future of Humanity Institute (FHI), University of Oxford), Helen Toner (Director of Strategy at Georgetown University's Center for Security and Emerging Technology (CSET)), Elsa Kania (Adjunct Senior Fellow, Center for a New American Security (CNAS)); "Panel II: Maintaining Commercial and Technical Leadership in New Materials"; Witnesses: Richard Silberglitt (Senior Physical Scientist, RAND Corporation), Dan Coughlin (Vice President of Composites Market Development, American Composites Manufacturers Association (ACMA)), Alan Hill (Government Relations Partner, National Graphene Association (NGA)); ""Panel III: China's Capabilities and Export Ambitions in New Energy, Nuclear Power, and Energy Storage"; Witnesses: Joanna Lewis (Associate Professor, Georgetown University), Jessica Lovering (Director of Energy at the Breakthrough Institute), James Greenberger (Co-founder and Executive Director of NAATBatt International).

June 19: (London) Chatham House: "Brexit and Defence Industrial Cooperation."

June 20: (Washington, D.C.) U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission (USCC): Hearing on "A 'World-Class' Military: Assessing China's Global Military Ambitions"; "Panel I: Administration Perspectives"; Witnesses: Christopher A. Ford (Assistant Secretary for International Security and Nonproliferation, Department of State), Mary Beth Morgan (Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia, U.S. Department of Defense (DoD)), Daniel K. Taylor (Acting Defense Intelligence Officer for East Asia, Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)); "Panel II: Drivers, Ambitions, and Resources of a World-Class Military"; Witnesses: Dean Cheng (Senior Research Fellow, Heritage Foundation), M. Taylor Fravel (Professor, MIT), Phillip C. Saunders (Director of the Center for the Study of Chinese Military, National Defense University (NDU)); "Panel III: Building a World-Class Military: Missions, Modernization, and Bases"; Isaac B. Kardon (Assistant Professor, U.S. Naval War College (USNWC)), Christopher D. Yung (Chair of Non-Western Strategic Thought and Director of East Asian Studies, Marine Corps University (USMCU)), David Santoro (Director and Senior Fellow for Nuclear Policy, Pacific Forum); "Panel IV: Implications of a World-Class Chinese Military for the United States and U.S. Allies and Partners"; Thomas G. Mahnken (President and CEO, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA)), Abraham M. Denmark (Director, Asia Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars).

June 24: (Brussels) Bruegel: "China's Investment in Africa: Consequences for Europe."

その他—Information in Other Fields

China Daily (Zhou Lanxu and Shi Jing), 2019, "China Launches Nasdaq-Style Tech Board," June 13.

Davis, Paul K. et al., eds., 2019, Social-Behavioral Modeling for Complex System, Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, April.

Eban, Katherine, 2019, Bottle of Lies: The Inside Story of the Generic Drug Boom, New York: Ecco, May.

Financial Times (Yuan Yang), 2019, "How Trump Blacklisting Affects the Inside of a Huawei Smartphone," June 3.

Financial Times (Patricia Nilsson), 2019, "Robo-Reporter Writes Front-Page News," June 4.

Global Times (Editorial), 2019, "China's Entity List Sends Clear Signal," May 31.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2019, "Providing New OECD Evidence on Tourism Trade in Value Added," Tourism Paper No. 2019/01, May.

Pendleton-Jullian, Ann and Robert J. Lempert, 2019, "Technology and Work Worth Doing (Not Jobs) Post-AlphaGo: A World-Building Workshop on the Future of Artificial Intelligence," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, June.

Porter, Christopher and Brian Finch, 2019, "What Does Beijing Want with Your Medical Records?" Wall Street Journal, June 20.

Schwellnus, Cyrille et al., 2019, "Gig Economy Platforms: Boon or Bane?" Economics Department Working Paper No. 1550, Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), May.

Wall Street Journal (Chuin-Wei Yap *et al.*), 2019, "Huawei's Years Long Rise Is Littered with Accusations of Theft and Dubious Ethics," May 25. Weinbaum, Cortney *et al.*, 2019, "Ethics in Scientific Research: An Examination of Ethical Principles and Emerging Topics," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, June.

Event: June 19: (London) Chatham House: "Understanding Cybercrime for Better Policing: Regional and Global Challenges."

Event: June 27: (Washington, D.C.) Brookings Institution: "Information-Sharing Ecosystems: How They Operate and What That Means for Privacy Legislation."

3. 編集後記

前述のヴェルサイユ会議は、様々な意味で国際関係上の分水嶺であった。

ウィルソン政権時の報道官(R・S・ベイカー)は会議の様子を"Battle of Languages"と表現した。即ち外交上の公用語としての地位を英語が獲得した最初の国際会議であった。それは同時に外交用語としてのフランス語による準独占状態(le quasimonopole du français comme langue de la diplomatie)の終焉を意味したのだ(因みに日露戦争後のポーツマス条約(1905)は仏英両言語で書かれ、第 15 條で、"解釋に差異ある場合には佛蘭西文に據るべし"と記された)。会議の開始直前、仏国外相のピションは、ベルリン会議(1884~1885)の際、ビスマルクですら仏語を尊重した事を主張した。だが、面白いことに一悶着の末、米国では議会上院の助言と承認が無い限り条約は発効しないという理由から、英語がフランス語と同等の地位を与えられたのだ。

日露戦争時、金子堅太郎伯爵が渡米して格調高い英語で演説を行い、カッシーニ露国大使が切歯扼腕する程、米国世論を 親露から親日へと替えていった。しかしヴェルサイユ以後、顧維鈞に加え宋美齢や宋子文、更には胡適という欧米派中国人 が巧みな propaganda 活動を交えて世界の親日派を抑え、親中派を主流派に替えていった。一方、ヴェルサイユ会議に随行 した外交官の松岡洋右は、恩人のベバリッジ夫人のお陰で青年時代の在米中に長州訛りの英語からスコットランド訛りへ と矯正されていたというが、外交官としては口語的な表現が多かったらしい。しかも対米開戦直前の外相時代、"松岡人事" で優秀な外交官を多数更迭し、彼が推薦した駐米大使は驚く程の英語力しか持たない野村吉三郎大将となってしまった。

我々は歴史を正確に理解した上で、慎重な発言と積極的な発言を巧みに使い分ける必要があろう。 以上

Appendix/付属資料

A Short History of the Japan-China Military-to-Military Confidence Building Measures (CBMs)

日中国防関連信頼醸成措置小史—中国政経懇談会 (中政懇)

Year/年次		Head of Delegation/団長
1977	1st	Kenjiro Mitsuoka (三岡健次郎) (G/陸) Commander, the 9th Division
1978	2nd	Kenjiro Mitsuoka (三岡健次郎) (G/陸) Commander, the 9th Division
1979	3rd	Atsushi Takanami (高波惇) (A/空) Vice Commandant, Air Officer Candidate School
1980	4th	Ryuhei Nakamura (中村龍平) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1981	5th	Yasuhiro Ueda (上田泰弘) (A/空) Chief of Staff, ASDF
1982	6th	Motoharu Shirakawa (白川元春) (A/空) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff Council
1983	7th	Kenjiro Mitsuoka (三岡徤次郎) (G/陸) Commander, the 9th Division
1984	8th	Hirozumi Imamura (今村博純) (A/空) Commandant, Air Staff College
1985	9th	Yasuhiro Ueda (上田泰弘) (A/空) Chief of Staff, ASDF
1986	10th	Ryuhei Nakamura (中村龍平) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1987	11th	Eiichi Uemura (植村英一) (A/空) Commander, Flying Training Command
1988	12th	Takehiko Takashina (高品武彦) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1989	13th	Kimio Ito (伊藤公雄) (A/空) Commander, Technical Training Command
1990	14th	Tsugio Yata (矢田次夫) (M/海) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1991	15th	Sumio Murai (村井澄夫) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1992	16th	Osamu Namatame (生田目修) (A/空) Chief of Staff, ASDF
1993	17th	Takehiko Takashina (高品武彦) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1994	18th	Eiichi Tsunehiro (常広栄一) (M/海) Commandant, Yokosuka District
1995	19th	Masao Ishii (石井正雄) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1996	20th	Hitoshi Omura (大村平) (A/空) Chief of Staff, ASDF
1997	21st	Taizo Terashima (寺島泰三) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
1998		
1999	22nd	Atsushi Shima (志摩篤) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, GSDF
2000	23rd	Akio Suzuki (鈴木昭雄) (A/空) Chief of Staff, ASDF
2001	24th	Noboru Kimishima (君嶋信) (G/陸) CG, North Eastern Army
2002	25th	Makoto Yamamoto (山本誠) (M/海) CINC, Self Defense Fleet
2003	26th	Hikaru Tomizawa (冨澤暉) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, GSDF
2004	27th	Shigeru Sugiyama (杉山蕃) (A/空) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
2005	28th	Kazuya Natsukawa (夏川和也) (M/海) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
2006	29th	Yuji Fujinawa (藤縄祐爾) (G/陸), Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
2007	30th	Takao Sakamaki (酒巻尚生) (G/陸), CG, North Eastern Army
2008	31st	Toru Ishikawa (石川亨) (M/海) Chief of Staff, Joint Staff
2009	32nd	Koichi Furusho (古庄幸一) (M/海) Chief of Staff, MSDF
2010	33rd	Tsutomu Mori (森勉) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, GSDF
2011	34th	Hiroshi Inoue (井上廣司) (G/陸) CG, North Eastern Army
2012	35th	Naoto Hayashi (林直人) (G/陸) CG, Western Army
2013	36th	Yoji Koda (香田洋二) (M/海) CINC, Self Defense Fleet
2014	37th	Ken'ichiro Hokazono (外薗健一朗) (A/空) Chief of Staff, ASDF
2015	38th	Keiji Akaboshi (赤星慶治) (M/海) Chie of Staff, MSDF
2016	39th	Yoshifumi Hibako (火箱芳文) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, GSDF
2017	40th	Masahiko Sugimoto (杉本正彦) (M/海) Chief of Staff, MSDF
2018	41th	Tsutomu Mori (森勉) (G/陸) Chief of Staff, GSDF (see 33rd)

出典:中国政経懇談会の資料より著者作成。1998年は双方の日程が合わず延期となる。