

Trilateral Forum Tokyo

A Japan-US-European Strategic Dialogue

December 1-2, 2017

ORGANIZED BY: The German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Tokyo Foundation

ADDITIONAL SUPPORT PROVIDED BY: Delegation of the European Union to Japan



List of Participants

HIROTSUGU AIDA

Aoyama Gakuin University

YASUSHI AKAHOSHI

JETRO

SATOHIRO AKIMOTO

Mitsubishi Research Institute, Inc.

HIROYUKI AKITA

Nikkei

NOBUMASA AKIYAMA

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan; Hitotsubashi University

YUSUKE ARAI

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan

JULIO ARIAS

European External Action Service

REINHOLD BRENDER

European External Action Service

CHARLES EDEL

U. S. Studies Centre, University of Sydney

KEN ENDO

Hokkaido University; Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI)

DAVID FEITH

U.S. State Department

ROBERT FELDMAN

Morgan Stanley MUFG Securities Co., Ltd.

FABIEN FIESCHI

European External Action Service

FRANCESCO FINI

European External Action Service

JAMIE FLY

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

AKIKO FUKUSHIMA

Tokyo Foundation; Aoyama Gakuin University

ZIAD HAIDER

Center for Strategic and International Studies

MARJUT HANNONEN

European External Action Service

HIKARU HIRANUMA

Tokyo Foundation

TAKEO HOSHI

Tokyo Foundation

YUICHI HOSOYA

Tokyo Foundation; Keio University

SHIGERU ISHIBA

Liberal Democratic Party

MASAFUMI ISHII

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan

VIOREL ISTICIOAIA-BUDURA

Delegation of the European Union to Japan

HAJIME ITO

Japan Petroleum Exploration

VAN JACKSON

Victoria University of Wellington

LEONIDAS KARAPIPERIS

European External Action Service

LT COL TAKAHIRO KATAYAMA

Air Staff College & Center for Air Power Strategic Studies

SOTA KATO

Tokyo Foundation

YORIKO KAWAGUCHI

Tokyo Foundation; Meiji University

SHIN KAZAMA

Fuji Television Network, Inc.

YOJI KODA

Japan Marine United Corp.

FUMIAKI KUBO

Tokyo Foundation; University of Tokyo

MITSUMARU KUMAGAI

Daiwa Institute of Research Ltd.

PHILIP LEVY

Chicago Council on Global Affairs

ADAM LIFF

Indiana University SGIS

ALEXANDER MCLACHLAN

European External Action Service

STEFAN MÖBS

Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany

KENNETH MORI MCELWAIN

University of Tokyo

SHIGEKI MORINOBU

Tokyo Foundation

LT GEN JUN NAGASHIMA

Air Staff College & Center for Air Power Strategic Studies

MELANIE NAKAGAWA

Princeville Global

AKIO OKAWARA

Japan Center for International Exchange

TOMOYUKI OKU

Japan Association of Corporate Executives

ITSUNORI ONODERA

Ministry of Defense, Japan

JONAS PARELLO-PLESNER

Hudson Institute

DANIELLE PIATKIEWICZ

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

LAURENT PIC

Embassy of France to Japan

GWEN ROBINSON

Nikkei Asian Review, Nikkei

RYO SAHASHI

Kanagawa University

ANA ISABEL SANCHEZ RUIZ

European External Action Service

ERIC SAYERS

United States Pacific Command

TILMAN SCHMIT-NEUERBURG

Federal Foreign Office, Germany

SAYURI SHIRAI

Keio University

ANDREW SMALL

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

WIKTOR STANIECKI

European External Action Service

VOLKER STANZEL

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

SHARON STIRLING

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

HIROKI SUGIYAMA

Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs

DAVID D. SUSSMAN

Tokyo Foundation

SUGIO TAKAHASHI

National Institute for Defense Studies

YASUO TANABE

Hitachi, Ltd.

YOICHI TAKITA

Nikkei

JUNKO TANAKA

NHK

NOBUO TANAKA

Sasakawa Peace Foundation

TOMOHIKO TANIGUCHI

Keio University; Cabinet Secretariat

ASHLEY TOWNSHEND

University of Sydney

MICHITO TSURUOKA

Tokyo Foundation; Keio University

HANS CARL VON WERTHERN

Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany

JOSHUA WALKER

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

KATSUYUKI YAKUSHIJI

Toyo University

DAISUKE YAMASHITA

Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NAOHIRO YASHIRO

Showa Women's University

AKIHIKO YASUI

Mizuho Research Institute

Agenda

Friday, December 1, 2017

- 12:00 – 12:45 **Opening Lunch** hosted by the Delegation of the European Union to Japan
- 12:50 – 13:00 **Welcome Remarks: Viorel Isticioaia-Budura**, Ambassador, Delegation of the European Union to Japan
- Introduction: Takeo Hoshi, Chair of the Board, Tokyo Foundation
- 13:00 – 13:40 **Keynote Address: The Honorable Shigeru Ishiba**, Member of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
- 13:45 – 14:00 **TFT Opening Remarks:**
- Jamie Fly**, Director, Asia and Future of Geopolitics Programs, The German Marshall Fund of the United States
- Viorel Isticioaia-Budura**, Ambassador, Delegation of the European Union to Japan
- 14:00 – 15:15 **SESSION 1: TACKLING SECURITY CHALLENGES THROUGH TRILATERAL COOPERATION**
- An ever-changing global security environment leads to new challenges and opportunities for cooperation among the trilateral partners. The global strategic landscape is defined by instability and volatility. The repulse of ISIL, the resurgence of violence in Afghanistan, and rising tensions over China’s assertiveness in the South and East China Seas are symptoms of a global order in disarray. How are Japan, the United States, and European countries assessing these situations? Will recent developments prompt Japan to take on a more active role in global security? What are key security concerns for the trilateral partners in the Asia-Pacific region? With efforts to reinvigorate the Quad underway, are there new opportunities for expanding regional cooperation?
- Moderator: **Charles Edel**, Senior Fellow & Visiting Scholar, U. S. Studies Centre, University of Sydney
- Speakers: **Akiko Fukushima**, Senior Fellow, Tokyo Foundation;
 Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University
 Jonas Parello-Plesner, Senior Policy Fellow, Hudson Institute
 Eric Sayers, Defense Policy Advisor, United States Pacific Command
 Tomohiko Taniguchi, Special Advisor, PM Shinzo Abe's Cabinet;
 Professor, Keio University
- 15:15 – 15:45 Coffee Break

15:45 – 17:00 **SESSION 2: DPRK. WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?**

The DPRK's advances in nuclear and missile technology have increased tensions on the Korean peninsula and led to an exchange of threats with the Trump administration. Japan, meanwhile, has lived with security concerns emanating from North Korea for years. How should the United States and Japan respond to the DPRK's growing capabilities and provocations? What kind of European support would be both helpful and wanted? Can the global community limit the potential for further nuclear proliferation, or is North Korea just a harbinger of greater proliferation of nuclear technology in Asia and beyond?

Moderator: **Gwen Robinson**, Chief Editor, Nikkei Asian Review, Nikkei

Speakers: **Reinhold Brender**, Head of Division: Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand
European External Action Service
Van Jackson, Senior Lecturer, Victoria University of Wellington
Yoji Koda, Adviser, Japan Marine United Corp.; Former Commander in Chief,
Self Defense Fleet
Michito Tsuruoka, Research Fellow, Tokyo Foundation; Associate Professor,
Keio University

19:00 – 21:00 **BREAKOUT DINNERS**

Topic 1: "Is Asia (Becoming) the Arena of the Fight Between the Concept of Liberal Democracy and the Chinese Model – and Who Will Win?"

Topic 2: "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy – What Lies Ahead?"

Topic 3: "How New Technology Will Transform Our World?"

Saturday, December 2, 2017

9:00 – 10:15 **SESSION 3: POPULISM'S EFFECT ON DEMOCRACY**

Populism's apparent rise in many advanced democracies, most visible with the 2016 Brexit vote and Trump's electoral victory, raises questions about the future trajectory of the so-called "West." How contested is the normative basis that underpins Western democracy? What explains the current trend towards populism, and does it represent a weakening of democracy? Will the decline in trust of public institutions manifest itself permanently? How can EU, Japan, and U.S. partners respond? Can Europeans and Americans learn anything from the relative stability of Japanese politics during this time?

Moderator: **Sota Kato**, Executive Director and Senior Fellow, Tokyo Foundation;
Professor, International University of Japan

Speakers: **Ken Endo**, Professor, Hokkaido University; Visiting Fellow, Ifri, Paris, France
Jamie Fly, Director, Asia and Future of Geopolitics Programs,
The German Marshall Fund of the United States
Volker Stanzel, Senior Advisor, The German Marshall Fund of the United States

10:15 – 10:30 Coffee Break

10:30 – 11:45 **SESSION 4: CLIMATE CHANGE – THINKING BEYOND PARIS**

The historic Paris Agreement set the global community on a course to respond to the effects of climate change. With President Trump's decision to withdraw from the

agreement, how will other countries maintain and meet their commitment to CO2 reductions? What are the specific actions that European and Japanese partners need to take? Will China take on a leadership role in the absence of support from the United States? What are the implications of a rapid transition in renewables as a source of energy, and how does nuclear power fit into the energy mix?

Moderator: **Joshua Walker**, Head of Global Strategic Initiatives in the Office of the President, Eurasia Group; Non-Resident Transatlantic Fellow, GMF

Speakers: **Melanie Nakagawa**, Head of Climate Initiative, Princeville Global
Laurent Pic, Ambassador of France to Japan
Nobuo Tanaka, Chairman, Sasakawa Peace Foundation

11:45 – 12:30 Networking Lunch

12:30 – 13:00 **SPECIAL SESSION:** A Conversation with the Honorable Itsunori Onodera: Minister of Defense, Japan

Introduction: Takeo Hoshi, Chair of the Board, Tokyo Foundation

13:00 – 13:30 Coffee Break

13:30 – 14:45 **SESSION 5: THE FUTURE OF GLOBAL TRADE**

While past decades witnessed the seemingly unstoppable spread of globalization and multilateral trade agreements, U.S. withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and embrace of elements of “economic nationalism” raises questions about the future of the free trade agenda. At the same time, the EU, Japan and the United States are all struggling to deal with the challenges that China’s state-driven model poses to their economies and to the WTO. What are the implications for the geopolitical landscape and alliances in the Asia-Pacific region? Is TPP possible and useful without the United States? What kind of benefits can China reap from these developments? What is the outlook for the EU-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) and for a potential bilateral U.S.-Japan FTA?

Moderator: **Ziad Haider**, Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Speakers: **Yasushi Akahoshi**, President, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)
Marjut Hannonen, Head of the Trade section, Delegation of the European Union to Japan
Yoriko Kawaguchi, Distinguished Fellow, Tokyo Foundation; Professor, Meiji University
Philip Levy, Senior Fellow, Chicago Council on Global Affairs

14:45 – 15:15 Coffee Break

15:15 – 16:30 **SESSION 6: DEMOGRAPHIC CHALLENGES, AND THE PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH**

As highly industrialized regions of the world, Japan, the United States, and the European Union all face demographic change associated with declining fertility rates and aging populations. How do politics and societies have to adapt to smaller and older populations? How can continued economic prosperity be ensured? In what ways do the trilateral partners respond similarly and differently to the demographic challenges? How

can modern immigration policies attract qualified foreign workers and address labor shortages? How will increased automation change our economies and impact the lives and political outlooks of our citizens?

Moderator: **Takeo Hoshi**, Chair of the Board, Tokyo Foundation (confirmed)

Speakers: **Robert Feldman**, Senior Advisor, Morgan Stanley MUFG Securities Co., Ltd.
Sayuri Shirai, Professor, Keio University
Hans Carl von Werthern, Ambassador of Germany to Japan

16:30 – 17:00 **CONCLUDING THOUGHTS**

17:45 – 19:00 **Farewell Dinner Hosted by the Tokyo Foundation**

TFT Closing Remarks by Takeo Hoshi, Chair of the Board, Tokyo Foundation

The German Marshall Fund of
the United States
1744 R St NW, Washington, D.C.

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Washington | Berlin | Paris | Brussels
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Tokyo Foundation
The Roppongi Grand Tower 34th Fl.
3-2-1 Roppongi, Minato-ku,
Tokyo 106-6234, Japan

www.tokyofoundation.org

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