

# Trilateral Forum Tokyo

---

A Japan-US-European Strategic Dialogue

October 16-17, 2015

**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



Delegation of the European  
Union to Japan  
[www.euinjapan.jp](http://www.euinjapan.jp)

---

# About

Motivated by a rapidly changing international system and the common challenges confronted by the United States, Europe, and Japan, GMF and the Tokyo Foundation partnered to establish Trilateral Forum Tokyo in 2012. The Forum was established with the explicit purpose of bringing together policy-makers, intellectuals, journalists, and business leaders from Japan, Europe, and the United States for systematic dialogue on topics of mutual interest and concern. The Forum also aims to build networks, increase dialogue, and facilitate cooperation and communication among participants.

## Topics discussed at past iterations of Trilateral Forum Tokyo

- Democracy and the international order
- Regional security challenges
- Global trade democracy
- Economic renewal and innovation
- Disaster relief and development cooperation
- New frontiers of security cooperation between Japan, the EU, and NATO
- Nuclear nonproliferation
- Maritime security in Asia
- Cyber Security
- China: trilateral approaches, convergence or divergence
- Trilateral cooperation in the Asia Pacific

In addition to the sessions in Tokyo, study tours have been organized: to Tohoku to gain an understanding of post-disaster reconstruction efforts; to Kyoto to learn of new initiatives by traditional industries that are now winning over international consumers; and to Okinawa where participants had an opportunity to learn about the complex history, culture, and challenges associated with the tiny island that hosts multiple US bases include Kadena Airbase, the largest US military base in Asia.

GMF capitalizes on the intellectual content generated by the forum by producing spin-off papers, videos, and podcasts over the course of the year. A list of past forums, papers, podcasts, interviews, and photographs can be found at <http://www.gmfus.org/programs/asia/trilateral-forum-tokyo/> and [www.tokyofoundation.org/en](http://www.tokyofoundation.org/en).

# Discussion Model

## Guidelines for Moderators, Panelists, and Participants

The Trilateral Forum Tokyo was created to strengthen networks and understanding between the policy communities of Japan, the United States, and Europe. Skillfully moderated sessions between experts on the specified topics will maximize the forum's impact. Here are some rules of thumb to help the Forum accomplish its goal of providing a compelling participatory format.

- The forum is about creative conversation as opposed to formal presentations.
- The purpose of the forum is to foster real dialogue that involves all participants in the room. The format does not allow for unplanned formal presentations, speech-making during discussions, or seminar-like presentations.
- No one should prepare to deliver lengthy remarks or a speech of any kind during the panel sessions. Long speeches or remarks would disrupt the proceedings and interrupt what we seek to accomplish.
- Designated moderators should briefly introduce the panel – name and affiliation is sufficient. All panel speakers should keep their opening remarks to five minutes or less. The moderator will not hesitate to intervene if the opening remarks run long.
- The purpose of each discussion is to focus on the trilateral dimension of the topic. All participants are asked to think in the framework of trilateral aspects of each session and topic.
- Designated moderators will be the guides for the open discussion sessions and will be looking for your participation.
- All participants are asked to restate their names and affiliations when they begin to speak for the sake of other participants.
- All participants, as they engage in the discussion, are asked to give succinct observations and questions to allow time for others to contribute.
- Moderators will state explicitly in their sessions that the Chatham House Rule applies. Chatham House Rule is an honor-bound agreement that states, “participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.”

# List of Participants

**TAISUKE ABIRU**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**HIROTSUGU AIDA**  
Kyodo News

**SATOHIRO AKIMOTO**  
Mitsubishi Corporation

**MASAHIRO AKIYAMA**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**NOBUMASA AKIYAMA**  
Hitotsubashi University

**TAKAAKI ASANO**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**UGO ASTUTO**  
European External Action  
Service

**PAUL BEHREND**  
U.S. House of Representatives

**TAMZIN BOOTH**  
*The Economist*

**KAREN DONFRIED**  
German Marshall Fund of the  
United States

**GWENDOLYN DULLA**  
Deloitte

**KEN ENDO**  
Hokkaido University

**STEVEN EVERTS**  
European External Action  
Service

**FABIEN FIESCHI**  
Delegation of the European  
Union to Japan

**AKIKO FUKUSHIMA**  
Aoyama Gakuin University

**STEPHAN GRABHERR**  
Embassy of the Federal  
Republic of Germany

**FILIP GRZEGORZEWSKI**  
European External Action  
Service

**MARJUT HANNONEN**  
European Commission

**JONATHAN HATWELL**  
Delegation of the European  
Union to Japan

**YOSHIMASA HAYASHI**  
House of Councillors

**HIKARU HIRANUMA**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**YUICHI HOSOYA**  
Keio University

**KAORI IIDA**  
NHK

**AKIKO IMAI**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**VIOREL ISTICIOAIA-  
BUDURA**  
Delegation of the European  
Union to Japan

**HAJIME ITO**  
Japan Petroleum Exploration

**YOKO IWAMA**  
National Graduate Institute  
for Policy Studies

**FRANK JANNUZI**  
The Maureen and Mike  
Mansfield Foundation

**CHUCK JONES**  
Lockheed Martin

**LEO KARAPIPERIS**  
Delegation of the European  
Union to Japan

**SOTA KATO**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**YOJI KODA**  
Japan Marine United Corp.

**TOSHIFUMI KOKUBUN**  
Deloitte Tohmastu Consulting,  
LLC.

**HEINRICH KREFT**  
Transatlantic Academy /  
German Foreign Ministry

**FUMIAKI KUBO**  
University of Tokyo

**PHILIP LEVY**  
Chicago Council on Global  
Affairs

**TAKASHI MIHARA**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**JULIA NESHEIWAT**  
U.S. Dept. of State

**IPPEITA NISHIDA**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**VALERIE NIQUET**  
Foundation for Strategic  
Research

**BONJI OHARA**  
The Tokyo Foundation

**RICHARD OPPENHEIM**  
British Embassy Tokyo

**TORKEL PATTERSON**  
International High-Speed Rail  
Association

**NORMANS PENKE**  
Embassy of the Republic of  
Latvia

**MICHAEL REITERER**  
European External Action  
Service

**HENNING RIECKE**  
German Council on Foreign  
Relations (DGAP)

**GWEN ROBINSON**

*Nikkei Asian Review*

**ANA SANCHEZ RUIZ**

Delegation of the European Union to Japan

**YUKIO SATOH**

The Japan Institute of International Affairs

**RANDALL**

**SCHEUNEMANN**

Orion Strategies

**HEIKE SCHNEIDER**

Delegation of the European Union to Japan

**VOLKER STANZEL**

German Marshall Fund of the United States

**SHARON STIRLING-  
WOOLSEY**

German Marshall Fund of the United States

**HIROKI SUGITA**

Kyodo News

**ICHIRO TAMBO**

Japan International Cooperation Agency

**NOBUSHIGE TAKAMI-  
ZAWA**

Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary

**TOMOHIKO TANIGUCHI**

Keio University

**PETER TASKER**

Arcus Investment

**KIYOYUKI TOMITA**

The Tokyo Foundation

**MICHITO TSURUOKA**

National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan

**DANIEL TWINING**

German Marshall Fund of the United States

**TSUNEO WATANABE**

The Tokyo Foundation

**HANS CARL VON  
WERTHERN**

Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany

**YORIZUMI WATANABE**

Keio University

**DAVID WERTIME**

*Tea Leaf Nation, Foreign Policy*

**SARAH WOOTEN**

Delegation of the European Union to Japan

**THOMAS WRIGHT**

Brookings Institution

**GUILLAUME XAVIER-  
BENDER**

German Marshall Fund of the United States

**SHOKO YOSHIHARA**

The Tokyo Foundation

# Agenda

## Friday, October 16, 2015

*Location:* Europa House | Delegation of the European Union to Japan | 4-6-28 Minami-Azabu, Minato-ku

12:00 – 12:45 Opening Lunch hosted by the Delegation of the European Union to Japan

12:50 – 12:55 **Welcome Remarks:** Ambassador Viorel Isticioaia-Budura

13:00 – 13:45 **Keynote Address:** Former Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda  
Introduction by Masahiro Akiyama, President, Tokyo Foundation

13:50 – 14:00 **Opening Remarks:** Dr. Karen Donfried, President, German Marshall Fund of the United States

14:00 – 15:15 **SESSION 1 Assessing New Opportunities and Challenges for Trilateral Cooperation in a Changing World: The EU's Strategic Review, Japan's Security Debate, and the Next U.S. Administration**

**Guiding Questions:** How are Japan, the United States, and European countries assessing and meeting the challenges of a vastly transformed global security environment? From Europe's refugee crisis fed by instability in Syria, to Russia's actions in Ukraine, to China's economic and military rise, how has the EU's security strategy changed? Can Europe be expected to play a larger role in Asia given the demands in its own neighborhood? Will Japan become a more proactive contributor to global security as Prime Minister Abe outlined in his UN speech and in light of recent defense reforms? What security challenges will the next U.S. administration prioritize? Can trilateral cooperation be increased to deal with violent extremism stemming from the rise of ISIL? What are the real prospects for closer cooperation among the trilateral partners going forward?

**Moderator:** Daniel Twining, Senior Fellow for Asia, German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Speakers:** Nobushige Takamizawa, Deputy Secretary General of the National Security Secretariat and Assistant Chief Cabinet Secretary

Akiko Fukushima, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University

Steven Everts, Adviser on EU-ASEAN and ARF, European External Action Service

Frank Januzzi, President & CEO, Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation

15:15 – 15:45 Coffee Break

15:45 – 17:00 **SESSION 2 Return of Geopolitical Competition: Strategic Implications of Russia's Actions in Ukraine and China in the South and East China Seas**

**Guiding Questions:** Power politics appear to be making a comeback, as evidenced by attempts to change the status quo by force in Ukraine and the South and East China Seas. How can the international community successfully deescalate tensions? What are the

roles of different traditional and non-traditional actors? In the cases of both Russia and China, what would be considered acceptable returns to normalcy? If we are indeed witnessing an uptick in hybrid warfare, how can Japan, the United States, and Europe successfully combat aggressive actions? Can Europe, the United States, and Japan devise joint strategies to deter further revisionism by the authoritarian great powers?

Moderator: **Tsuneo Watanabe**, Senior Fellow and Director for Policy Research, Tokyo Foundation

Speakers: **Yoji Koda**, Adviser, Japan Marine United Corp., Former Commander in Chief, Self Defense Fleet

**Ugo Astuto**, Acting Managing Director for Asia, European External Action Service

**Volker Stanzel**, Senior Advisor for Asia, German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Karen Donfried**, President, German Marshall Fund of the United States

19:00 – 21:00 **Breakout Dinners**

*We will travel via bus to the various breakout dinner locations. Please gather in the Banquet Lobby of the Grand Prince Takanawa Hotel at 18:20 to meet your group.*

### **Saturday, October 17, 2015**

*Please gather in the lobby of the Grand Prince Takanawa Hotel at 8:50 AM. Buses to Europa House depart at 8:55 AM.*

9:30 – 10:45 **SESSION 3 The Asian Economy in the Changing Geo-Economic Order: What Roles for Established and Rising Powers?**

**Guiding Questions:** How will Japan, the United States, and Europe—which together account for nearly 40% of global GDP—seek to capitalize on Asia’s anticipated growth? Does the launch of the AIIB, which is likely to finance the One Belt, One Road infrastructure projects across the Eurasian continent, represent a challenge to the international financial order centered on the IMF and World Bank? How will the trilateral partners adapt to the geo-economic shifts likely to be prompted by the AIIB? What does the forward movement on the TPP mean for the Japan-EU FTA and TTIP more broadly leading to 2016?

Moderator: **TBD**

Speakers: **Yorizumi Watanabe**, Professor, Keio University

**Marjut Hannonen**, Adviser DG Trade, European Commission

**Peter Tasker**, Analyst, Arcus Investment

**Philip I. Levy**, Senior Fellow on the Global Economy, The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

10:45 – 11:15 Coffee Break

11:15 – 12:30 **SESSION 4 Paris and Beyond: the Future of Climate Change and Energy Security**

Guiding Questions: An agreement on a new legal framework for 2020 and beyond will be sought at COP 21 in Paris this December. However, this will not be an easy task, as many countries are reluctant to sacrifice economic growth for the sake of combatting global warming. Are the proposed emission reduction targets from developed economies ambitious enough? With limited political capital, what is the right political balance between energy security and climate change? What are the implications of the Iran deal on the energy matrix? While the US has enjoyed an energy-boom thanks to shale gas technology and new energy discoveries, how would a future increase in oil prices impact Japan and Europe? What is the future of nuclear energy?

Moderator: **Kaori Iida**, Senior Editor of the Economics News Division, NHK

Speakers: **Masako Konishi**, Deputy Director of Conservation Department at WWF Japan, Climate Change and Energy Project Leader;

**Hans Carl Von Werthern**, German Ambassador to Japan

**Filip Grzegorzewski**, Chair of the Council Working on Asia-Oceania (COASI), European External Action Service

**Julia Nesheiwat**, U.S. Presidential Deputy Envoy, U.S. Department of State

12:30 – 13:30 Networking Lunch

13:30 – 14:45 **SESSION 5 The Future of Global Governance: What Needs To Be Updated To Reflect New Realities?**

**Guiding Questions:** 70 years after World War II, global governance appears to be at an inflection point. Elements of the old order remain -- the UN Security Council remains unchanged -- while new organizations, such as the G20, have emerged to reflect the changing distribution of power. The international order, based on free-market capitalism and democratic participation in political process, has struggled to incorporate emerging diverse stakeholders. How can established powers in the United States, Europe, and Japan accommodate rising powers without undermining the values and rules of the international system? As responsible stakeholders and key players in global governance today, what kind of alliances can they build with emerging states for the future of an inclusive rules-based order? Does a more multipolar world make multilateral cooperation easier or more elusive?

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

Speakers: **Sota Kato**, Senior Fellow and Director for Policy Research, Tokyo Foundation

**Viorel Isticioaia-Budura**, Ambassador, Delegation of the European Union to Japan

**Thomas Wright**, Fellow and Director of the Project on International Order and Strategy, Brookings Institution

**TBD**

14:45 – 15:15 Coffee Break



15:15 – 16:30 **Closing SESSION Moving Ahead to Strengthen Further Trilateral Cooperation**

**Guiding Questions:** As Japan prepares to take leadership of the G7 in 2016, what issues should be on the agenda to better realize transatlantic cooperation with Tokyo? What are the roles that Japan, the United States, and Europe should play as global leaders? What areas will require their closest cooperation?

Discussion Facilitator: **Daniel Twining**

Remarks by **Yukio Satoh**, Vice President, The Japan Institute of International Affairs

*Return to the hotel after the close of the final session. Gather in the Banquet Lobby of the Grand Prince Takanawa Hotel at 18:30 and travel via bus to the Restaurant Voie Lactee*

19:00 – 21:00 **Farewell Dinner Hosted by the Tokyo Foundation**

Location: Restaurant Voie Lactee | 4-1-35 Toranomom, Minato-ku

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

[www.gmfus.org](http://www.gmfus.org)

Washington | Berlin | Paris | Brussels  
Belgrade | Bucharest | Warsaw

Tokyo Foundation  
1-2-2 Akasaka, Minato-ku,  
Tokyo 107-0052, Japan

[www.tokyofoundation.org](http://www.tokyofoundation.org)

Developing Policy, Investment in People,  
Transforming Society