

自由、民主主義と世界が直面する課題を議論する
言論NPO主催 東京会議
The Tokyo Conference To Address Issues Facing Us –Freedom and Democracy In Danger



Insight Report

Tokyo Conference 2017

To Address Issues Facing Us
Freedom and Democracy in Danger



The Genron NPO

www.genron-npo.net/en



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Preface

On the launch of the Tokyo Conference



Yasushi Kudo
President,
The Genron NPO

“Freedom” and “democracy,” the two norms that have supported the world order since the end of World War II, are facing severe challenges. Depending on the results of upcoming elections in Europe and the actions of the U.S. president, not only will a liberal international system and international cooperation based on multilateralism run into major obstacles, but democracy itself may be greatly undermined in different countries around the world.

We at The Genron NPO decided to set up the permanent Tokyo Conference instead of a one-time global thinktank meeting as initially planned because it appears the various developments that are destabilizing the world order are taking place rapidly.

The Tokyo Conference is a Japan-based platform for debate with the purpose of voicing opinions based on discussions of global issues among representatives of global thinktanks and Japanese experts, and presenting the results of the discussions to meetings of world leaders and international organizations. Senior representatives of thinktanks from the

Group of Seven nations — Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States — as well as Brazil, India and Indonesia gathered in Tokyo because they shared a common sense of crisis over the destabilizing international order.

The international norms of freedom and democracy that supported the world’s international order are collapsing, while populism and anti-foreignism are strengthening. How should we protect these norms, and how should we adjust globalization in the context of nationalism and democracy? We conducted intense discussions for three days and brought the results of the talks to the Japanese government as well as to the government of Italy, the chair of this year’s G-7 summit.

That globally influential thinktanks sharing the common values of freedom and democracy gathered in Tokyo to cooperate when the world is at such a critical juncture is a highly significant endeavor. Our emergency appeal from Tokyo had been made public and transmitted to the world.

This publication recorded the entire debate that took place during the three-day conference. Please take a moment to read the message to the global community from the intellectuals who have attempted to tackle global problems head-on in this destabilizing world. We sincerely hope that our efforts will serve as a starting point at least to alleviate the concerns that face the international system and democracy.

About The Tokyo Conference

In March 2017, The Genron NPO launched the Tokyo Conference as a Tokyo-based platform for dialogue between representatives of leading thinktanks from 10 major countries that share “democracy” and “individual freedom” as universal values gather to discuss the future of democracy and the international order, as well as diverse global issues, at a time when the world is transforming rapidly.

The Tokyo Conference is designed to deliver the agreements or proposals resulting from the discussions at its open forum and closed sessions to the chair of the Group of Seven summit and the Japanese government as its joint message to the G-7. The contents of the discussions or the proposals are made to be broadly publicized in Japanese and English in Japan and abroad. We are plan to organize the Tokyo Conference as an annual forum for dialogue on a regular basis, and at the same time, we aim to develop the forum into a multilateral conference with stronger communicative power that can influence the world.

Schedule

Date: March 3 (Fri.), 4 (Sat.), and 5 (Sun.) 2017

Location: United Nations University, Tokyo (5-53-70 Jingumae, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo)

March 3 (Fri.)

2:30pm – 5:45pm

Closed Session 1

The Future of Liberal Democracy and the International Order
- Challenges Facing Freedom and Democracy in the World Today -

6:30pm – 8:30pm

Panelist Welcome Dinner

March 4 (Sat.)

9:30pm – 12:00pm

Closed Session 2

What Common Norms We Should Preserve
- The Proposal for the G-7 Summit -

1:30pm – 6:00pm

“The Tokyo Conference” Public Forum

-The Future of Liberal Democracy and the World-

1:30pm – 1:45pm Opening Remarks: Yasushi Kudo, President of The Genron NPO

1:45pm – 3:30pm **Session 1** “Populism and the Future of Democracy”

3:45pm – 5:20pm **Session 2** “Globalization and the Future of International System”

5:25pm – 5:35pm Message to the 2017 G-7 Summit in Italy

5:35pm – 5:55pm Special Remarks: Minister for Foreign Affairs Fumio Kishida

5:55pm – 6:00pm Closing Remarks

6:20pm – 8:00pm

Reception

March 5 (Sun.)

9:30pm – 11:30pm

Closed Session 3

How to Preserve the Universal Values of Freedom and Democracy

About The Tokyo Conference

Message to the G-7 Summit in Italy

The Tokyo Conference 2017 was convened for three consecutive days, consisting of an open forum and three closed sessions to discuss matters related to democracy and individual freedom, as well as global issues that the world face today. At the end of the open forum, the “Message to the G-7 Summit in Italy” was issued as the roundup of the discussions at the conference. The message was handed to Japanese Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida as the representative of the Japanese government and Italian Ambassador to Japan Domenico Giorgi as the representative of the Italian government, which chairs the G-7 annual summit in 2017. Upon receiving the joint message, Foreign Minister Kishida delivered a special lecture at the close of the Tokyo Conference.

The Tokyo Conference in Numbers

More than 300 people participated in the open session of the Tokyo Conference, including government officials, embassy personnel, researchers and business executives, among others. The discussions were broadcasted live online.

In addition, the inauguration of the Tokyo Conference was covered by numerous media organizations, such as TV stations and national newspapers. In these media, the forum was referred to as “a platform for private-sector thinktanks to reconfirm the significance of democracy and individual freedom as universal values that should be shared, and as a venue for them to discuss how to address in earnest the ongoing changes in the world”, and the discussions at the forum were broadly reported or broadcasted. Moreover, interviews of some of the representatives of the participating thinktanks were taken up in the opinion section of leading vernacular newspapers. The Tokyo Conference thus contributed largely to the creation of a new platform for dialogue on global issues in Japan.

Numbers of Participants

- Open Session: 350 people
- Reception: 80 people

Numbers of Media Coverage

- Online: 14
- National newspaper/
news agency: 10
- TV: 1



Message to the G-7 Summit in Italy

March 4, 2017

Representatives of the leading thinktanks from the 10 countries that comprise the Group of Seven - the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom - as well as India, Brazil and Indonesia, gathered in Tokyo on March 4 to launch the Tokyo Conference.

The world's representative thinktanks were prompted to meet in Tokyo out of a sense of crisis that individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law, the fundamental values that have underpinned the international order since the end of World War II, face major difficulties today and that the world is growing increasingly unstable.

In the United States, a new administration has been inaugurated, while major elections are coming in Europe. At this critical juncture, we consider it imperative for the thinktanks in the 10 major states that share the common values of individual freedom and democracy to work together to preserve and protect these values.

In the last two days, we had serious discussions and shared common perceptions on many issues. One is the contemporary significance of individual freedom and democracy as universal norms. The world's economy is becoming increasingly interdependent, and we are sharing both the benefits and challenges, including the issue of resource constraints and technological development.

These universal norms are assets for humankind, and are indispensable if individual freedom is to be protected and the benefits are to reach all peoples of the world. Another is the importance of having an appropriate balance between domestic interests and international commitments.

The chair's conclusion based on our discussion is that the G-7 summit due to Italy in May should deliver a strong and effective message to the world, and serve as an engine to drive the task of solving various global agendas and of preserving our universal values, and respect of the role of law and international norms, including U.N. treaties and resolutions. It is also imperative to fight against terrorism.

Needless to say, it is difficult to rely solely on governments to sustain the universal norms. Elites and the media should work with fellow citizens to confront the challenges facing individual freedom and democracy, and should start serious discussions on how to address the crisis. All the thinktanks from the 10 major democracies, which gathered in Tokyo, have agreed to engage in the discussion according to the statute of respective institution.

From such a standpoint, the following five points were highlighted.

First, the G-7 member states should reconfirm the contemporary significance of individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law as the universal values humankind has realized, and at the same time, they should work together to overcome the challenges and protect and develop these values. Also, the G-7 states should preserve the framework of international cooperation based on multilateralism, and proactively sustain the roles by the United Nations and various international organizations to maintain the long-established international order.

Second, the G-7 states should demonstrate their firm resolve to firmly maintain the free-trade system and to counter all forms of protectionism by acknowledging the fact that protectionist moves are beginning to have a negative impact on the world economy and the international order.

Third, the G-7 states should promote fiscal, monetary and structural policy measures in a comprehensive manner in order for globalization to advance steadily under the international order, and to contribute to the inclusive development and benefits of the entire world. At the same time, they should work to boost the resiliency of their respective economic systems in a manner to respond to the structural adjustments of economies and sophistication of industrial structures.

Fourth, migration should be dealt with as a high-priority issue for the restoration of a stable and sustainable international order, and the G-7 states must join hands to tackle the issue. To this end, they should strive to attain the goal set by the U.N.-promoted third-country resettlement program, extend aid to nations and communities taking in refugees, step up measures to address the root causes of the issue and support private-sector endeavors.

Fifth and finally, the G-7 states should recognize the importance of resilience of democracy, in order to maintain an open international economic system, to cope with excessive frictions to abide by the rules of the system, and to achieve an appropriate balance with national interests. The efforts of the governments to observe the norms and address the challenges in earnest should be supported and bolstered broadly by civil society.

March 4, 2017
The Tokyo Conference

List of Member Thinktanks

10 International Thinktanks Participated in the Tokyo Conference 2017



Brazil
Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)



Canada
Center for International Governance and Innovation (CIGI)



France
French Institute of International Relations (IFIR)



Germany
German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)



India
Observer Research Foundation (ORF)



Indonesia
Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)



Italy
Institute of International Affairs (IAI)



Japan
The Genron NPO



United Kingdom
Chatham House / The Royal Institute of International Affairs



The United States of America
Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

List of Participants (Thinktanks)



Japan

Yasushi KUDO/ President, The Genron NPO

Yasushi Kudo is the founder and president of the Genron NPO since its establishment in 2001. In 2005, he launched annual civil dialogue (“Tokyo-Beijing Forum”) and joint opinion poll between Japan and China, which have been conducted over the 12 years since then. In 2013, he newly launched a dialogue, the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, between Japan and Korea and has conducted a comparative opinion poll on impression of each other’s country. From 2012, Mr. Kudo has served as Japanese delegation of the Council of Councils, an international thinktank network initiated by the Council on Foreign Relations. “The Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders” has also been established as a venue for open and free debate for intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asian countries to jointly identify common challenges, and advocate solutions to them, while collaborating to bolster democracy and address challenges to democracy.



The United States of America

James M. LINDSAY / Senior Vice President, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

James M. Lindsay is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). He is a leading authority on the American foreign-policy-making process and the domestic politics of American foreign policy. From 2006 to 2009, he was the inaugural director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas at Austin. From 2003 to 2006, he was vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at CFR. He has written widely on various aspects of American foreign policy, American government, and international relations.

CFR is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, thinktank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries since 1921.



United Kingdom

John NILSSON-WRIGHT/ Senior Research Fellow, Asia Programme, Chatham House

John Nilsson-Wright is senior research fellow for Northeast Asia with the Asia Programme at Chatham House, senior university lecturer in Japanese Politics and International Relations at Cambridge University and an official fellow of Darwin College, Cambridge. He was head of the Chatham House Asia Programme from March 2014 until October 2016. He has a BA in Politics, Philosophy and Economics (PPE) from Christ Church, Oxford; an MA in International Relations and East Asian Studies from SAIS, Johns Hopkins; and a DPhil in International Relations from St Antony’s, Oxford. He comments regularly for the global media on the international relations of East Asia, with particular reference to Japan and the Korean peninsula. He has been a visiting fellow at Tohoku University, Yonsei University and Seoul National University, a member of the World Economic Forum’s (WEF) Global Agenda Council (GAC) on Korea and is a director of the UK-Japan 21st Century Group. He has testified on East Asian affairs to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, is a member of the editorial board of Global Asia and is a founding member of the European Japan Advanced Research Network (EJARN).

Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, founded in 1920, is an independent policy institute based in London. Its mission is to help build a sustainably secure, prosperous and just world.



Italy

Ettore GRECO/ Director, Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

Ettore Greco is Director of the IAI and also heads the transatlantic program of the institute. He worked as visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution from January 2006 to July 2007. He taught at the universities of Parma and Bologna. From 2000 to 2006 he worked as correspondent for the Economist Intelligence Unit. From 1993 to 2000 he directed the IAI’s program on Central and Eastern Europe. He was also Deputy Director of the IAI from 1997 to 2008. From 2000 to 2006 he was Editor of The International Spectator. He is the author of a number of publications on the EU’s institutions and foreign policy, transatlantic relations and the Balkans. He has been a free-lance journalist since 1988.

IAI, founded in 1965, is a non-profit organization in Rome. The Institute’s main objective is to promote an understanding of the problems of international politics through studies, research, meetings and publications, with the aim of increasing the opportunities of all countries to move in the direction of supranational organization, democratic freedom and social justice.



India

Sunjoy JOSHI/ Director, Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

Sunjoy Joshi has been the director of the Observer Research Foundation in New Delhi since 2009. He began his career with the Government of India as a member of the Indian Administrative Service in 1983, and served in various capacities for 25 years before he left to pursue his primary interests in energy and environment. His areas of expertise include strategic issues related to India's energy needs and their interplay with the country's development challenges in the context of the contemporary climate change narrative as well as other non-traditional security threats faced by emerging economies.

ORF, founded in 1990, seeks to lead and aid policy thinking towards building a strong and prosperous India in a fair and equitable world. It provides non-partisan, independent, well-researched analyses and inputs to diverse decision-makers in governments, business communities, and academia and to civil society around the world. The mandate is to conduct in-depth research, provide inclusive platforms and invest in tomorrow's thought leaders today.



Indonesia

Philips VERMONTE/ Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Philips J. Vermonte joined CSIS in 2001. He received his Master of Arts degree in international studies from Department of Politics, the University of Adelaide, Australia, in 2001, funded by the AusAID scholarship. He obtained his Ph.D. in Political Science at Northern Illinois University, Dekalb, USA in 2012.

CSIS, established in 1971, is an independent, non-profit organization focusing on policy-oriented studies on domestic and international issues. Its basic mission is to be a vehicle for new and independent ideas particularly within Indonesia. CSIS research and studies are channeled in various forms as independent input to government, universities and research institutions, civil society organizations, media, and business.



Canada

Rohinton P. MEDHORA/ President, Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)

Rohinton P. Medhora is president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation, joining in 2012. He served on CIGI's former International Board of Governors from 2009 to 2014. Previously, he was vice president of programs at Canada's International Development Research Centre. He received his doctorate in economics in 1988 from the University of Toronto, where he subsequently taught. His fields of expertise are monetary and trade policy, international economic relations, aid effectiveness, and development economics.

CIGI, founded in 2001, is an independent, non-partisan thinktank with an objective and uniquely global perspective. Our research, opinions and public voice make a difference in today's world by bringing clarity and innovative thinking to global policy making. Its research programs focus on governance of the global economy, global security and politics, and international law.



Germany

Barbara LIPPERT/ Director of Research, German Institute for International Security Affairs (SWP)

Dr. Barbara Lippert is Director of Research and Member of the Executive Board of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin. She oversees the work of SWP's seven research divisions. Her research focus is on European integration. Before joining SWP in 2009 she was Deputy Director of the Institute for European Politics (IEP), Berlin, and lecturer at universities in Cologne and Berlin. She holds an MA and PhD from the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-University Bonn. She studied political science, modern history, Eastern European history and Slavic philology at Bonn University and the Free University of Berlin.

SWP is a foundation which advises political decision-makers on international politics and foreign and security policy since 1962. Its services are orientated primarily towards the German government and Bundestag, as well as relevant international organizations such as the European Union, NATO and the United Nations.



Brazil

Carlos Ivan SIMONSEN LEAL / President, Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)

Professor Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal is President of the Getulio Vargas Foundation since August 2000. In 1980, he graduated in Civil Engineering from the Engineering School of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), but opted for an academic life and graduated in Mathematical Economics from the “Instituto de Matemática Pura e Aplicada”, in 1982. Doctor degree at the “Escola de Pós Graduação em Economia” - EPGE of Getulio Vargas Foundation (1980-1982) and obtained the title of Doctor in Economics from Princeton University (USA) in 1986. At FGV, he held the following positions: director of FGV Business, 1992-4; general director of EPGE, 1994-7; and vice-president of FGV, 1997-2000.

FGV, founded in 1944, is world renowned center for quality education dedicated to promoting Brazil's economic and social development. With eight schools, two research institutes, technical assistance projects and a publishing unit, FGV is ranked one of the top thinktanks and top higher education institutions in the world.



France

Thomas GOMART / Director, French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

Dr. Thomas Gomar (Ph.D. in History at Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and EMBA at HEC) is Director of IFRI. He previously was its Vice President for Strategic Development (2010-2015) and the director of its Russia/NIS Centre (2004-2013). He is also the co-editor of the trilingual electronic series *Russie.Nei.Visions*. Before joining the thinktank industry, Gomar was an Assistant Professor at La Sorbonne (1996-1999), a cadet officer in the Army (2000), and a policy entrepreneur (2001-2004). His current research focuses on Russia, digital governance, country risk, and thinktanks.

IFRI, founded in 1979, is the principal institution for independent research and debate in France that is dedicated to the analysis of international affairs and global governance. Ifri's policy-oriented research strives to illuminate international events and put them in perspective. It is primarily useful for political and economic decision-makers as well as academics, opinion leaders, and civil society representatives.

List of Participants (Japan)

Japanese Government



Masatsugu ASAKAWA/ Vice Minister of Finance for International Affairs, Ministry of Finance

Masatsugu Asakawa is currently serving as Vice Minister of Finance for International Affairs, and is responsible for all international policies of the Japanese Ministry of Finance. His responsibilities include G20/IMF issues, foreign exchange rate policy, and development assistance. Since he joined the MOF in 1981, he has held many senior positions in the Ministry, including Director-General of the International Bureau(2014-15), Deputy Vice Minister for Policy Planning and Co-ordination(2013-14). He also served as Executive Assistant to the Prime Minister under the Aso Cabinet (2008-09).

Mr. Asakawa also has extensive experience outside the MOF. He served as Head for Technical Assistance Management Unit, Fiscal Affairs Department at the IMF (1996-2000), and also served as Executive Assistant to the President of Asian Development Bank (1989-1992). Since June 2011, he has been serving as a Chair for Committee on Fiscal Affairs, OECD. He obtained his BA from University of Tokyo (Economics Faculty) in 1981, and MPA from Princeton University, USA in 1985.



Shinsuke SUGIYAMA/ Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Shinsuke Sugiyama entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) in April 1977. He then served as the Director of the Treaties Division of the Treaties Bureau and as Minister and Deputy Chief of Mission at the Japanese Embassy in Egypt. He then concurrently held the positions of Deputy Director-General for Middle East at the Middle Eastern and African Affairs Bureau and Deputy Director-General of the International Cooperation Bureau. In 2008, he became the Ambassador and Director-General for Global Issues. In 2011, he became the Director-General of Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau. In 2013, he served as the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. Since 2016, he has served as Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs.

World Agenda Council (WAC)



Akihiko TANAKA/ Professor of International Politics at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, The University of Tokyo; Former President, JICA

Akihiko Tanaka is Professor of International Politics at the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia, The University of Tokyo. He served as President of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) from April 2012 to September 2015. He obtained his bachelor's degree in International Relations at the University of Tokyo and Ph.D. in Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has written numerous books and articles on world politics and security issues in Japanese and English including *The New Middle Ages: The World System in the 21st Century* (Tokyo: The International House of Japan, 2002). He received the Medal with Purple Ribbon in 2012 for his academic achievements.



Yasuchika HASEGAWA/ Chairman of the Board, Takeda Pharmaceutical Company Limited; Former Chairman, Japan Association of Corporate Executives

Yasuchika Hasegawa is Chairman of the Board of Takeda Pharmaceutical Company Ltd. He has been with the company since 1970, including three years in Germany and ten years in the United States as Vice President and then President of TAP Pharmaceuticals, Inc., Chicago.

He joined Takeda's Board of Directors in 1999, became President in 2003, Chief Executive Officer in 2009, and Chairman in 2014. Mr. Hasegawa was also Chairman of the Keizai Doyukai (Japan Association of Corporate Executives) from 2011 to April 2015, and a member of the Abe government's Industrial Competitiveness Council since 2013. He graduated from Waseda University.



Ichiro FUJISAKI/ Chairman of the Institute of International Relations, Sophia University; Former Ambassador to the United States of America

Ichiro Fujisaki is Chairman of the International Relations Institute at Sophia University and President of the America-Japan Society, Inc. Born in 1947 and entered the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1969. He was the Ambassador to the United States from 2008 to 2012, after serving as Director-General of the North American Affairs Bureau, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Ambassador to the permanent mission of Japan to the international organizations in Geneva.

About World Agenda Council (WAC)



World Agenda Council (WAC) is an expert panel that The Genron NPO inaugurated in the spring of 2016, for the purpose of facilitating debate on global agenda in Japan by engaging Japan's prominent intellectuals and representatives of the world's leading thinktanks. The council tackles about pressing global issues and delivers opinions and proposals from Tokyo to the leaders around the world, particularly to the G-7 summit. The council also serves as the steering committee of the Tokyo Conference.

Members / Expert Advisors*		As of March 1
Kiyotaka Akasaka	President, Foreign Press Center Japan	
Toshihiro Iwasaki	Deputy President, Nomura Securities Co., Ltd.	
Susumu Okano	Senior Executive Managing Director, Daiwa Institute of Research Ltd.	
Yasushi Kudo	President, The Genron NPO	
Yoshiko Kojo	Professor, The University of Tokyo	
Seiichi Kondo	Director, Kondo Research Institute of Cultural and Foreign Affairs	
Hiroki Sugita	Chief Editorial Writer, Kyodo News	
Saburo Takizawa	Chairman, Japan Association for UNHCR	
Akihiko Tanaka	Professor, The University of Tokyo; Former President, JICA	
Yasuchika Hasegawa	Chairman of the Board, Takeda Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.	
Ichiro Fujisaki	Chairman, Sophia Institute for International Relations; Former Ambassador to the United States of America	
Kenji Yumoto	Vice Chairman, The Japan Research Institute, Ltd.	
Hayanari Uchino*	Managing Director, Daiwa Institute of Research Ltd.	
Junichi Fujino*	Principal Researcher, PMO, Institute for Global Environment Strategies	

Closed Session (March 3, 2017)



Closed Session (March 4, 2017)



Public Forum, Session 1 (March 4, 2017)



Public Forum, Session 2 (March 4, 2017)



Message to the G-7 Summit in Italy, Special Remarks (March 4, 2017)



Reception (March 4, 2017)



Welcome Dinner (March 3, 2017)



About Public Forum -Session 1-

Populism and the Future of Democracy

1:45~3:30pm

U Thant International Conference Hall 3F, United Nations University

As seen in the comments and actions of U.S. President Donald Trump, and in the anti-immigration movements in Europe, populist and nationalist sentiment is growing in the West. This has severely shaken responsible liberalism and democracy, the two beliefs that have underpinned the international order since the end of World War II, and nations are demonstrating a stronger tendency toward intolerance and exclusionism. These developments will constitute the backdrop to the conference's discussion topics such as how to protect and promote the norms of responsible liberalism and democracy, and to that end the role that institutions such as the G-7 should play. The world is experiencing greater instability, as seen in the instances of muscle-flexing by Russia and China; the dysfunctions erupting out of fragile states; and an increase in armed conflict and international terrorist attacks. Discussions at the conference will look at how advanced democratic nations can cooperate to bring about greater stability around the globe.

Keynote Speaker

Shinsuke Sugiyama

(Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Panelists (*Presenters) : Japan

***Akihiko Tanaka**

(Professor, The University of Tokyo;
Former President, Japan International
Cooperation Agency)

Moderated by;

Ichiro Fujisaki

(Chairman of the Institute of
International Relations; Sophia
University, Former Ambassador to the
United States of America)



Panelists (*Presenters): International

***James Lindsay**

(Senior Vice President, Council on Foreign
Relations)

John Nilsson-Wright

(Senior Research Fellow, Asia Programme,
Chatham House)

***Ettore Greco**

(Director, Institute of International Affairs)

Rohinton Medhora

(President, Centre for International
Governance Innovation)

***Barbara Lippert**

(Director of Research, German Institute for
International Security Affairs)

Thomas Gomart

(Director, French Institute of International
Relations)

***Sunjoy Joshi**

(Director, Observer Research Foundation)

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

(President, Getulio Vargas Foundation)

Philips Vermonte

(Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and
International Studies)

Public Forum -Session 1-

March 4, 2017

Session 1: Populism and the Future of Democracy

On March 4, 2017, The Genron NPO hosted a public forum at the U Thant International Conference Hall at the United Nations University in Tokyo, as a part of the Tokyo Conference 2017, a newly launched multilateral debate forum to address global issues. Representatives from leading thinktanks from India, Brazil, Indonesia, and all of the Group of Seven (G-7) countries took part in discussions based on the theme, "The Future of Democracy, Liberalism, and the World Order."

The thinktanks represented at the conference all share concerns about a

potential decline in individual freedom, democracy and the rule of law. Their discussions at the conference resulted in the drafting of a joint five-point message that will be delivered by a representative of the Japanese government to the government of Italy, which is chairing the G-7 summit to be held in May 2017. Details on the content of the message can be found on the Genron NPO website.

The Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo provided an outline of the results of a questionnaire conducted by the organization, then began Session 1 of the public forum by introducing Shinsuke Sugiyama, the Japanese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, who provided a speech.



Sugiyama began by suggesting that a calmer approach to the current global situation may be prudent. He referred to the writing of British diplomat Sir Robert Cooper, who claimed that the years 1919 and 1989 were major turning points in international relations over the last century. The Paris Peace Conference in 1919 laid the foundations for the League of Nations, while 1989 was the year of the Malta Summit - a meeting between U.S. President George H. W. Bush and Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev - during which the two leaders declared the Cold War over.

Sugiyama asked whether future historians looking back on 2017 will see it as being equivalent to 1919 and 1989 in terms of impact. He cautioned that, while there may be undercurrents to the Trump phenomenon that should be analyzed, panicking is the wrong approach. Ichiro Fujisaki, chairman of the Sophia Institute for International Relations, who also serves on the Advisory Board of The Genron NPO, moderated the Session One discussions, a selection of comments from which can be found below.

James Lindsay, senior vice president at the Council on Foreign Relations in the U.S. spoke first, stating that while he believes this is a time of "turbulence and uncertainty," much will depend on how policy makers react. In fact, one possible outcome of change is a new, better and revitalized order.

Whether democracy is in crisis or not is a difficult question, he added, noting that while democracy is fundamentally about people having the right to choose, it "doesn't guarantee that the people will choose wisely, or perhaps more accurately, that they will choose how we wish them to do so."

Next to speak was the representative from the United Kingdom, John Nilsson-Wright, senior research fellow in the Asia Programme at Chatham House.

Nilsson-Wright discussed how one possible explanation for the rise of populism is that it emerged out of a sense of economic grievance with the emergence of low cost-labor competition, and a "growing easternization" - i.e. the movement of the center of economic gravity into Asia.

Another explanation behind the increase in populism is anti-elitism fueled by resentment and irritation. Part of that comes from the failure of communities, he said, and to fix that it is necessary to create a sense of community that "transcends national boundaries."

“This is a time of ‘turbulence and uncertainty,’ much will depend on how policy makers react ”

Barbara Lippert, director of research at the German Institute for International Security Affairs, pointed out that even before the arrival of Trump, there was a trend towards populism in Europe, fed by the populist distaste for the common values espoused by the EU. Lippert also said that it should be remembered that populism isn't limited to the right of the political spectrum; it's on the march on both right and left, "but it's only one part of the broader political scenery." It is not a coherently organized movement, but rather one with "many faces".

Ettore Greco, director of Italy's Istituto Affari Internazionali, pointed to a number of factors contributing to the rise of populism. One factor is the widespread anxiety about the long-term economic future, especially among the young. Globalization has had a devastating effect in some areas, and there need to be policies that protect those who "are left behind". Another factor is the public's growing uneasiness with increased diversity and issues with integrating immigrants.

People are looking to have better border control, and perhaps, there is also a need to think about sharing the burden of migrant flow globally.

Sunjoy Joshi, director of India's Observer Research Foundation, intimated that it would be better to define what we mean by "democracy" before engaging in such discussions. It would be wrong, he said, to assume that democracy should guarantee the liberal order of free trade and open markets. Also, the rise in populism should be seen as a sign for those in the World Economic Forum and the "bankers on Wall Street" that perhaps a "course correction" is in order.

“Globalization has had a devastating effect in some areas, and there need to be policies that protect those who ‘are left behind’.”

Joshi believes that judicious application of policy is necessary, pointing to the inherent complexities in the system, and stating that our governments need to be far more resilient and adaptive. As Joshi stated, the world has moved far beyond the

requirements of the 18th or 19th century. He believes that rather than worry about "why", the G-7 should be made more democratic by including others - including countries like India, Brazil and Indonesia - at the table.

Akihiko Tanaka, who formerly served as president of the Japan International Cooperation Agency and is currently a professor at the University of Tokyo, noted that two potential events would result in large changes in the global status quo on a level similar to the changes of 1919 and 1989.

The first would be drastic changes in current security treaties. Trump made various claims while campaigning that could lead to such changes, though Tanaka pointed out that he has since pledged to continue supporting the U.S. -Japan alliance.

The second potential catalyst would be a failure of liberal democracy in the U.S., and a rise of an authoritarian regime in the country. Tanaka noted that the U.S. constitution was designed to be powerful enough to limit the possibility of such a situation.

In wrapping up the first session of the public forum, Fujisaki offered his opinion that the populist pendulum may swing back in the other direction. The major strength of the U.S. over China and other nations is the "richness of its democracy, and its tradition of protecting basic human rights and freedom of speech." People want to share these basic values, not those of modern China.

He also reiterated comments made by numerous participants that there needs to be a greater focus on those who have been negatively affected by globalization.

About Public Forum -Session 2-

Globalization and the Future of International System

3:45pm~5:20pm

U Thant International Conference Hall 3F, United Nations University

What impact will the “America First” and protectionist economic policies of President Trump have on the world, and on individual countries? What are the futures of multilateral economic frameworks such as the TPP and NAFTA, and even the WTO? How are we to view the challenges thrown up by globalization, and the threat that these challenges may represent to the relationship with democracy and the nation-state? What action should states take in response to these issues? To bring about stability and sustainable growth to the world economy, what are the roles that the G-7 should play, along with the framework of international cooperation that it embodies?

Keynote Speaker

Masatsugu Asakawa

(Vice-Minister of Finance for International Affairs, Ministry of Finance)

Panelists (*Presenters): Japan

***Yasuchika Hasegawa**

(Chairman of the Board, Takeda Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.; Former Chairman of the Japan Association of Corporate Executives)

Moderated by;

Yasushi Kudo

(President, the Genron NPO)



Panelists (*Presenters): International

James Lindsay

(Senior Vice President, Council on Foreign Relations)

John Nilsson-Wright

(Senior Research Fellow, Asia Programme, Chatham House)

Ettore Greco

(Director, Institute of International Affairs)

***Rohinton Medhora**

(President, Centre for International Governance Innovation)

Barbara Lippert

(Director of Research, German Institute for International Security Affairs)

***Thomas Gomart**

(Director, French Institute of International Relations)

Sunjoy Joshi

(Director, Observer Research Foundation)

***Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal**

(President, Getulio Vargas Foundation)

***Philips Vermonte**

(Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International Studies)

Session 2: Trump Administration and the Future of the International System

Session Two was opened with a speech by Japanese Vice-Minister of Finance for International Affairs, Masatsugu Asakawa, who described how there are two methods of coordinating policy in globalized society: "multilateralism + globalism" and "regionalism + bilateralism."

Asakawa said that the international cooperative framework has leaned towards both in differing measures at different times over the past 20 years, but he asserted that neither method negates the other. Asakawa cited the Chinese economy as being a potential risk to international finance.

"There is still high capital outflow momentum," Asakawa said. "However, Chinese authorities are intervening in the fall of the renminbi by purchasing more of the currency and implementing controls on capital outflow, and we support their efforts."

Asakawa concluded by emphasizing the importance of how China deals with the issues it faces, from excess production facilities and bad loans to the introduction of a social security framework and financial resources with its aging populace and declining birthrate.

The Genron NPO President Kudo took over as moderator for the second session, and asked participants to provide insight on the new Trump administration and the future of the international system.

Thomas Gomart, director of the French Institute of International Relations, stated that it is necessary for the world to address the effects of the internet. Gomart described that while the internet is a path for "empowerment, entrepreneurship, and freedom," at the same time, it has become a tool for censorship and control by some states. The world must think about the future of digital governments, particularly in terms of the G-7.

In the current climate, the U.S. will continue to dominate, but Gomart believes, "it has lost its moral leadership." China appears to stand as the emerging power and Russia stands as the declining power, which "represents some risk". In addition to the great powers, Gomart touched upon the fragmentation of the Middle East and emergence of Africa, both of which are concerns. Keeping the world open to globalization is the responsibility of the G-7, according to Gomart, but also of other countries like Brazil, India and South Africa. All of which "must defend the principles of moderation and public goods, and defend the principle of the fight against climate change."



Rohinton Medhora, president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Canada, referred to a question Asakawa posed about whether globalization and nationalism are compatible. Medhora believes that they are, and in fact, he believes that "nationalism will save globalization". Each country can invest in its own safety nets, innovation strategies, and research and development, and that is just one way through which nationalism can direct the path that globalization takes.

Medhora also referred to a story in the New York Times claiming that there are two factions in Trump's White House: one demanding that the U.S. should "keep denying climate change, and exit the Paris Agreement," and another faction (which includes the Secretary of State and Trump's own daughter) that argues that the current systems and processes can be used to benefit the U.S. and still allow the country to meet international norms.

"New global governance mechanisms, along with traditional ones like trade, can converge, even in the current era," Medhora concluded.

“The world has changed and new strategies are necessary”

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, president of Brazil's Getulio Vargas Foundation, provided a perspective that differed from those of others on the panel.

He first asked the panel to consider what the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) truly promotes. Perhaps it promotes more trade, perhaps greater isolation of China, he said. Regardless, Trump making the decision to leave the TPP is not simply a sign of his desire to appease voters at home; it is also necessary for him to focus where U.S. money goes.

"It's not so insensible," he emphasized.

"Fiscal limits have been reached, maybe surpassed."

The U.S. must be careful with its investments, and in Leal's opinion, the TPP "would weaken the United States, contrary to what most people think."

Leal also pointed to the increased polarization of world trade with commodities and energy on one side, and high aggregated value products on the other. The questions of integrating services and industry are largely ignored and "we still think about these problems in the same way as we used to think 30 or 40 years ago" when world trade was simpler.

According to Leal, the world has changed and new strategies are necessary, and although he pointed out that it is too early to make any judgements, he doesn't see what is happening as a series of blunders as yet. Someone must think outside of the box in order to fix the issues the world faces, and perhaps Trump is doing just that.

Philips Vermonte, executive director for the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Indonesia, pointed out three factors that contribute to the advancement of globalization, and the roadblocks related to each. The first factor is that of technological advancements destroying barriers to trade, or as Vermonte put it, "the dissolution of distance by technology, both ICT and transport." Technology will continue to advance, he said, so this factor will remain.

The second factor is comprised of reduced obstacles to trade such as tariffs, domestic subsidies, and preferential treatment, while the third factor is political, including facets both cultural and domestic.

While the first factor encourages continued advancement of the globalization agenda, Vermonte said that the second and third factors continue to create obstacles. However, he believes that one solution may lie in the founding of regional organizations. The European Union is currently in disarray, but in Southeast Asia, and for the ASEAN Plus 3 nations, the death of the TPP leaves the alternative of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership. While the major powers must accept such agreements for them to succeed, Vermonte believes that regional organizations must take up the responsibility of maintaining the momentum behind continued open trade.

Yasuchika Hasegawa, chairman of Takeda Pharmaceutical Co. who also serves on the Advisory Board of The Genron NPO, was also asked to comment and he referred to a McKinsey survey that revealed that increases in global wealth, services, salaries, data, and freedom of movement have contributed to increasing the world's GDP by about 10 percent over the last 10 years. In contrast, he noted, in 1980-2008, there was no growth in personal income for those in the lower half of incomes in the OECD member states. Hasegawa stated that the data showed assets belonging to the top 1 percent increasing by about 70 percent, all while income disparity

continued to expand.

“Regional organizations must take up the responsibility of maintaining the momentum behind continued open trade”

Hasegawa believes that this illuminates the length of time it takes for the benefits of globalization to be felt by everyone, and pointed to that "benefit lag" as a cause of the opposition to globalization. He believes that the growth of liberal democracy in many countries is a good thing, but more care must be taken, as the fruits of that growth are currently disproportionately allocated to the wealthy.

Kudo wrapped up Session Two by reminding those in attendance that while globalization continues to be important for the common good, up until now, there have been no mechanisms in place that allow its benefits to reach more people.

Educating people on its benefits can prevent the loss of freedom and, in the extreme case, a return to fascism. The world's nations must continue to make use of the multilateral frameworks in place, and continue to promote democracy in each country, he said.

Special Lecture by Fumio Kishida Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan

March 4, 2017

Foreign Minister Kishida pledges Japan's leadership in facilitating G-7 collaboration



Japanese Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida said that the significance of the Group of Seven (G-7) should not diminish as an alliance of major democratic states that shares the universal values of individual freedom, democracy, free trade and the rule of law.

Citing these values as the "compass" in a world that seems increasingly adrift, Kishida said that Japan, as "one of the most politically stable countries among the advanced democracies," will take the lead in maintaining the G-7 collaborative relationship.

Kishida made the remarks in a special lecture in Tokyo on March 4 at the close of the Tokyo Conference open forum, a new multilateral debate platform organized by The Genron NPO.

The foreign minister recalled that the international collaborative system has been established on these universal values since the end of World War II out of deep

remorse for the failure of humankind to prevent the two global conflicts.

"In spite of the spread of anti-globalism, protectionism and populism in some advanced states, and moves to alter the status quo by force, I strongly believe that these universal values will never erode, and never be replaced by anti-globalism and protectionism," Kishida stressed.

At the same time, he acknowledged the importance of addressing the negative side of the globalizing economy, including the issue of divisions and inequalities, with a call for improvement in domestic policy measures, especially in the areas of social security and education, and for global efforts to attain the U.N.'s sustainable development goals (SDGs).

Predicting that the international situation, especially the security environment in Asia, will undergo dramatic changes this year, Kishida said Japan's diplomacy must be navigated on an even, well-balanced course.

Specifically, he referred to four challenges - a balance between stepped-up defense buildups and political dialogue, or diplomatic efforts; a balance between the maximization of national interests and efforts to address global agendas; a balance between short-term domestic economic policies, and medium- and long-term measures to deal with issues of the global economy; and a balance in dealing specifically with each region of the world by promoting "diplomacy from a panoramic perspective of the world map."

Regarding Japan-U.S. relations, the foreign minister reiterated that Tokyo and Washington are strong allies that share basic values and strategic interests, and the US-Japan bilateral relationship is the cornerstone of Japan's diplomacy.

"The Japan-U.S. summit in February showed the entire world that the bilateral alliance is unshakable, thereby easing apprehensions about its future under the new U.S. administration of President Donald Trump," he said.

Kishida said that Japan will try harder to inform the U.S. of Japan's stances and seek its understanding in the ongoing process of forming the policies of the new U.S. administration.

"I strongly believe that these universal values will never erode, and never be replaced by anti-globalism and protectionism."



About Closed Sessions

Schedule

March 3 (Fri.)

2:30pm - 4:00pm

Closed Session 1

The Future of Liberal Democracy and the International Order
-Challenges Facing Freedom and Democracy in the World Today-

March 4 (Sat.)

9:30pm – 12:00pm

Closed Session 2

What Common Norms We Should Preserve
-The Proposal for the G-7 Summit-

March 5 (Sun.)

9:30pm – 11:30pm

Closed Session 3

How to Preserve the Universal Values of Freedom and Democracy

Participants

James Lindsay
John Nilsson-Wright

Senior Vice President, Council on Foreign Relations, U.S.
Senior Research Fellow, Asia Programme, Chatham House,
U.K.

Ettore Greco
Rohinton Medhora

Director, Institute of International Affairs, Italy
President, Centre for International Governance Innovation,
Canada

Barbara Lippert

Director of Research, German Institute for International
Security Affairs, Germany

Thomas Gomart
Sunjoy Joshi

Director, French Institute of International Relations, France
Director, Observer Research Foundation, India

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal
Philips Vermonte

President, Getulio Vargas Foundation, Brazil
Executive Director, Centre for Strategic and International
Studies, Indonesia

Hayanari Uchino
Yasushi Kudo
Yoshiko Kojo
Saburo Takizawa
Ichiro Fujisaki

Managing Director, Daiwa Institute of Research Ltd.
President, The Genron NPO
Professor, the University of Tokyo
Chairman, Japan Association for UNHCR
Chairman, Sophia Institute for International Relations;
Former Ambassador to the United States of America

Tokyo Conference panelists call for upholding multilateralism amid global uncertainties



Noted researchers from the world's major thinktanks have stressed the need to continue multilateral problem-solving efforts as U.S. President Donald Trump threatens to redraw the existing liberal global order.

The United States has received many benefits from the years of globalization, but fears have grown among people who have not enjoyed its prosperity, a senior researcher from the United States said at a closed panel discussion in Tokyo. Upholding the "America First" policy, President Trump successfully used the fears of these people to win the election, the researcher noted.

The occasion was an informal closed session on March 3 to pave the way for the opening of the Tokyo Conference 2017, a cross-border, private-sector forum, the following day.

According to the representative of the U.S. thinktank, many figures in the U.S. administration and Congress believe that the existing global order should be maintained. Looking at developments in the weeks since the Trump administration's inauguration, Cabinet members sometimes tried to check and amend the president's remarks, he said,

noting that it remains to be seen whether America will actually stop acting as the standard-bearer of the existing global order.

If the liberal global order is to be maintained, countries other than the United States should reconfirm the importance of liberal values and standards, and make efforts to protect them, the U.S. researcher said. The existing liberal order is the result of selected policies, not a natural consequence, he said, adding that the future of the liberal order must not be decided by Washington alone.

A panelist from Canada noted that signs of instability had begun to emerge in the current free international economic order before President Trump's arrival in the White House and Britain's decision to exit the European Union.

Production bases have spread and become diversified following globalization, and as a result, unskilled but cheap labor in developing countries has taken over from unskilled and expensive labor in developed countries, but the governments of developed countries have made no efforts to increase workers' skills by, among other things, preparing better vocational programs.

A report by a panelist from Germany discussed what it termed as “chaos” in Europe since 2015 following the continued influx of immigrants and refugees from the Middle East.

Summer 2015 was a major turning point for the EU amid the arrival of massive numbers of refugees from the Middle East, the panelist recalled. Since the countries concerned in Europe were divided on how to deal with the refugees, the Schengen Agreement, which guarantees the free movement of people within the EU region, came to be threatened.

At a time when European governments had difficulty addressing refugee-related issues, people in Europe became critical of elites’ failures to solve the challenges facing the continent, and this has given strength to anti-liberal forces and ultraright parties, the German panelist said. Unless a solution is found in the democratic process to improve the situation, populists who offer unrealistic policies may become even stronger, the panelist warned.

Because innovative ideas are more welcome than simple manufacturing in today’s economic structure, unskilled workers in developed countries tend to be left further behind, said the panelist from Canada.

Because the globalization drive has come under growing criticism in various countries, the Group of Seven and the Group of 10 countries should play important roles in protecting multilateral efforts to find solutions, the Canadian researcher said.

In discussions after the remarks by the three key panelists, many participants noted that regional organizations will become even more important amid increasing uncertainties surrounding the

international community.

At a time when U.S. leadership is weakening internationally, many developing countries are concerned about their future, a participant said. The direction of President Trump’s foreign policy remains unclear, but if a global crisis occurs, he may come up with a new course for his approach to international issues, the participant said.

Because the strong leadership of the United States cannot be counted on any longer, the EU should display its strength and integrity, striving to build stronger relations with countries with the same values, another participant said.

The new White House administration has revised its stance on many policy issues compared to Trump’s pledges during the presidential election campaign, but because the United States is seen unlikely to return to the conventional values at least immediately, aggressive efforts must be made to protect the multilateral values, the participant said.



In discussions about whether President Trump’s America First policy can be checked, one researcher said that Congress should move to halt unrealistic policies. The course of public opinion is also a factor that may influence the administration. Trump is an unpopular president, but public support for his administration is divided, the researcher said.



The administration is not backed by 90 percent of those who support the Democratic Party, but it is supported by 40 percent to 45 percent of voters nationwide, and 80 percent of Republican Party supporters.

What happens with pro-Republicans who support the administration should be watched, the researcher said. If the number of supporters declines, President Trump may not be able to ignore such a change, he said.

In discussions about China, one participant said that the countries involved have few alternatives – that is, whether to side with Washington or Beijing.

Countries in Southeast Asia will have to lean toward China because they are geographically close to China. Meanwhile, it is uncertain whether the EU will be a global power because its structure is regionally complex and amid concerns stemming from the vagueness of the Trump administration's future course, the China factor looks more important than ever, the participant said.

Some participants also mentioned China's weaknesses, notably, the aging of society, the rigidity of its economic model, corruption in the bureaucracy, its political system, which is little trusted even by the people themselves, and a narrow-minded nationalistic nature that is sometimes fanned by political leaders.

In discussions about the EU's future amid a number of difficulties, participants from European thinktanks agreed that European countries should develop a new crisis management system by collectively sharing the responsibilities, following the poor handling of Britain's departure and the refugee issue.

About how to eliminate the poverty that is at the root of the refugee issue, some researchers from Europe stressed the importance of providing development assistance to poor countries. But others warned that case studies indicate that money supplied in assistance may be used by prospective refugees to travel to Europe.

Many researchers agreed that Europe should strengthen relations with Turkey because it has to work with Ankara in dealing with the inflows of immigrants and refugees from the Middle East. But some participants were cautious about future cooperation with Turkey. Specifically, they called attention to Turkey's approach toward Iran and Russia since a coup attempt in 2016, and its negative stance toward its obligations as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The wide-ranging discussions at the session also covered North Korea, internet governance and regulations on cross-border financial transactions.

※The identities of the speakers at the closed sessions are withheld according to Chatham House regulations as the discussions were informal.

Closed Session 2

March 4, 2017

Global thinktanks to urge G-7 to protect democratic values and individual freedom

With the birth of the Trump administration and its “America First” policy, the influence of populism in Western governments is strengthening protectionism and anti-foreignism around the world, posing a global threat to individual freedom and democracy.

Amid such a changing global political landscape, representatives from leading thinktanks in India, Brazil, Indonesia and all of the Group of Seven (G-7) countries discussed during a closed morning session, held March 4 prior to the opening of the Tokyo Conference 2017, the question of what needs to be protected in a world of globalization and democracy, as well as the role of the G-7 summit and what the world leaders need to agree on. Based on the discussions in Tokyo, a joint message by the conference participants will be delivered to representatives of the Japanese government as well as the government of Italy, the host for this year’s G-7 summit.

The representative from Japan kicked off the session by pointing out how the G-7 has ceased to be the center of the current multipolarized world order, but that the forum is still significant as it represents nations that value freedom and democracy,

and for offering a multinational cooperative framework for the past 42 years. With four new heads of state set to join the meeting in Taormina, Sicily, later this year, the G-7 framework could be destroyed if it fails to set an example. It is important for the 10 countries represented here, which view freedom and democracy as the norm, to send a unified message at the G-7 summit, he said.

The speaker further noted that it is necessary to separate the issues that globalism is facing from those that democracy is facing. Many supported globalization and free trade because it provided common benefits for all. But in reality, the benefits from globalization have yet to reach everyone, nor is there any mechanism or efforts in place to see that they do. “This is exactly what is called into question now. That is one reason why the G-20 Leaders’ Communique last year used the term ‘inclusive’ in its statement,” he said. The communique in 2016 states, “We are determined to foster an innovative, invigorated, interconnected and inclusive world economy to usher in a new era of global growth and sustainable development....”



Meanwhile democracy does not guarantee that election results will always favor liberal values, and people may end up selecting protectionist policies or see a democratically elected leader restrict individual freedom. “What we must ask ourselves now is the fundamental question: ‘What is the purpose of democracy?’ The purpose of democracy is to protect individual freedom. Democracy is not a perfect system but is still considered a common value to humankind because of this very purpose,” he said. The speaker also called attention to the fact that authoritarian tendencies are strengthening in some democratic countries where the leader, chosen by the people, moves to restrict the freedom of the very people who elected him or her. “If democracy, which should be protecting an individual’s freedom, starts to move toward abandoning this freedom, then that could lead to fascism,” he said.



The role of free speech in preventing a democratic system from creating adverse results is critical, and the media and intellectuals must make efforts to shape healthy public opinion, and work to resolve the various problems facing society, the Japanese speaker said. “That is why it is time for us to strengthen democracy in our respective countries and protect freedom in the world.”

This year’s G-7 agenda to focus on citizen protection, sustainability, socioeconomic inequality and economic innovation

Following the opening speech, participants shared views on the key agenda items to be discussed at the May G-7 summit. A speaker from Italy, the host country for this year’s meetings, said world leaders will most likely face difficult talks as discussions may no longer be conducted based on common values, depending on the outcome of the elections in Europe and what course the U.S. government has taken.

The G-7 leaders are expected to discuss the theme of “citizen protection” in light of the refugee crisis in the Mediterranean region and Sub-Saharan Africa amid growing uncertainty over the global order, according to the session participants. One representative pointed out that discontent over the failure of political and economic elites to address this major concern among the general public over the current very unstable geopolitical situation is one cause of the rise of populism. He said the G-7 leaders are expected to discuss how to ease the tension and divide between ordinary people and these elites in order to renew the basis for trust. In the same context, socioeconomic inequality is also to be discussed at the G-7 meeting.

Another key theme will be “sustainability,” particularly in the context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by world leaders in 2015. The Italian government is likely to focus particularly on the Paris Agreement, food safety and sustainable agriculture, according to the participants. Meanwhile, other topics of discussion will be “economic innovation,” in the context of how the introduction of new technology in manufacturing impacts the economy and society, as well as free trade, global financial restrictions and the fiscal policies of central banks around the world.



The session participants voiced concern over how the Italian government was going to successfully chair this year's G-7 summit with the new U.S. administration taking a drastically different position from previous administrations on issues ranging from climate change and immigration to global trade.

Meanwhile, participants had varying views on Russia, with some calling for rebuilding relations with Moscow to avoid a return to the days of Cold War, while others expressed doubt as to whether it would be worthwhile inviting Russian President Vladimir Putin back to the summit. "There is a need to build a constructive relationship with Russia, but much will depend on the stance taken by the United States," one participant said. The experts also pointed to the need to discuss the alleged cyberattacks by Russia, notably on the U.S. presidential election, as Europe faces many key elections this year. But many found it unlikely that the G-7 nations will take a tougher stance against Russia.

Regarding the large movements of refugees and migrants, many participants endorsed the new approach of focusing on the conditions in African nations as a key external factor affecting the crisis. The participants also questioned the discrepancy between Prime Minister Shinzo Abe administration's reluctance to accept immigrants and the general public who appear to be more accommodating as illustrated in a recent poll by The Genron

NPO that showed over half of the respondents saying Japan should accept more immigrants. The Japanese speakers defended the government's position by citing efforts to promote the resettlement of refugees, including economic aid.

Representatives from Germany, which will be hosting this year's Group of 20 (G-20) summit, said international terrorism will be an important topic of discussion for the G-7 meeting as well. Others suggested that the fight against terrorism should be one area where G-7 and G-20 nations can cooperate, saying that, "Terrorism is a threat not only to security but also to freedom itself."

Defining a standard for individual freedom and democracy

The discussions moved to the resilience of democracy, with session participants saying that the importance of the rule of law should be emphasized when talking about the need to set an example of democracy.

In conclusion, the representatives said private organizations like themselves must make an effort to narrow the gap created by the inequalities resulting from globalization, and that now was the time to think about what should be the standard for individual freedom and democracy. But that may prove tricky, as one participant said, "This year's (G-7) summit will face various difficulties and they will likely continue at next year's summit in Canada."

Closed Session 3

March 5, 2017

Panelists call for broader agenda, new members at the Tokyo Conference 2018

Panelists at the Tokyo Conference 2017 gathered at the United Nations University in Tokyo on March 5 to wrap up the cross-border, private-sector forum, which they hailed as a “great success.”

During a closed session, the panelists, who are representatives from leading thinktanks in India, Brazil, Indonesia and all of the Group of Seven (G-7) countries, reviewed the forum, and exchanged views on its direction and operation.

To an inquiry from the representative from Japan, who moderated the discussion, all the participants said in unison that the Tokyo Conference was a success.

In particular, those who took part in World Agenda 2016, the predecessor of the Tokyo Conference held in March 2016, agreed that the forum had taken a major leap forward during the past year.

The Japanese moderator told the participants about Tanzan Ishibashi, a journalist and politician. Despite the winds of militarism in Japan and the censorship of the press by the military during the war, Ishibashi advocated liberalism as editor-in-chief and publisher of a business journal. In the postwar years, he was elected president of the Liberal Democratic Party and became Japan’s prime minister in December 1956.

The Japanese speaker told the session that Ishibashi could survive the military’s persecution due to the presence of, and protection from, a covert network of pro-democracy and pro-liberal people in Japan.



In response, one of the participants said that at a time when liberal values are being threatened on a global scale, the world’s thinktanks should form a network that transcends national borders to protect democracy and liberal values.

Meanwhile, a participant voiced concerns that behind the rise of populism lies a deep-rooted popular antipathy toward political and economic elites, including politicians and media people, and that thinktanks are no exception. In response, another panelist insisted that thinktanks should enhance their capability to serve as an intermediary between government and public opinion. Yet another panelist argued that thinktanks must assume a role as “a platform for debate” to listen attentively to the voices of not only the majority but also the minority in society.



In this connection, the Japanese moderator reported that some of the younger members of the audience at the Tokyo Conference 2017 confided that the discussions at the forum were professional but difficult for them to comprehend, and that they should be conducted in a way to educate ordinary people. The speaker noted that liberal democracy functions solidly when citizens are empowered, adding that expert debate should be conducted in a manner that will help citizens to develop the ability to think.



During the session, the representatives of some of the world's leading thinktanks voiced a series of concrete proposals and suggestions about the agenda and the operation of the forum. They include:

- increased opportunities for foreign participants to hear Japanese positions or stances on global issues;
- in-depth debate on how to ensure coexistence between the majority and the minority in a democratic state;
- linkage of the Tokyo Conference with the

U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP), the East Asia Summit and other major multilateral conferences, in addition to the G-7 summit; and

- participation of strategically important regional powers in the Tokyo Conference, like Australia in the Asia-Pacific region and Turkey in Europe.

In closing the session, the Japanese moderator expressed his deep gratitude to all the participants whose cooperation resulted in the success of the Tokyo Conference 2017. He also said that Japanese citizens might have been surprised and impressed by the forum at which some of the world's most eminent people had discussed how to address global issues. He thus called on the participants to gather again at the Tokyo Conference 2018.

Interviews

Representatives from 10 Thinktanks

Post-conference interviews

The following texts present excerpts from post-conference interviews conducted with representatives from some of the world's leading thinktanks. They have been edited for brevity and clarity, but every effort was made to ensure the message remained unchanged.



The United States

James M. LINDSAY
Senior Vice President,
Council on Foreign
Relations (CFR)

Trump and benefits to the rise in populism

It was an exceptional conference. I want to congratulate Genron NPO President Kudo on assembling such a great array of talent. I think we accomplished a great deal, so congratulations!

President Trump has come to office in the United States, saying he's going to do things differently. This has caused a lot of ears to perk up around the globe, who want to know a little bit more about the Trump administration. I do think Mr. Trump approaches foreign policy differently than his predecessors, but I

would also remind everybody that we're only six weeks into the Trump presidency. There's a lot more to learn about what exactly Mr. Trump's approach to foreign policy.

Democracies are under stress, much of it as a result of the great recession that started in 2009. We have seen the rise of populism, but I think it's important to be careful not to see populism as necessarily moving away from democracy, but as an opportunity to revitalize democracy.

Ultimately, governments need to be responsive to the public. I think the big challenge for governments is to find policies that work to advance the lives of their people. That's what democratic governance is about.



The United Kingdom

John NILSSON-WRIGHT/ Senior Research Fellow, Asia Programme, Chatham House

Grass-roots engagement and the role of representatives

I think one of the big problems which now we see British politicians engaging with is volunteerism. David Milibrand argued very strongly that it is important to reconnect with local communities, and to do that, you have to involve people at the grass-roots level. We need to analyze more carefully how to get more people engaged with politics.

Kenneth Clark, home secretary in the Thatcher Cabinet, is one of the most well-established conservative politicians, and is

very pro-European. During a speech in parliament, he said very clearly that the tradition of democracy in Britain is the tradition of Burke, a great political philosopher who was writing at the time of the French Revolution. He argued that parliamentarians are not delegates; they are representatives. Their role is to make informed judgements independent of their electorate.

The Tokyo Conference was a great opportunity to demonstrate that all 10 institutions recognize the seriousness of the populist challenge. I think we had a very productive and practical set of discussions. We were able to come up with clear recommendations, and I think it's a very good basis for going on in the future. I hope that Chatham House can continue to collaborate very closely with The Genron NPO.



Italy

Ettore GRECO/ Director, Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

Reaffirm values, aim for closer collaboration

The Tokyo Conference was a valuable opportunity to exchange extensive views and have deep discussions on the priorities of the G-7 Italian presidency.

It was also important to reaffirm some basic principles and values among our countries. The G-7 does indeed have a comparative advantage thanks to the fact that it is composed of like-minded countries, which share a long-lasting, fruitful experience of mutual cooperation. We are fully aware that we need to renew

our forms of cooperation and also to extend those to other countries. But the foundation of this cooperation will continue to be based on a set of values and principles that we need to reaffirm continuously. We hope that this will be done at the summit in Taormina in May under the Italian presidency.

We are indeed most thankful to The Genron NPO for convening the conference and fostering this dialogue. I think The Genron NPO is playing a key role in Japan, particularly in the framework of this global network. For us, they are very valuable partner. We are confident we will continue this work, and are particularly interested in stronger cooperation between Japan and Italy, not least because we are now interested in joint work within such organizations as the G-7 and G20.



India

Sunjoy JOSHI/ Director,
Observer Research
Foundation (ORF)

Democracy's other threat and understanding complexity

I think the conference was a once in a lifetime experience, especially since it was the right subject chosen at the right time. The organization of the conference, the quality of the participants, and the response we got from the public forum was actually amazing.

A democracy is a country that cannot be dictated to. That is the essence of democracy. Democracies are democracies because they will continue to surprise. What has happened in the United States

and what happened in the United Kingdom were that the people surprised us by saying, "No, we need some course correction."

I would say it is premature to say that the threat to democracy is coming from that direction. The threat to democracy is actually coming from democratically elected leaders trying to impose their views. That is what we need to fight.

Democracy will never be perfect. It is a process of learning, and societies need to learn about democracy. People, leaders in particular, need to learn that they do not have all the answers, and they cannot have all the answers. The only way to understand to find answers in a complex world is to understand that complexity. Solutions will not reside in one mind. They will come from diverse sources, so leaders must be open to other sources.



Indonesia

Philips VERMONTE/
Executive Director, Centre for
Strategic and International
Studies (CSIS)

Finding alternative methods of facing challenges

I think the conference was important because it is linked to one particular event: the meeting of the G-7 leaders. In that way, the participants engaged in discussion in order to produce practical suggestions for the leaders that will need to be taken into account during their meetings regarding the future of democracy.

I think we have many challenges. We all see different problems in different places that all come at once, so then we have to

deal with them altogether. That's the real challenge because we don't have enough institutional preparedness in regards to many issues. In addition, many countries are facing domestic problems, so they don't really have the resources and commitment to work together to deal with common problems faced by different countries. I think leaders across the globe need to find alternative mechanisms, so when the problems become serious, we are ready to tackle them together.

In terms of commitment, we are the oldest thinktank in Indonesia and have been working on democracy in the security field, as well as committing to producing policy suggestions for the government. Working on democracy and regional security are always our main priorities. We look forward to continued cooperation with The Genron NPO, and also with the network you have successfully developed over the past two or three years.



Canada

Rohinton P. MEDHORA/
President, Centre for
International Governance
Innovation (CIGI)

Common values, continuity and change

I thought the Tokyo Conference was both successful and valuable. The question we dealt with was an important and timely one. The conference brought together representatives from 10 thinktanks and a powerful array of local scholars and policymakers to discuss what liberalism and openness mean in the current political, social and economic context.

Although the G20 in some ways predominates, especially on the economic globalization agenda, I think the G-7 is still not to be discounted. There's a continuity.

There's a smaller group of more like-minded countries than that is the case in the G20. I think that gives them the opportunity to go beyond the economic agenda and think through some of the more political issues that you correctly raised in the conference.

It is the nature of democracies to sometimes instigate change – even radical change. If the countries share common values, and if we have leaders who are more longstanding than others, then the group will be resilient enough to withstand that kind of change. The G-7 has been around a long time, and that's an indication of the flexibility of the organization and its desire to remain like-minded. Once leaders get together, even if they don't know each other, the nature of these summits is for them to get to know each other. There's no better way of modifying opinions than for people to talk to each other.



France

Thomas GOMART /
Director, French Institute of
International Relations (IFRI)

The future of France and of the EU itself

It was successful given the fact that it was its first edition. We also had a very good group of thinktanks coming from G-7 countries, plus thinktanks from India, Indonesia and Brazil. Also, the topic was very timely, because we had deep discussions on democracy, which is facing great challenges now even in democratic regimes. So, it was successful for those two reasons –the group of people around the table plus the topic.

We are facing a lot of issues. The first one is the current political situation in France

because we will have a presidential election in May and the situation is much more uncertain because of the political forces present. There is a huge possibility that Marine le Pen, coming from the far right of the political spectrum, would be the second issue. Basically, an uncertain political situation in France will obviously impact the elections coming in Germany and the future of the EU project. So, it is important for France. I think the real big issue is France's determination to continue the EU project, especially after Brexit. This is absolutely critical for France, not only in terms of democracy but also in terms of its future.



Brazil

Carlos Ivan SIMONSEN LEAL
/ President, Getulio Vargas
Foundation (FGV)

The benefits to “walking in another culture’s shoes”

The conference revealed not only the deep knowledge The Genron NPO has on international affairs, but also the ability that the Japanese people have to coordinate and arrange a difficult discussion on such important matters. It is a difficult time in the world now and I think that the Japanese influence will be a beneficial one.

My personal view on the dangers to democracy nowadays is perhaps a different one from people that live in Europe or in Southeast Asia. I come from a distant

corner of the world, and we are still evolving towards a full democracy. However, when I look at the rest of the world, I presume that I have an advantage; I am not bound by European culture or by Asian culture or by American culture, which are much older than mine. I tend to look at the problems with, I believe, a greater ease of thought.

We have to control the great competition that is starting. We all have to put ourselves in the other’s shoes and try to understand why they are taking such positions. The most dangerous situation is not when we disagree; it’s when we disagree and we don’t know why. We need more understanding, more conversation, and to go deeper into the problems to achieve a balance.



Germany

Barbara LIPPERT/
Director of Research,
German Institute for
International Security
Affairs (SWP)

Democratic quality control and drawing a line in the sand

I think the Tokyo Conference was very successful. We had closed sessions and intense intellectual exchanges, and then we had the public event. Although it was not interactive, we had a lively debate and continued what we started in our closed sessions.

We really must be concerned of the quality of our democracies, and be quite aware of those who take anti-system positions. Those who think it would be good to establish an alternative kind of system are

very short when it comes to solutions, but they are able to mobilize a lot of people who are discontent with the status quo.

We have to work to have good policy outputs, so that people see that things are done in a fair way. Input is also important. Is there real participation? Is there the opportunity to voice your position, whether you are confirming and working along mainstream lines or expressing opposing positions? That is part of what we must learn. We must learn to argue, to put forward arguments and ideas that support our position, but also be open to pluralistic views.

There is a line we cannot cross. We have to be quite clear that the principles of democracy must be observed by all actors. Those who do not accept it as a basis for the political process and public discourse...they are in a way enemies of democracy.

Survey of Experts

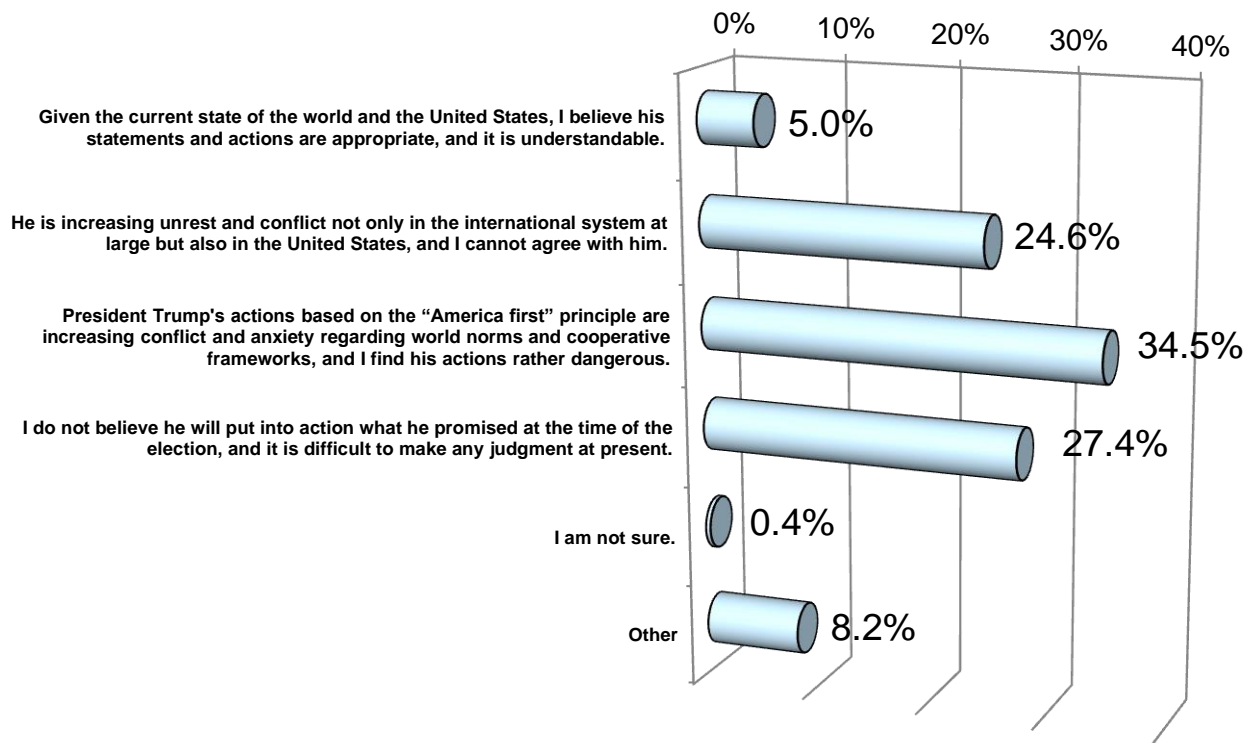
About the Survey

The Genron NPO released March 3rd the result of a survey of experts “To address issues facing us, Freedom and Democracy in Danger”, which was also the main theme of the Tokyo Conference. The survey was distributed about 6000 experts and conducted for 5 days, from February 27th to March 3rd, 2017. The analysis was made based on the 281 experts covered.

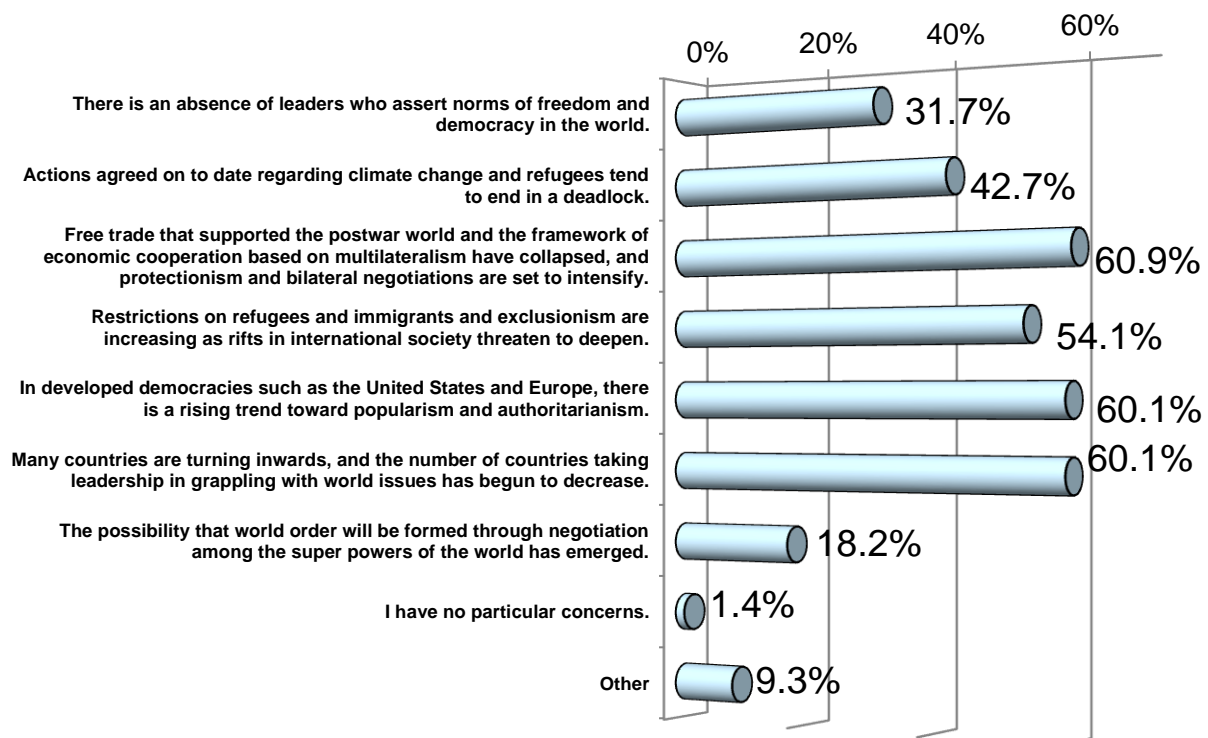
Information of Experts

Respondents	281	Affiliation	Business Executives and Managers: 19.3% Businessman: 16.0% Executives in Media: 3.4% Media Related: 7.1% Government Officials: 3.4% Local Government Officials: 1.9% Diet Members: 0.0% Local Assemblymen: 0.0% Works of NPO/NGO: 10.0% Academia/Researchers: 11.9% Organizations: 9.3% Students: 8.2% Self-Employed: 9.7%
Gender	Male: 86.9% Female: 13.1%		
Age	10~: 0.4% 20~: 6.4% 30~: 11.4% 40~: 10.0% 50~: 21.7% 60~: 26.0% 70~: 20.3% 80~: 3.9%		

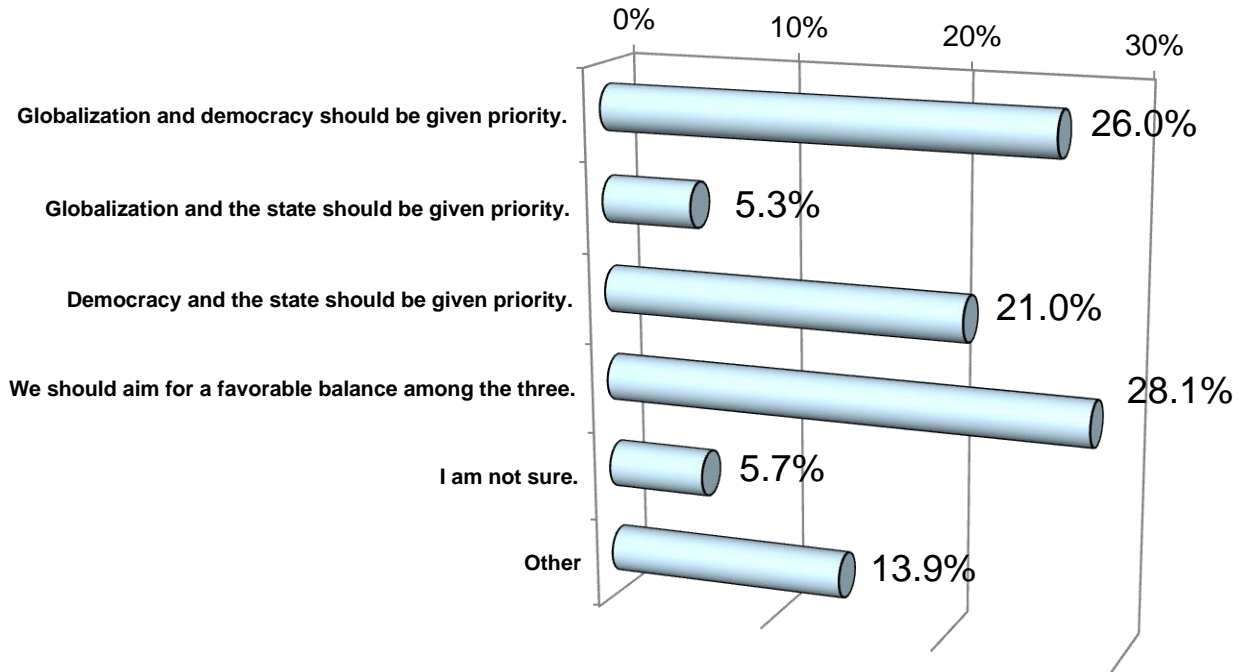
**Q1. How do you assess President Trump's actions and statements as of the present?
【choose one】**



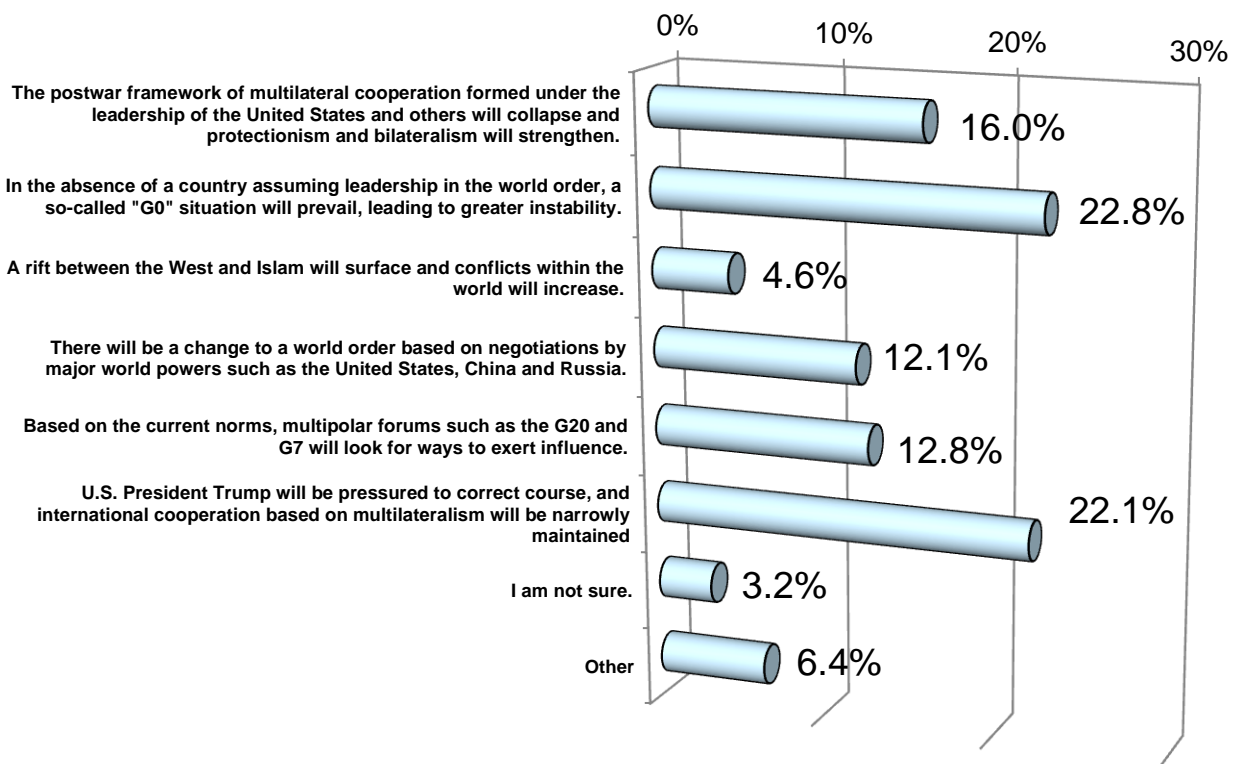
Q2. In addition to the emergence of President Trump, various changes are beginning to take place in the world such as Brexit from the EU and the rise of rightist populism in Europe. Given the world situation, what matters are of particular concern to you? 【choose one or more options】



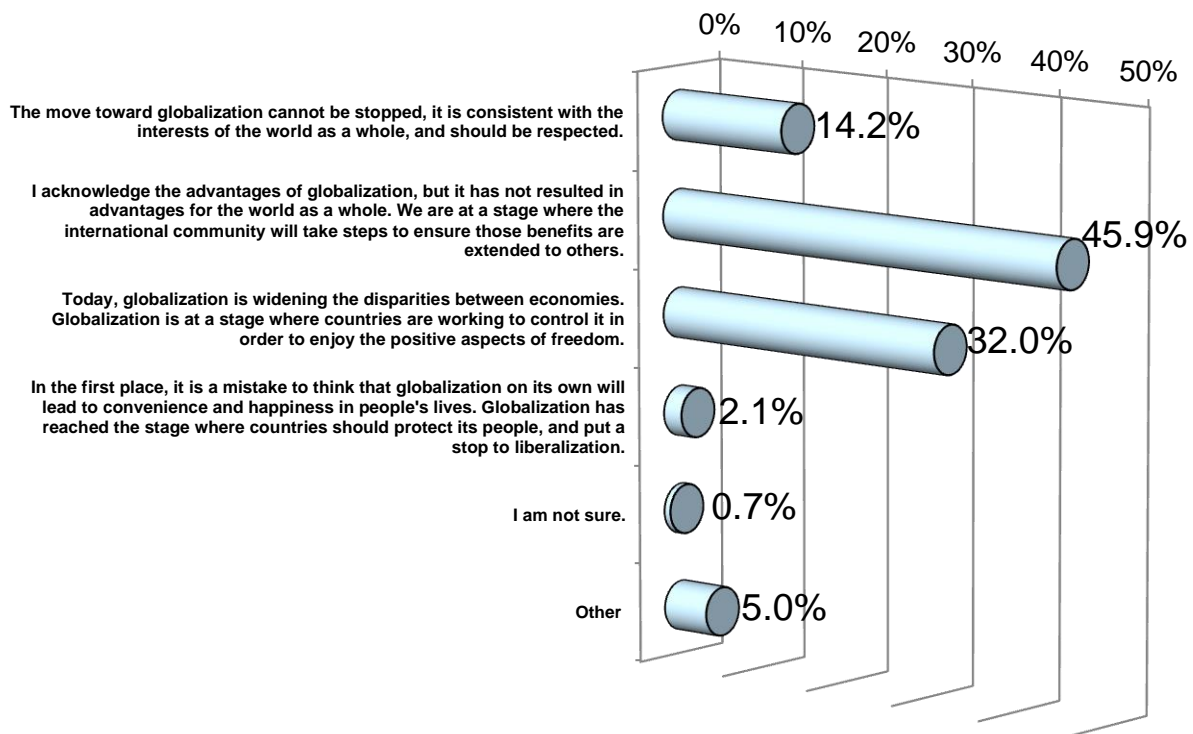
Q3. It is said that we have a “trilemma” situation where globalization, the state and democracy are beginning to collide against a backdrop where freedom and democracy in the world are receding. What this means essentially is that realizing the three simultaneously is difficult. At this stage, what do you believe we should give priority to in order to improve this situation? [choose one]



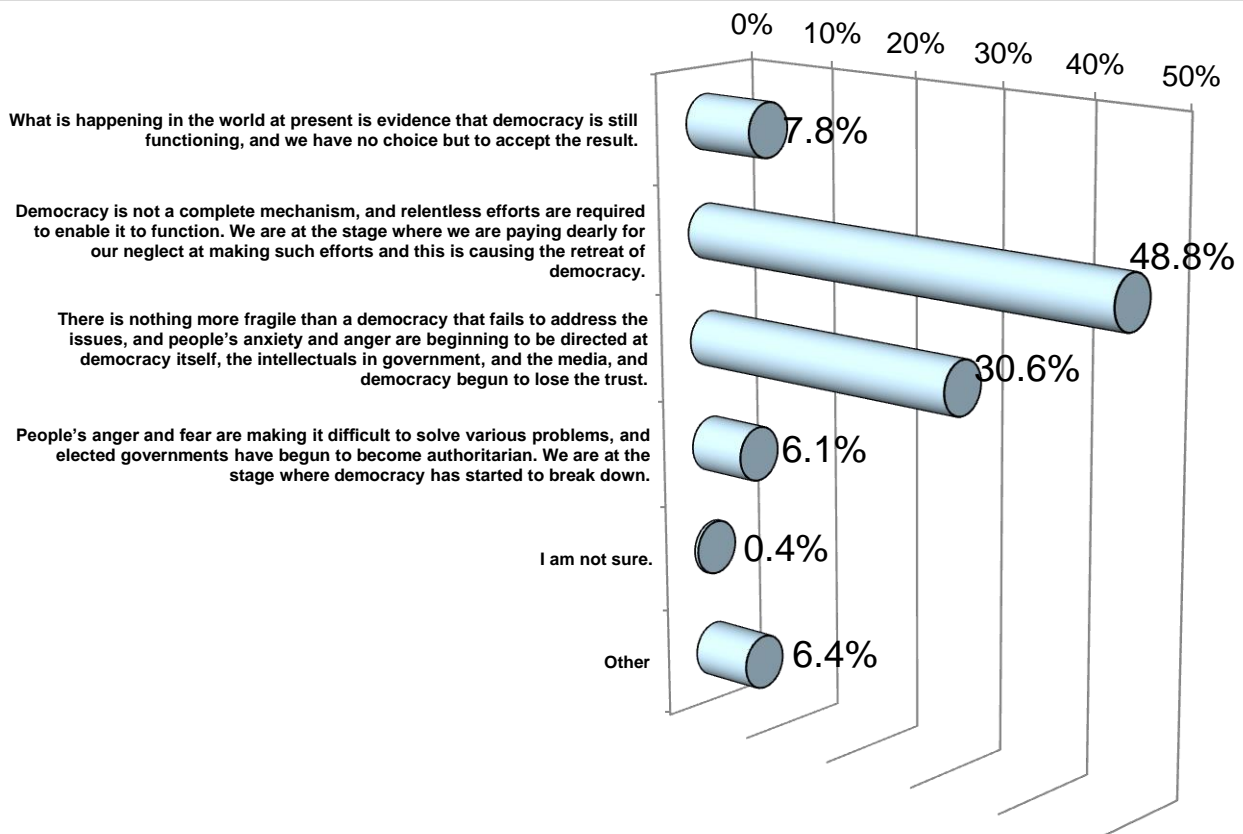
Q4. With President Trump's rise to power and the increasing influence of EU populist politics, how do you view the future of a liberal international system and international order in the world? [choose one]



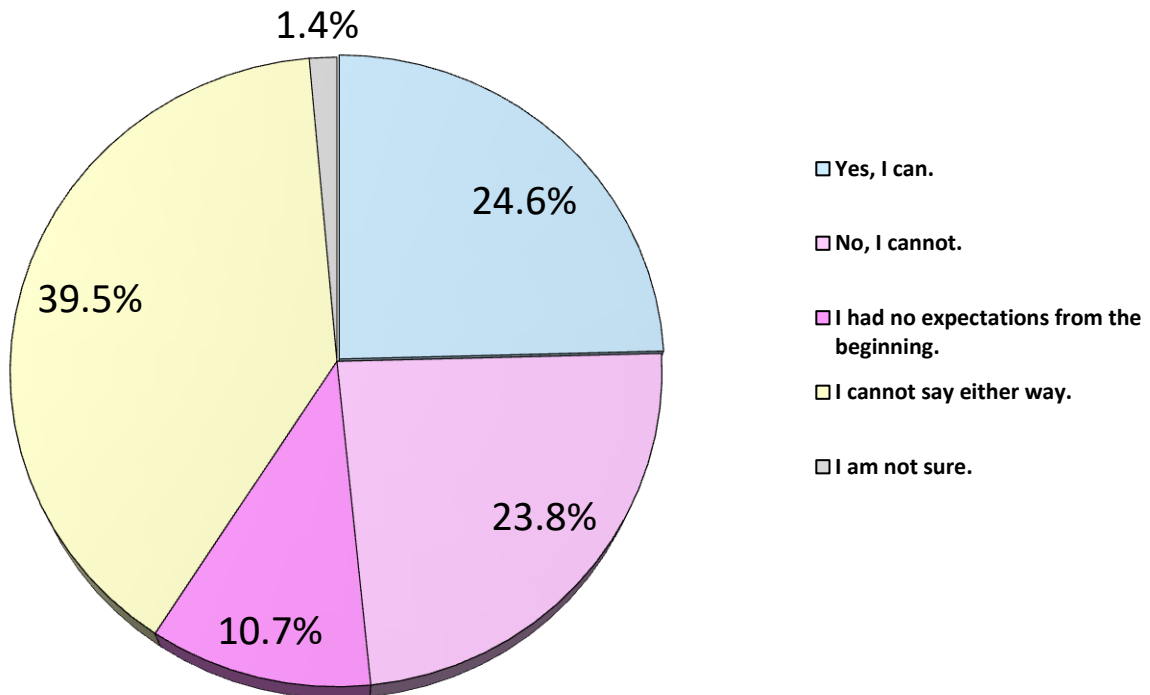
Q5. How do you view the current state of globalization? 【choose one】



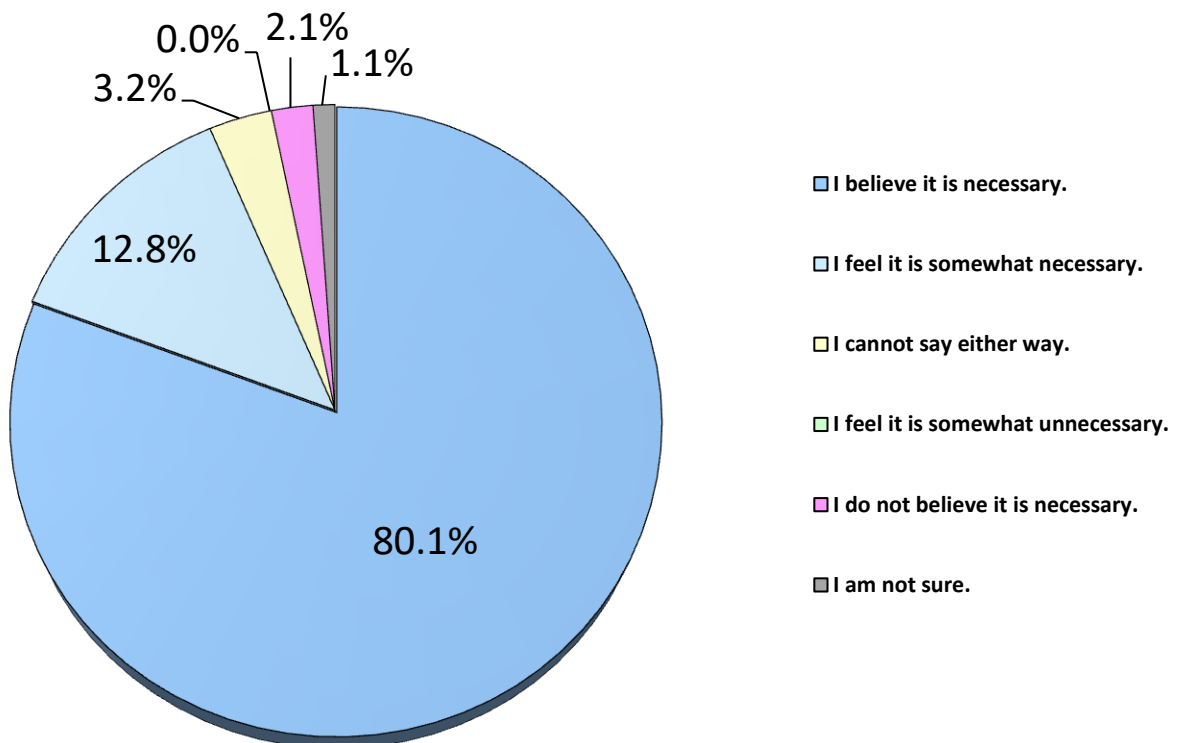
Q6. How do you view the current state of democracy in the world? 【choose one】



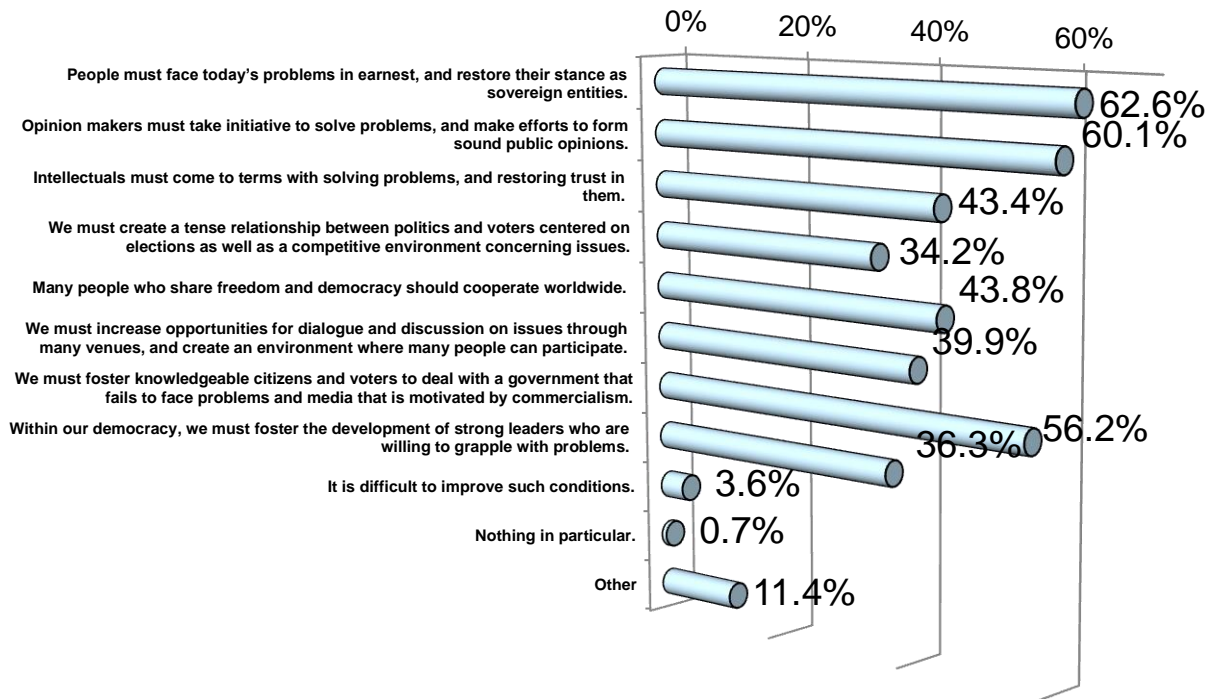
Q7. Underlying the rising populism observed in developed countries is strong criticism and a backlash against the intellectuals and the media. Can you expect the current intellectuals and media to play a role in solving problems? 【choose one】



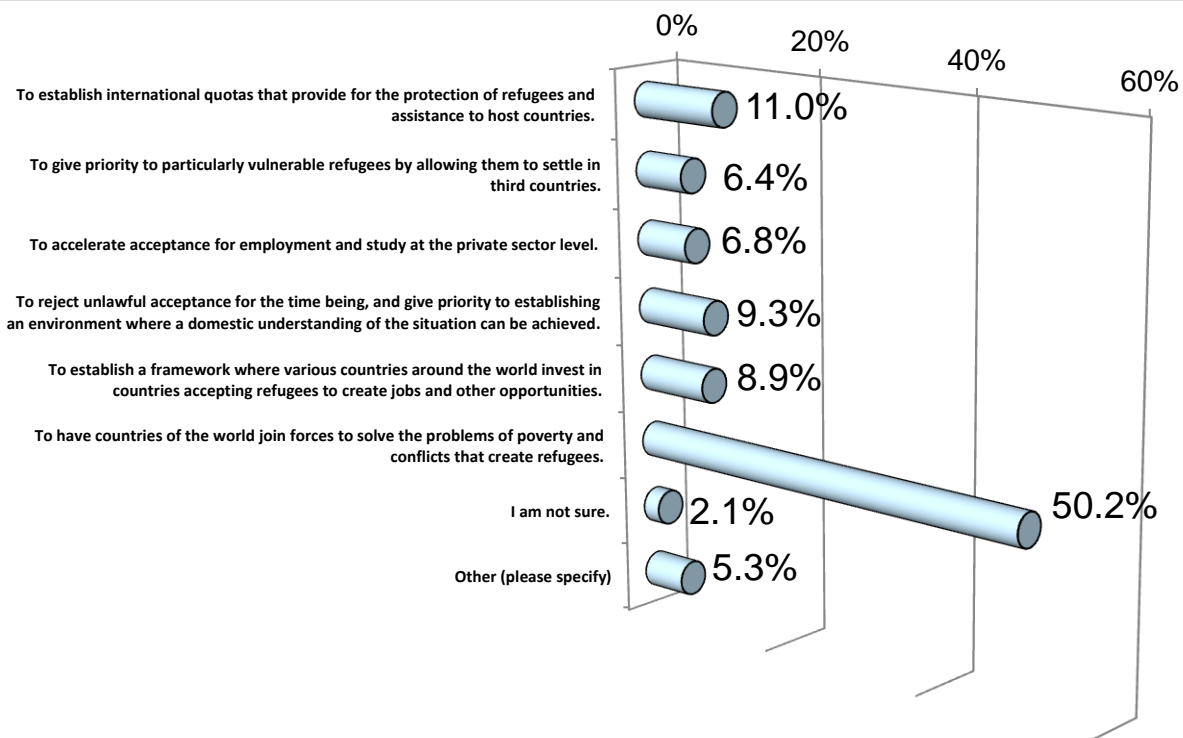
Q8. As we witness international politics become more unstable, do you believe preserving norms such as “responsible freedom” and “democracy” as well as promoting these is necessary for the world as well as Japan in the future? 【choose one】



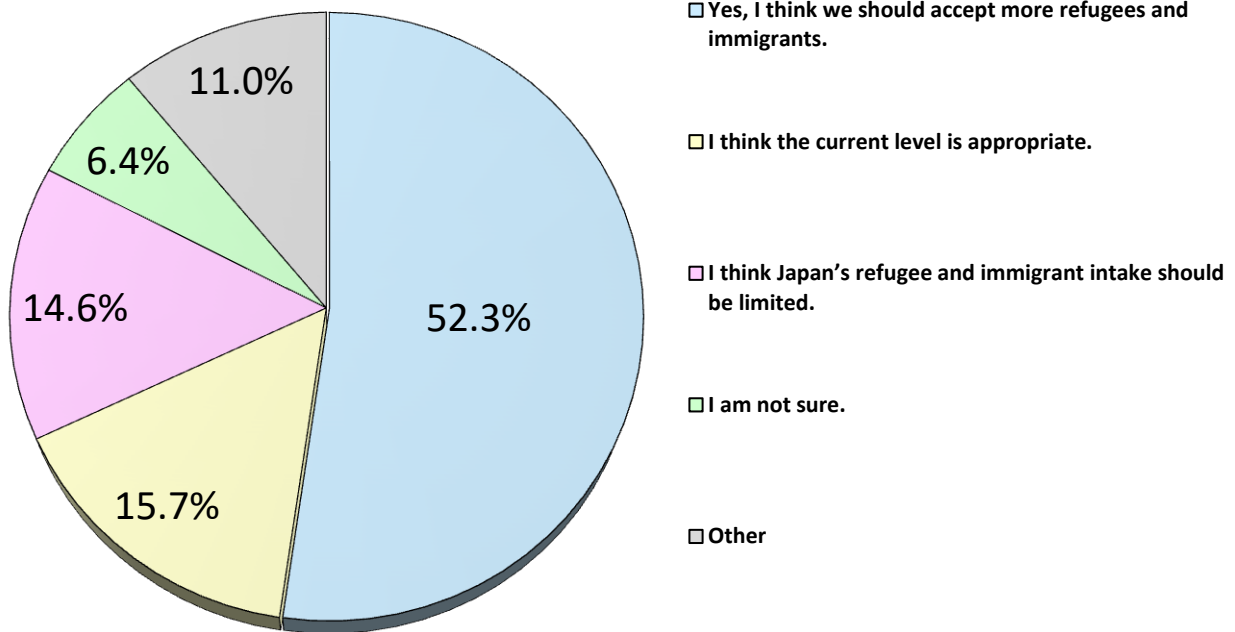
Q9. What do you think we must do to overcome the crisis of democracy we are witnessing in the world today, and to make democracy function robustly? [choose one or more options]



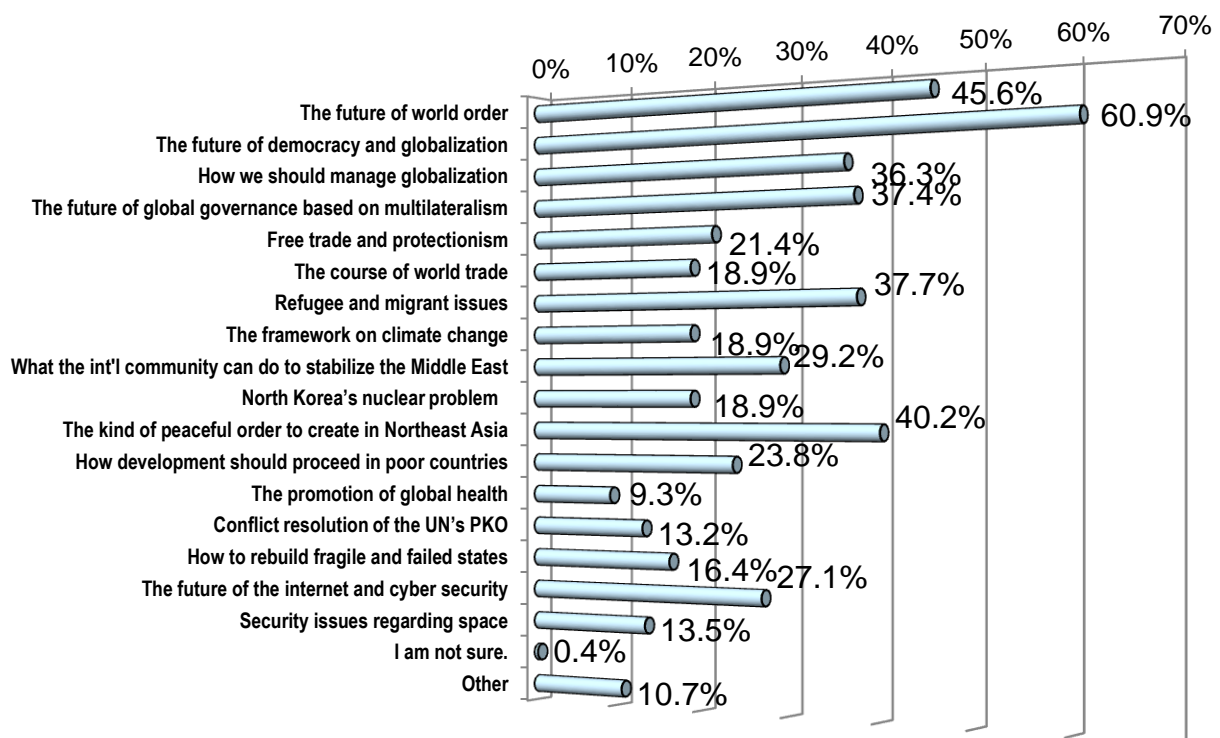
Q10. Large numbers of refugees and migrants from the Middle East and Africa have been pouring into Europe, causing chaos as European countries struggle to deal with the ongoing influx and triggering problems of xenophobia and nationalism. What do you think we need to give priority to in our consideration of the refugee problem right now? [choose one]



Q11. Do you think Japan should accept more refugees and immigrants? 【choose one】



Q12. The Genron NPO has launched the “Tokyo Conference” to commence discussion of world issues. In the future, what topics do you think we should discuss at the Tokyo Conference? 【choose one or more options】



About

World Agenda Studio (WAS)



Debating global issues, proposing solutions from Japan

The Genron NPO launched a new challenge of engaging global agenda to contribute to the solution of global issues at hand. We wish to expand the discussion framework in Japan and elaborate with other leading global think-tanks in pursuit of solving the imminent problems facing countries around the world. For this purpose, we newly launched the "World Agenda Studio" page on our website, where our activities are reported as a voice of Japan.

February 20, 2017

What kind of solution strategies should we aim for with respect to the refugee issue currently shaking the world?

The discussion covered a wide range of refugee-related issues, including assessing the current state of the ongoing refugee crisis, the true scale of the challenges faced by the international community, their root causes, and the kind of initiatives the G-7 should take with respect to the same.

February 21, 2017

Experts warn of 'Trump effect' hitting world trade system

Global trade rules and frameworks built by the international community over many years may be destroyed by the protectionist inclinations of U.S. President Donald Trump's administration, according to noted Japanese researchers. Their dire warning came at a recent open discussion organized by the not-for-profit, independent Japanese thinktank, The Genron NPO.

What kind of solution strategies should we aim for with respect to the refugee issue?



Panelists:

Yasushi Iguchi

(Professor, Graduate School of Economics, Kwansei Gakuin University)

Saburo Takizawa

(Chairman of the Board, Japan Association for UNHCR, former UNHCR Representative in Japan)

Hiroataka Watanabe

(Director/Professor, Institute for International Relations, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Moderated by:

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

On March 4th, The Genron NPO will launch the "Tokyo Conference," where representatives from leading global think-tanks from 10 countries including the G-7 member nations plus India, Indonesia, and Brazil, will discuss liberalism, democracy, and the future of the world. The Tokyo Conference aims to discuss the challenges facing the world and submit

proposals to the G-7 summit by providing recommendations through the Japanese government and the government of Italy, which is the 2017 G-7 Chair.

Prior to the Tokyo Conference, a preliminary public discussion was held on February 20th, with the title, "What kind of solution strategies should we aim for with respect to the refugee crisis currently shaking the world?," between Prof. Yasushi Iguchi, Professor at the Graduate School of Economics at Kwansei Gakuin University, Mr. Saburo Takizawa, Japan Association for UNHCR Board Chairman and former UNHCR Representative in Japan, and Prof. Hiroataka Watanabe, Director and Professor at the Institute for International Relations at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. The discussion covered a wide range of refugee-related issues, including assessing the current state of the ongoing refugee crisis, the true scale of the challenges faced by the international community, their root causes, and the kind of initiatives the G-7 should take with respect to the same.

The refugee issue stalemate

First, Mr. Yasushi Kudo, The Genron NPO President and moderator for the event, asked about the current state of the refugee issue, following which each of the panelists all provided a grave assessment.

First, Mr. Takizawa pointed out that during the Cold War, only small numbers of political refugees sought the asylum of liberal democratic states. They were political exiles who were welcomed by Western countries. However, the current refugees are not only political refugees, and above all the number of refugees is so large that "the current framework cannot handle" them. He then went on to add that "the lives and human rights of refugees are certainly important, but if the burden of hosting refugees is not given consideration, that will cause a social backlash which will eventually make the wave of anti-refugee sentiment larger." He expressed concern at the current complete-stalemate state of the asylum-centered system for responding to refugees.

Furthermore, with respect to the UN response, he indicated a certain amount of appreciation for the adoption of the New York Declaration calling for more equitable sharing of responsibility for the support and hosting of refugees at last year's UN General Assembly, as well as for the inclusion into the UN system of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). However, he displayed a skeptical view when it came to the effectiveness of the UN system against a backdrop of the growing global backlash against migrants and refugees.

Mr. Watanabe, agreeing with Mr. Takizawa's viewpoint, stated that "there is

a lack of funding and human resources to tackle current crisis. A single nation cannot cope on its own, so there is an emerging necessity to deal with the situation collectively on a global scale." In particular, he alluded to the scale of the burden on local communities in host communities of host countries and emphasized that it is crucial to manage frustration in local communities in order to avoid politicization of refugee issues.

Mr. Iguchi asserted that even with the influx of refugees into Europe coming under control, that "was simply the result of refugees stagnating on Europe's periphery." He also sounded the alarm bell, stating that "the current focus is solely on Syria, but there is increasing refugee influx pressure from other failed states such as South Sudan and Libya."

Furthermore, on the topic of the IOM, Mr. Iguchi commented that refugee issues should be reframed as issues related to "movement of people," including international students and employment. He stressed that the issue should be addressed by expanding the scope of the refugee resettlement strategy, instead of framing the current issues as a mere "refugee crisis."

“There is an emerging necessity to deal with the situation collectively on a global scale.”

With the existing governance no longer responsive, thinking from a different perspective is essential

Next, Mr. Kudo asked if there was a gap between the current global governance framework (including the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees that primarily targets political refugees) and the reality (including the issues related to internally displaced persons). Mr. Takizawa replied that as a result of the more diversified causes for forced movement of people, such as domestic strife and religious persecution, "it has become difficult to cope using the existing scheme." In particular, having pointed out the fundamental problem in the basic assumption of refugee protection solely focused on "relief for political exiles," he spoke of the need for a change toward thinking about proactive measures for providing support to potential refugees in areas of strife - the notion of "from asylum to protection."

Mr. Takizawa further added that while there is no convention concerning internally displaced persons, with the establishment of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement in 1998, international standards and norms are in the process of being developed. However, he also pointed out that there is neither a convention nor a body in place to protect survival migrants who look to other countries due to poverty from strife or other trouble. He stressed that in order to address the root causes producing survival migrants, it is vital to regain domestic stability in fragile states (e.g. by achieving sustainable development goals (SDGs)), and make it unnecessary to come to Europe for survival in the first place. Mr. Watanabe agreed with Mr. Takizawa's

opinion concerning survival migrants with respect to the stabilization of areas of strife, and said that how migrants are integrated into society once they have settled, such as in the case of Europe, is also an important point.

Mr. Watanabe also acknowledged the limits with respect to the ability of the United Nations to respond due to the fact that it does not embody a top-down structure to implement specific measures. This is why it is of fundamental importance to build horizontal cooperative structures to respond by enhancing cooperation between supranational organizations such as the EU and between the regions concerned.

What are the perspectives required to address the refugee issue in the future?

Finally, Mr. Kudo enquired about realistic and effective measures for the refugee issue to be touched upon in the Tokyo Conference and joint statement for G-7 summit.

In response to this, Mr. Takizawa introduced Professor James C. Hathaway's proposal on resettlement, which involves "providing protection for those who escape, but no right to choose which country to resettle." This means that "the burden on the countries popular with refugees, such as Germany, will be dispersed, and this will lower the incentive to risk their lives to go to Europe if they cannot choose the country for resettlement." Furthermore, with respect to the G-7, given the high possibility of the United States turning its back on the reception of migrants and refugees due to the policies of President Trump, he pinned his hopes on the "G-6" without the U.S. to play a larger part.

Mr. Watanabe remarked that "it would be ideal if there could be a global-citizen kind of governance structure with respect to the free movement of people," but that in reality it is necessary to create a new framework for international institutions and regional cooperation.

Mr. Iguchi commented that while "it is the mission of liberal democratic nations to rescue those who have been deprived of freedom and democracy," the "acceptance of 'people who are different' from one's own causes anxiety in any society." On this point, matching between hosting

communities and refugees should be implemented in order to reduce anxiety in the community. Given the large role that volunteers have played in the response to refugees in Germany, he also stressed that "civilian initiatives are also important." Reviewing and bringing the debate to a close, Mr. Kudo spoke enthusiastically on reaching consensual recommendations to the G-7 summit on refugee issues at the Tokyo Conference which will be held on the 4th of March, based on today's preliminary panel debate and discussion.

Experts warn of 'Trump effect' hitting world trade system



Panelists:

Yoshiko Kojo

(Professor, the University of Tokyo's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences)

Yorizumi Watanabe

(Professor, the Faculty of Policy Management of Keio University's Graduate School of Media and Governance)

Naoyuki Shinohara

(Professor, the university's Policy Alternatives Research Institute)

Moderated by:

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

Global trade rules and frameworks built by the international community over many years may be destroyed by the protectionist inclinations of U.S. President Donald Trump's administration, according to noted Japanese researchers. Their dire warning came at a recent open discussion organized by the not-for-profit, independent Japanese thinktank, The Genron NPO.

History shows that past U.S. administrations sometimes took a protectionist line in trade policies, said Yoshiko Kojo, a professor at the University of Tokyo's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. "The tendency is not unusual, but the fact that President Trump is not interested in multilateralism at all is a matter of concern," she said. Naoyuki Shinohara, a professor at the university's Policy Alternatives Research Institute, warned that the new president tends to think about trade issues with a zero-sum game-like approach.

President Trump makes light of the existing trade system, probably because he has not examined the global trade rules themselves, notably those under the World Trade Organization and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) initiative, said Yorizumi Watanabe, a professor at the Faculty of Policy Management of Keio University's Graduate School of Media and Governance. The president's policy aides should carefully study the related trade rules and make him understand that the United States can benefit from the existing trade

system, he said. The three-way discussion was held Feb. 21 as part of events to pave the way for the Japanese thinktank to inaugurate a new, private-sector debate framework, in which the world's opinion leaders will exchange views on global challenges.

According to Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo, who served as moderator at the discussion, the new forum, to be called the Tokyo Conference, will be convened in March and bring together thinktank researchers from 10 countries, the Group of Seven major economies - Japan, the United States, Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada - plus India, Indonesia and Brazil. They will come up with proposals to be presented to the Japanese government and Italy, the chair of the G-7 leaders' meeting this year.

The three experts equally mentioned developments linked to globalization as reasons behind the changes seen in the situation in the United States, which has led the world's free-trade system in recent decades.

“When a country is to lead the world, it needs to have the ability and the will to do so, but today's America is losing not just the ability but also the will.”

According to Kojo, past U.S. governments, while taking control of the globalization trend, have provided supportive measures, when necessary, to people negatively affected by it, but as globalization has spread in financial services, it has become difficult for the government to fully take care of the affected people. When a country is to lead the world, it needs to have the ability and the will to do so, but today's America is losing not just the ability but also the will, following President Trump's election, she said. Shinohara, who formerly served as deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund, said that jobs in the United States have been moved to other regions following the progress of globalization and as a result, "the middle class (in the United States) has been annihilated." President Trump is cleverly using people's fears that more U.S. jobs will go overseas, he said. U.S. economic growth slowed after the Lehman Brothers shock in 2008, and then, people's dissatisfaction grew over the fact that the pie, which can be provided to the affected people amid globalization, has become smaller, Shinohara said. After Lehman Brothers, tougher regulations were globally introduced for financial services, as instanced by rules under the Basel Capital Accord, and the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act. This was a worldwide trend at that time, but President Trump has bitterly criticized these measures. This means that the president has a rather liberal attitude to global financial services while taking a protectionist stance toward the global trade system, making it an "inconsistency," Shinohara said.

Watanabe said that following progress in the division of labor as a part of globalization, some poor countries became better off, but relative poverty grew in some rich developed countries. In developed countries, the focus of economic activity is shifting to the manufacturing / non-manufacturing sectors and the tertiary industry (the service industry) from the primary industries. When people hope to work in services, a higher education must be supplied to them, but there are an increasing number of people who cannot receive such an education in America, he said. The bottom line is the fact that the United States has failed to change its industrial structure despite changes in the economic and social environment surrounding its industry, Watanabe said. It is wrong to blame the free-trade system for the poor performance of American industry, he said.

Kudo, the Genron NPO president, asked the experts what must be considered in order to maintain the global free-trade system. In today's global trade system, various factors are at work in a complex manner, not just those related to tariffs but also rules for intellectual property and environmental protection, Watanabe noted. The current international trade regulations have become very difficult to understand, but serious discussions in Japan about the future of world trade in recent years have contributed to deepening understanding in Japan about pertinent issues both among people opposing and people in favor of freer trade. Meanwhile, in the United States, only government officials have been involved in

negotiations to formulate international trade rules, causing a sense of isolation among ordinary people, he said. Watanabe stressed the importance of each country creating opportunities for ordinary people to think about trade issues related to their life. He also said that China has become more aware in the past 10 or so years of the need to comply with international rules for intellectual property protection. Japan and other countries concerned should further try to persuade China to be standard-bearer for free, fair trade so that "China may be brought on to this side," he said.

Shinohara noted that there are unfavorable side effects to the free-trade system, too, among them greater income gaps. Impartiality and justice are points of view that must be considered from now on, he said, adding that the countries concerned should implement economic policies with such points in mind. Referring to the U.S. withdrawal from the TPP multilateral trade initiative in line with President Trump's "America First" policy, Watanabe called for effectuating the scheme with only 11 countries involved and without the United States. "The doors should be kept open so that it may be easier for the United States to come back if it changes its mind in future," he said. A proposed bilateral free-trade arrangement between Japan and the United States as an alternative to the TPP will be less meaningful to both countries because it will not supplement the dynamism of the production network in the Asia-Pacific region, he said.

Media Coverage

Overview

Numbers of Media Coverage

- Online: 14
- National newspaper/
news agency: 10
- TV: 1

The Tokyo Conference 2017 was covered by numerous media organizations, Japanese and international, including online news services, newspapers and TV broadcasters. The Tokyo Conference captured the media's attention against the backdrop of the birth of the Trump administration in the United States, growing concerns over mounting populism and protectionism after Brexit, the participation in the open forum of Vice Minister of Finance for International Affairs Masatsugu Asakawa and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Shinsuke Sugiyama, and the submission of the joint message, directed to the G-7 summit, to Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida.

TV Asahi, March 5, 2017 10:57



欧米を中心とした保護主義が進むなか、民主主義などについて議論する「東京会議」が行われ、岸田文雄外務大臣も講演しました。

東京会議は世界10カ国の研究機関の代表らが集まり、民主主義やグローバリゼーションなどについて3日間にわたって議論します。2日目の4日は岸田大臣も登壇し、自国の利益を守りながらも「バランスが大事」だと訴えました。岸田文雄外務大臣：「どの国においても国益を大事にし、最大化していかなくてはならない。合わせてグローバルな課題、環境とか防災とか軍縮にもしっかり取り組んでいかなくては」

さらに、岸田大臣は「我が国を取り巻く現在の安全保障環境には誠に厳しいものがある」と述べ、北朝鮮の弾道ミサイル発射や中国の南シナ海の進出などを例に挙げて、国際法に基づいた行動を促しました。また、トランプ新政権にも触れ、アメリカのロシアや中国との関係がアジアや中東情勢に影響をもたらすと示唆しました。

言論NPO「東京会議」

自由、民主主義に揺らぎ

創設フォーラム懸念の声相次ぐ

トランプ米政権の誕生や英国の欧州連合（EU）離脱決定で、自由と民主主義という規範が揺らぎ始めたのではないかと。そんな問題意識から、主要7カ国（G7）を含む10カ国のシンクタンクが「東京会議」を創設した。まずは5月にイタリアで開かれるG7首脳会議（サミット）に向けて、各国の動きを注視していく。

【影山哲也】

非営利団体「言論NPO」（工藤泰志代表）が呼びかけ、米国、英国、イタリア、カナダ、ドイツ、フランス、インド、インドネシア、ブラジルのシンクタンクが賛同した。

- ・主要7カ国（G7）は多国間主義に基づく国際協力の枠組みを守り、国連やさまざまな国際組織を積極的に支えるべきだ
- ・G7は自由貿易体制を堅持し、あらゆる保護主義に對抗すべきだ
- ・G7は財政、金融、構造改革を総合的に推進せよ
- ・G7は難民問題の解決に力を合わせるべきだ
- ・G7は強韌（きょうじん）な民主主義の重要性を認識する必要がある

東京会議緊急メッセージ骨子

4日に東京都内で開いた創設記念オープンフォーラムで、工藤氏は「トランプ政権が通商政策で何をやるかは不確実だ」と問題提起。米外交問題評議会のシームス・リンゼイ氏は、米通商代表部（US TR）が年次通商報告で世界貿易機関（WTO）の裁定に必ずしも従わない方針を示したことについて「動揺が広がり、同盟国にかなりの影響が及ぶ」との見方を示した。伊国際問題研究所のエトローレ・グレコ所長は「イタリアは貿易紛争の解決の場としてWTOを支持する」と述べた。

一方、インドネシア戦略国際問題研究所のフィリップ・ベルモンテ所長は、南シナ海での中国の権益主張を退けた仲裁裁判所判決を中国が受け入れないことに對し、「安全保障と経済にとって脅威だ」と懸念を表明した。ポピュリズム（大衆迎合主義）が民主主義に与える影響もテーマになった。英王立国際問題研究所のジョン・ニルソン・ライト氏は、ポピュリズムの台

頭を「従来型の製造業が減り、コスト競争が激化して雇用が失われている」と分析。独国際政治安全保障研究所のバーバラ・リパート氏は「一体化した動きではなく、ポピュリズムにもいろいろ顔がある。国ごとの対応を見なければならぬ」と述べた。

「仏国際関係研究所のトム・ゴマール所長は『デジタルメディアへのアクセスが容易になり、聞きたい意見だけを聞く。これが分断につながっている』と述べ、多様な情報に接する必要性を強調した。トランプ氏の登場が



言論NPOが主催した「東京会議」のオープンフォーラム＝東京都渋谷区で4日、森田剛史撮影

「選挙時の発言をそのまま実行に移すとは思われず、現時点では評価は困難」は27・4％。大統領としてのトランプ氏の対応を見極めようとする意見も一定の割合を占めている。「世界や米国の現状を考えると評価できる」は5％だった。

今後の国際秩序がどうなるかに関しては、「秩序をけん引する国がない状態になり、不安定化が深まる」が22・8％で最多。「トランプ氏も軌道修正を迫られ、国際協調はかろうじて維持される」が22・1％で続いた。

日本が「もっと難民や移民を受け入れるべきだ」は52・3％で半数を超えた。アンケートは2月下旬から3月初旬にかけて実施し、281人が回答した。【影山哲也】

「トランプ氏言動」危険「34%」

言論NPOは東京会議に合わせ、国内のNPO関係者や学者らに実施したアンケートの結果を発表した。トランプ米大統領の行動や発言について「対立や不安を高め、危険な行

動だ」との回答が34・5％で最も多く、「米国内でも不安や対立を高めており、評価できない」も24・6％あった。

「東京会議」G7に提言

世界が直面する課題を10カ国のシンクタンクが論じる「東京会議」が4日に発足し、東京都内でフォーラムが開かれた。米国のトランプ新政権発足や英国の欧州連合（EU）離脱をふまえて議論。5月にイタリアで開かれる主要7カ国（G7）首脳会議に向け、「自由貿易体制を堅持し、あらゆる形態の保護主義に対抗する姿勢を示す」など、などの提言を示した。東京会議は、日本の「言論NPO」（工藤泰志代表）が呼びかけた。G7と新興国のインド、ブラジル、インドネシアの関係者が集まり、討論した。

G7首脳に緊急提言

言論NPO「東京会議」結成

非営利団体「言論NPO」（工藤泰志代表）が主要7カ国（G7）などのシンクタンクに呼びかけて結成した「東京会議」は4日、東京都内で創設記念オープンフォーラムを開いた。トランプ米政権の誕生や英国の欧州連合（EU）離脱決定を踏まえ、G7首脳に対し、「自由貿易体制を堅持し、あらゆる形態の保護主義に対抗する姿勢を示す」こと

など5項目を求める緊急メッセージを発表した。東京会議は「自由や民主主義、法の支配という規範が大きな困難に直面している」と分析。5月にイタリアで開かれるG7首脳会議が、国連の役割への積極的支援▽財政、金融政策と構造改革の総合的な推進▽難民問題解決に向けた協力―などで強い決意を発信するよう訴えた。【影山哲也】

松元 崇

第一生命経済研究所特別顧問



英国がいよいよ欧州連合（EU）からの離脱を通告し、米国ではアメリカ・ファーストを掲げるトランプ大統領の下で混乱が続いている。そのような情勢の中で世界が直面する課題を議論し、世界にメッセージを発信しようという会議が先日東京で開かれた。言論NPOという特定非営利活動法人が主要7カ国（G7）とインド、ブラジル、インドネシアの有力シンクタンクを集めて開催したものである。私も、同法人の理事ということでも、歓迎夕食会に参加した。歓迎夕食会というものの、ここで行われた議論は本番さながら。米国と欧州で起きている自由と民主主義をめぐる変化についての問題指摘から始まって、G7各国の参加者からは、G7で共有する価値や規範を再確認することの大切さについての発言

ロシア革命100周年

2017.3.30

があった。それに対して、インドやブラジルの参加者から出されたのが、現在の世界の混乱の背後に格差問題があるということだ。今日の世界は、グローバル化によって成長し豊かになっている。世界に占めるG7諸国以外の国内総生産（GDP）の割合は、25%から50%以上へと倍以上になった。かつての南北問題などいわれなくなった。ところが、そんな中で、最も豊かな米国でも格差問題がクローズアップされてきている。そこで思いあたるのが、今年がロシア革命100周年ということ。実は、革命が起った時のロシアは順調に発展していた。それは、当時の金融大国だったフランスがロシアに大きく貸し込んでいたところからも分かる。ところが、その成長するロシアで革命が起った。貧富の差が拡大するようになったからだ。100年前の北の隣国の歴史は、経済が成長する中でも格差問題への取り組みを忘れてはならないことを示している。

論点

経済、難民対応 G7の重要性

エットーレ・グレコ氏



Ettore Greco イタリア国際問題研究所 (IARI) 所長。学術誌編集長、米アブルッキングス研究所 学術研究員を歴任。57歳

今年イタリアで主要国首脳会議(サミット)が開かれる。先進7か国(G7)は、昨年5月に日本が議長国を務めた伊勢志摩サミットの成功を継続していかなくてはならない。

今年もフランス大統領選やドイツ総選挙を控え、各国でポピュリズムを駆使する排外主義勢力や極右が勢力を増している。戦後国際秩序を支えてきた自由、民主主義、自由貿易体制、法の支配などの価値観が、危機に直面しているとの見方も広がっている。

こうした国際社会の不安定化は、一つの要素だけでは説明できない。四つの要素を考慮すべきだ。第一に、経済の長期的見通しに対する悲観論だ。こ

への信頼低下は著しい。今後開かれた国際システムを維持していくには、グローバリゼーションから取り残された人を守らなければならない。人の自由な移動を、ある程度、効率的に抑制する方策を関係国が協議して考えることも必要だろう。北大西洋条約機構(NATO)や、価値観を共有するアジアの国々の間の同盟、連携の重要性も改めて認識しなければならぬ。その意味で、EUやG7など国際機関、多国間の枠組みが果たす役割は、むしろ大きくなっていく。

こうした中、3月3日、岸田外相とドミニコ・シヨル駐日イタリア大使に手渡した提言では、自由と民主主義という規範を持つ今日の意義と、国際協調と国益のバランスの大切さを再確認した。また、グローバリゼーションで疎外さ

れていると感じる人を減らすには各国が経済システムを強くする必要があるとの考えに立ち、国内の構造調整や産業構造の高度化への対応も求めた。難民問題については、世界全体で取り組むべき課題であり、安定的で持続性のある国際秩序を作るうえで優先度が高いとして、G7が力を合わせていくよう訴えた。

提言内容は実践的なアジエンタ(検討課題)となっている。これがサミットの宣言にも反映されることを願い、イタリア政府や有識者コミュニティとも、さらに議論を深めたい。

論点

「内向き」政治 一過性ではない

ジョン・ニルソン
ンライト氏



John Nilsson-Wright 英王立国際問題研究所 上級研究員。オックスフォード大で博士号取得。東北大でも研究。52歳。

欧米のポピュリズム(大衆迎合主義)台頭による現在の政治の混乱を、一時的現象と見るか、根源的な変化と考えるのか。この

例えは、米国のトランプ政権は、マティス国防長官が日本や韓国の安全に対する関与を明言し、ペンス副大統領が北大西洋条約機構(NATO)との連携重視の姿勢を示すなど、安全保障では現実主義にも見え、

混乱は一時的なものと思わせたい。しかし、トランプ大統領に強い影響力を持つことされるステイブ・バノン大統領上級顧問・首席戦略官は、しきりに「革命」を唱え、従来の政治を否定する。その姿からは、依然と

して不透明感が漂う。米国の現状は、第7代大統領アンドルー・ジャクソン(在任1829〜37年)が既存エリートを批判し、農民、労働者、都市住民の政治参加を進めた歴史になぞらえ、「新ジャクソン・デモクラシー(民主主義)」とも評される。

欧州の変化は1989年の冷戦終結に匹敵するとの見方や、1789年のフランス革命まで遡って分析すべきだとの意見もある。

「失われた20年」と呼ばれる経済的困難を経験しながら、欧米ほどにはポピュリズムが広がらなかったことだ。安倍首相は第1次政権(06〜07年)の時から、民主主義、法の支配、自由貿易など、戦後秩序を支えてきた価値観の擁護者であり、現在は安定した政権基盤によって発信力をさらに強めている。

英国にも変化がある。国民投票で欧州連合(EU)離脱を選択した背景には、アパシー(政治に対する無力感、無関心)もあった。ただ、今は伝統的な英国外交や、国際社会での英国の存在感を再認識する機

運が生まれている。困難な議題が待ち受ける今年のイタリアでのサミット(主要国首脳会議)での日英首脳の立ち位置は、国際社会に影響を与えるだろう。アパシーの解消は、コミュニティの再生を通じ、人々の関心を取り戻せるかどうかがかぎになる。「内向き」を変えたいのは、欧米の学生に外国で1年間の勉強を義務づけるなどの教育分野の工夫も有効だろう。大切なのは、政治家が現在の混乱を、国際協調の大切さを有権者に認識してもらい「絶対の機会」ととらえることではないか。

論点

民主主義の強化 一歩ずつ

サンジョイ・ジョッシン氏



Sanjoy Joshi インドのオプザーバー研究財団所長。専門はエネルギー、環境。10か国の政策研究機関による「東京会議」にインド代表で参加。57歳。

トランプ米大統領に対する紋切り型の批判として、「全てをテイル（取引）で考えるのは危うい」というものがある。テイルは目新しいとはいえない。トランプ氏は2国間のテイルに持ち込むために多国間協定を否定するといわれるが、後者でもテイルは行われてきたからだ。

一部の国が利益を得た分は他国の損となる「ゼロサム」のテイルではない。だが、グローバリゼーションは当事国全てが恩恵を受けられるウィンウインのテイルを可能にする。その意味で、トランプ氏の「米

国は不公平な貿易の被害者だ」という態度こそが問題なのだ。一国が被害者だと言いつつ、他国も「こちらが被害者だ」と言い出す。ウィンウインにならないばかりか、「米國を再び偉大にする」という目標にとっても逆効果だ。中国などを標的に「米國

に製造業を取り戻す」と主張しているのも、中国の製造業が世界を席巻し始めたのが20年前で、AI（人工知能）などで製造業の質、雇用の質も変わってきたことを考慮していない。製造過程の多くがIT（情報技術）で自動化され、分散製造の流れが強まるなど、グローバリゼーションは常に形を変えている。変化の波を無視して突っ走れば、意図せざる結果にもなる。

欧米の政治混乱や変化を民主主義の機能不全と捉える見方も、注意が必要。昨年、オプザーバー研究財団が日本の言論NPOなどと協力して行った世論調査や欧米の類似調査を見ると、「民主主義は繁栄をもたらす」と考える「熱狂」が多く、インドは逆だった。期待の持ち方が違っていた。例えば「民主主義が機能している」と答えた人は、民主主義の歴史が長い日本も新興民主主義国のインドネシアも約47%にとどまったが、インドは65%だった。インドでは約80%が「強い政党と強い政治は強い民主

主義を促す」とも答えた。他国で伝統政党に対する信頼感が低下していることを考えると、興味深い。世界は複雑な相互依存関係にあり、合意形成のためには各国の指導者がしなやかな強さを持たなければならぬ。インドは気候変動問題でG7（先進7か国）と多くの点で意見を異にしたが、一昨年のパリ協定にこぎつけた。1歩前進して、2歩後退することもある。この繰り返しで民主主義は強くなる。早急に結果を求めないおろかさか、民主主義に対する信頼を高め、それを機能させる。

課題は情報だ。トランプ氏も駆使するソーシャル・ネットワークキング・サービス（SNS）などの新メディアで情報量は増えた。だが、政治家は一方的な発信を続け、企業はアルゴリズム（コンピュータで演算手続を指示する規則）で消費者の好みに沿った情報を送りつける。幅広く公正な情報の共有という自由民主主義の前提は、むしろゆがめられている。こうした問題をあぶり出すためにも、紋切り型ではない視点で、グローバリゼーションと民主主義を見つめ直すことが大切だ。

About

The Genron NPO

The Genron NPO is a non-profit and independent thinktank based in Japan. Established in 2001 as the only venue in Japan for responsible and future-oriented policy debate, The Genron NPO has sought to strengthen democracy and civil society in Japan. The institution was founded by Yasushi Kudo, the former editor-in-chief of political journal “Ronso Toyo Keizai”. The advisory board of The Genron NPO consists of 14 prominent Japanese leaders from various fields, including former Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi, and former U.N. Undersecretary-general Yasushi Akashi, who support and actively take part in the organization’s programs. To date, The Genron NPO has a mailing list of over 7,000 subscribers and more than 500 Japanese opinion leaders involved in its activities.

Mission and Programs

Strengthen democracy through the power of debate

A strong democracy calls on its citizens to determine the future of their country and the world as engaged stakeholders. We provide the platform necessary for citizens to think about domestic and global issues critically, engage with current challenges and take part in public debates. To this end, The Genron NPO conducts annual evaluations of each administration’s performance, and appraisals of party pledges at each general election.

Conduct civil diplomacy to promote peace and stability in Northeast Asia

Beyond Japan, The Genron NPO also works extensively on Northeast Asian and global issues. While inter-governmental diplomacy in Northeast Asia has been ineffective over the past decade, The Genron NPO has been successfully providing effective discussion platforms by successively holding the annual Tokyo-Beijing Forum for the past 12 years, and the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue for the past four years. In order to understand the public attitudes on regional and bilateral issues, we have also conducted annual multinational opinion polls in Japan and China, as well as in South Korea, over the past 12 years and four years, respectively.

Organize Crosscutting Platforms to Discuss Pressing Global Agendas

The Genron NPO is continuously striving to facilitate responsible domestic and international dialogue to tackle today’s pressing challenges. Recently, The Genron NPO established the Tokyo Conference, a discussion platform to exchange views on urgent global agendas, such as challenges to democracy and the liberal order, with representatives from 10 international thinktanks.

With the intention to promote democracy and individual freedom as the basis of international cooperation, the results of the debates at the Tokyo Conference were synthesized, and submitted to the Japanese government and the Italian government, which is chair of the 2017 G-7 summit. The Asia Forum of Opinion Leaders was also established in 2016 as a venue for intellectuals in Japan and Southeast Asia to debate openly and candidly about the nature of democracy in Asia.

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