

リベラルな国際秩序、民主主義の試練と北朝鮮の核問題
言論NPO主催 東京会議 2018
The Tokyo Conference 2018 Addressing Threats to Liberal World Order, Democracy, and North Korea's Nuclear Program



Insight Report

Tokyo Conference 2018

Addressing Threats to Liberal World Order, Democracy
and North Korea's Nuclear Program



The Genron NPO

www.genron-npo.net/en



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Preface

Tokyo Conference 2018



Yasushi Kudo
President,
The Genron NPO

The shared values that have sustained the development of the world since the end of World War II, such as individual freedom and multilateralism, are being threatened, and the liberal world order is growing increasingly unstable, making it difficult to predict where we are headed.

In addition, the rapid progress of globalization, and its accompanying expansion of the gap between rich and poor, is creating problems of job instability and exclusionism against a backdrop of inflows of refugees in many advanced countries. In such circumstances, we are witnessing a surge of populist political forces that takes advantage of growing public frustrations in many countries, where the validity of democracy itself is being questioned.

The Genron NPO has called on the world's leading think tanks to participate in the "Tokyo Conference" so that we can join forces in working to overcome the crisis of the liberal international order and democracy. Moreover, we thought that Japan should exercise leadership, and broadly transmit the discussions and the achievements of the conference to the rest of the world.

In March last year, representatives of the leading think tanks from the 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, all of which share the common values of individual freedom and democracy, gathered in Tokyo to launch the Tokyo Conference. Their discussions resulted in the drafting of a joint five-point message that was delivered to the government of Italy, which chaired the G-7 Summit in May 2017. The representatives of the world's leading think tanks responded to The Genron NPO's invitation and gathered in Tokyo because all of us shared the sense of crisis over various global issues that together are causing worldwide instability.

As we open the Tokyo Conference 2018, we must again confront the problems of the international order and democracy. One year has passed since the inauguration of Donald Trump as president of the United States, and his administration continues to advocate American unilateralism, creating schisms in international cooperation whose foundation is multinationalism. The G-7 and the G-20 are barely managing to maintain a semblance of unity, but the U.S.-triggered tit-for-tat import restrictions have the potential to provoke a full-fledged trade war.

While the United States is overtly losing interest in addressing global issues, an emerging China is showing a willingness to promote a free-trade system and multilateral cooperation. However, there are concerns about the expansion of China's global influence under an authoritarian Beijing regime. Given these factors, it is imperative for us to engage in serious discussions about the future of the world order based on multilateralism and freedom, and under desired rules.

And we are facing another serious crisis, North Korea's nuclear weapons' development. The North Korean problem is one of the greatest threats to the world as a whole and the peace of Asia stands at a critical juncture.

Against such a backdrop, we have set the agenda for the Tokyo Conference 2018 as "the destabilizing international order and the future of the liberal world order," and "the problems posed by North Korea's nuclear development."

Representatives of the world's 10 leading think tanks are gathering in Tokyo to discuss two pressing and difficult subjects. For this year's conference, we have invited panelists from China and South Korea as observers. The results of the discussions at the conference are scheduled to be submitted to the government of Canada, the chair state of this year's G-7 Summit in June.

Thank you.

March 10, 2018

About The Tokyo Conference

Amid major changes in the geopolitical landscape and the economic balance of power on a global scale, we are witnessing the destabilization of the international order and the deterioration of diverse global issues, including risks to the world economy. Excessive globalization is triggering numerous economic and social issues, bringing about tension in relations between globalization and nation-states, and threatening the individual freedoms that are the very basis of liberal democracies.

In advanced countries, populist moves are spreading and political leaders overtly call for protectionist and exclusionist policies. In such circumstances, how should the G-7 member countries, which have been sharing the common values of democracy, liberty and equality, address these challenges? And what should developing countries do?

The aim of the Tokyo Conference is to have the representatives of the leading think tanks in 10 major countries conduct dialogue on diverse issues facing the world today in an open forum in Tokyo, and to forward what will be agreed or what will be discussed at the forum to the government of Canada, the chair of this year's G-7 Summit, and the government of Japan as a message to the G-7 leaders.

Schedule

Date: March 9-11, 2018

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

Friday, March 9

2:30pm – 3:20pm

Opening Session

“What are being questioned about liberal democracy?”

Guest Speaker: Shigeru Ishiba (The Member of the House of Representative, former Minister for Overcoming Population Decline and Vitalizing Local Economy)

3:30pm – 5:30pm

Closed Session 1

“The liberal world order and the future of democracy”

6:30pm – 9:00pm

Panelist Welcome Dinner

Saturday, March 10

9:30pm – 11:20pm

Closed Session 2

“An evaluation of the free and open economic system, and the liberal world order, and the role of the G-7”

1:30pm – 6:00pm

“The Tokyo Conference” Public Forum

Addressing Threats to Liberal World Order, Democracy and North Korea’s Nuclear Program

1:30pm – 1:45pm

Opening Remarks:

Yasushi Kudo, President of The Genron NPO

1:45pm – 3:45pm

Session 1: “The destabilizing liberal world order, the present state of democracy and the role of the G-7”

Keynote Speaker: Yoriko Kawgaguchi (Fellow, Meiji Institute for Global Affairs; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Environment)

4:00pm – 5:40pm

Session 2 :“Is North Korea’s nuclear development program a threat to the world?”

~How should we develop a scenario to stop North Korea’s nuclear development program while avoiding military conflict?~

Keynote Speaker: Itsunori Onodera (Minister of Defense)

5:40pm – 6:00pm

Appeal to the 2018 G7 Summit/Closing Remarks

6:10pm – 6:30pm

Press Conference

6:20pm – 8:00pm

Reception

Sunday, March 11

9:30pm – 11:30pm

Closed Session 3

Is there any effective way to stop the North Korean nuclear program?

Statement to the G7 Summit in Canada

Representatives of leading think tanks from the countries that comprise the G-7 - the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the United Kingdom - as well as India, Singapore and Brazil, gathered in Tokyo on March 10 for the Tokyo Conference.

The world's 10 representative think tanks were prompted to meet in Tokyo because the common values and norms that have underpinned the international order since the end of World War II, such as individual freedom and democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights, are being threatened, and the liberal world order is growing increasingly unstable, making it difficult to predict where the world is headed. At this critical juncture, we consider it imperative for the think tanks in the 10 states to join forces to build a world based on the values of individual freedom, democracy and multilateralism.

The current U.S. administration advocates American unilateralism, and that is casting a dark shadow over the future of international cooperation based on multilateralism and free trade. There are also nations that are increasingly showing authoritarian tendencies. The world must address pressing global issues, such as the surge of refugees, global warming, the spread of infectious diseases, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, all of which cannot be solved without international cooperation.

In the last two days, we had far-reaching discussions and shared common perceptions on many issues.

One is the contemporary significance of individual freedom and democracy. To ensure that global benefits reach all the peoples in each country of the world inclusively, while protecting individual freedoms and rights, is a mission of humankind and an asset for humankind. The rapid progress of globalization and technology is a mutual benefit for all, but such advancement has also created problems of job instability, and an increased gap between rich and poor. Faced with such an environment, one must reflect on the contemporary significance of individual freedom and equality, as well as of democracy, which respects diversity, and work to promote such values.

Another point is that the world should not be allowed to return to a past of unilateralism and zero-sum, mutually destructive mercantilism. International cooperation based on multilateralism, and a free and open economy based on rules is what is necessary for the mutual development of the world. Governments must make efforts to strike a balance between globalization and national prerogatives within this framework.

The reason we have decided to send a message of the chair of the Tokyo Conference to the G-7 Summit to be held in Canada in June this year is because we believe the G-7 should deliver a strong and effective message to the world in order to respect and

protect values such as freedom, multilateralism and democracy, and that it should serve as the engine to drive the task of realizing such values and norms.

Of course, expecting governments alone to support such values and norms is not sufficient. Intellectuals, the media and ordinary people must work together to seriously confront the difficulties that freedom and democracy are facing, and to act on them. All the think tanks from the 10 major countries that gathered in Tokyo have agreed to engage in the discussions according to the statute of the respective institutions.

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

First, the G-7 member states should reconfirm the significance of the universal values of individual freedom, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights, and strengthen their solidarity based on such values. Furthermore, the members should preserve the framework of international cooperation based on multilateralism, and proactively sustain the roles of the United Nations and various international organizations to maintain the long-established international order while at the same time, seeking to maintain such order themselves

Second, the G-7 states should emphasize that protectionist action invites retaliation and may cause irreparable damage to the world economy and international order. They should make efforts to further develop fair competition, and a predictable and mutually beneficial trade relationship, as well as demonstrate their resolve to counter all forms of protectionism.

Third, the G-7 states should keep pace with each other on growth promotion and wealth distribution, while noting the financial policies of the major nations, in order for globalization to ensure the sustainable, inclusive growth of the entire world. The states should make efforts to have the technological innovation, which accompanies major transformation, contribute to the social well-being of the world as much as possible..

Fourth, the G-7 states should, on the understanding that North Korea's nuclear development is a decisive threat to world peace and the nuclear non-proliferation regime, engage in joint efforts for the denuclearization of North Korea and achieve this objective by peaceful means. We welcome the proposed U.S.-North Korea summit only for this particular objective, and we are definitely against any moves to recognize North Korea's possession of nuclear arms.

Fifth, the G-7 states should maintain the world's liberal order based on such rules, and in order to create sustainable and inclusive world growth, it is important to build a resilient democracy that can strike a balance between national prerogative and the shared interests of the global community. The ceaseless efforts of governments to observe the norms and sincerely address the challenges should be widely supported by many people through close dialogue with a civil society.

March 10, 2018
The Tokyo Conference

List of Member Thinktanks

10 International Thinktanks Participated in the Tokyo Conference 2018



Brazil
Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV)



Canada
Center for International Governance and
Innovation (CIGI)



France
French Institute of International Relations
(IFRI)



Germany
German Institute for International and
Security Affairs (SWP)



India
Observer Research Foundation (ORF)



Singapore
S. Rajaratnam School of International
Studies (RSIS)



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 Tokyo Conference Participants (Thinktank Representatives)



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 think tank 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 Genron NPO is a non-profit, independent think tank based in Japan. Established in 2001 as the only venue in the country for responsible and future-oriented debate, The Genron NPO has sought to strengthen democracy in Japan, promote peace and stability in Northeast Asia, and develop solutions for pressing global issues.



The United States of America

James GOLDSIEGER/ Visiting Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) ; Professor of International Relations, American University

James Goldsieger is Visiting Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a Professor of International Relations and served as Dean of the School of International Service at American University from 2011-17. Previously, he was a professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University. He also taught at Cornell University, and has held a number of public policy appointments, including Director for Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs on the National Security Council Staff, Whitney Shepardson Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, Henry A. Kissinger Chair at the Library of Congress, and Edward Teller National Fellow at the Hoover Institution. In addition, he has held appointments at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Brookings Institution, and the Center for International Security and Cooperation. From 2001-2005, he directed George Washington University's Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies.

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, and has testified to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee and the House of Commons, Defence Committee. He 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.



India

Sunjoy JOSHI/ Chairman, Observer Research Foundation (ORF)

Sunjoy Joshi heads the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi as its Chairman and Chief Executive. His own field of work is in Energy and Environment, on which speaks, writes and comment on regularly. Looks at non-traditional security threats and the challenges to growth and employment faced by emerging economies in a world facing technological disruption on a scale never experienced before. As a member of the Indian Administrative Service has had long experience in Development and Economic policies of the Government of India. He has been Visiting Associate at the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London and Distinguished Visitor to the Program on Energy and Sustainable Development, University of Stanford. Takes keen interest in social development initiatives as Vice President of the Mountain Children's Foundation, a not for profit organization working with disadvantaged rural children in the Himalayas.

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.



Singapore

Keng Yong ONG/ Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)

Ambassador ONG Keng Yong is Executive Deputy Chairman of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at the Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. Concurrently, he is Ambassador-at-Large at the Singapore Ministry of Foreign Affairs, non-resident High Commissioner to Pakistan and non-resident Ambassador to Iran. Mr. Ong also serves as Chairman of the Singapore International Foundation (SIF). Mr. Ong was High Commissioner of Singapore to Malaysia from 2011 to 2014. He served as Secretary-General of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), based in Jakarta, Indonesia from January 2003 to January 2008. Mr. Ong started his diplomatic career in 1979 and was posted to the Singapore Embassies in Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and the United States of America. He was Singapore's High Commissioner to India and concurrently Ambassador to Nepal from 1996 to 1998. From September 1998 to December 2002, he was Press Secretary to the then Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Goh Chok Tong. At the same time, Mr. Ong held senior appointments in the Ministry of Information, Communications and the Arts, and the People's Association in Singapore. From 2008 to 2011, he served as Director of the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) in the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore.

RSIS, was officially inaugurated on 1 January 2007. Prior to this, it was known as the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), which was established 10 years earlier, on 30 July 1996, by Dr Tony Tan Keng Yam, then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence. Dr Tony Tan later became the elected seventh President of the Republic of Singapore. Like its predecessor, RSIS was established as an autonomous entity within Nanyang Technological University (NTU). RSIS' mission is to be a leading research and graduate teaching institution in strategic and international affairs in the Asia Pacific.



Germany

Gitta LAUSTER/ Special Assistant to the Director, German Institute for International Security Affairs (SWP)

Gitta Lauster is Special Assistant to Dr. Volker Perthes, director of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and has been in this position since March 2015. Previously, from 2009 to 2013, she has worked at SWP as a research assistant on various projects, primarily focusing on resource governance, natural resource trade and mineral and metal conflict resources. From 2013 to 2015, Lauster worked at the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. She holds an MA in international relations and political economy and an MA in peace and conflict studies.

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 Gomart (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 think tank industry, Gomart 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 think tanks.

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.



Italy

Ettore GRECO/ Executive Vice President, Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

Ettore Greco is Executive Vice President of the IAI and also heads the Italy's foreign policy and the Multilateralism and global governance programmes of the institute. He was also Director of the IAI from 2008 to 2017. 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.



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.

List of Keynotes speakers



Shigeru ISHIBA/ The Member of the House of Representative, former Minister for Overcoming Population Decline and Vitalizing Local Economy



Itsunori ONODERA/ Minister of Defense



Yoriko KAWAGUCHI/ Fellow, Meiji Institute for Global Affairs; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Environment

Ms. Yoriko Kawaguchi is a former Foreign Minister and Environment Minister of Japan, and is now a fellow at the Meiji Institute for Global Affairs in Tokyo. Ms. Kawaguchi served as Minister of the Environment between 2000 and 2002 and as Minister for Foreign Affairs between 2002 and 2004. Subsequently she was appointed as a Special Advisor to the Prime Minister, responsible for foreign affairs, before entering the House of Councilors (the upper house of the Diet) where she chaired the Standing Committee on Environment.

List of Panelists (Japan)



Ichiro FUJISAKI/ President, The America-Japan Society; 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.



Yuji MIYAMOTO/ Chairman, The Miyamoto Institute of Asian Research; Former Ambassador to China

Yuji Miyamoto is the chairman of the Miyamoto Institute of Asian Research. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he served as the First Secretary of Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Division, the Director of China Division, Research Associate of International Institute for Strategic Studies(IISS) in London, Consul General of Japan in Atlanta, Director-General for Arms Control and Scientific Affairs, Ambassador to Myanmar, and Ambassador to China between 2006 and 2010.



Masanori NISHI/ Former Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense

Masanori Nishi is a former Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense. He joined Japan Defense Agency (JDA) in 1978. He held various senior positions such as Deputy Director General, Technical Research and Development Institute, JDA, Assistant Vice-Minister, Cabinet Office, Director General, Bureau of Finance and Equipment, Ministry of Defense (MOD), Director General, Bureau of Defense Policy, MOD, Administrative Vice Minister of Defense, MOD and Special Adviser to the Minister of Defense.

List of Guest Speakers



China

Xiaohong CHEN/ Senior Research Fellow, Development Research Center of the State Council

Mr. Xiaohong Chen was born in 1949 in Hubei Providence, China. He is a senior research fellow, member of the Academic Committee, and former Director General of the Enterprise Research Institute at the Development Research Center of the State Council. He also serves as a board member of China Development Research Foundation. He graduated from Huazhong University of Science and Technology with a B.Sc. in engineering in January 1982 and a Master of Engineering in December 1984. His work focuses on enterprise and industrial economics and related policy.



China

Ming LIU/ Executive Director, Institute of International Relations, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

Liu Ming currently is professor, executive director of the Institute of International Relations (IIRS), and director of the Center for Korea Studies, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), and Senior Fellow of China Charhar Institute. He also holds a series of titles of academic associations in Shanghai: vice president of Shanghai International Relations Association; vice president of American Studies Society; vice president of UN Studies Society. He was director of the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies at SASS from 2009-2012. Dr. Liu holds a Ph. D. in political sciences from World Economy Institute, Fudan University in 1999. He has also been a visiting scholar at Columbia University, Seoul National University and Stanford University, respectively in 1993, 1996 and 2000.

His research interests cover major power relations, US strategy, Chinese foreign policy, maritime security, Northeast Asia security.



Republic of Korea

Seong-Mook MOON/ Director of the Inter- Korean Affairs, Korea DMZ Council, Korea Research Institute for National Strategy

Moon Seong-Mook is a retired Army Brigadier General and Doctor of Political Science. Dr. Moon currently serves as Director of Inter- Korean Affairs at the Korea DMZ Council and Research fellow of Korea Research Institute for National Strategy(KRINS). During his tenure at the Ministry of National Defense and until his retirement from the military, he served as Deputy Director General for Arms Control at the Policy Planning Bureau. He has also served as Head of the Division of North Korean Policy, ROK Representative and Spokesperson for Inter-Korean Ministers of Defense Meetings, ROK Deputy Representative and Spokesperson for Inter-Korean General Officer-Level Meetings and ROK Head of Representative for Working-Level Military Meetings.



Republic of Korea

Duk-min YUN/ Chair Professor , Hankook University of Foreign Studies

Yun Duk-min is a Chair Professor at Hankook University of Foreign Studies. In 2013 and 2017, He was the Chancellor of the Korea National Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2013 and 2017. From 1991 to 2013, he was a professor at the Institute of Foreign Affairs and National Security (IFANS), which was transformed to KNDA in 2012.

Dr. Yun participated as a special advisor to the North-South Nuclear Talks, which was held from 1991 to 1992. He also advised the National Security Council, National Assembly, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Unification, and the National Intelligence Service. For the past 9 years, Dr. Yun served as a member of both President Lee Myung-bak's and President Park Geun-hye's Advisory Council for Foreign Affairs and National Security.

Education and Publication

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 think tanks. It debates about pressing global issues and delivers opinions and proposals from Tokyo to the leaders around the world, particularly to the G7 summit. It also serves as the steering committee of the Tokyo Conference.

As of March 1, 2018

Members / Expert Advisors*	
Kiyotaka Akasaka	President, Foreign Press Center Japan; Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information
Susumu Okano	Advisor, Daiwa Institute of Research Ltd.
Yasushi Kudo	President, The Genron NPO
Yoshiko Kojo	Professor, The University of Tokyo
Hiroshi Komatsu	Editor in Chief, The Mainichi Newspapers
Seiichi Kondo	Director, Kondo Research Institute of Cultural and Foreign Affairs; Former Commissioner, Agency for Cultural Affairs
Junji Nakagawa	Professor, Institute of Social Science, The University of Tokyo
Hiroki Sugita	Chief Editorial Writer, Kyodo News
Saburo Takizawa	Chairman, Japan Association for UNHCR; Former UNHCR representative in Japan
Masayuki Tadokoro	Professor, Faculty of Law, Keio University
Yasuchika Hasegawa	Company Councilor, Takeda Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd. ; Former Chairman, Keizai Doyukai
Ichiro Fujisaki	President, The America-Japan Society; Former Ambassador to USA
Kenji Yumoto	Vice Chairman, The Japan Research Institute, Ltd.
Hayanari Uchino*	Managing Director, Daiwa Institute of Research Ltd.
Hitoshi Oshitani*	Professor of Virology, Tohoku University Graduate School of Medicine
Junichi Sugawara*	Senior Research Officer, Mizuho Research Institute Ltd. (MHRI)
Michito Tsuruoka*	Associate Professor, Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University
Junichi Fujino*	Principal Researcher, PMO, Institute for Global Environment Strategies

Tokyo Conference 2018

Closed Session (March 9, 2018)



Closed Session (March 10, 2018)



Public Forum, Session 1 (March 10, 2018)



Public Forum, Session 2 (March 10, 2018)



Message to the G-7 Summit in Canada (March 10, 2018)



Closed Session (March 11, 2018)



Tokyo Conference 2018

Conference Report

Public Forum.....

Session 1

The destabilizing liberal world order, the present state of democracy and the role of the G-7

Session 2

Is North Korea's nuclear development program a threat to the world?

~How should we develop a scenario to stop North Korea's nuclear development program while avoiding military conflict?~

Post-Conference Interviews with Tokyo Conference Participants

Public Forum -Session 1-

The destabilizing liberal world order, the present state of democracy and the role of the G-7

1:45-3:30pm

U Thant International Conference Hall, United Nations University

Keynote Speaker

Yoriko Kawaguchi

(Fellow, Meiji Institute for Global Affairs; Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Environment)

Panelists: Tokyo Conference Participants

James Goldgeier

(Visiting Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations)

Thomas Gomart

(Director, French Institute of International Relations)

Gitta Lauster

(Special Assistant to the Director, German Institute for International Security Affairs)

Rohinton Medhora

(President, Centre for International Governance Innovation)

John Nilsson-Wright

(Senior Research Fellow, Chatham House)

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

(President, Getulio Vargas Foundation)

Ettore Greco

(Executive Vice President, Institute of International Affairs)

Sunjoy Joshi

(Chairman, Observer Research Foundation)

Keng Yong Ong

(Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies)

Panelist: Guest Speaker

Xiaohong Chen

(former Director General, Development Research Center, State Council)

Moderator

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

Public Forum Session 1:

"The destabilizing liberal world order, the present state of democracy and the role of the G-7"



Between March 9 and 11 2018, Genron NPO hosted its second Tokyo Conference, inviting experts from ten think tanks around the world in addition to four observers from South Korea and the People's Republic of China to come together and engage in dialogue regarding some of the most important issues facing the world. The discussions resulted in the drafting of an appeal to be presented to the next G7 host Canada.

Liberal values are being challenged, and we can't see where the world is heading

On the second day of the conference, March 10, an open forum was convened at the United Nations University campus in Shibuya, where the experts and observers could present their arguments and counterpoints before the general public. While there was some disagreement about the means of solving the issues, there was consensus from all regarding the benefits of working together in a

multilateral way, and the dangers we face if the root causes of the problems are left unaddressed.

The Genron NPO president Yasushi Kudo opened the forum by first welcoming the public to the two sessions, each of which addressed a different point of dialogue. Before getting underway, Kudo reminded the speakers and the audience of some of the latest news from the global political stage, from the recent announcement of future "talks" between North Korean leader Kim Jong Un and U.S. President Donald J. Trump, Trump's introduction of tariffs on steels and aluminum and the effect that has had on share prices, and Xi Jinping's decision to lift term limits on the presidency in China. "Over the past week, we experienced the speed of tremendous changes that the world is going through."

He also noted some of the conditions that have remained unchanged since the last Tokyo Conference in 2017: the U.S. continues to push unilateralism rather than multilateralism, globalization

Trump is a disrupter of the post WWII order aimed at mitigating damages caused by protectionism and nationalism

James Goldgeier is a Visiting Senior Fellow in the Council on Foreign Relations in the U.S.A. Goldgeier pointed out that the objective of the post-WWII order was to mitigate the protectionism and nationalism which had resulted in the great depression and the World War II. He claimed that the US President Donald Trump is a “disrupter of order,” noting his support to the protectionism and nationalism in the United States and elsewhere, namely European countries. “The liberal order needs rules, and Trump hates rules,” Goldgeier said, adding that Trump has “shown resentment of allies” because they have benefited from US security. He pointed out some other changes that have occurred, i.e. that the Republican Party used to be skeptical about Russia and promote free trade, but now they spend much of their time defending Trump, and the Democrats support free trade more.



There is good news, however, Goldgeier said. “The U.S. public and establishment support rule-based order...although there is a large gap between the urban majority that has benefited from it, and the rural minority that has been taken advantage of.”

Leaders must speak out assertively and fill the power vacuum left by the U.S. retreat from globalism

John Nilsson-Wright is a Senior Research Fellow at Chatham House in the United Kingdom, and he pointed that there was three structural factors to the post-1945 order. Firstly, there was a assumption that the United States to be the guarantor of the global stability, which has been dramatically challenged by Donald Trump. Secondly, he stated that the threat from North Korea goes beyond its nuclear arsenal as it present indirect challenges to the US alliance system as a guarantor of security to its allies; U.S. allies South Korea and Japan are now concerned about what their alliances entail. “They fear they will either be abandoned by the US, or trapped by their alliances in wars they wish to avoid,” he noted. Thirdly, he also referred to the emergence of populism and identity politics. 1989 essay “The End of History?” by Francis Fukuyama claimed that the world was witnessing “the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.”

According to Nilsson-Wright, however, that claim has not panned out in recent years with the emergence of populist politics, and "emotion-based" thinking driven by leaders, along with the weakening sense of community and the perceived sense of anxiety, which would also lead to the strengthening of authoritarian power.

"Leaders must speak out assertively, and fill the power vacuum left by the U.S. retreat from the globalism," he said, and they need resort to the international norms and values to do so. Where appropriate, they also need to challenge the U.S. for its disruptive behavior. He also asserts that we need to focus on the importance of multilateral cooperation, and recognize how valuable our existing institutions are.

G-7 cohesion and the role of middle powers are key to protect Multinationalism amid uncertainty caused by great powers

Thomas Gomart is Director of the French Institute of International Relations, and he emphasized the need for cohesion within the G-7, even with the uncertain trajectories of the U.S., the U.K. and Italy. Gomart pointed to the French white paper published in October 2017 that showed the French government had identified three countries as simultaneously weakening multilateralism: Russia for its veto behavior in the U.N.; China for its

aggressive policies in the South China Sea; and for the first time, the U.S. for its withdrawal from the Paris Agreement and UNESCO, and its decision to cancel the TPP. In such an environment, Gomart believes that the middle powers need to defend multilateralism and limit the damage caused by the big three.

Regarding geopolitical instability, Gomart recognized that the North Korea issue is felt particularly palpably in Asia, but that it is a concern for all. The situation in Iran is related, and while it is a critical issue, Gomart believes the G-7 should also look at the situation in Syria as equally critical. It is "not only a humanitarian disaster, but a proxy war for stability in the Middle East, and an ongoing fight between Iran, Saudi Arabia, and their systems of alliances."

Gitta Lauster is Special Assistant to the Director at the German Institute for International Security Affairs, and she pointed to social media's role in destabilizing the world order. The internet was once considered inclusive, she said, pointing to the Arab Spring and to protests in Iran, Turkey and Hong Kong as examples of it "empowering marginalized groups and (giving) them a voice." However, social media has now become a weapon used to attack to the core of the liberal order, and Lauster believes it played a role in bringing the populist Alternative für Deutschland party 12.5% of the vote in Germany's most recent elections. Lauster stated that similar social media campaigns may have had an effect on the elections in the U.S. and Russia - and on the Brexit vote - and

continues to cause increased disparity between the rich and the poor, and anti-immigrant policies are still being introduced in many countries. In essence, according to Kudo, "Liberal values are being challenged, and we can't see where the current world is heading."



Yoriko Kawaguchi, a fellow at the Meiji Institute for Global Affairs and former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Environment, was invited to deliver the keynote address in Session 1. Kawaguchi began by asking the speakers to consider the core issues causing anxiety in the world, to identify short-term and long-term phenomena, and also determine which issues will have a fundamental impact.

Replication of the Lakner-Milanovic global growth incidence curve ("elephant curve"), 1988-2008



Source: Adam Corlett, "Examining an elephant," Resolution Foundation Report, September 2016, p8

As an example, she used economist Branko Milanovic's famous Elephant Chart to point out that while there is increased disparity in industrialized countries - which she said may have

had an effect on the election of Donald Trump in 2016 - research has shown that middle-class incomes in developing countries continue to grow.

We must decide whether to modify the current order or the current model is no longer viable

Referring to the theme of Session 1, Kawaguchi state that a definition of the term "liberal world order" may be necessary. Does it refer to the international structure, or does it refer to the values that structure was built upon? In addition, in the interests of maintaining that order, is it acceptable for nations to impose those values on other nations?

As we answer these questions, Kawaguchi believes, we must decide whether to modify the current order or, if it is determined that the current model is no longer viable, come up with something completely new. What kind of world order will embrace and deal with the increased diversity of international society, with the advancements in technology, and proliferation of non-state actors such as NGOs and even terrorist organizations?

She pointed to China's status as a fledgling superpower and India's continued growth, and to forecasts predicting that more than 50% of global GDP growth will be in developing countries. All of which are reasons to encourage us to "reconsider the role of the G-7, and reconsider the current philosophy of having major powers lead other countries."

she stated that this sort of negative use of social media destabilizes democracies and the liberal world order. "Governments have to face this challenge," she said, and noted that the internet has challenged some of the idea presented in Fukuyama's thesis. Governments need to reach people who are less informed, Lauster believes, through a means as available as social media.



Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal serves as President of Brazil's Getulio Vargas Foundation, and he stated that the Elephant Chart is neither the problem nor its cause, but rather "a consequence of the problem." According to Leal, the issue lies in fiscal stability, and the mechanisms of that are not fully understood. What is known is that with no fiscal stability, markets become less predictable and result in less leverage. More importantly perhaps, "There are no liberal democracies if they are no markets; no markets - no leverage." Leal lamented that, "We don't understand the importance of fiscal stability - we only look at national competition."

Leal also noted that the Elephant Chart used by Kawaguchi only presented data up to 2008, but he noted that this was the time of the banking crisis, after which the

developing countries fared much better. He pointed to the 1995 banking crisis in Brazil, and the harsh rules laid in place afterwards. Leal believes that those rules are what ensured that Brazil's credit wouldn't recede and the country would continue to expand its disposal income, while many other countries were suffering the effects of the 2008 banking crisis.

With increased global interdependence no nation is capable of resolving the issues on its own

Xiaohong Chen is former Director General of the PRC State Council's Development Research Center, and he stated that after the past 40 years of significant growth, China needs to continue to develop itself and make a greater contribution to the world. Chen noted that the country's goals were laid out last year during the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. Those goals included the establishment of a commercial industrial society that benefits every citizen equally, and further development of issues that include the environment - only a recent addition to the agenda. Chen said that China must still deal with the risk of an economic bubble, and its goal to bring more than 70 million above the poverty line. He also noted that while many pollutants have been eliminated, and PM 2.5 levels have decreased by as much as 35% in some regions, national ecological goals have still not been reached.

With increased global interdependence, Chen believes that no one nation is capable of resolving the issues on its own. Interconnecting national systems will lead to worldwide economic growth, he said, and he expressed his hope that with China joining the international community, a set of rules beneficial to all will become possible.

Nations must reiterate their commitment to respecting the rules of the order

Ettore Greco, Executive Vice President of Italy's Institute of International Affairs, pointed to three items needed to make the international system more robust. Nations must reiterate their commitment to respecting the rules of the order. "Sometimes we are selective (about which rules to follow)", he said. "And some countries are more selective than others." In addition, Greco thinks that countries should declare their willingness to reform the system. "The possibility of assuring the continuation of the system lies in the capacity to reform it and give it greater legitimacy," he said, and this can be achieved through discussions with rising powers. Finally, we should defend and consolidate the system's strengths, in particular enforcement mechanisms such as the dispute settlement mechanism within the WTO.

Rohinton Medhora is the President of the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Canada, and he reiterated Greco's point about effective solutions that are already in place. "We have solutions out there

that have worked," he said. "And we're going out of our way to say they didn't work and make them not work. The WTO's dispute system was rules-based, and the U.S. has used it and done well. But now it is being starved of new appointments and is withering away." However, Medhora also pointed out that the mechanism itself will still remain, and it can be utilized "once that cycle of skepticism is behind us."

Medhora also believes that summits are an effective weapon in the arsenal of the international community. While the "G20 is adrift", he believes that it doesn't get enough credit for its successes, pointing out that after the crisis of 2007 and 2008, "we could have gone into a tailspin...and ended up in a trade war, but the countries there chose not to."

Chairman Sunjoy Joshi of the Observer Research Foundation in India has a more positive view of the current state of democracy in the world. He believes that part of the problem is in perspective - many of the Western democracies are not used to the more raucous expression of democracy currently being experienced, whereas that is the status quo in India. "India has a fractious democracy: always boxing, never a tango," he said. "The problem with the (West) is that it was always a tango." Democracies always calm and collected, Joshi believes, but they always find a way. That way is through elections, he said, and pointed to Trump as a potential future example of this mechanism in action. "For Trump, everything is TV. You can win an election on ratings, but you can't hold power on that. You have to deliver. We go through the cycle of change. Eventually, you have to go to ground and build up."

Joshi also took issue with some of the solutions being posed by other speakers on the stage, calling them "illiberal." He clarified this by saying that we should not blame things like social media for the problems we face. "When you start hankering after the power of the elite to control the narrative, you are making a mistake," he warned.

We must find a way to reconsolidate how we relate to technology

Keng Yong Ong serves as Executive Deputy Chairman at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. Ong's point dealt with the development of technology and how its intrusion into our daily lives has fundamentally changed how countries coexist with each other. Ong believes that it is important for us to find a way to "reconsolidate how we relate to technology" as we move forward. Work and the nature of employment will continue to transform, and this is an issue that must be considered by national leaders - however no "serious leaders" have looked at this problem thus far. "I agree with Ms. Kawaguchi," he said. "We need leaders. There will always be a need for someone to be the referee, and have the authority to do the things (that are needed)."

Thomas Gomart continued on the theme of employment, pointing out that national spending is based upon the tax revenue levied on workers, and that revenue is what funds social spending. With the evolution of employment, work becomes more fragmented and social spending decreases. He admitted that it is difficult to address the issues caused by such circumstances, but mentioned that the idea of a universal income is one that arose in the previous French presidential election. "I think it's worth thinking about that," he said. "The fewer salaried workers you have, the more problems you have in sustaining a welfare state as it is in the EU." In Gomart's opinion, universal income might address some of the problems.

Medhora noted that while the G7 and G20 don't tend to harmonize on issues, Argentina selected work as the focus of the G20 summit, as did Canada for the G7 summit. He said that pessimistic models predict the loss or transformation of 50% to 60% of jobs, and we don't know who will gain from these changing circumstances. However, Medhora explained, every technological advance thus far has resulted in increased income, and we can act to make good things happen. "Universal income, training...if we get them right, we don't have to just accept technological change, we can shape it," he said.

Ong pointed to educational reform and regulation of migration flows as important issues to be addressed by technology. One way to slow the migration of populations developing centers into developed ones is to remove the attraction of such moves, Ong explained. If production regions can be moved to developing areas, there will be less pressure on the developed world to integrate immigrant populations.

We are facing the dramatic crisis of democratic legitimacy

Kudo asked the participants if they had any suggestions on what can be done to protect democracy in the world, and Gomart responded with a question of his own. "Is education a private good where you must pay, or is it a public good where it's provided for free?" he asked. Gomart believes that this will shape the future of democracy, and for Gomart, how one answers depends on whether one wishes to "prepare future consumers or educate future citizens."

Ettore Greco asserts that we are facing the dramatic crisis of legitimacy. Because the insufficient outputs by the democratic regimes which had not met the needs of citizens, this produced wide spread dissatisfaction with the political system. He believes that the national governments are responsible for the crisis. In this climate, Greco questions how international cooperation could contribute to the solution of the issue. He suggested that the G-7 should shift from its goals of productivity and flexibility to focus on a broader agenda that includes measures to protect people

left behind by the impact of globalization. This should also include reforming the system to cope with the innovation impact of technology.

Think tanks must work together to protect pluralism in democracy

Sunjoy Joshi reminded the audience however that the label "democracy" hides much behind it. With populist democracy rising through the efforts of leaders playing on people's fears and anxieties not competing for the visions of the future, he said, "What we need to protect is pluralism. How do we protect plural democracy? This is something think tanks, academic institutions need to work together to find answers. The heterogeneity of society must be protected everywhere."

Gitta Lauster noted that policy fields are no longer as isolated as they once were, with issues like the migration crisis touching on international and regional security, but also on domestic policy.

Leal mentioned that one reason democracy is being challenged everywhere is because of the pressure of time. Quick responses are required for urgent problems, but that provides executive branches with the excuse to increase their own powers as legislative powers shrink. That means you are increasing unpredictability. "No one wants to make the difficult choices between the short-term and long-term," he emphasized. "Everyone is betting on innovation. It's part of it, but it's not everything."

Public Forum -Session 2-

Is North Korea's nuclear development program a threat to the world?

~How should we develop a scenario to stop North Korea's nuclear development program while avoiding military conflict?~

3:45pm~5:20pm

U Thant International Conference Hall 3F, United Nations University

Keynote Speaker

Itsunori Onodera
(Minister of Defense)

Panelists: Tokyo Conference Participants

James Goldgeier

(Visiting Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations)

Thomas Gomart

(Director, French Institute of International Relations, France)

Ettore Greco

(Executive Vice President, Institute of International Affairs)

Sunjoy Joshi

(Chairman, Observer Research Foundation)

Gitta Lauster

(Special Assistant to the Director, German Institute for International Security Affairs,)

Rohinton Medhora

(President, Centre for International Governance Innovation)

John Nilsson-Wright

(Senior Research Fellow, Chatham House)

Keng Yong Ong

(Executive Deputy Chairman, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies,)

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal

(President, Getulio Vargas Foundation,

Panelists: Guest Speakers

Masanori Nishi

(Former Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense)

Yuji Miyamoto

(Chairman, Miyamoto Asia Institute; former Ambassador of Japan to China)

Ming Liu

(Executive Director, Institute of International Relations, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences)

Seong-Mook Moon

(Director of the Inter-Korean Affairs, Korea Research Institute for National Strategy; Brigadier General (Ret.),)

Dukmin Yun

(Chair Professor, Hankook University of Foreign Studies,)

Moderator

Ichiro Fujisaki

(President, The America-Japan Society; former Ambassador to the United States of America)

Public Forum

Session 2: "Is North Korea's nuclear development program a threat to the world?"



Japanese Minister of Defense Itsunori Onodera opened Session 2 with a keynote address that laid out the history of interactions with the regime in North Korea. Onodera began by mentioning the previous day's news regarding the announcement of a summit meeting between U.S. President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, scheduled to take place by the end of May 2018. He expressed his hopes that these talks would lead to denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, but he warned that past dealings with North Korea suggest that success will not be so easily achieved.

North Korea is one of the most serious threats to the world

North Korea first threatened to leave the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty in 1993, and it launched a Nodong missile that May. For some time after, North Korea "pretended to come to the table" but continued to develop its arsenal as it did so.

"They are one of the most serious threats to the world," Onodera warned. He went on to mention its continued nuclear weapon tests - three of which were conducted in 2016 and 2017 - and reminded the audience that the last test had been estimated as having a yield that potentially matched that of a hydrogen bomb. North Korea's ballistic missile testing program has also continued unabated, Onodera continued. It has conducted as many as 40 tests in the previous two years, leading up to its latest missile which the country claims can travel 10,000 km, a distance that brings the mainland United States into range.

Onodera reiterated that North Korea's programs are a serious threat to Japan and the rest of the world. In response to its provocations, the international community has come together to enforce various sanctions in the hopes that it will return to the table to engage in dialogue. Onodera emphasized that we must be sure that they are "serious about the dialogue this time," and diplomatic efforts should be backed up by military defense, a point on which both Onodera and U.S. Secretary of Defense James Mattis are in agreement.

The discussion in Session 2 was moderated by Ichiro Fujisaki, President of The America-Japan Society and former Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. Fujisaki began the discussion by asking the panel to consider solutions to an issue brought up in Onodera's keynote, asking, "How can the international community ensure it is not betrayed by North Korea during the peace process?"

How can the international community ensure it is not betrayed by North Korea during the peace process?

Yuji Miyamoto, Chairman of the Miyamoto Asia Institute and former Japanese Ambassador to China, was first to respond. He said that the panel should consider why North Korea chose this particular time to make its approach. Miyamoto believes it is due to the actions of the international community.



Miyamoto explained that no one knows if North Korea is a "rational

player" or not, and this issue has become more important now that it has its own nuclear weapons. That ambiguity has caused some to worry about how the U.S. will respond in the case of a North Korean attack on South Korea or Japan. "If we can't rely on US anymore," he said. "The strategic environment will change completely." He also warned that allowing North Korea to become a nuclear power lowers the threshold for other countries to take the same steps, which could result in terrorists or other groups obtaining nuclear weapons. "At all cost, we must eliminate nuclear weapons from North Korea before they have the chance to share them," he said.

We must be prepared for any hidden traps

Former Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense Masanori Nishi built upon that point by noting that sanctions have had an effect on North Korea. Nishi also said that we should recognize Kim Jong Un's "nerve" for bearing up under the strain of sanctions and other measures. However, his invitation to negotiate likely means that he has a reason for being confident that he will do well in such negotiations. The stake for the rest of the world is denuclearization of the peninsula, Nishi continued, but that isn't the goal of North Korea. Nishi mentioned that he is not sure the U.S., Russia, Japan and other countries can trust what North Korea says, and we "must be prepared for any hidden traps."



Ming Liu is Executive Director of the Institute of International Relations at China's Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and he had a different opinion about North Korea's willingness to engage in dialogue, pointing to continued back-channel talks between the U.S. and North Korea through Europe. The reason it took until this year to have public talks was, Liu believes, due to poor timing after various diplomatic spats between the two countries that took place at the U.N. and in the media last year. Another reason he may have waited was that he wanted to ensure his Hwasong-15 missiles were complete, which put him in a better position to negotiate. "I think we underestimated him," Liu continued. "I think he is quite sophisticated."

We must prepare for the consequences of two unpredictable leaders getting together

Liu is pessimistic about what results are possible from the upcoming talks, but much depends, he says, on the demands of the U.S. He said that China, South Korea and Japan all agree on wanting a denuclearized North Korea, "but maybe the U.S. has other goals." Liu also warned

that the international community must prepare for the consequences of these two "unpredictable leaders" getting together.

International society must come together that denuclearization is a goal

Next to speak was Dukmin Yun, Chair Professor at Hankook University of Foreign Studies in the Republic of Korea. Yun agreed with the Minister of Defense's comparison of the current situation to the situation in 1993. President Bill Clinton had been prepared for the military option at that, and the North Korean leadership eventually invited former President Jimmy Carter to take part in a summit. Yun suggested that, "Kim Jong Un is more or less doing the same thing." The major difference now, Yun noted, is that North Korea has nuclear weapons and missiles that have a range that can reach South Korea, Japan, and further. Yun stressed that international society must come together, and that denuclearization is a goal that "everybody in this room shares. But the North also knows that," he added. "And they are skilled at breaking up international alliances."

Seong-Mook Moon is Director of Inter-Korean Affairs at the Korea Research Institute for National Strategy, and a former Brigadier General in the Republic of Korea Armed Forces. Moon noted that Kim Jong Un seems to have changed tack in expressing an interest in dialogue, but he wondered how serious about it he is.



North Korea's ultimate goal is the unification of the peninsula through invading South Korea

"Kim seems to be willing to denuclearize, as there is no reason for (nuclear weapons) if the regime is maintained," he said. However, Moon also believes that North Korea's ultimate goal is the unification of the peninsula through invading South Korea and making it communist. In order to achieve that, "the U.S. bases have to go. No more US exercises... that's why they've run those tests and launched missiles." With the international community coming together in applying sanctions, Moon says that Kim Jong Un is now feeling cornered, which is why he had to shift focus to a dialogue with the U.S. "Kim Jong Un is cornered, and he has to commit, not just with words...but if the partnership between South Korea, Japan, and the U.S. is strengthened, he cannot change our path."

If Trump fails, expect tremendous uncertainty

James Goldgeier is a Visiting Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in the U.S. Goldgeier hopes that Trump will succeed, but he also mentioned that he shares the pessimism of the other speakers on the panel. "Trump is focused on his own publicity, and it makes no difference if his team is on a consistent message. Most foreign policy is boring, and that's best, but that doesn't appeal to Trump," he explained.

"What happens when Trump fails to achieve his goal?" he asked. "Expect tremendous uncertainty." Regarding the planned talks, Goldgeier thinks that the Trump administration does not have the expertise it needs to do it correctly. "What is more problematic is that even if he had the experts, he doesn't listen," he added. One question that remains is what sort of result will be acceptable for the U.S.

"Kim already got he wants," Goldgeier said. "He looks like an equal to the US president, and not because he's cornered, but because he succeeded in getting nuclear weapons."

Goldgeier concluded by echoing Ming Liu's assessment about the unpredictability of the situation.

Thomas Gomart, Director of the French Institute of International Relations, believes that we are not facing a nuclear crisis yet, but are taking the first steps towards one.

He emphasized the need for a relationship between the E.U. and North Korea, but noted that one of the barriers in any future negotiation arises from the current deal with Iran.



If that deal is "destroyed", Gomart believes, it will be difficult to expect a positive outcome out of negotiations with North Korea.

Ettore Greco is Executive Vice President of Italy's Institute of International Affairs, and he outlined three requirements that must be met in order to lay the proper groundwork for success. First, there needs to be a real deal under which North Korea gives up its nuclear program in exchange for a lifting of sanctions. Second, there needs to be a multilateral framework that alleviates any regional concerns. Finally, Greco sees the need for a "robust and effective reeducation system" provided by an E.U. nuclear agency.

US's goal differs from the others. This may be the first step in a multi-stage strategy aimed at a major opponent in the area

Carlos Ivan Simonsen Leal, President of the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Brazil, pointed out that logic dictates that if Kim and Trump are now announcing talks, either an agreement has already been reached, or one of the parties wants to enlarge the agreement. He wondered whether the U.S. is accepting an increased risk because their goal differs from the goals of the other parties involved. Perhaps, he said, this is the first step in a multi-stage strategy aimed at a major opponent in the area.

John Nilsson-Wright, a Senior Research Fellow at Chatham House in the UK, believes that it would be appropriate to adapt Ronald Reagan's Cold War strategy "trust, but verify" to read "distrust, and verify" when coming to an agreement with North Korea. He added that the international community must also demonstrate to North Korea that military preparation will increase on the part of U.S. and its two key allies in the region if it fails to comply with any terms reached. He also warned that governments in the region should be concerned about what Trump is willing to trade to "get his deal" as negotiations could even result in the withdrawal of U.S. forces based in South Korea or Japan.

Rohinton Medhora is President of the Centre for International Governance Innovation in Canada, and he raised the issue of non-nuclear threats posed by North Korea. "(Nuclear weapons) are a threat, but so are cyber-attacks," he said. Medhora is worried that the international community is focusing too much on this single issue without thinking about the bigger picture. "We need to talk about how to deal with a rogue regime," he stressed.

One way to deal with it, he suggested, would be by having a United Nations Security Council "with teeth, and more representative."

All parties must keep careful watch over negotiating a path to denuclearization

Chairman Sunjoy Joshi of India's Observer Research Foundation stated that there is consensus among the speakers regarding the end goal: "lose the nuclear weapons." However, all partners in the process must keep careful watch over negotiating a path to that end goal, because while the Western image of Kim Jong Un has him playing the role of a bully, he may actually be quite intelligent.

Apping up the initial discussion was Keng Yong Ong, Executive Deputy Chairman of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He believes that more needs to be known about China's interests. As a member of ASEAN, Ong "would be happy to see a reduction in tension" as both sides attempt to find a way to deal with the situation, but for Ong, one major question that remains is "how clever Kim is." He wonders whether Kim's behavior is strategic, or if he is just playing a role that appeals to the character of Trump.

The discussion continued, and participants raised other issues that need to be addressed before successful negotiations can be expected. These included determining necessary exit strategies in the denuclearization process, presenting

a unified front in negotiations, and alleviating worries about U.S. reliability on the part of both its allies and North Korea (due to recent statements by President Trump on the Iran nuclear deal framework.)



Once the discussions were complete, Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo took to the stage to present the Tokyo Conference 2018 Statement to the Group of Seven Summit. During the discussions between the think tanks, the experts agreed that the G-7 should deliver a "strong and effective message to the world in order to respect and protect values such as freedom, multilateralism and democracy, and that it should serve as the engine to drive the task of realizing such values and norms." The experts in attendance agreed on the statement to the G7 Summit in Canada.

The 2018 G-7 summit will be held in June in Charlevoix, Quebec, Canada, and in attendance to accept the Tokyo Conference 2018 statement was Nadia Burger, Deputy Head of Mission of the Embassy of Canada in Japan. She provided the forum with an introduction to Canada's goals during its presidency of the G-7, and expressed Canada's appreciation for the work Genron NPO and other think tanks do in coming together to engage in dialogue on global challenges and international priorities.

Interviews

Representatives from Thinktanks

Post-conference interviews



Italy

Ettore GRECO/
Executive Vice President,
Institute of International
Affairs (IAI)

To further develop the Tokyo Conference, we should consider additional participants

This year's conference gave us an opportunity to discuss not only North Korean issue but also global issues, and in particular, we were able to discuss the future of democracy and the external pressure democracy is facing. I believe discussions on how we can promote international cooperation in the future and how the G7 in particular can strengthen it formed the basis of this Tokyo Conference. As free, democratic nations, we must make greater efforts and grant more power to international organizations and

frameworks to move the agenda forward. In particular, I feel that we were able to engage in discussions covering broad areas such as deregulation, coordination of our sovereign nations, macroeconomic policies, alleviating the impact of globalization and, in particular, what we can do for the people who are left behind by globalization. I also believe the discussions we held at this conference will link to topics for future conferences.

While I believe this Tokyo Conference was very successful, I also believe there is still room for improvement. For example, we discussed inviting more people from civilian society on some occasions, and about the need for more interactive discussion. Even in the open forum, I believe there is a need for more two-way interchanges, and in future discussions, there may even be a possibility to have representatives from countries like Russia and China participate.



The United States

James GOLDGEIER/
Visiting Senior Fellow,
Council on Foreign
Relations (CFR) ; Professor
of International Relations,
American University

I look forward to updated discussions on the economy and security

I am really glad to have been able to attend this conference. I came from the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington DC, and I found being able to engage in dialogue in Tokyo with people from all over the world to be highly productive discussion for me. In fact, I was able to talk about present world conditions, particularly current

conditions of this region. I believe the theme of future international order is the most important theme for us to discuss at the moment. I believe it was a wonderful conference where participants were able to hear the opinions of both G7 countries and emerging countries like Brazil and China.

In regard to future Tokyo Conferences, I believe it will depend on how things progress in relation to the economy and security. Still the entire world including the United States is committed to the WTO. And where North Korea is concerned, it is most likely various conditions will be clearer by this time next year, and we will be able to engage in better dialogue. I look forward to follow-up discussions on the economy and security at next year's conference.



The United Kingdom

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

The question is how all countries will align their steps to address North Korean nuclear issue

This conference was an excellent opportunity for me. I feel we were able to discuss a wide range of topics that are pressing issues at the moment, such as threats to international order as well as domestic and international politics. It is my view that the rise of the populist movement is significantly destabilizing democratic systems and having a similar impact on international order.

Prior to the conference, it was decided that President Trump and Kim Jong-un would hold dialogue in May this year. However, I have a pessimistic view as to whether such dialogue can address the

security crisis. On the other hand, if commencing dialogue between these two people can bring a sense of humanity to relations between the United States and North Korea, and some stability through some weeks or months in the future, it would be of some good. The Japanese government may certainly have some concern that it could cause tension in this region, particularly between the United States and Japan. On the other hand, since there has been some cooperative response among Korea, Japan and the United States in the past, from next year onwards, it will be important to determine how to align our pace with these allied powers, and to act in concert with the national interests of other countries including Europe.

On the issues of democracy, I believe we need to engage in much more meaningful activities for voters. While President Trump is practicing an authoritarian style of politics, I hope people like Prime Minister Abe will appeal to the importance of democracy in a form that will involve the people much more.



India

Sunjoy JOSHI/
Chairman, Observer
Research
Foundation (ORF)

A conference that adopted the views of not only the specialists but also people from the floor

The Tokyo Conference 2018 was truly a tremendous success. I believe it is especially useful to listen to the opinions of people of diverse regions. The participants at this Tokyo Conference were a diverse group. We had the opportunity to discuss the North Korean situation, the future of democracy and the future of free world order. All of these were highly relevant issues that people in the world are paying attention to. Therefore, the amount we learned from one another was astounding, and we were able to listen to diverse viewpoints. We were also able to

deepen our mutual understanding, and can return home with a sound understanding of our respective standpoints. Such an understanding is extremely important. The world at large has not yet reached that point. I feel that our world must become much more multipolar. That is my point of view.

To further improve the conference, I feel that it is important to increase the number of participants. For example, we must explore the potential for expanding the diversity of participating countries and widening the breadth of discussions. A further approach might be to further increase interaction. I think it would be useful to have more two-way exchanges directly with the general public rather than one-way talks. In addition to having discussions among the specialists, I also would like to listen to the opinions of ordinary people in general.



Singapore

Keng Yong ONG/
Executive Deputy
Chairman,
S. Rajaratnam School of
International Studies
(RSIS)

The Tokyo conference as a venue where we can further probe and discuss the issues we face

I think the Tokyo Conference this time was very good. I was able to learn a lot about the domestic situation in Japan as well as circumstances in neighboring countries.

In regard to future conferences, we also agreed to engage in more discussion. We need to delve more deeply into issues and hold discussions on what is happening in Japan and in the Korean Peninsula, how we can strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance, security issues, and how to build peace in Northeast Asia. Therefore, I feel that it was a very useful conference overall. For me personally, it was a very good experience.



Canada

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

The depth of discussions has increased

I have been attending this conference every year since 2015, and I feel discussions are becoming broader and deeper with each conference. The content of discussions as well as the participants are also becoming more and more interesting.

In my view, there are few opportunities that we get to have this kind of discussion on liberalism and democracy, and connected to contemporary issues such as the situation in North Korea, such as the upcoming G7 Summit, and Japan's

role as the host country in the G20 Meeting next year.

I think we can cite two topics as issues we should consider in the future. The first one is, every country should think more about the role of new technology, which triggers change and development in countries, and what it can achieve in terms of global trends. This year, both the G7 and G20 are to take up the future of labor as a topic for discussion. This relates to education, as well as social and safety networks, and at the same time, will bring about significant changes to labor including AI. The other topic is, the importance of talking with general public. If possible, it would have been better to have a conference by engaging in exchanges with various people to find out how politicians, students, and academics think about issues. I think doing that would make operations and discussions more complicated but at the same time beneficial for the conference.



France

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

Outreach to international press will be important

I found the conference this year to be quite good. Although I felt it was very good last year as well, I think there was further improvement this year. I believe the quality of discussions improved considerably. I have been attending this conference since the first time it was held, and I am very

proud to say that the Tokyo Conference will increase in importance.

My expectations for the Tokyo Conference from the next time onwards depend very much on how the international situation unfolds. In the sense that a conference like this fosters friendship and allows exchanges of opinions among members, I believe it is very important. In today's world, a conference like this should be covered by both domestic and international media. If this conference were to take a new step, I believe it should target this aspect.



Germany

Gitta LAUSTER/ Special Assistant to the Director, German Institute for International Security Affairs (SWP)

Creating a framework where global think tanks will further commit to making proposals to the G7

I found this year's Tokyo Conference to be a very thought-provoking event, and I was able to learn some very valuable points. I think it was a very timely conference. It was particularly timely, I believe, to consider the recent North Korea issue. Discussing democracy and the various threats democracy faces was also important.

Japan and Germany have rather

similar experiences, and we also share values that need to be protected. Therefore, I believe it was very meaningful for think tanks from 10 countries to get together and have the opportunity to listen to various people, both government officials and experts. The level of discussions was also very high. I felt very fortunate to have been able to meet so many important people and discuss various issues.

For the future conference, I think both the closed and open sessions are important and should be continued. And, I believe it is important to disseminate the content of discussions in English. I also think inviting people from countries other than the G7 should be considered. For example, inviting some high-ranking government officials from Russia next year is something that should perhaps be considered.



Brazil

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

Many important pressing issues have been discussed

It's my pleasure to be here for the second time. I was really impressed by the level of discussions in the Tokyo Conference 2018. Many interesting

subjects have been discussed, regarding international relation, politics, economy and so forth. I hope we can continue this dialogue next year in such an amiable, intelligence, environment created by The Genron NPO.

Tokyo Conference 2018

Research

Expert Opinion Survey on Globalization,
Liberal Order and Democracy

Public Opinion Poll on Global Issues and the Role
of Japan

Expert Opinion Survey Methodology

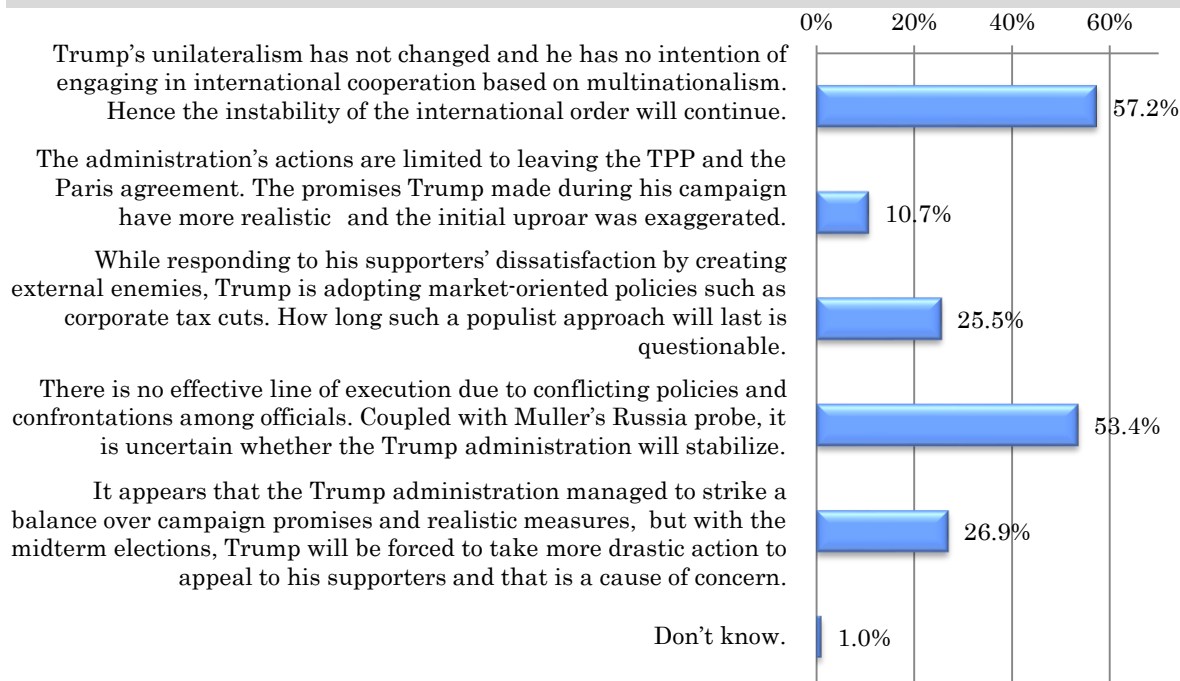
About the Expert Opinion Survey

The Genron NPO conducted a opinion survey of Japanese experts on globalization, liberal order and democracy to be released at the Tokyo Conference which was held on March 10, 2018. The survey invitation was distributed to about 2000 experts who took part in The Genron NPO's program in the past via email. The survey was fielded for 7 days from March 1 to 7 in 2018. The response was obtained from 281 experts.

Samples	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% NPO/NGO staff: 10.0% Academia/Researchers: 11.9% Organization staff: 9.3% Student: 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%		

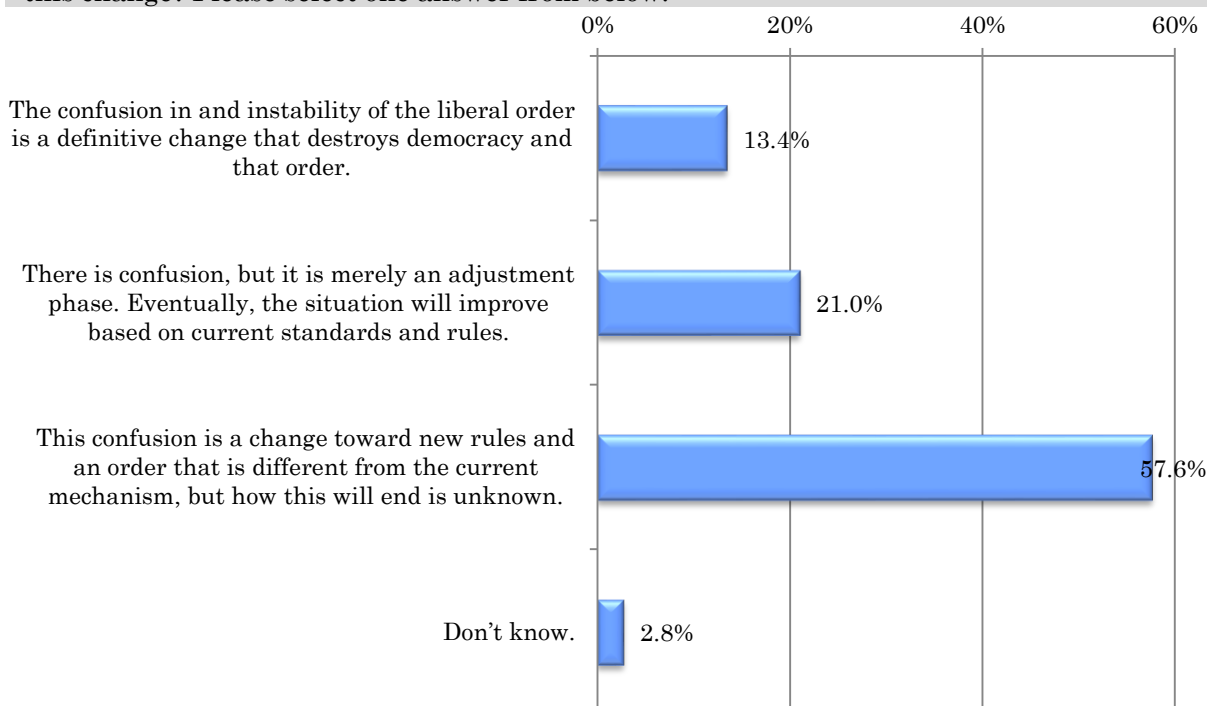
1. How do you see the actions of President Trump in the past year?

The Trump administration marked its first anniversary January 20. How do you evaluate U.S. President Donald Trump's actions during this past year? Please select two answers that are closest to your opinion.



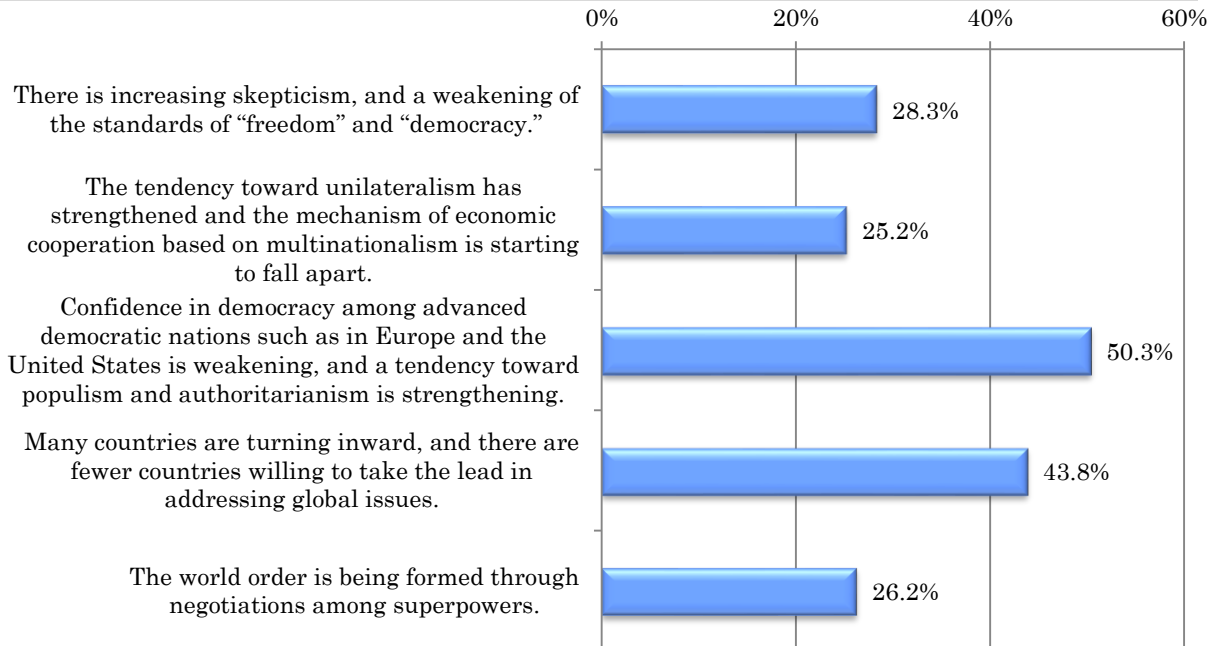
2. What is the likely outcome of the destabilized liberal order?

The global community is suffering from widening divisions due to globalization, distrust of democracy, and a rift in international cooperation based on multinationalism. Under such circumstances, it is becoming clear that China is emerging as a challenge. How do you see this change? Please select one answer from below.



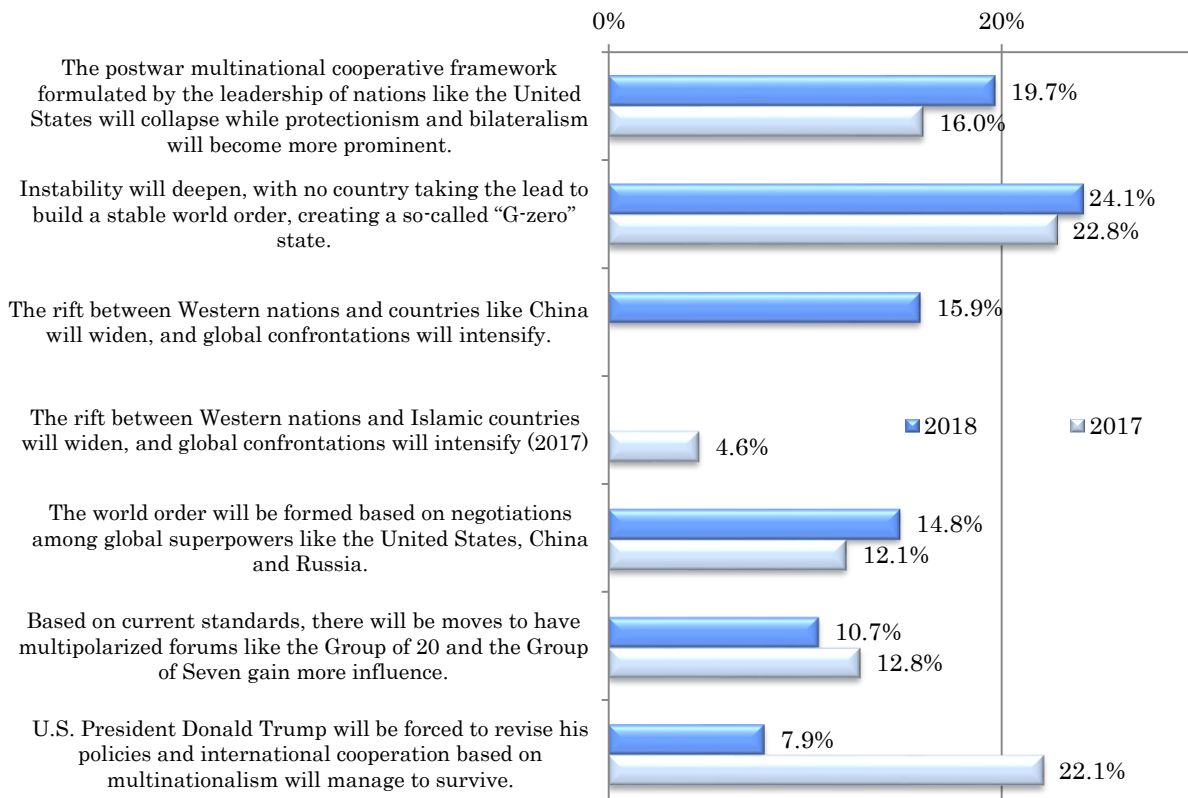
3. What makes you concern the most amid the current destabilizing situations?

The state of world affairs continues to be unstable. What are you particularly worried about? Please select two answers that are closest to your concerns.



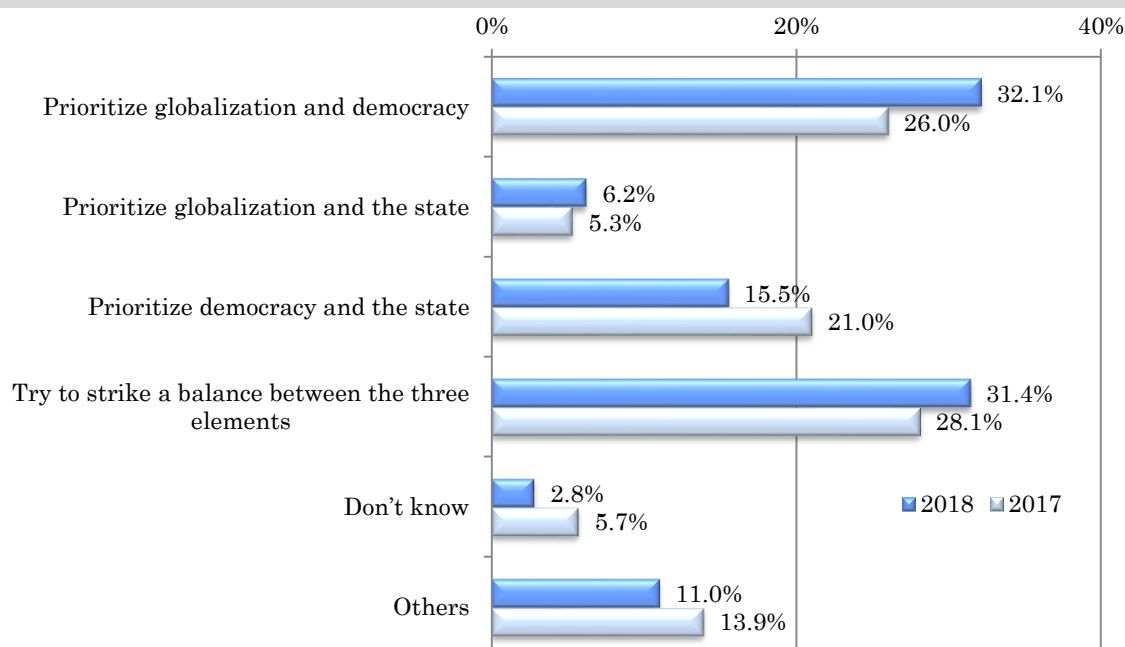
4. Future of international system and order

How do you think the world's liberal order will progress from here? Please select one answer from below.



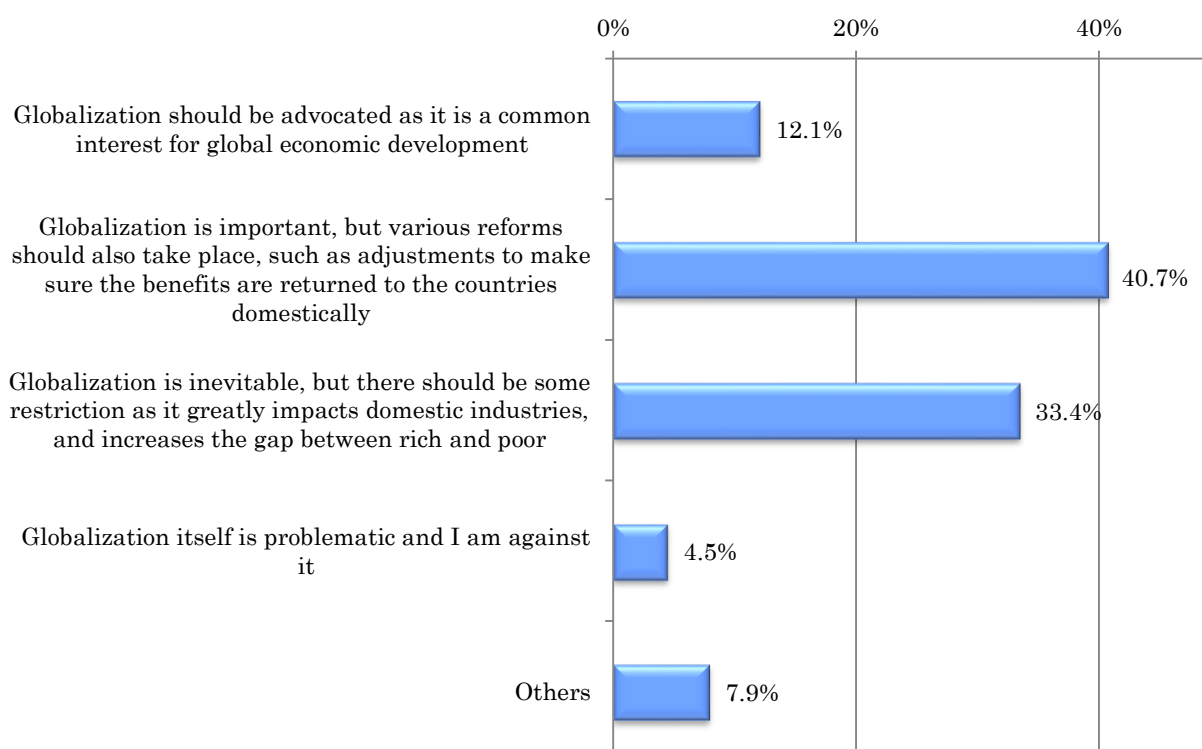
5. What should be prioritized in the globalization, nation-state, democracy trilemma

It is said that the situation in the world that sees freedom and democracy receding is due to a trilemma between globalization, the state and democracy. In other words, it is difficult to implement all three simultaneously. What among the answers below do you think needs to be prioritized to improve the situation? Please select one from the following.



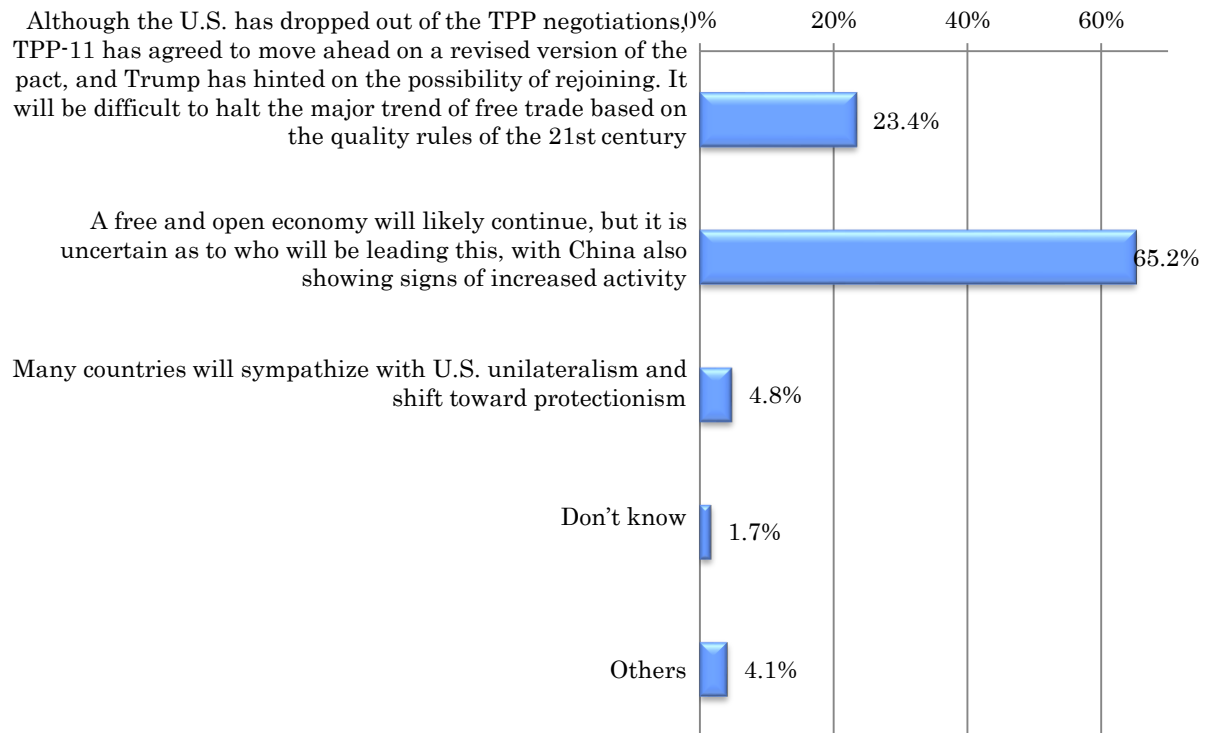
6. Future of globalization

Problems like the widening gap between rich and poor caused by over-globalization are being identified. What are your thoughts about the future of globalization? Please select one answer from the following that is closest to your opinion.



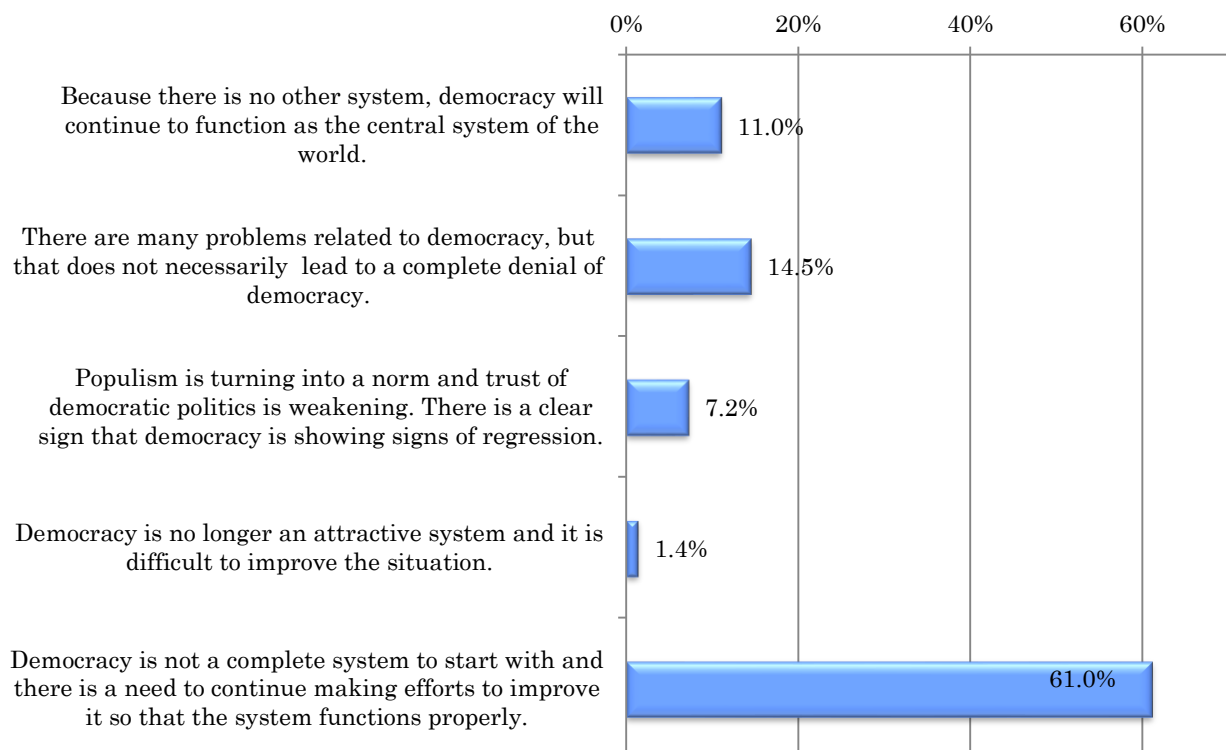
7. Future of free trade

What do you think about the future of free trade? Please select one answer from the following.



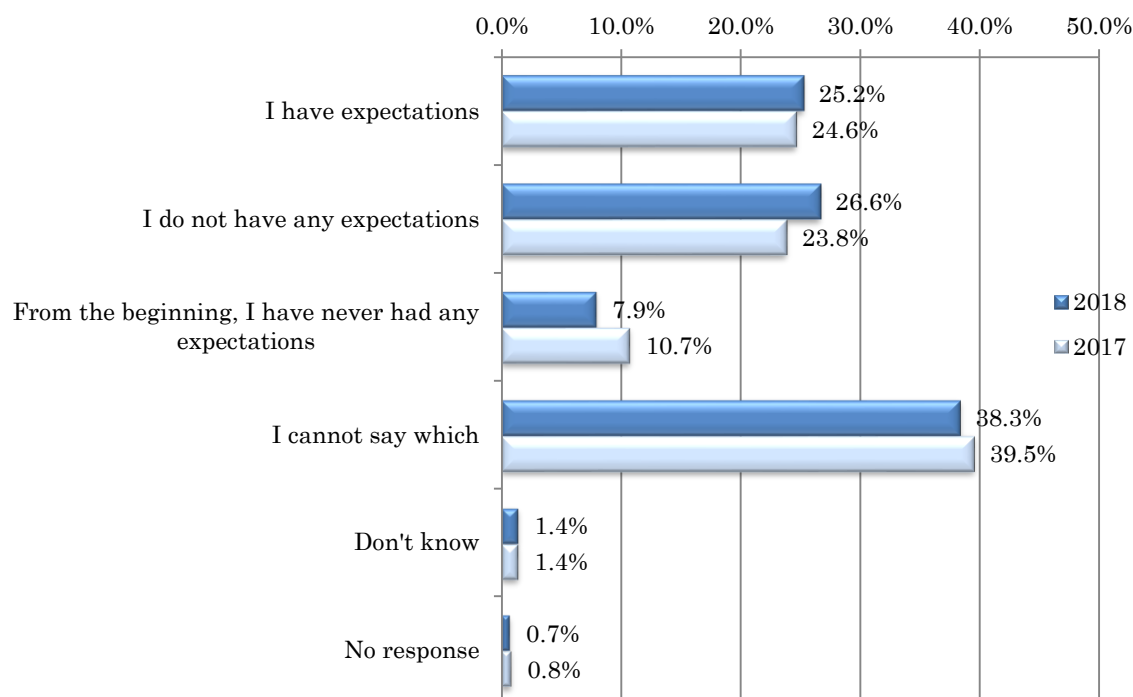
8. The state of democracy in the world

How would you assess the state of democracy in the world? Please select one answer from below that is closest to your opinion.



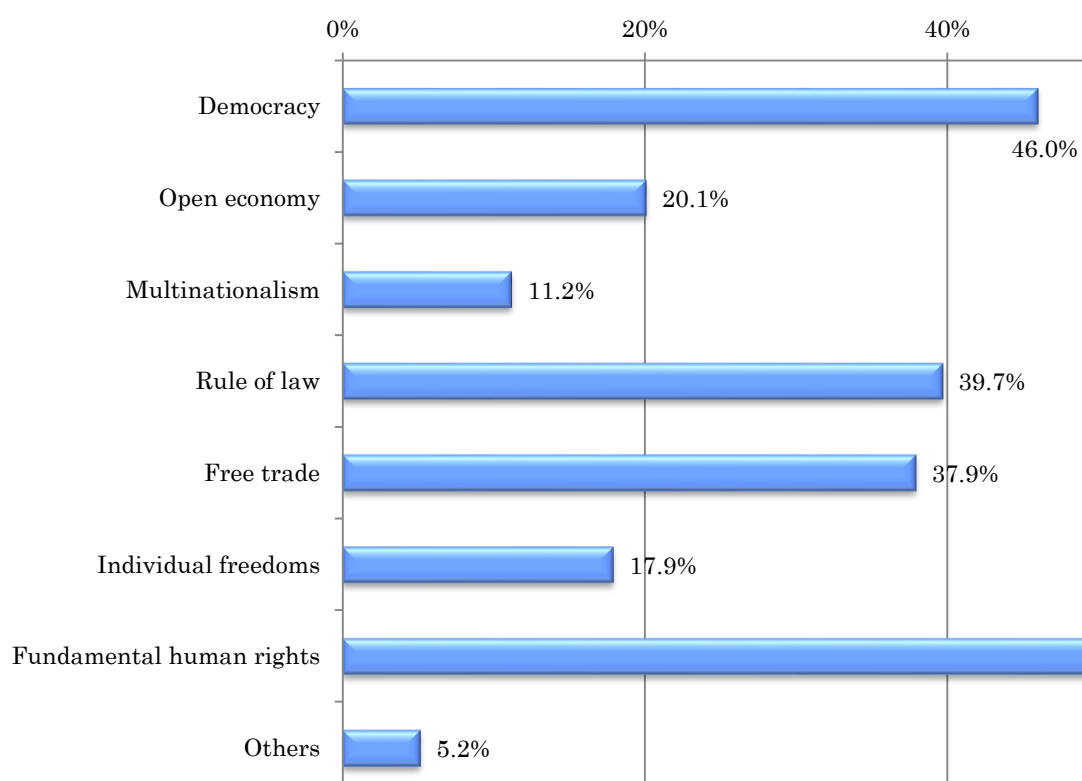
9. Expectations on experts and journalists to address the crisis

here is strong opposition and criticism from intellectuals and the media about the populist movement in developed nations. Do you have expectations that such people will play a role in resolving the problem? Please select one answer closest to your opinion.



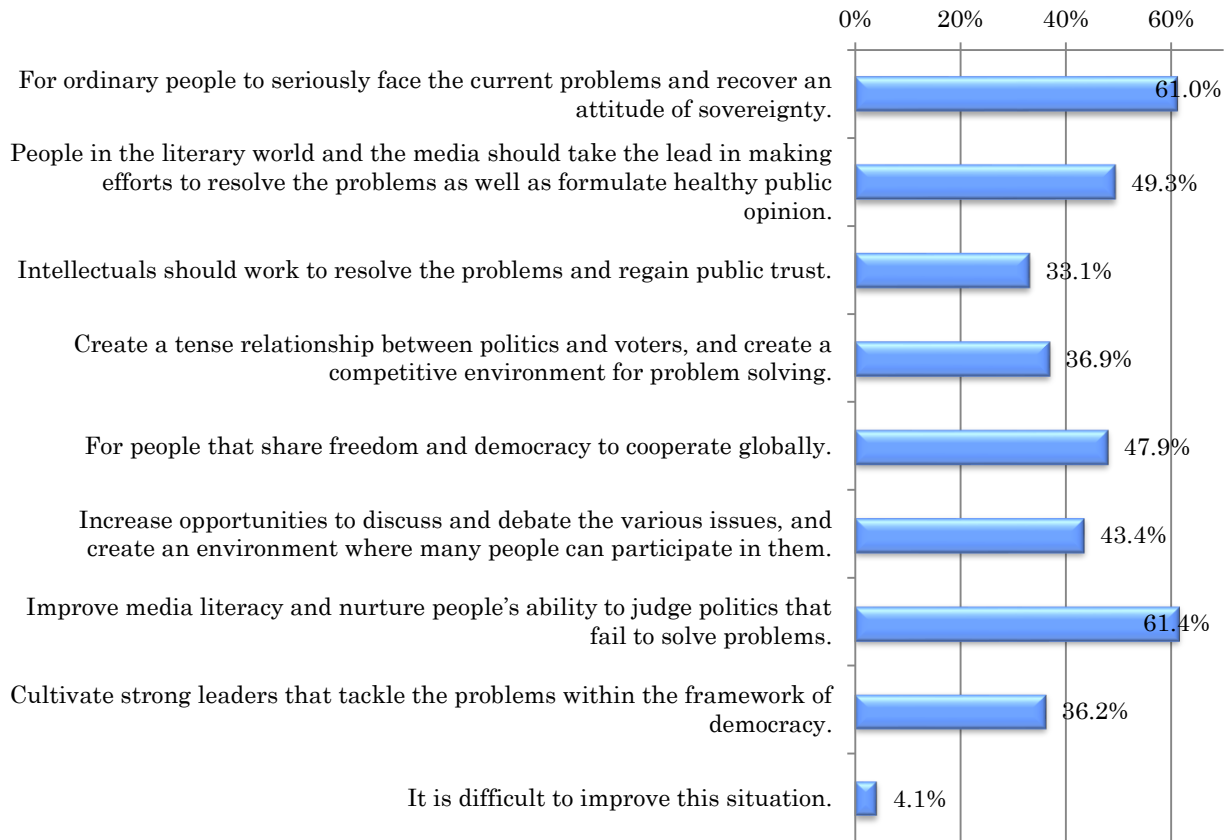
10. What do we need to protect?

What do you think we should prioritize for protection amid the unstable global political climate? Please select two answers from the following.



11. What is necessary to overcome the crisis of democracy

Democracy is facing a crisis in today's world. What do you think is necessary to overcome the crisis and make democracy function properly? Please select as many answers as you like from the following.



Public Opinion Survey Methodology

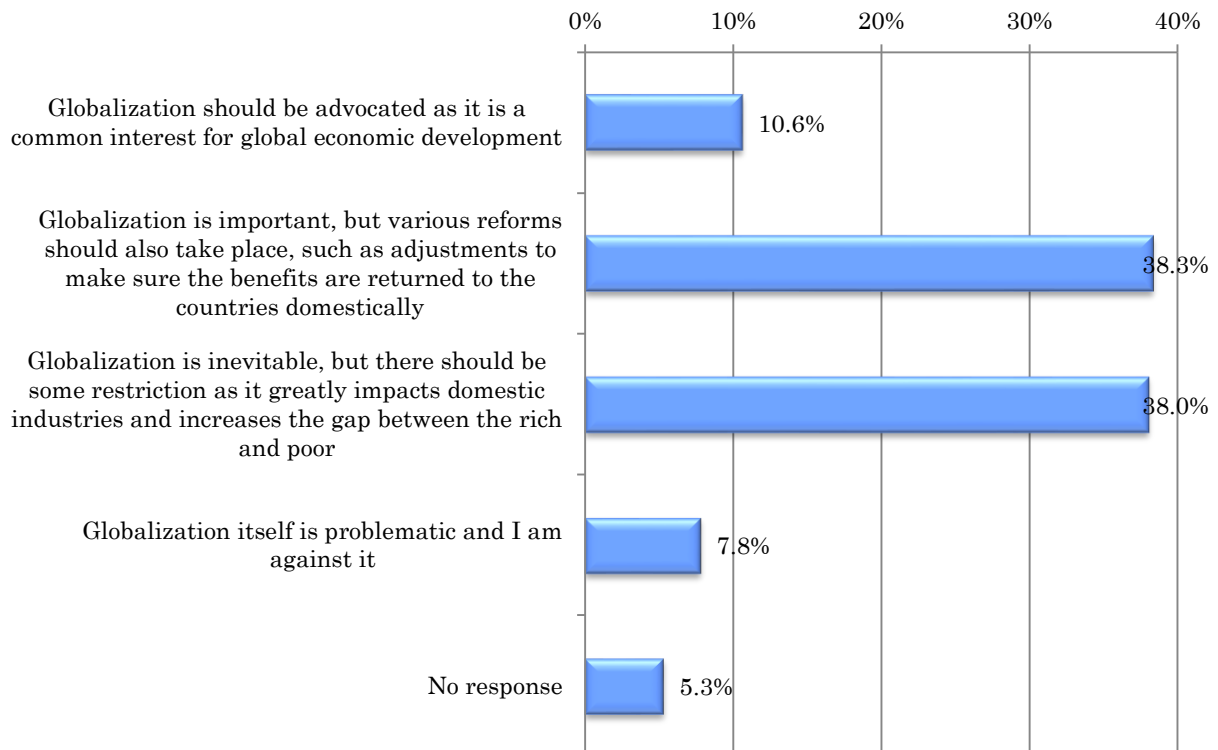
About the Public Opinion Survey

The Genron NPO conducted a public opinion poll on globalization, international institutions and the role of Japan addressing imminent global issues, targeting adult population based on representative sample. The survey was conducted in order to monitor and analyze Japanese public's understanding of global issues and expectations of Japan to address such issues. The opinion poll was conducted from October 21 to November 5, 2017.

Survey area	Japan	
Target population	Men and women aged 18 and over (excluding high school students)	
Sampling method	Quota sampling based on the gender and age group 50 locations were chosen throughout Japan for fielding. The number of samples per point is 20 samples. Assign to match composition ratio by sex and age nationwide	
Survey method	Placement method (home visit with self-administered questionnaire)	
Fielding period	From October 21 to November 5, 2017	
Valid sample	1000 samples	
Demographic Information	Gender	Male 48.6%, Female 51.4%
	Final Educational Attainment	Junior high school and below: 7.7% High school graduate: 47.3% Junior College / College of Technology: 21.0% Bachelor 's degree: 21.0% Graduate degree: 1.6% Others: 0.9%
	Age Group	18~19:2.4% 20~29:11.8% 30~39:14.8% 40~49:17.5% 50~59:14.5% 60 and over:39.0%

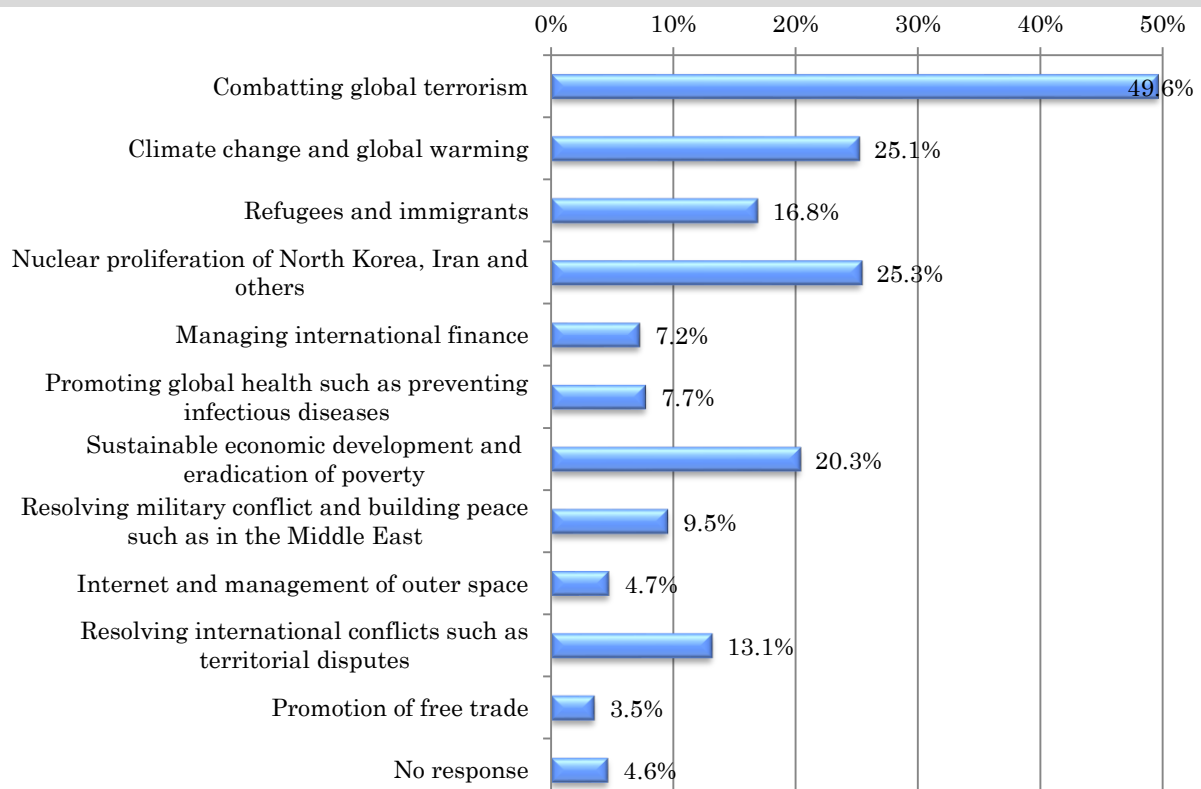
1. Future of globalization

Globalization that has gone too far is said to cause problems like the widening gap between the rich and poor. What are your thoughts on the future of globalization? (multiple answers)



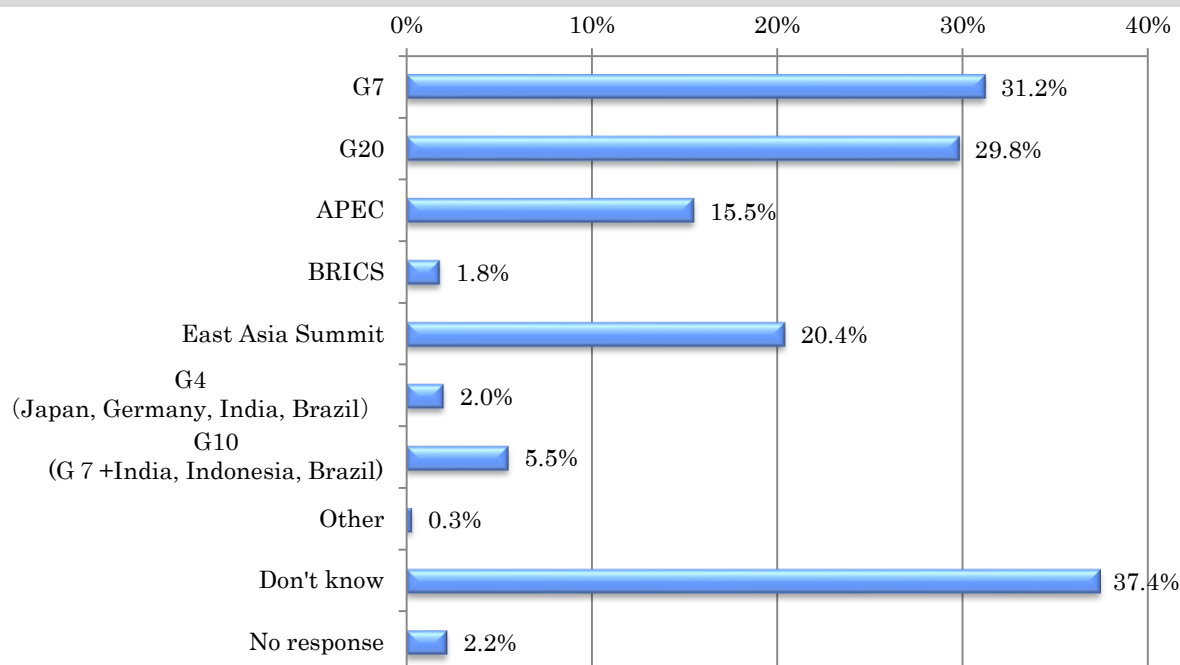
2. Global issues that should be a priority

What do you believe is most important among the global issues listed below and needs to be addressed with priority? (up to two answers)



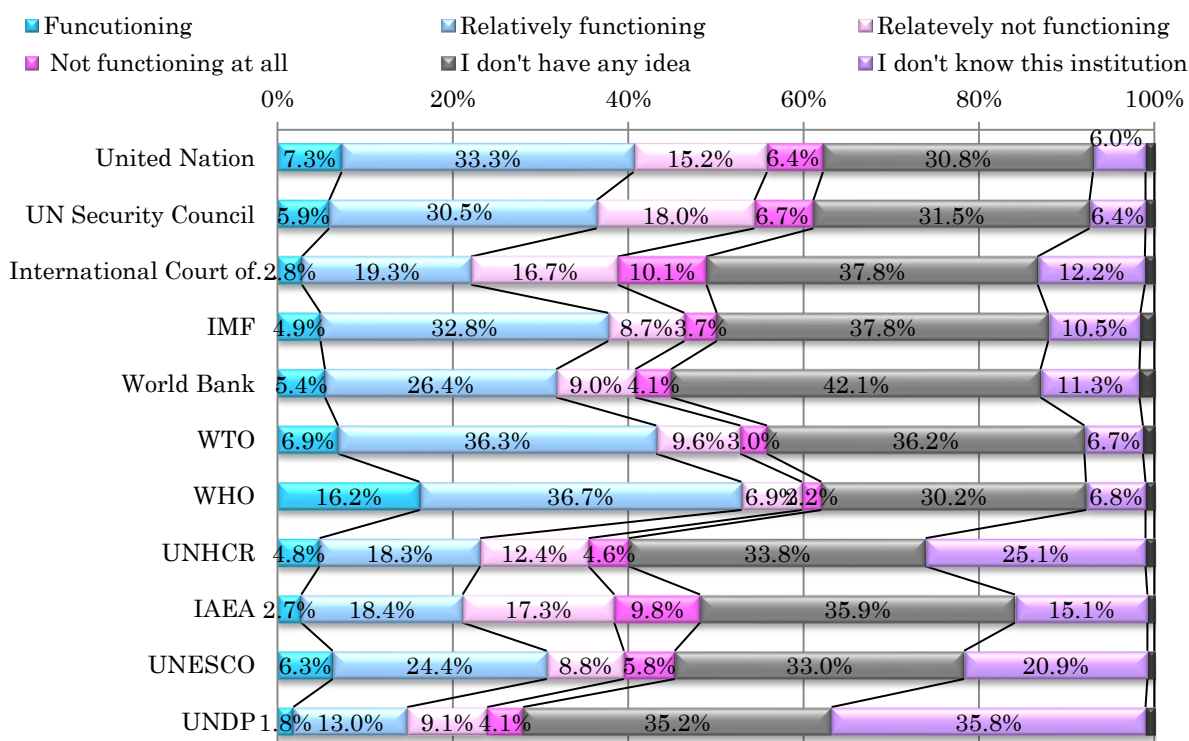
3. Multilateral platform to be important in the future

Which multilateral platform do you consider to be important in the future in order to solve the world issues? 【select two】



4. Is each International Organization functioning effectively?

In order to solve the global problem, do you think that the following related organizations of the United Nations currently function effectively? 【Single answer】



5. Norms and principles that should be protected and developed to realize a stable international order

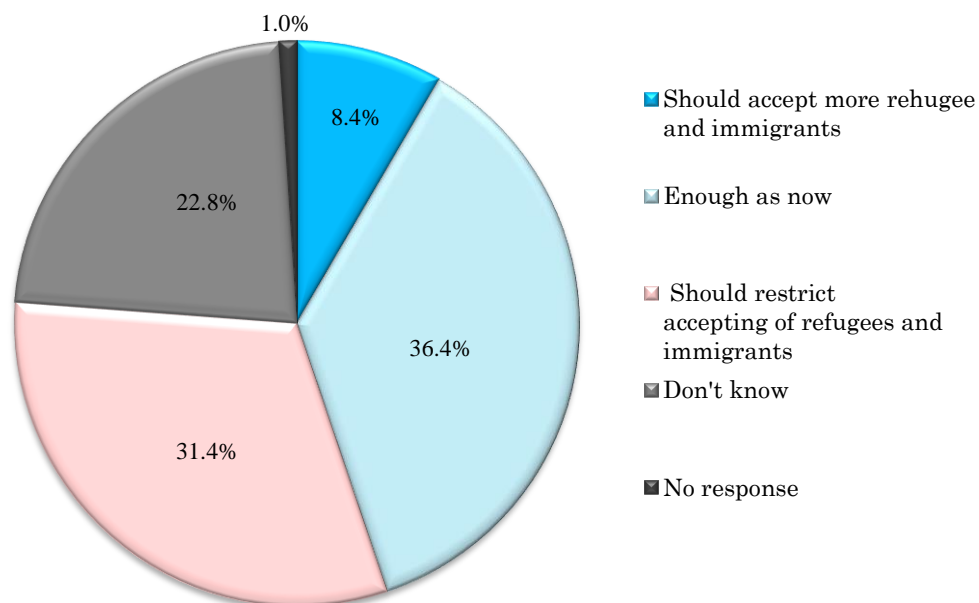
What fundamentals from below do you think we should protect and develop to realize a stable global order? (up to two answers)



6. Do you support or oppose Japan accepting refugees/immigrants?

Do you think that Japan should accept refugees and immigrants more?

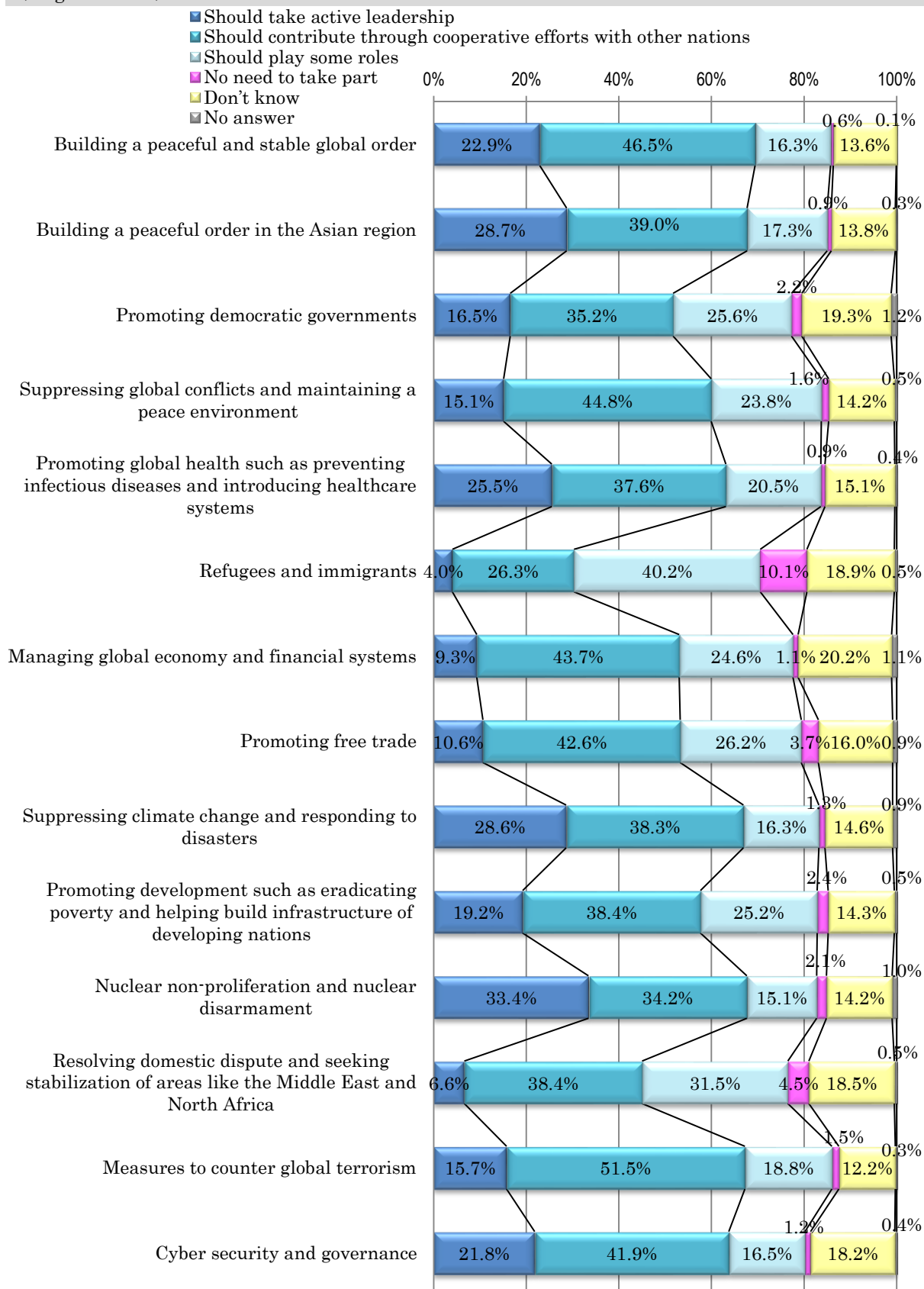
【Single answer】



7. Expectations on Japan's role in resolving global issues

To what degree should Japan be involved in resolving the following global issues?

(single answer)



Tokyo Conference Pre-Forum

“How can we address the challenges to liberal democracy?”

Adopting the conference theme of “How can we address the challenges to liberal democracy,” the Tokyo Conference Pre-Forum reviewed the current challenges to the democracy, its future, and the responsibility of public intellectuals and think tanks to foster democratic resilience, amid the recent surge of the challenges to democracy around the world.

November 21, 2017 2:40-5:10pm

Hotel New Otani

Moderated by;

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

Panelists

Hassan Wirajuda

(Former Foreign Minister of Indonesia)

John Shattuck

(Senior Fellow, The Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; former President and Rector, Central European University)

Myron Belkind

(Professorial Lecturer, George Washington University; former President, the National Press Club)

Akiko Yamanaka

(Senior Diplomatic Fellow at Central Asia Forum Cambridge University; former Vice Minister, Foreign Affairs of Japan)

Jonathan Soble

(Tokyo Correspondent, New York Times)



Tokyo Conference Pre-Forum

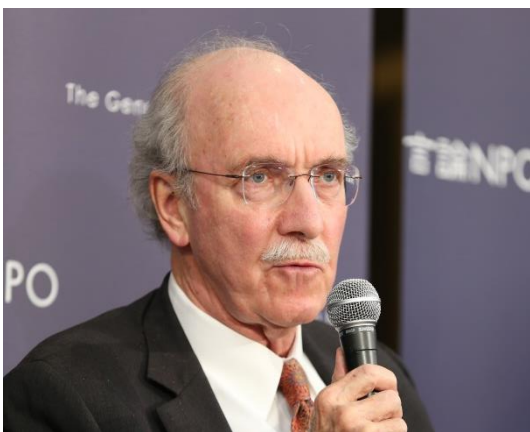
"How can we address the challenges to liberal democracy?"



On November 21, 2017, The Genron NPO hosted an afternoon forum in Tokyo titled, "How can we address the challenges to liberal democracy?" Hosted and moderated by Genron President Yasushi Kudo, the presentations and discussion provided the audience with a better understanding of the background of the issues faced, and of future efforts aimed at dealing with the crisis, from the perspective of five distinguished guests from various backgrounds.

Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

Shattuck described "liberal democracy" as a pluralist, complex system, with a variety of institutions that include voting, free media, independence of the judiciary, and more. This form of democracy has made some significant achievements over the last 50 years, providing peace and stability, and a high degree of freedom and prosperity, in many countries.



First to present was John Shattuck, Senior Fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School. Shattuck has also served as President and Rector of Central European University, and is a former United States Assistant

However, Shattuck warned, liberal democracy "is under attack internally, particularly in the west, in a way that it hasn't been for a very long time." Democracy has served as a "bulwark against authoritarianism," he explained, but there are authoritarian elements rising against it.

He pointed to three signs of the "outright rebellion" visible in western populism. The first is economic, and is rooted in the people who feel left behind by lost industries, the forces of globalization, and introduction of new technologies. This has led to a political shift of blue collar workers from moderate left to the extreme right, many of whom helped elect Donald Trump.

The second is the "cultural rebellion" led by those previously dominant groups who feel left behind as society becomes more multicultural and egalitarian. Finally, the third - possibly connected to the second - is the "security rebellion" which has seen increased hostility to migrants, immigrants, and others.

Populism, Shattuck argues, is the antithesis of democracy as it opposes liberal democracy's central framework, which includes pluralism, compromise, and minority rights. "How resilient is democracy?" Shattuck asked. He is optimistic, and believes that recovery is possible, though it will take a lot of work. He reminded the audience of the words of Winston Churchill, who once said that "...democracy is the worst form of Government, except for all those other forms."



Hassan Wirajuda, former Minister of Foreign Affairs (Indonesia), provided a brief overview of the current state of liberal democracy in Asia as a whole, and in Indonesia in particular. "For the whole world to address the challenges to liberal democracy," Wirajuda said. "We should have the ideal states of democracy at the global, regional, and national levels."

Wirajuda believes there is a lack of democracy at the national level, where political and economic security is "very much divided in to class, with the most powerful and privileged (at the top), followed by the rest."

He did note that efforts to reform such institutions have been proposed, but all of them have thus far failed. The issue is greater than just the weakening of global order, however. It has been further weakened by the recent U.S. withdrawal from its former role as world leader, which Wirajuda says has "put the world in disarray".

Regarding Asia, Wirajuda believes that it is far behind Latin America and the European and Africa Unions in terms of democracy adoption. Only one third of Asian countries are "free democracies," with another third running elections "without integrity", and the rest being purely authoritarian. For this reason, Wirajuda believes it is difficult for Asia to even begin talking about the idea of liberal democracy being "in decline," as democracy has yet to take hold in the region.

He pointed to India and Indonesia as successes however. These two countries have shown that the democratic decision process "is noisy and messy", but they have also risen to become two of the three fastest growing economies in the world. Indonesia is the third largest democracy following India and the U.S., but enjoys a voter participation rate of 70 to 80%, which is higher than the U.S. It is also the largest Muslim country in the world, so they are "proving that Islam, democracy and modernity" can go hand in hand.

In these ways, Indonesia is a model for success, Wirajuda believes, but he warns that democracy is "a work in progress and we should not take our gains for granted...we need continuous reform."



Myron Belkind is a lecturer at George Washington University and former President of the National Press Club. Kudo asked Belkind to discuss the role journalists play in a democracy, and he began his presentation by presenting a few vignettes from his career that illustrate the impact journalism can have.

He spoke of Indira Gandhi's imposition of the state of emergency in India between 1975 and 1977. Although India had been the world's largest democracy up until that point, Gandhi's declaration resulted in a brief period during which her opponents were imprisoned and the media was strictly censored. To Belkind, this illustrates Gandhi's recognition of the power the press can wield. He also spoke of an interview he conducted with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, former president and prime

minister of Pakistan, who complained about his opponent's control of the media, then went on to manipulate and control it in the same way when he rose to power.

Finally, he related an anecdote regarding his last day working for the Associated Press, when he was invited to the Imperial Palace in Tokyo for a reception. He and his wife joined the receiving line to greet the Emperor and Empress, and when Belkind mentioned that he was retiring, the Empress responded by saying, "Journalists are very important because they inform society, and international journalists are important because you inform the rest of the world about Japan."

Belkind believes that today the media and democracy are facing major challenges in Washington, some unprecedented, and though democracies take various forms, he asserted that the most important question in a democracy is "whether it has a truly active and free press."

"Many presidents have been critical of the press," he told the participants. "But for the first time, we are having an open assault on the First Amendment."

He assured the audience that not everything is pessimistic, and pointed to the Washington Post, which now has the statement "Democracy dies in darkness" on its front page, as an example of the media continuing to do its job. The Post "recognizes that it is the media that has to shed light on democracy."

Overall, Belkind said that there are four things must happen to protect and foster democracy in the U.S. First, the U.S. must have greater voter participation. Second, there must be a removal of voting restrictions imposed to make registration of certain voter demographics difficult. As a part of this, gerrymandering and redistricting must also be restricted. Third, the judiciary must remain independent. Finally, the people must support the media by subscribing. "It is but a small investment to protect the most important element of liberal democracy," he said. "If these challenges are met, democracy will thrive and not die in darkness."

Jonathan Soble is a Tokyo correspondent for the New York Times, and he provided another journalistic perspective, pointing out that the threat to the media is actually a subset of the broader threat to institutions caused by the rise in populism. The term populism is difficult to define, Soble admitted, but he said that it could be defined as "a dislike of institutions, a dislike of legislatures and courts and civil services and political parties...and a part of that set is media."

The claim on the part of populists is that those institutions are "rotten" and aren't serving the people. So, with populism, "what you are left with is the will of the people and a leader who interprets that will."

Trump's rise to the Presidency has been described as a success of populism, and Soble suggested that there is a darker motive behind Trump using Twitter to communicate with his base. Perhaps his aim is to "push away any institution that gets in the way of his interpreting the people's will."

Previous panelists asserted that the ideas of debate and consensus are essential parts of a liberal democracy, and while Soble agrees with their importance, he pointed out that they are not the entire purpose.

"Democracy exists to make decisions in the absence of consensus. In a healthy democracy, we talk to each other, look for compromise, etc., but we are not going to agree perfectly...and that's when the mechanism that makes democracy unique comes into play."



In essence, the people vote, and ideally they vote with the belief that their vote counts as much as the vote of any other person. This assures them that although they won't achieve their goals every time, they will always get another chance to express their desires through voting. Soble sees this ideal as having fallen slightly by the wayside in recent years, however, as, "The problem now is that people see the other side as illegitimate. That's when things start to unravel."

Kudo turned to Akiko Yamanaka, former Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, for her opinion on the low levels of trust the Japanese people have in political parties and the Diet.

Yamanaka referred back to Shattuck's point regarding resilience, and pointed out that the Japanese Diet has never had a full discussion or debate about the future of Japan. Other democratic countries include such debate in parliamentary proceedings, with one example being Question Time in the United Kingdom, during which the Prime Minister responds to questions from parliament every Wednesday for 30 minutes. Perhaps, she suggested, such discussion can be beneficial.

Yamanaka hesitates to compare too much to other countries, as she is skeptical about what truly defines a democracy. One thing she seems certain of is that the government must consider more than just productivity and efficiency - it must also consider the overall happiness of the populace.

Every country has its own issues, Yamanaka explained, and whether those issues or solutions are democratic in nature or not is a question that each country must answer alone. "But we have to come back to the question of balance," she said. "Democracies have to ask themselves what kind of country they want to be, and think about the essence of that government."

Kudo returned to Soble and asked if he had any insight to offer regarding the state of Japanese democracy from his perspective as a long-term resident of Japan.

Soble explained that, in some ways, he sees Japanese democracy as "an enduring mystery. On one hand, the same party (the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)) has governed for the last 60 years...but opinion polls show that the LDP doesn't actually have much support."

He also pointed to what he described as the "slightly unusual...symbiotic relationship between opposition and ruling parties" as another interesting element of Japanese politics. There is consensus regarding debate, and much discussion, but Soble said that all that discussion seems to be "predicated on the assumption that the opposition will never win." The focus is on the process, but "in a different way that is uniquely Japanese." Soble wondered if these characteristics are what have enabled the one party to remain dominant.

In the final part of the discussion, Kudo asked the participants their opinions on how to approach the challenges facing liberal democracy. Hassan Wirajuda responded that sometimes the rights of the people must be limited "for sake of national security, public order, public health and other such issues." These sorts of limitations are acceptable, he said, if they are described by the rule of law.

Shattuck disagreed with Wirajuda's statement, however, pointing out that one danger in proscribing precise limits on people's rights, even when codified in law, is that "different cases are going to seem related and you don't want them to be."

Sobel pointed out that while President Trump came to power on a "wave of anger," but some of the issues raised are valid, and "we have to recognize that and think about what can be done." He also considered Kudo's question from the journalist's perspective, concluding that, "We are fighting a losing battle against technology and a president that dislikes us, so we have to keep our house clean."

Yamanaka believes that education is the way forward, beginning in schools with education about the essential tenets of democracy. "Students need to learn that when a majority decision is made, we need to follow it," she said. "But when a decision is poor, you get to choose another government later."

That point is also important on an international level, Yamanaka said. Being able to select the path a country takes when implementing democracy is necessary, but so is having the option to adjust that path part way through to tailor it to each country's needs.

For Yamanaka, balance lies at the heart of the issue, from the global-regional balance, to the balance between technology and privacy. Japan's privacy protections are good, she explained, but work-life balance is not at the level it needs to be. That includes the balance between genders, career-family balance for women, the balance between managerial and non-managerial positions, and the balance between national and international interests.



World Agenda Studio

February 20, 2018

The Future of Free Trade

Japanese experts call for Japan's stronger leadership in sustaining free and open world trade setup

February 23, 2018

Climate Change and Decarbonized Society

Japanese experts foresee greater nongovernmental role in realizing 'decarbonized society'

February 27, 2018

Refugee Protection and Managing Migration

Experts call for new approach to refugee protection amid global uncertainties

March 8, 2018

Globalization and Liberal Order

Japanese experts discuss the future of globalization and liberal order



Debating global issues, proposing solutions from Japan

World Agenda Studio is a series of expert discussion on pressing global issues to discuss the nature of issues, solutions and the roles Japan should play to foster international cooperation. 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, 2018

Japanese Experts call for Japan's stronger leadership in sustaining free and open world trade setup



Panelists:

Junji Nakagawa

(Professor, International Economic Law, Institute of Social Science, The University of Tokyo)

Masahiro Kawai

(Project Professor, Graduate School of Public Policy, The University of Tokyo)

Akihiro Mikoda

(Senior Commentator, NHK)

Koukichiro Mio

(Senior Economist, NLI Research Institute)

Moderated by:

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

Where is world trade headed?

A year has passed since the Trump administration was formed to carry out its "America First" policy, and

The Genron NPO brought together a group of Japanese experts to discuss the future of world trade and the impact of U.S. President Donald Trump's protectionist policies on globalization and free trade.

What has changed with the Trump administration?

The discussion started with the experts sharing their views on global free trade in light of the Trump administration's unilateralism. Junji Nakagawa, a professor of international economic law at the Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo, said contrary to all the radical claims Trump made during his election campaign, the administration is keeping to relatively benign and realistic policies. For example, it has yet to impose high tariffs to address the country's large trade deficit with Mexico or designate China as a currency manipulator.

Even the renegotiations of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) are "proceeding in a decent manner," Nakagawa said.

Meanwhile, Masahiro Kawai, a project professor at the University of Tokyo's Graduate School of Public Policy, pointed out that while it was expected, it is still problematic that the United States is not interested in protecting the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the free and multilateral global trade system it represents. "Leaving the TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) negotiations weakens the economic presence of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region and offers China a chance to expand its economic influence, making people say China, not the United States, is protecting free-trade principles," Kawai said.

Akihiro Mikoda, a senior commentator at public broadcaster NHK, mentioned the Group of 20 financial leaders' ultimate decision to drop a pledge to keep global trade free and open in last year's communique as acquiescing to the increasingly protectionist United States. While the general consensus at international meetings that the global community will fight protectionism, including unfair trade practices, still holds, the United States argues that there are countries that do not follow the rules of free trade despite belonging to the WTO framework, and the United States is paying the price, Mikoda said. With the midterm elections coming up, Trump will try to appeal to his supporters by claiming to protect the domestic job market, he said.

Mio Koukichiro, a senior economist at NLI Research Institute and an expert on the Chinese economy, said when we look at the relationship between the United States and China, what we see is Washington touting protectionist policies while Beijing is attacking protectionism and shifting toward free trade. But if one were to ask which nation has the stronger protectionist policies, that would definitely be China, Mio said. In fact, the Chinese may be welcoming Trump's protectionist stance as it helps to improve their global image as a protector of free trade, he said. Does President Trump even have a strategy?

The discussion, moderated by The Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo, moved on to whether Trump's promises were just talk, part of a performance to attract voters during his campaign, and where the U.S. president's policies were headed. Kawai said he doubted Trump has any strategy. Trump believes it is best for the United States to decrease bilateral trade deficits and keep capital within the country while increasing domestic investment.

But U.S. corporations will oppose any overprotective policies to achieve such goals, Kawai said. Similarly, while doing away with Obamacare and offering tax cuts to the rich, Trump does not appear to be addressing his core supporters, the poor white and low-income population, having yet to implement necessary reforms such as re-education and IT training at the workplace for them. "Trump does not appear to have a strategy, a vision of how he wants to change America," he said.

As an example of Trump's haphazard approach, Nakagawa cited the NAFTA renegotiations. The NAFTA says that a car's parts must be 62.5 percent North American to avoid a tariff, and the United States is calling for this to be increased to 85 percent plus a U.S.-specific 50 percent requirement. That requires a readjustment of the supply chain agreement and that cannot be achieved overnight. "What the United States is trying to do is bolster domestic jobs while cutting imports, and that's a pretty reckless policy," Nakagawa said. Trump will also decide by mid-April whether to impose heavy tariffs on foreign suppliers of metals on the grounds that China's oversupply of aluminum and steel to the U.S. market is a threat to national security. "Trump may try to implement any and all policies that would appeal to his core supporters ahead of the midterm elections," Nakagawa said.



Japan needs to show leadership now

The discussion moved on to the future of global free trade. The United States has been the leader of global free trade from the days of

GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), but the Trump administration has shown no signs of supporting the WTO framework, and opted out of the TPP talks immediately after taking office. The WTO is also not functioning as it should, with advanced and developing nations unable to reach an accord since the failure of the Doha Round of trade talks in 2008. Under such circumstances, Nakagawa commended the TPP-11 efforts led by Japan and the EU-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) as "moves suitable to the 21st century."

Kawai said that there are many people in the United States and Britain who are unable to benefit from technological innovation and globalization. With 30 percent of U.S. citizens supporting the Trump administration, voices of discontent will remain even if the Trump administration is voted out of office. The key is whether these "forgotten middle- and low-income earners" ever become able to receive the benefits of technological innovation and globalization. What is needed is to provide the necessary social safety net, investment in education and retraining, Kawai said. "Japan is a trading nation so it should work harder to promote free trade. TPP-11 is a wonderful thing and a great accomplishment for the Abe administration. Japan must avoid turning inward like the United States and Britain, and make efforts to lead the international community," he said.

Can the global community rely on China?

Asked how other Group of Seven and G-20 nations are working to address the problems of globalization, Mikoda said that while China on the surface follows WTO rules and claims free trade is important, it doesn't appear to be truly advocating free trade and WTO principles, as seen in how its protection of intellectual property is insufficient and how the government offers aid to domestic businesses in order to overcome foreign competition.

"The nations belonging to the WTO need to discuss how to strengthen their domestic systems so that its rules are properly implemented," Mikoda said. He said the problem of the widening gap between rich and poor is a common problem for all nations, and like China, which set a goal to lessen this gap during last year's Communist Party Congress, there is a need to address this issue as well.

"One Belt, One Road" policy still unclear

The discussion then moved on to China's "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) initiative, during which the experts pointed out the efficacy of China's key economic policy is still uncertain, with rules and details yet to be worked out. While noting the need to develop infrastructure for the Eurasia continent, unlike the various free-trade agreements, the rules of

the OBOR are in the making, including how to conduct investments and loans. Such uncertainty could cause nations involved in the economic framework to accumulate bad loans without being noticed, Nakagawa said.

Kawai acknowledged that it would be difficult to ignore the OBOR as the project is progressing, but said he was uneasy about China establishing a standard in the region on its own terms. "China is trying to create a de facto standard, but it would be troublesome to see this become a standard in Asia in the current state," (NOTE: Not sure if this refers to the current state of the OBOR or the current state of Asia? If it's the former, it would be clearer to say "in its current form") he warned.

But Mikoda cited the example of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), where the governance of the China-led organization is working after it has established itself as an international organization, as advanced nations like United Kingdom are participating as a Country of Director. Furthermore, there is ample room for control in the individual projects and there is no need to be too concerned about China, he said. Mikoda predicted that the name, "One Belt, One Road" itself will likely disappear in future since the initial concept is a vague call for development and prosperity in the region, and with China targeting Africa, as well as Central and South America, "this is merely about China's globalization." Ultimately the issue is about how to address the rise of China -- a theme that has been on the global agenda for some time now, he said.

Engaging China will improve the situation

In response to concerns that such moves toward globalization by China would expand Beijing's sphere of influence and ultimately change the world order, Nakagawa said Japan should not exclude itself from such a sphere of influence but rather be involved in it to secure a voice within the sphere.

Kawai concurred, saying that for Japan, which seeks a free and open Indo-Pacific region, there is merit in collaborating with China's OBOR framework. Japan should make sure the projects lead to the creation of a high-quality, eco-friendly infrastructure on land and on sea, as well as be involved in creating rules that will ensure borrowers will properly repay their loans. Kawai also said that the Chinese corporations are increasing their direct investments in countries associated with the OBOR initiative, and such corporations are becoming increasingly conscious about managing the risks of such investments. The countries into which the investments are flowing are also increasingly cautious about whether China is trying to turn them into economic colonies. Japan has faced similar friction with ASEAN nations in the past and by sharing such experiences with China, the two countries will be able to deepen their cooperative relationship, Kawai said.

Mio forecast that Beijing will increase its presence for another decade until the power balance

between the United States and China reaches equilibrium. "China's image of the OBOR is not firmly set and Japan should continue to be involved in order to build a positive image of the scheme," Mio said. He said countries that will benefit from the OBOR initiative trust Japan more than China, and Japan should appeal to China by taking advantage of the trust it has garnered from such surrounding nations.

Japan should show leadership to build a stronger Bretton Woods system

Last, the experts discussed the future of free trade and multinationalism. Mikoda said China appears to be challenging the conventional Western development model that focuses on freedom, instead imposing firmer control of corporations and expanding its authoritative style of development in developing countries. The key will be how to come to terms with China as the world struggles between freedom and control, he said.

Over 70 years have passed since the Bretton Woods agreement in 1944, and the various systems need to change. The Bretton Woods system also needs to come up with an "improved version" to meet the demands of modern society, Nakagawa said. "Now is the time for Japan to show leadership as we cannot depend on the United States and China," he said.

World Agenda Studio -Climate Change and Decarbonized Society-

February 23, 2018

Experts foresee greater nongovernmental role in realizing 'decarbonized society'



Panelists:

Yukari Takamura

(Professor, Graduate School of Environmental Studies, Nagoya University)

Takeo Kikkawa

(Professor, Tokyo University of Science)

Junichi Fujino

(Senior Researcher, National Institute for Environmental Studies)

Yusuke Matsuo

(Programme Director, Business Task Force, Institute for Global Environmental Studies)

Following the U.S. government's withdrawal from the Paris climate accord under President Donald Trump's "America First" policy, nongovernmental entities, including business corporations and citizens' groups, will take the lead in moves to drive the fight against global warming, said Yukari Takamura, a professor of the Nagoya University Graduate School of Environmental Studies.

"The time has ended when we can pin our hopes on the governance of states and governments in overcoming global climate change," said Takeo Kikkawa, a professor of Tokyo University of Science.

Moderated by:

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

Japanese researchers have predicted a series of changes in the political and social environment surrounding efforts to halt global warming, with nongovernmental players seen to have a greater role in realizing the so-called decarbonized society.

While noting the importance of environmental, social and governance, or ESG investment, in pursuit of the decarbonized society, Kikkawa called for carefully watching corporate efforts to comply with the pertinent environmental standards from now on.

The two figures were among four experts invited to an Internet debate organized by the independent Japanese think tank The Genron NPO to discuss global climate change. The debate, which was held Feb. 23, also included Junichi Fujino, a senior researcher of the National Institute for Environmental Studies, and Yusuke Matsuo, the business task force director of the Institute for Global Environmental Studies. Various new initiatives have been proposed to introduce an external monitoring system to check the pledges made to reduce greenhouse gas emissions not just by governments but also by business enterprises, Fujino said.

The Paris climate accord, hammered out at the Conference of the Parties, or COP 21, meeting in December 2015, was important in that the participating countries agreed how to maintain societal stability in overcoming global climate change, said Matsuo.

The agreement, which took effect in November 2016, calls for the countries involved to strive to restrict global warming to within 2 degrees Celsius, if possible to 1.5 degrees, compared to pre-Industrial Revolution levels. Takamura noted that the contracting parties are working to create rules for fully implementing the measures envisioned in the agreement. Specifically, they have introduced decarbonization targets to reduce the level of greenhouse gas emissions effectively to zero by the second half of this century in line with the 2 C target, she said.

The Paris climate agreement is being

driven forward on four fronts — an energy shift from coal to gas, from fossil fuels to renewable energy sources and as a result, market moves to choose new energy sources as they become cheaper, a shift toward zero-emission vehicles, changes in corporate behavior and changes in the related financial system, Takamura said.

The Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo, who served as moderator at the four-way discussion, asked the participants whether the 2 C target can be attained.

"A feasible scenario has been written (to achieve the target), but the target itself is high," Fujino said.

Foreseeing a picture of the world when the global warming target will have been achieved, Takamura said that low-carbon electricity will account for about 90 percent of total power consumption by around the year 2050 because the use of electric vehicles (EVs) will spread.

The Paris accord is "a grand challenge" that humankind will have to overcome to survive, Kikkawa said. The biggest crisis for humanity is poverty, he said, noting that 800 million people of the global population of 7 billion are suffering from poverty. "A solution for us is just to try to be wealthier, but if the situation is unattended, a lot of energy will be used." If the problem of global warming is to be solved while pursuing a wealthier society, countries will have to make greater energy-saving efforts or develop more zero-emission power sources, he said.

Referring to the challenges facing Japan in its efforts to contain global warming, Kikkawa said that the country's major energy-related programs introduced by different government agencies are "totally inconsistent with each other."



Japan's long-term plan to halt global warming, prepared by the Environment Ministry and authorized as a Cabinet decision in 2016, envisages reducing the country's greenhouse gas emissions for 2050 by 80 percent from the 2014 level. Meanwhile, a long-term energy mix outlook toward 2030, prepared mainly by the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) in 2014, does not refer to the situation toward 2050.

If greenhouse gas emissions for 2050 are to be cut by 80 percent from the 2014 level, 90 percent of Japan's electricity needs will have to be met by zero-emission power sources at that time, but this point is not mentioned in the METI-sponsored program, Kikkawa noted.

Following progress in the shift to renewable energy sources, costs for solar power generation declined by 73 percent between 2010 and 2017,

and those for power storage devices by 70 percent, according to Takamura. This means that solar energy, which has so far been regarded as a costly resource, is becoming almost competitive with fossil fuels in terms of generation costs, she said. Referring to the rapid spread of EVs around the world, Takamura noted that rules introduced by India, China, France, Britain and California in the past year seek to permit only zero-emission vehicles on the road by certain years. One estimate says that costs for EVs will come down to levels almost equal to those for gasoline vehicles in 2025 and that one of every two vehicles will be an EV by around 2040.

Climate change around the world has been globally recognized as "a threat to society," Matsuo said. At a time when the governments of various countries are giving top priority to halting climate change, the way market players react to this trend must be watched, he said. When the decarbonized society comes close to being a reality, coal and other fossil resources owned by global energy companies will become largely nonperforming, and they will begin to consider when is the most profitable time to dispose of these assets, he said.

Combined with the shift to renewable energy sources, the moves of global energy interests lead to very rapid developments in the situation surrounding climate change, Matsuo warned.

"What Japan will have to do is very simple," Kikkawa said. The amount of greenhouse gas emissions in 2013, estimated at 1.4 billion tons, must be reduced by 80 percent in 2050. The government should come up with a clear plan to this end, but the outlook is ambiguous, because METI insists on keeping Japan's atomic power generation at 20 percent to 22 percent of the country's total electricity needs.

Matsuo said that many people in Japan's business community seem at a loss as how to respond to the campaign against global warming. "Something is happening, but it is none of our business," appears to be the frank impression they have, he said. They cannot understand that global warming is directly linked to their business, Matsuo said. "Their understanding is that global warming is a problem for polar bears, and that simply means the Earth is perspiring."



World Agenda Studio -Refugee Protection and Managing Migration-

February 27, 2018

Japanese experts call for new approach to refugee protection amid global uncertainties



Panelists:

Saburo Takizawa

(Chairman, Japan for the UNHCR)

Midori Okabe

(Professor, Faculty of Law, Sophia University)

Moderated by:

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

Japanese researchers have stressed the need to explore a new approach to the challenges facing refugees in the unstable global political environment. The nature of refugees in today's world has changed, making it difficult for neighboring countries to receive displaced people under the existing international migrant protection system, Saburo Takizawa, chairman of Japan for the UNHCR (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), said during a recent open discussion.

Unlike political asylum-seekers in the years of the Cold War, today's refugees have fled to other countries because their home countries have collapsed, said Takizawa, who formerly served as director of the UNHCR Office in Japan.

"Refugees may be driven back at borders, but then they cross borders by sea," causing various political problems for the countries concerned, he said.

Midori Okabe, a professor at Sophia University's Faculty of Law, referred to the Schengen Agreement among European countries, which calls for abolishing passport checks and other types of control at their mutual borders. The agreement is based on the idea that the free movement of people across national boundaries helps to stimulate economies in the area, and therefore, the Schengen Agreement will not be abolished simply because of Europe's problems with the continued inflow of refugees mainly from the Middle East, she said.

Some European countries have temporarily suspended the system and introduced different border control measures, but the Schengen system is expected to be eventually restored and maintained, she said.

Okabe also called attention to the Dublin Regulation, the European Union law that determines which countries are responsible for examining applications by asylum-seekers. These countries must be selected from among states outside of the Schengen Area, but the surrounding countries, notably Hungary, Poland, Greece and Italy, are unhappy that the shared burden of accepting refugees is unfair. The European Commission has come up with a proposal for reviewing the Dublin Regulation concerning application rules for refugees in the EU area, but Italy, Greece and other countries in Southern Europe actually find it very hard to handle the growing numbers of refugees, Okabe noted.

The discussion on the refugee problem was organized by the independent, not-for-profit Japanese think tank The Genron NPO, as part of its debate program series about the challenges facing the world since the inauguration of U.S. President Donald Trump's administration. The Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo served as moderator at the discussion.

There were an estimated 65.6 million refugees and displaced people at the end of 2016. This was the highest ever number, but it is likely to have increased in 2017, to about 70 million.



In a related development, U.N.-sponsored negotiations on the proposed Global Compact agreement aimed at introducing safe, orderly rules for migration protection began in February, though the United States declared its intention to withdraw from the process.

The inauguration of the Trump administration at the start of 2017 is cited as a reason for the current political instability around the world. It cannot be said that the U.S. government's refugee policy has changed significantly compared to the days of the Barack Obama administration, according to Takizawa. The rate of authorized refugee applications has not declined, compared to that for the Obama administration, Takizawa said. But he noted that the Trump administration appears less interested in how to deal with refugees and political asylum-seekers.

"The United States has so far played a leading role in supporting international organizations for refugee protection, but this is crumbling," Takizawa said.

The Global Compact envisages efforts to facilitate refugees' permanent settlement in third countries and to rebuild their home countries themselves as a fundamental solution, Takizawa said. In exploring a new approach to the issue of refugees, the economic effects should also be studied, he said. The situation must be improved so that refugee protection will benefit host countries, Takizawa said. He referred to a successful case in Jordan, where an industrial park, located near a camp for Syrian refugees but with few workers available in the area, accepted Syrian refugees and saw its business improve.

"This was exactly a win-win relationship" as a refugees' workforce is used for economic development, he said.

European countries involved hope to see a scheme in which they will provide economic assistance to countries accepting refugees if they follow certain models, according to Okabe. This is aimed at helping to improve governance in developing countries, but some countries are concerned that the return of refugees may rekindle internal religious and racial conflicts, she noted, warning that the unstable political situation in the affected areas is unlikely to improve quickly.



March 8, 2018

Japanese experts discuss the future of globalization and liberal order



Panelists:

Yasuchika Hasegawa

(Company Councilor, Takeda Pharmaceutical Co., Ltd.)

Yoshiko Kojo

(Professor, The University of Tokyo)

Naoyuki Shinohara

(Former Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund (IMF); Professor, The University of Tokyo)

Moderated by:

Yasushi Kudo

(President, The Genron NPO)

The unilateral path taken by the Trump administration is threatening free trade and multilateralism, and making it increasingly difficult for the international community to

tackle global issues. The world appears to be at a historic turning point, but is this a shift toward a new system or merely a period of adjustment to improve the current framework?

On March 8, The Genron NPO hosted a discussion by Japanese experts on the topic of globalization and the liberal order ahead of the Tokyo Conference 2018, a public forum at which some of the world's leading think tanks explored global issues. It was the last in a series of Genron initiatives that brings together experts and intellectuals in Japan to look at the challenges facing the world. Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo served as moderator at the discussion.

The world is facing a historic transition

Yasuchika Hasegawa, board chairman of Takeda Pharmaceutical Co., said he was unsure where this global sea change was headed. "We are witnessing the emergence of individuals and countries where conventional order does not apply. I cannot say what kind of impact this has on society," he said. "We are in a period of transition right now and it's hard to tell where we are headed."

Yoshiko Kojo, a professor of international relations at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Tokyo, agreed, saying it was extremely difficult to make any predictions. There is no doubt that advanced democratic nations had maintained the conventional order and people had supported such an order, Kojo said. But with more and more people feeling extremely disadvantaged by globalism, many are starting to doubt whether this order is worth supporting, and feel that multinational rules of free trade are overly regulating countries, she said.

Naoyuki Shinohara, former deputy managing director at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and currently a professor at the University of Tokyo's Policy Alternatives Research Institute, said this issue must be viewed in the long term. He said there are several major trends today, with multipolarity being the largest.

The absolute dominance of the United States is waning, but rather than seeing, for example, China taking its place, Shinohara expects the emergence of a multipolar world, where the United States, Europe, China and perhaps India may all vie for dominance. This G-Zero world, a term coined by political scientist Ian Bremmer to describe an emerging power vacuum in international politics created by the decline in Western influence and the inward-looking focus of developing states, talks about how existing systems are destabilized, and Shinohara likewise expects this confusion to continue.

"The current system has basically been built by advanced Western nations, and I believe we are currently in a process where this is gradually collapsing or transforming," Shinohara said.

Trump's "ideal order"

Kudo introduced a recent survey conducted by The Genron NPO, where nearly 60 percent of the respondents felt the world was becoming unstable due to the unilateralism and shortsightedness of U.S. President Donald Trump. Contrary to earlier survey results and public opinion findings that saw many claim the current hype was exaggerated and Trump will eventually revert to a more realistic course of action, the most recent survey showed only 10.7 percent of the respondents feeling there was no need for concern.

Asked if their views on how the new Trump administration will impact the world have changed in the past year, Hasegawa said he is more skeptical now, contrary to his initial expectation that despite his controversial campaign pledges, Trump would act reasonably once he took office. He said Trump is trying to keep his word, as seen in his tax cuts, trade policies, building the wall along the southern border with Mexico and moving the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Trump is also motivated by a desire to deny any form of legacy to Barack Obama, hence his decision to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), to reassess diplomatic ties with Cuba and question the Iranian nuclear deal.

Hasegawa said Trump is focused on pleasing his supporters, who have not received much attention from past presidents, as that would increase his chances of survival. "That is his unwavering focus, and I don't think he has any ideal order or anything like that in mind. So, it would be too risky to try and make predictions based on him alone," Hasegawa said.

Shinohara said he believes there is no need to read too much into Trump's actions. "His actions are consistently that of a businessman, a sense of wanting to take advantage of everything," he said. It's unlikely that Trump is putting much thought into the current world order or any such long-term goals, although there is no denying that what is happening and the long-term trend that is being discussed here are related in some way, Shinohara said.



Kojo said even before Trump became president, American society had always faced the problem of a social divide. Obama also tried to address this problem but without much success. "Until today, the ability to be able to heal this divide was viewed as America's strength. But as the divide widens, it makes it easier for people like Trump or Democrat Bernie Sanders to build a support base," she said. "I am very critical of Trump's actions because he is trying to garner support by deepening this divide. He tries to build support by creating enemies within and outside the country, and such tactics of widening, rather than closing, the divide have major domestic and social consequences," she said.

Is globalization mutually beneficial?

In the second part of the discussion, the experts discussed the future of globalization and whether it is truly mutually beneficial to all. Kudo said the recent survey conducted by The Genron NPO shows that only 1 percent believe globalization in its current state is satisfactory. More people are becoming skeptical about whether globalization is indeed mutually beneficial, with many calling for the need to improve or limit it, he said.

Shinohara responded that globalization is inevitable and there is no way to stop this trend, but what is necessary is to address the problems created by globalism such as income gaps, because globalization and marketism are bound to create such disparities.

Kojo agreed, adding that one country alone would not be able to address this issue. Any measures will be ineffective without multinational oversight, and governments must continue to work to build such a global statute, as well as convince their people that this is a very important process.

In the academic world of economics, the problem of income disparities is not addressed, as it is counter to the efficacy of the economy, explained Shinohara. "The debate was always about how adjusting income disparities was contrary to economic growth, hence there was no real debate about the redistribution of

wealth," he said. Shinohara introduced the recent academic trend that argues that appropriate adjustment of income disparities could actually help economic growth. While the authenticity of this logic is still open to question, it may be the role of the academia and intellectuals to try and build such logic, he said.

Kojo said it was the responsibility of politicians to convince people there are matters that require patience and perseverance. "Everyone wants to get the most out of everything, but that would place a heavy burden on economic growth, so we must work to reach a consensus as to what provides the appropriate welfare and benefit for all," she said.

Hasegawa said globalization is not something that you can stop even if you want to, particularly in today's world where information and communications technology allow for extremely low-cost businesses like Uber or Air BnB to spread around the globe almost instantaneously. "But every country has a constitution that promises a healthy and cultural life for all, so we need to think about people who are oppressed, or whose income continues to fall, because of globalization," he said, calling for retraining, re-schooling and recurrent education for people disadvantaged by globalization. "We are now in a period of transition, with various endeavors taking place as globalization expands. We need to watch how these efforts take shape and whether they prove to be effective," he said, citing the example of how Finland was experimenting with the concept of a basic income.

The problem with trying to address the negative impact of globalism is that there is no common understanding of what exactly is the "mutual benefit," said Kojo. There is no nation that would put aside its own interests to realize mutual benefit for all. But without some common ground about what one considers a mutual benefit, it would be impossible to create common rules for all to follow. Kojo said there are many countries that believe globalization is beneficial to their own country, so the key is which country will take the lead in establishing such common rules. "But the problem is there appears to be no country willing to take that lead," she said.



Technological advancement and globalization

Asked about the impact of artificial intelligence (AI) and other technological advances on globalization, Hasegawa said, "I'm an ultimate optimist, so I believe all problems, whether it be food, water or

energy shortages, will ultimately be solved by technology." He cited examples of how the shared economy is boosting capacity utilization and the technological advancement of renewable energy sources. Hasegawa said he even believes that by utilizing AI to maximize efficient growth of produce, humankind may ultimately be able to provide enough food for the whole global population, which is estimated to peak at 10 billion people.

Shinohara said that up until about the 1980s, the global economy continued to grow and each member of society was able to feel the benefits of such growth. But as economic growth slowed, people were unable to feel that the current system was working effectively, and efforts to boost growth, such as the advocacy of information and communications technology, are not helping as much as expected, said Shinohara. "So we just have to get used to it. When we look at policies in Japan in particular, I feel it would be better to get accustomed to this," he said. Shinohara said concepts like sustainable development growth and the economic solvency ratio were born because the concept of gross domestic product has many problems. "I think that in itself is a good thing. There is a discrepancy between the individual's sense of wealth and the economy, and how a sustainable society should be maintained in the long term," he said.

Why democracy now?

The third session discussed the future of the world order. The Genron survey showed that while 12.4 percent of the respondents cited "multilateralism" as something that needed to be protected the most, 51 percent cited "basic human rights," 44.8 percent said "democracy" and 37.9 percent said "rule of law." What is the significance of seeing so many people cite democracy as something to be protected? Hasegawa said that while democracy has many problems, there has yet to be a form of governance that is more superior. Hence democracy needs to transform itself to respond to the needs of the times.

As the world sees more nations with stronger authoritarian tendencies, Kojo said that the survey results show more people identifying the need to protect democracy. But the fact that we see such nations also indicates that current politics is not functioning and overall social discontent is causing people to seek a strong leader, rather than democracy, to solve their problems.

Shinohara said the prevalence of countries like China and Russia, as well as developing nations with strong individual leaders that try to control society indicates that democracy appears to be failing, and expressed concern that individual human rights may be violated. "But the problem is that people around the world are starting to appreciate China-like systems. They know the system is problematic, but it is fairly

successful in controlling the economy ... everybody appears to be happy, and they think there is a possibility that this form of governance may be an alternative to conventional democracy. Not that I like it," Shinohara said.

A new global order with China

Asked whether a new system including China under a new set of rules and norms was in the making, Shinohara said he finds that unlikely for the time being. He denied views that the United States is trying to abandon its conventional role under the Trump administration, and that it was only a problem of wanting to, but being unable to, play its role under current circumstances. Meanwhile, China's influence is growing stronger with other nations approaching the Asian giant without its beckoning, while Europe is wading somewhere in between. "Even if a new order was to be formed, it would take a considerable amount of time. And in the meantime, things will remain unstable," Shinohara said.

China will follow existing global rules if it finds merit in doing so, but will try to change them to maximize its influence, Kojo said. China is trying to create its own multinational framework on its terms, but there is opposition and it can't accomplish such a feat alone. So, it is trying to alter the existing order to suit its needs, she said.

For example, the World Trade Organization (WTO) does not see China as a completely free economy nation, but China says it doesn't care how the WTO views it. That may be one way of trying to alter the existing order to suit itself, Kojo said.

China remains extremely passive about participating in global multinational systems, Shinohara said. If it were offered, China would probably be willing to accept an increased IMF quota that would give it more power and say in the organization, but it won't come asking for it. "It appears as if they are saying, 'We will do our thing on our own. We'll keep an eye out for the Asian region, but we're not interested in serving as a global player.' China does not see any merit in aggressively leading the world," he said.

The only country that has succeeded in putting an authoritarian slant on democracy is Singapore, but Hasegawa said that was only possible because Singapore has a population of 5 million people, while China must try to please its 1.2 billion people. "China is trying to become a country that is indispensable to nations within its sphere of influence. There are over 80 countries that have China as their largest trade partner, and to them, China is indispensable," he said. Meanwhile, the United States is much stronger in terms of its economy and military might, as well as having different alliances around the world, including that with Japan, South Korea and NATO. China is

trying to seek out the best course of action within such limitations, Hasegawa said. Meanwhile, the Group of 20 is based on consensus and has no legitimacy or power to force all parties to abide. It will be no easy task to create an international structure that satisfies China, Europe, the United States and Japan, so the conclusion is that we go as far as we can under the current framework, Hasegawa said.

How can Japan contribute to maintaining global order?

Asked about Japan's role in the future of global order, Shinohara said Japan overall is suffering from the "Galapagos syndrome," with its society and economic activity in the private sector isolated from global action. "Japan needs to think more about itself and what direction it wants to take, or nobody will listen to us," Shinohara said. Japan has a voice in the global community due to its past accomplishments, but with neighboring nations growing rapidly, Japan may end up being merely a tributary state to the United States, he said. "Japan must once and for all decide whether to jump on the wave of globalization, or return to the days of sakoku ('closed country') seclusion."

Kojo urged Japan to play its part by persuading the United States to abandon any form of protectionism. Since the birth of the Trump administration, efforts to discuss the international order and handle global issues have weakened substantially, Kojo said. When a superpower like the United States decides to implement protectionist policies, other countries will follow suit, causing a chain reaction of retaliation, and international cooperation goes out the window. The United States caused a similar chain reaction in the 1930s with its Smoot-Hawley Tariff imposed on over 20,000 imported goods, and repeating that now is problematic from the standpoint of the stability of global politics. "It will be important for Japan to urge Washington to avoid adopting such protectionist policies," she said.

The biggest problem for Japan is that the long-ruling Liberal Democratic Party has failed to show its future vision for this country and seek a vote of confidence from the people, said Hasegawa. "A nation needs to create a vision of its future, 30, 50 years from now, and think about what Japan, with its limited resources, can do. Then Japan might be able to take the global lead on issues like the Sustainable Development Goals or universal health coverage," he said.

In closing, Kudo once again noted how the survey showed an increased sense of urgency among respondents that democracy was facing a crisis, and urged not only the Japanese government, but the voters to take action to protect the liberal system.



Tokyo Conference 2018 Media Coverage

Overview

Numbers of Media Coverage

- Online: 6
- National newspaper/
news agency: 6
- TV: 2

The Tokyo Conference 2018 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 aid the instability in the international order and the uncertainty.

NHK World News, March 10, 2018 22:04

NHK WORLD



Kyoto Shimbun, March 11, 2018

時のひと

世界のシンクタンクを集めて会議を開いた言論NPO代表

くどう やすし
工藤 泰志さん(59)



研究者のサロンと思われがちなシンクタンクを課題解決の場に変えようと、世界の有力な10研究機関の代表を集めて「東京会議2018」を今月に都内で開いた。これだけ多くの世界のシンクタンクが集まる会議は珍しい。

民主主義の将来と北朝鮮の核開発がテーマ。ともに日本が世界にメッセージを発信すべき問題だ。中国が強権体制に走り、米国のトランプ大統領は自国第一主義にまい進。日本こそが自由民主主義の規範を掲げたい。北朝鮮問題は世界最大の脅威であり、和戦の分かれ目で日本は解決策を示せるはずだ。そんな思いで会議を企画。言論NPOは米著名シンクタンク「外交問題評議会」がつくった世界シンクタンク会議の一員だ。

政策を採点し、市民に向けて説明するマニフェスト(政権公約)の評価作業が認められた。単なる研究機関ではなく、一般市民の側に立つて政治との橋渡しをする役割が貴いこの理由からだ。

「評論家にはなりたくない。問題があれば解決したい」が口癖。東京会議2018も日本人と世界のシンクタンクを結びつけ、課題解決の場をつくるのが目的だ。

大学卒業後、雑誌編集者になったが「言論不況」の時代に「このままでは日本の民主主義は危うい」と危機感を覚え、2001年に言論NPOを創設した。資金集めなどシンクタンクの運営は大変だ。「私が夢を追いかけるのを家族も喜んでくれているはず」と走り回る。青森市出身。

Mainichi Shimbun, Interview to Dr. James M. Goldgeier, Dr. Sunjoy Joshi, and Dr. Ettore Greco

April 11, 2018

11 日経新聞 2018年(平成30年)4月11日(水)

毎日新聞
オピニオン opinion

(第1報記者部提供)

サンジョイ・ジョシ

印オプザーバー研究財団 (ORF) 理事長

Sunjoy Joshi
1969年インド北部ナ
イニタール生まれ。
2009年からオプザーバ
ー研究財団 (ORF) 所
長。17年から現職。専
門はエネルギー環境問
題。米スタンフォード大で
客員研究員を務めた。



多極化で多国間主義に陰り

トランプ米大統領の登場は、国際関係を急変させた。冷戦後、自由貿易体制が中心だった世界は、多極化の動きが加速している。トランプ氏は、自国の利益を優先する政策を打ち出し、多国間主義に陰りを生じている。

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論点

トランプ時代の国際秩序

国際社会が戦国時代の様相を強めている。トランプ米大統領の「米国第一」政策が吹き荒れる中、中国の習近平国家主席とロシアのプーチン大統領が強権支配を固めた。弱き手不在の時代に世界はどこに向かうのか。非営利のシンクタンク「言論NPO」(工藤泰志代表)が先月主催した「東京会議」に参加した米国、イタリア、インドの専門家に聞いた。

「Gゼロ」シナリオ
1990年代半ばまで日米欧などの主要7カ国(G7)が世界の経済・政治をけん引したが、中国、インドなどの新興国の台頭に伴い、2008年のリーマン・ショック以降、主要20カ国・地域(G20)の重要性が高まった。だが、米政治学者のイン・フレイム氏は11年、G7が指導力を失い、G20も機能しない「Gゼロ」時代の到来を指摘。Gゼロ後のシナリオに、米中が責任を分担する「G2」や世界に能力が分散する状態——などを想定している。

ジェームズ・ゴールドガイアー

米外交問題評議会(CFR)上級客員研究員



James Goldgeier
米アメリカン大学
国際学部教授。2011
17年間務めた。現代
国際政治、米外交政策、
米露関係などが専門。
著書に「America
Between the Wars
: From 1919 to 1933
(共著) など。

見通せない米外交の行方

トランプ米大統領の登場は、国際関係を急変させた。冷戦後、自由貿易体制が中心だった世界は、多極化の動きが加速している。トランプ氏は、自国の利益を優先する政策を打ち出し、多国間主義に陰りを生じている。

エットーレ・グレコ

伊国際問題研究所 (IAI) 所長

Ettore Greco
1959年ローマ生まれ。
ジャーナリスト。
米ブルッキングス研究
所客員研究員を経て、
2008～17年に伊国際問
題研究所所長を務め、
17年から現職。専門
は欧米関係(主に)の
外交政策や欧米関係。



国際機構の統治力強化を

トランプ米大統領の登場は、国際関係を急変させた。冷戦後、自由貿易体制が中心だった世界は、多極化の動きが加速している。トランプ氏は、自国の利益を優先する政策を打ち出し、多国間主義に陰りを生じている。

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TBS NEWS, March 11, 2018 0:33



「世界各国のシンクタンクが集結、北朝鮮問題について議論」

アメリカのトランプ大統領が今年5月末までに米朝首脳会談を行う意向を示し、北朝鮮情勢が急展開する中、非核化を確実にするため世界各国がどのように対応すべきかなど議論するフォーラムが都内で開催されました。

このフォーラムは、NPO法人「言論NPO」が主催するもので、G7＝主要7カ国などのシンクタンクの代表や元駐米大使らがパネリストとして参加し、北朝鮮の核問題などについて話し合いました。フォーラムでは、過去、北朝鮮の非核化を目指し交渉を行ったものの実現できなかったことを踏まえ、「北朝鮮の核保有を容認するいかなる声にも賛同しない」といった5項目の声明が発表されたほか、「今後の交渉過程で国際社会が一致した対応できるかが重要」との意見が聞かれました。

「一番不透明なのは、アメリカが会談で何を許容できるか。」金正恩氏は核とミサイル開発を成功させるなどしてほしいものを手に入れた。アメリカが「非核化」をゴールとして示したとしても、受け入れられる可能性は非常に低い。そうしたら、トランプ氏はどうするのか」(アメリカ外交問題評議会客員上級研究員ゴリーアー氏)

アメリカのシンクタンク代表のゴリーアー氏は、トランプ大統領の交渉戦略が不透明なことや、トランプ政権に北朝鮮問題を担当する専門家がないことを指摘し、米朝会談の見通しについて「悲観的だ」と述べました。今回、話し合われた内容は、「日本政府及び今年のG7議長国のカナダ政府に提言されます。

Reuters, March 10, 2018

日米韓は圧力継続の方針を共有＝北朝鮮問題で小野寺防衛相

[東京10日ロイター] - 小野寺五典防衛相は10日午後、対話の動きが加速してきた北朝鮮問題について、日米韓は非核化に向け圧力をかけ続ける方針を共有していると強調した。都内で開かれた討論会で語った。小野寺防衛相は、「対話が進むような風潮が一部にみられるが、この瞬間も北朝鮮は核・ミサイル開発をやめてはいない」と指摘。訪米した韓国の鄭義溶(チョン・ウィヨン)国家安全保障室長がワシントンで会見した際、北が非核化への具体的な行動を取るまで圧力をかけ続けると述べた点に言及し、「日米韓3カ国で基本方針は共有されている」と語った。対話に積極的な韓国に加え、米国が対話に前向きな姿勢を見せ始めたことで、専門家の間では、圧力継続を主張する日本の孤立化を指摘する声がある。小野寺防衛相は、「決して気を許すことなく、北が政策を変えるまで圧力をしっかり強め、最終的には朝鮮半島を含め核が廃棄され、東アジアがこれからも世界の成長センターとして機能するよう努力していく」と述べた。

Voice of America, March 12, 2018

“東京會議2018”國際論壇：徬徨與不安



出席“東京會議2018”國際論壇的各國代表與基調演講者（美國之音歌監拍攝）

Yomiuri Shimbun, March 11, 2018

■言論NPOが「東京会議」
 非営利団体「言論NPO」(工藤泰志代表)は10日、主要7カ国(G7)を含む10カ国のシンクタンクの代表らが国際課題について議論するシンポジウム「東京会議」を東京都内で開催した。「北朝鮮の核保有を容認するいかなる声にも賛同しない」など5項目の緊急声明を発表した。北朝鮮の非核化に関する議論で宮本雄二元駐中国大使は「これからのプロセスで国際社会が一致した対応ができるかが鍵だ」と述べた。

Sankei Shimbun, March 11, 2018

「この瞬間も
 北は核開発」
 小野寺防衛相

日、都内で講演し、北朝鮮情勢について「対話が進むような国際的な風潮が一部にみられるが、この瞬間も北朝鮮は核・ミサイル開発を止めておらず、継続してさまざまな活動を行っている」と警鐘を鳴らし、北朝鮮が核・ミサイル開発を放棄するまで圧力を継続する必要性を強調した。

小野寺氏は、北朝鮮が国際社会を欺いて核・ミサイル開発を続けてきた過去に言及し「今回の対話も、対話のための対話、時間かせぎの対話では意味がない」とも語った。北朝鮮が対話路線に転じたことについては「国際社会による圧力の成果であることは明らかだ」と述べた。その上で「日米韓3カ国で基本的方針は共有されている」と語り、圧力継続の方針で一致しているとの認識を示した。

発言



民主主義の信頼回復目指す 工藤泰志 言論NPO代表

世界10カ国のシンクタンクの代表が一堂に会した東京会議「18」が10日に開催され、主要7カ国(G7)首脳会議(サミット)の今年の議長国であるカナダ政府に向けたメッセージを発表した。会議にはG7の日米英独仏伊加とインド、ブラジル、シンガポールが参加した。私が代表を務める言論NPOが日本を代表して会議を主催した。

先が見えない状況が続いている。グローバル化と技術の急激な進歩は雇用不安や格差の拡大を生み出し、中間層の不満はポピュリズム化した政治を台頭させ、民主主義自体への猜疑心が高まっている。米政権の自国第一主義の行動は、一年も経たず国際協力や自由貿易に不安を与えている。権威主義的な独裁体制を段々と強める大国も存在する。昨年に続いて東京会議を開催したのは、価値観を共有する国のシンク

タンクが世界のさまざまな意見に耳を傾けつつ、議論を深め、力を合わせるべきだと考えたからだ。G7に提言した狙いは、G7こそが不安定化する世界のリベラル秩序に対して、規範を尊重し守るけん引役になるべきだという期待からだ。G7の強い結束が必要であり、国際社会の課題を私たち民間の側からも連携し後押ししたいと考えた。今回

の緊急声明にも、「持続的で包摂的な世界を作り出すためにも、それを推進できる強固な民主主義を国内で作り上げるしかない。こうした取り組みは市民社会の広い支持に支えられるべきものだ」と書き込んだ。非公開を含めた協議では、世界の現状認識が昨年よりも明確になったように思えた。グローバル化と自由貿易をこのまま推進すべきだという意見はもはやなく、抑制の方法や国内利益との調和を図る改革の在り方が話し合われた。世界の混乱は単なる調整局面ではなく新しい秩序に向け

た変化だという認識も共有した。とりわけ民主主義への信頼が揺らぎ、権威主義やポピュリズムが強まっていることへの懸念は強かった。こうした意見は東京会議に合わせ実施した日本の有識者調査(290氏)が回答でも同様に見られる。半数を超える識者が民主主義の今後を心配し、その危機を乗り越えるために有権者の姿勢が問われるとの意見は6割を超えた。自由と民主主義を共有する人が世界的に連携する必要性を求める声も半数近くあった。

今回の東京会議は米朝首脳会談が固まった翌日に開催された。小野寺五典防衛相が基調講演し、中国と韓国の専門家も議論に加わった。米朝首脳が会談に合意した思惑や合意の裏面では意見は分かれたが、非核の完全履行が全ての前提との認識では一致し、声明に「北朝鮮の核保有を容認するいかなる声にも賛同しない」との一文を入れた。

世界が直面する課題を、東京を舞台に世界のシンクタンクが議論し、それを世界に発信していく意義は大きい。世界が不安定化する今だからこそ、日本は率先して国際社会の規範を守り、発展させる役割を担う必要がある。

こう、やすし 2001年「言論NPO」設立。世界5カ国のトップ・シンクタンク会議のメンバー。

Mainichi Shimbun, March 14, 2018

Mainichi Shimbun, March 10, 2018

言論NPO「東京会議」開催 北朝鮮核で緊急声明

非営利団体「言論NPO」(工藤泰志代表)は10日、主要7カ国(G7)を含む10カ国のシンクタンクの代表らが国際課題について議論するシンポジウム「東京会議」を東京都内で開催した。「北朝鮮の核保有を容認するいかなる声にも賛同しない」など5項目の緊急声明を発表した。北朝鮮の非核化に関する議論で宮本雄二元駐中国大使は「これからのプロセスで国際社会が一致した対応ができるかが鍵だ」と述べた。

小野寺五典防衛相が講演し「この瞬間も北朝鮮は核・ミサイル開発をやめてはいない。決して気を許すことなく、北朝鮮が政策を真に変えるまで圧力を強めたい」と語った。

Mainichi Shimbun, March 11, 2018

シンポジウム言論NPOが「東京会議」

非営利団体「言論NPO」(工藤泰志代表)は10日、主要7カ国(G7)を含む10カ国のシンクタンクの代表らが国際課題について議論するシンポジウム「東京会議」を東京都内で開催した。「北朝鮮の核保有を容認するいかなる声にも賛同しない」など5項目の緊急声明を発表した。北朝鮮の非核化に関する議論で宮本雄二元駐中国大使は「これからのプロセスで国際社会が一致した対応ができるかが鍵だ」と述べた。

Mainichi Shimbun, March 11, 2018

防衛相 融和ムード警戒

小野寺防衛相は10日、東京都内で講演し、北朝鮮情勢について、「今、対話が進むような国際的な風潮が一部に見られているが、この瞬間も北朝鮮は核・ミサイル開発をやめてはいない」と述べた。南北首脳会談に続き、米朝首脳会談の開催が決まったことを受けた融和ムードの広がりに警戒感を示したものだ。小野寺氏は「あらゆる方法で圧力を最大限まで高めていく必要がある」と強調した。

About The Genron NPO

The Genron NPO is a non-profit, independent think tank based in Japan. Established in 2001 as the only venue in the country for responsible and future-oriented debate, The Genron NPO has sought to strengthen democracy in Japan, promote peace and stability in Northeast Asia, and develop solutions for pressing global issues. The institution was founded by Yasushi Kudo, the former editor-in-chief of a political journal titled “Ronso Toyo Keizai.” The advisory board of The Genron NPO consists of 13 prominent Japanese leaders from various fields. The institution is representative of the Japanese intellectual network, with over 7000 registered experts and more than 500 Japanese opinion leaders involved in its activities. The Genron NPO is a member institution of an international think tank network, the Council of Councils, since its establishment in 2012.

Our Missions:

Strengthen Democracy with the Power of Debate

The Genron NPO is the only institution that has taken such initiative to conduct research and the evaluations of party pledges made in every general election, and evaluate each administration’s performance in 12 policy areas annually to monitor their progress.

Conduct Civil Diplomacy to Promote Peace and Stability in Northeast Asia

Concerned about the absence of effective inter-governmental diplomacy in Northeast Asia, The Genron NPO established the “Tokyo-Beijing Forum” as a platform for civil diplomacy amid heightened Japan-China tensions in 2005. Each year, over 3000 people attend the forum, which has served as a unique bilateral platform for substantive intra-regional discussion for the past 13 years, and the forum has been widely covered by media outlets. President Xi Jinping has acknowledged our Track II diplomacy, calling it “non-governmental diplomacy”.

The Genron NPO also established the “Japan-Korea Future Dialogue” in 2013, and the “Japan-U.S.-China-ROK dialogue” on Northeast Asian security and public opinion in 2015. Recognizing the importance of public attitudes towards regional affairs for the implementation of pragmatic solutions, we also conduct annual multinational opinion polls in Japan, China, and South Korea. The Japan-China public opinion poll in particular is the only periodical dataset existing that analyzes public opinion in China over the past 13 years.

Organize Cross-Cutting Platforms to Discuss Pressing Global Agenda

The Genron NPO continuously strives to facilitate responsible domestic and international dialogue to tackle pertinent challenges facing the international community. In March 2017, we launched the “Tokyo Conference,” the first discussion platform in Japan that addresses global agenda with top international think tanks representing 10 major countries. With the intention to protect common international norms such as democracy and individual freedom as the basis of international cooperation, the results of the debates at the Tokyo Conference were synthesized into a proposal that was submitted to the Japanese government and the Italian government as the 2017 G7 host.

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