

International Order Based on the Rule of Law

Cooperation between the EU, Japan and the U.S. under new circumstances

Warsaw, 25th January 2018

Westin Hotel, Al. Jana Pawła II 21, Warsaw

Agenda

The conference will gather 50 experts from Poland and 10 experts from other European countries, joined by 2 guest from Japan. They will include governments' officials, think-tankers, policy advisors and academics. The aim of the conference is to offer a platform for discussion of problems faced by the international community today and finding effective cooperation schemes for the (new) international order.

Each session will consist of comments by the speakers followed by a more free-flowing discussion between all participants.

Discussions will take place in English.

Programme

09:00-09:15 - Opening & introduction:

Piotr Buras - Head of ECFR Warsaw Office

09:15-10:45 - Preparing for the fourth wave of democratisation: lessons from Europe and Asia

Moderation: Charlotte Flindt Pedersen (Danish Foreign Policy Society, Copenhagen)

Introduction: Christoph Stefes (University of Colorado, Denver)

Tomoki Takeda (Daito Bunka University, Tokyo)

Mette Holm (Author, expert on Myanmar, Copenhagen)

The developments of the Arab Spring have spurred intense debates on the prospects of new democracies. They have shown that even the most enduring authoritarian regimes are not immune to mass protests and democratic movements, but the eventual authoritarian resurgence and civil strife proved damaging to the idea of democratisation itself. Meanwhile, authoritarian backsliding in such countries as Poland and Hungary puts into question the durability of transitions once thought complete.

It is therefore imperative to carefully examine factors that are conducive to successful and durable democratisation in order to be prepared for whatever transitions may lay ahead. In particular, effort needs to be made to avoid Western-centrism by noting different paths that can be taken toward liberal democracy. Within this discussion, the participants will address European and Asian political systems along with their experience of democratic transitions. The aim will be to discover both universal and region-specific features of democracy in an attempt to project a formula for the prospective democratic systems, with particular focus on Asian hybrid regimes, such as Thailand and Myanmar, and to discuss how European democracies, Japan and the U.S. can contribute for this purpose.

10:45-11:15 - Coffee break

11:15-12:45 - Strategies of consolidation in China and Russia: Authoritarian evolution and what it means for the rest of the world

Moderator: François Godement (Director of Asia and China programme, ECFR)

Comments: Janka Oertel (Transatlantic Fellow in Asia Program, GMF)

Rumi Aoyama (Waseda University, Tokyo)

Witold Rodkiewicz (Centre for Eastern Studies, Warsaw)

Year 2012 marked a beginning of a trend of authoritarian consolidation in both Vladimir Putin's Russia and Xi Jinping's China. Since then dissent has been forcefully suppressed, internal hierarchies reinforced, ruling elites purged to ensure loyalty, while both regimes have gained more personalist characteristics. The turn of 2018 will represent an important milestone for these processes, as Putin runs for reëlection and Xi works to ensure his continued domination, in contravention of CCP's rules, at the 19th Party Congress.

Yet despite many similarities, the two regimes operate under vastly different conditions – strategic, economic and political – favouring different approaches of survival and consolidation. In this session panelists will compare the strategies employed by Putin and Xi with an eye to identifying how they can influence Russian and Chinese foreign policies, what are the likely consequences to their neighbours and how the liberal powers, such as the EU, Japan and the U.S., can respond.

12:45-13:45 - Lunch

13:45-15:15 - The future of free trade after the TPP and TTIP: measuring the consequences of protectionist trend and restating the case for free trade

Moderator: Martin Ehl (Editor, Hospodarske Noviny, Prague)

Comments: Sebastian Dullien (Senior Policy Fellow, ECFR)

Maaïke Okano-Heijmans (Clingendael, Amsterdam)

H.E. Shigeo Matsutomi (Ambassador of Japan, Warsaw)

The public backlash to TPP and TTIP negotiations and their eventual failure exposed a deep rift between elite support for free trade and popular fears over its consequences. In order to resolve

this tension and ward off protectionist impulses, advocates for free trade need to deeply rethink their arguments and come up with new proposals that take account for the distribution effects of globalisation.

This panel will take a look at possible ways forward for international trade agreements, assessing the current US trade policy and looking for possible arrangements and the possible economic impact of Brexit. It will also assess the prospects of so-called TPP-11 and consequences of EU-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement currently in the works.

16:00-17:30 - Public debate „China at the Gates: European and Japanese perspectives on China's new global posture”

Chair: Caroline de Gruyter (NRC Handelsblad)

Speakers: Francois Godement (ECFR)

Bogdan Góralczyk (University of Warsaw)

Maaïke Okano-Heijmans (Clingendael, Amsterdam)

In recent years, China has gradually, but significantly, expanded its global presence and ambitions, moving away from Deng Xiaoping's prescription to "keep low profile". It has actively promoted strategic investment in Central Asia, Europe and Africa and exhibited assertiveness in its neighbourhood, escalating tensions over territorial disputes. Furthermore, China's Xi Jinping exploited the leadership gap left by the United States after 2016 and positioned himself as a champion of globalisation and free trade. Yet in many areas Chinese vision of the global order is fundamentally at odds with one espoused by liberal powers, such as the EU and Japan. How to react to China's new ambitions? Is there a way to constructively engage this new power? How can the EU and Japan cooperate to manage China's rise and protect the liberal foundation of international order?