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# A Proposal for a Way Forward on EU-Japan Cooperation at the Nexus of Security and Development

Results of the KAS-EJARN  
Project at the Nexus of  
Security and Development  
in 2011/2012

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# Foreword

## **The Nexus of Security and Development : Opportunities and Prospects for Europe-Japan Cooperation**

Old friends with shared values need to stick together. This is especially true in a globalised world and therefore European- Japanese cooperation is essential. Over recent years, the EU has been emphasizing its special relationship with China, which is understandable considering that nation's recent remarkable development and the rapid expansion of EU-China trade and business ties. However, the EU focus on China in the context of its relations in Asia should not lead us to overlook other Asian countries, especially Japan, which is the world's third largest economic power and a stable and prosperous democracy.

There remains a huge untapped potential for deeper EU-Japan cooperation, not only in economics and trade, but also on a political level, especially at the nexus of security and development. Considering that Article 9 of the Japanese constitution bans the country from resolving conflicts through military means, EU-Japan joint combat operations will naturally continue to be off the table as an area for EU-Japan cooperation. Instead, the two sides should concentrate on non-combat security cooperation that includes the involvement of military organizations and cooperation in the field of development aid. Furthermore, input and ideas on how to achieve progress in EU-Japan relations have been scarce, which is part of the reason why the European Japan Advanced Research Network (EJARN) was established five years ago, and why the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) decided to open a new office in Tokyo in 2011.

EJARN is a group of scholars who conduct research in Japanese and have extensive publishing records on Japan. Considering a situation where Japan was almost disappearing from the European agenda, this group realized that someone had to develop new ideas about how to re-activate interest in work and research on Japan in Europe, and felt a sense of responsibility to do so.

KAS is a political foundation with the mission of fostering and developing cooperation and research with partners all over the world. The foundation participates in shaping policies in developing and emerging countries together with like-minded partners. Transformation processes, conflict prevention, human security and civil societies are essential elements of concern. Therefore Japan is considered by KAS to be an important actor in this developmental area for Europe.

Since the end of the Cold War EU-Japan relations have been governed by two main documents that were proclaimed at ten-year intervals, namely the 1991 Hague Declaration and so-called ten-year "Action plan" (2001-11). The Action plan set very ambitious goals in over 100 areas pinpointed for cooperation, yet in the end produced very little concrete action. At the EU-Japan summit in May 2011 the decision was taken not to draft a new 10 year plan, but instead to aim for a deep and comprehensive free trade/economic partnership agreement, and at the same time start negotiations for a binding agreement covering security, political, global and other sectoral cooperation.

To give input to this process EJARN and KAS, together with several Japanese partners, jointly initiated a project for generating ideas to further Europe-Japan cooperation in the nexus of security and development. Over the last year we held three conferences with various partners in Europe and Japan. Our first meeting, held in Berlin in September 2011, set the goals and parameters of the project. We held a second conference co-organized with Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in Tokyo in February 2012. We gratefully acknowledge the interest and support of JICA, in particular of its then President, Madame Sadako Ogata. At a final meeting in Brussels in May 2012, we presented draft policy recommendations.

What you are now holding in your hands are the policy recommendations (incorporating comments and suggestions from our Brussels meeting) for deepening EU-Japan cooperation. To provide background for these recommendations, we have also included summaries of some of the papers presented at these conferences. The full papers will be made available online.

We hope that these recommendations will be helpful in moving the EU-Japan relationship forward.

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Chairperson of EJARN  
European Institute of Japanese Studies

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Visit KAS Japan at  
<http://www.kas.de/japan/>

# Statement by Elmar Brok

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*Chair, Committee on Foreign Affairs*

## **The future of EU-Japan cooperation beyond security and development**

The European Union and Japan are divided by thousands of kilometres, yet our interests and values are not so far apart. Both are global actors, particularly cooperating in the economic arena, but increasingly also in political terms. There is a strong mutual interest to actively pursue a policy of world peace, stability and security, of freedom, democracy, the rule of law and the defence of Human Rights, and of course to continue the development of multilateralism and the primacy of the free market economy.

Our common commitment to those values is stated in the Joint Declaration and of 1991 and the Action Plan for EU-Japan Cooperation of 2001, which are basis for the establishment of shared principles and objectives. A political impetus is given to this relationship by the annual EU-Japan summit taking place at the level of the President of the European Commission and the Japanese Prime Minister.

The overall basis for the partnership is a deep economic interdependence between Japan and Europe - two economies which together account 40 per cent of the world's GDP, 30 per cent of world trade and provide half of the world's outflow of foreign direct investment. A strong Japanese economy is in the interest of all its partners including the EU - after all, Japan is the EU's fifth-largest trading partner overall, with a total two-way trade of 118,14 billion Euro in 2011 and an export sales volume of 20 per cent coming from the EU.

The EU is concerned due to the amount of potential conflicts and

security issues in front of the doorstep of Japan. The most recent conflict in the Asian-Pacific area is the escalating dispute about Japan's sovereignty over several Pacific islands in the South-China Sea which are controlled by Japan but claimed by China and Taiwan. The row comes at a time when both China and Japan are facing political changes domestically - while China faces major changes in the top echelons of leadership, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda's government is likely to hold an election in coming months. These circumstances make it difficult for either side to be seen as backing down, increasingly leading to violent anti-Japanese protests in several Chinese cities. There also remain uncertainties, for instance, concerning the new leadership in North Korea around Kim Jong Un and its less transparent military strategies. Another long-lasting worrying issue is the Indian-Chinese conflict over their common border.

These ongoing tensions make clear that conflict prevention is an issue where cooperation becomes more and more important. It is a good sign, for instance, that Japan has given assistance in the Iraq conflict by the deployment of Self-Defence Forces, which showed Japan's increasing will to accept its responsibility in the world. And also as the European Union is further strengthening its common foreign- and security policy, especially through the newly-established European External Action Service (EEAS), it puts great emphasis on the monitoring of the worldwide political situation in order to react quickly and effectively to possible threats to security.

Europe and Japan must deepen their political cooperation to a level that is adequate to their economic cooperation. Both are in a process of growing economic interdependence, which is currently made visible by the planned Free Trade Agreement between the EU and Japan. This leads to the fact that often events in the one region shape developments and have an impact on the other, resulting in a common interest by the EU and Japan to play an active role in maintaining economic and political stability in the everyday changing global world order.

Japan will be - together with the European Union, China and the USA - a main actor in the 21st century: As an economic competitor, but also



as an indispensable partner in finding solutions for global questions. It is the EU's interest for Japan to be a factor of political stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world, to support the multilateral free trade system, to encourage democracy and greater respect for Human Rights. Whenever I talk about Europe, I say that the member states have to understand that they cannot cope with today's challenges on their own. This is also applicable for the EU-Japan relationship and the economic and political global challenges that we share.

# Statement by Misako Yasui

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Japan and the European Union (EU) share fundamental values such as democracy, constitutional government, and human rights, and are partners in cooperative efforts in pursuit of the peace and prosperity of the international community. "Human security" has been the keyword in this cooperation. In order to address the political, economic, and other issues they face, multi-tiered dialogue is essential.

In the spheres of national security and development assistance in particular, there is huge scope for future cooperation. Of particular concern is that if regions where the situation is fragile during or in the aftermath of conflict are neglected, those conflicts may become globalized and pose a direct threat to Japan and the EU. In view of this, these regions are the major priority in Japan-EU security cooperation.

In post-conflict regions such as in Africa and Asia, Japan and the EU can contribute to the international community by assisting reconstruction and capacity building which involves collaboration between Japan's Self-Defense Forces and EU relief organizations. The people of Japan should understand that this will, in turn, lead to peace and security for Japan.

The anti-piracy measures in the waters off the coast of Somalia have already demonstrated the effectiveness of Japan-EU cooperation in the area of security, and they are expected to be broadened to encompass activities at the Regional Training Centre in Djibouti and information-sharing centers in countries such as Yemen, Kenya, and Tanzania. With regard to Japan-EU cooperation in the area of development assistance,

schemes and financial support provided by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia are proved to be successful and are expected to bear further fruits in the future.

Japan and the EU have capabilities and experience that are mutually complementary. For example, the Japanese Self-Defense Forces' water-purification technology has been tested and proven. By taking advantage of their experience during the Great East Japan Earthquake, joint exercises should be conducted on a regular basis for disaster management.

In order to strengthen the relationship between Japan and the EU still further, the conclusion of a political agreement should be expedited. Doing that is also a prerequisite for starting negotiations for a Japan-EU economic partnership agreement (EPA). At the regular Japan-EU summit meeting in 2011, it was agreed to explore the possibility of negotiations toward the conclusion of an EPA and political agreement. A Japan-EU EPA would not only have economic significance, but in view of its great scale it may also contribute to fiscal rehabilitation and social stabilization on both sides. The negotiations should, therefore, begin as soon as possible. In October the European Parliament voted to support the opening of negotiations with Japan on an EPA. We expect that the European Commission will respect that decision and enter into concrete and constructive negotiations with Japan. In addition, we believe it will be essential for Japan to monitor closely the process leading to eventual ratification of the agreement by the parliaments of EU member countries and the European Parliament.

Although differences of opinion and values may arise with regard to the places where assistance is provided, the permanent presence of a JICA official in Brussels since July 2012 is likely to ensure closer exchanges of information between Japan and the EU. Personal interchange of this kind is most welcome.

It is regrettable that there have been few opportunities in the Japanese National Diet to give in-depth attention to the subject of collaboration with other countries in the areas of national security and development assistance. Through the discussions at the "Nexus of Security

and Development: Opportunities and Prospects for Europe-Japan Cooperation” at this meeting we have deepened our understanding of the importance of the relationship between Japan and the EU. We hope that this not only stimulates discussion within Japan, but also plays the role of achieving multi-tiered strengthening of the Japan-EU relationship, including in the areas of national security and development assistance.

# Policy Recommendations for EU-Japan Political and Security Cooperation at the Nexus of Security and Development

- The envisioned EU-Japan binding agreement, intended to cover global political, security, development and other sectoral cooperation might be broad in scope, but it should limit its focus to a small number of issues that the EU and Japan can realistically address by pooling their limited resources.
- EU-Japan security cooperation should focus on conflict and post-conflict zones and fragile states in developing regions, and be motivated by the understanding that such conflicts, left unaddressed, can mutate from local conflicts into global threats that directly endanger the security of the EU and Japan. For example, the failure to address the internal conflict in Afghanistan before 2001 contributed to the emergence of a global terrorist threat that has menaced both the EU and Japan. An unaddressed conflict in Somalia that greatly degraded human security there has similarly morphed into a threat to the global Sea-Lanes of Communication (SLOCs) that both the EU and Japan depend on for energy imports, and as crucial avenues for bilateral trade.
- EU-Japan security cooperation should focus on non-combat cooperation in post-conflict zones in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere. Civilian, non-combat military operations and soft power security cooperation are areas where EU-Japan cooperation can make the biggest contribution. The Lisbon Treaty and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) provide opportunities for the EU to create new patterns of collaboration with Japan. Civilian CSDP missions should be matched with Japanese ones, especially in Asia, where Japan has great expertise. EU-Japan cooperation should be at the nexus of security and development, bringing together civilians, aid agencies, and militaries to promote post-conflict reconstruction,

capacity building and development projects.

- Since July 2010, the EU and Japan have discussed the expansion of regular EU-Japan crisis management consultations and a possible Japanese contribution to civilian missions under the EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). In 2011, the EU and Japan discussed setting up a so-called 'Framework Participation Agreement' to institutionalize Japanese civilian contributions to EU CSDP missions. This framework should be set up quickly in order to enable Japan to make such contributions. Japan's contributions to the reconstruction and pacification of the Western Balkans in the framework of EU missions throughout the 1990s have been significant, and the EU should take advantage of Japan's impressive expertise and experience for its global CSDP missions.
- In the early 2000s, Japan articulated a desire to enhance its international security role through the expansion of non-combat cooperation with the EU, as formulated in the 2001 EU-Japan Action Plan. Such diversification aims, among other things, to enhance Japan's ability to play a global security role by stabilizing post-conflict zones, even in cases where cooperation with its US ally is not well suited to such missions. The envisioned bilateral political framework agreement can thus be used by both Brussels and Tokyo to facilitate more substantive Japanese contributions for stabilizing post-conflict zones at the nexus of security and development.
- While the EU has much to offer Japan in terms of experience and specific expertise, Japan also has much it can offer the EU. Japan's experiences using its military to conduct reconstruction and development projects in southern Iraq and South Sudan can be useful for the EU. Similarly, the EU can also benefit from the SDF's outstanding expertise in specific areas, such as water purification. Japan's pioneering experience from a decade ago in counter-piracy capacity building in Southeast Asia, both bilaterally and multilaterally through establishing the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP), an agreement that many European nations are

now joining, is another experience of value for the EU. The EU should also consider establishing direct ties with ReCAAP.

- Promising cases where EU-Japan cooperation in the nexus of security and development should be applied in the short-run include military and aid agency cooperation in South Sudan, East Timor, Mindanao, and perhaps Afghanistan. The EU and Japan should also cooperate on building local counter-piracy capacity in East Africa and the Southern Arabian Peninsula, while also addressing the on-land causes of piracy. Moreover, they should work together to encourage the formation of a regional multilateral organization for this purpose. While building on the fledgling Djibouti Code of Conduct and training center, and the EU's Maritime Security Centre Horn of Africa (MSCHOA), this organization should be based broadly on the model of the ReCAAP treaty and its Information-Sharing Centre in Singapore.
- The EU and Japan should also jointly promote human security by building military-to-military disaster relief cooperation. The Japanese military, which has had disaster relief as a core mission since the 1950s, and has gained extensive experience from deployments following the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami in Japan, can offer its EU counter-parts a wealth of experience. We recommend regular bilateral disaster relief exercises between the military and civilian disaster relief agencies of the two sides. We also recommend that they consider concluding a Status of Forces Agreement (SoFA) to cover temporary disaster-relief military deployments to each other's territories.
- We recommend that the EU and Japan consider concluding an Acquisition and Cross Servicing Agreement (ASCA), so that SDF and EU military units can supply each other in the course of post-conflict reconstruction and Humanitarian and Disaster Relief (HADR) missions. The recent adoption of an ASCA between Japan and Australia could serve as a model for an ASCA between Brussels and Japan.

- As part of promoting EU-Japan cooperation in the nexus of security and development, human security should be upgraded to a core principle underpinning this cooperation. This is a concept that mirrors shared normative values and reflects the reality that both sides have been the leading promoters of the concept globally. Exploiting the two party's comparative advantages, their human security perspectives and capabilities should be applied to all work in post-conflict zones.
- The EU and Japan should follow through on their calls for more effective multilateralism with more joint policies. In a globalized world the EU and Japan need to cooperate with other nations as well. This should be done under the UN framework where they together could promote common normative values. Given that the goals of peace-building and human security together embody the nexus of security and development, and that the EU and Japan have up to now exercised significant leadership for both, Brussels and Tokyo should explore ways to increase cooperation between the Peace Building Trust Fund and the Trust Fund for Human Security.
- Both the EU and Japan signed the "New Deal for Fragile States" at the Busan conference in 2011. They should now agree to adhere to this in their implementation of ODA (Official Development Assistance), and take a step back to let fragile states be in the driver's seat of their own development. Both the EU and Japan should encourage on-the-ground cooperation for the "New Deal for Fragile States". The EU has gained valuable experience from coordinating its own member's aid policies, and Japan is an important aid power whose participation in this coordination would enhance the impact and effectiveness of Japanese and EU aid.
- The signing of the "New Deal for Fragile States" should lead to joint European-Japanese aid and development policies on the ground. While many protocols (such as nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation protocols) have been jointly signed in the past, joint signatures and declarations have, to date, rarely resulted in joint policies on the ground. This needs to change.



- Political leaders in both Brussels and Tokyo need to exercise leadership to overcome numerous bureaucratic and procedural obstacles that have repeatedly stood in the way of implementing non-combat security cooperation. A related problem is that political leaders on both sides do not sufficiently know each other or understand the potential for cooperation. Efforts must be made to expand leadership exchanges, especially in relation to security and development cooperation (e.g. the dialogues proposed below). Academics and other experts can play an important role in this process, and should be consulted when formulating policies and involved in political exchanges.
- Even if concluding the envisioned EU-Japan economic partnership agreement/free trade agreement will likely take longer than adopting the binding agreement covering global political, security and other sectoral cooperation, the realization of the political agreement should move ahead regardless. Given the number of unresolved issues on the bilateral EU-Japan trade and investment agenda, the adoption of the envisioned free trade agreement could still be years away. That however should not stand in the way of the EU and Japan adopting a new political framework institutionalizing cooperation in international security and development policies in the years ahead.
- A bilateral track-two dialogue, including politicians, uniformed military and law enforcement personnel, and bureaucrats participating in their private capacities, academics, journalists and representatives from NGOs, should be launched to continue the process of coming up with new ideas for moving EU-Japan politico-security cooperation forward, and evaluate on-going cooperation.
- Another central task of this track-two dialogue will be to develop a joint EU-Japan definition of Basic Human Security. The aim is to come up with a definition that includes both freedom from want and freedom from fear, but at a level that is not excessively comprehensive or idealized, a core definition that can provide the basis for promoting social and economic development. This dialogue

should also explore ways in which the EU and Japan can jointly exert leadership to strengthen the UN's institutional capacity in peace-building and human security. It should examine ways by which the two sides can increase cooperation between the Peace Building Trust Fund and the Trust Fund for Human Security in a more result-oriented way, including the possibility of merging these two institutions in order to pool and render the allocation of resources more efficient and effective.

- The publicly available information regarding EU-Japan cooperation provided by the two sides, especially by the EU, is woefully inadequate. In order to give the interested public and scholars a change to assess the quality, scope and contents of joint policies, the two sides need to provide far more extensive and detailed information. Easily accessible and dedicated websites that offer detailed information (including non-classified technical details) regarding past, present, and envisaged cooperation need to be maintained by both governments.
- Considering programs in place between the US and Japan, and Japan and a number of Asian countries, a new program should be established between Brussels and Tokyo to enable the short-term exchange of officials and uniformed officers among bureaucracies dealing with aid and defence policies in order to facilitate greater understanding of each other's policies, perspectives, and operating procedures. This exchange should also be open to academics specializing in these policy areas.
- Once the EU-Japan political agreement is adopted, a bilateral track-one mechanism should be established to review progress in, and propose new ideas for, implementing the new EU-Japan political agreement, with reviews taking place every year before the annual EU-Japan summit meeting. The results of such a review process should be made publicly available in order to increase transparency and invite input from scholars and analysts working on EU-Japan relations, and especially from the Track two dialogue. Diplomats, aid officials and other bureaucrats, uniformed military and law

enforcement officers should participate. This review mechanism should also include input from the track two-dialogue and from relevant academics and academic networks from both the EU and Japan.

(Authored by Axel Berkofsky, Paul Midford and Marie Söderberg)

# Summary of the Workshop in Berlin

## **The Nexus of Security and Development : Opportunities and Prospects for Europe-Japan Cooperation**

This paper is a summary of all papers presented in Berlin in September 2011.

Kuniko Ashizawa (from Oxford Brookes University) examines Japan's ten-year old stabilization and reconstruction assistance in Afghanistan, focusing her analysis on examining Tokyo's effort to cooperate and collaborate with other international donors, most notably the United States, but also the EU and its individual member countries, in implementing their assistance programs. In her paper titled Japanese Assistance in Afghanistan-A Possible Area for EU-Japan Cooperation? Ashizawa argues that while Japan does rarely get mentioned in the international coverage on Afghanistan, the country assumes the position of second rank, after the US, in overall assistance disbursed to Afghanistan between 2002 and 2010.

Japanese assistance provided for Afghanistan in the context of stabilization and reconstruction policies amounts to \$7.2 billion (including the \$5 billion pledge made in late 2009). Japanese assistance programs in Afghanistan, Ashizawa explains, have almost exclusively been of non-military nature, with no Japanese military personnel on the ground. This, the author explains, goes in accordance with Tokyo's emphasis on peace-building and state-building policies, rather than counter-terrorism policies or contributions to the so-called US-led 'war on terrorism'.

Japan's policy approaches towards Afghanistan, the author explains, are not identical with those of the EU, the third largest donor in the country: Japan's reconstruction and development projects are often found in the areas of traditional, peacetime development programs, such as infrastructure and agricultural and rural development, while the EU and individual European countries tend to place emphasis on the areas of governance, human rights, and gender. Afghan policymakers, the author

explains, typically refer to Japan as an honest and trusted partner for the country, thanks largely to its non-involvement in past Afghan conflicts and to its steady, if not substantial, development assistance during the pre-Taliban period—and probably also due to the present lack of any Japanese military presence.

Marie Söderberg (from the European Institute of Japanese Studies at Stockholm School of Economics) analyses the state and future prospects of Japanese ODA payments and policies in her paper titled Promoting Peace Building through EU–Japan Cooperation in ODA. She concludes that-despite recent budget cuts and worsening Japanese public finances-the country will remain an ODA donor to be reckoned with in the years and decades ahead. According to the calculations of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC), the author writes, the volume of Japanese aid has been decreasing over the years. This is due to the way ODA is calculated. The sums of Japanese aid distributed (gross disbursement) has actually not decreased but remains constant on a high level as loans being paid back are redistributed again. Quoting Sadako Ogata, until recently President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) who argues that development assistance has moved from the fringe to the centre of national policy in Japan, Söderberg maintains that there is indeed scope for expansion of Japanese ODA policies, alone but also with partners such as the European Union.

Not only fiscal and financial restrictions, however, the author points out, but also Japanese domestic politics stand in the way of Japan re-launching its global leadership role in development. While Japan has endorsed both the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action, the adoption of a new Medium-Term Policy on Official Development Assistance (scheduled for 2010) has not advanced. This, Söderberg argues, is due to several reasons. One is the general turmoil in Japanese politics, which hinders smooth and quick decision-making. Secondly, Söderberg writes, ODA in Japan has become increasingly politicized and there are a number of stakeholders pushing into different directions as regards the goals and destinations of Japanese ODA.

The EU member states and the European Commission, Marie Söderberg writes, contribute over half of the world's ODA. The EU is the world's largest ODA donor and has adopted a common vision on development policy aimed at eradicating poverty and contributing to the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Brussels, Söderberg points out, promotes development based on Europe's democratic values, an approach that is shared with Japan. However, given the gloomy outlook of European economies and Japanese fiscal restraints, an expansion of EU-Japanese ODA policies as well as joint peace-building policies and missions can under current circumstances not be taken for granted, Söderberg concludes. Aid in general and ODA payments in particular, Söderberg writes, have become entangled with issues of peace and security, not only in Japan but also amongst most of the DAC members in general. The DAC e.g. recommends its members to promote peace and security as fundamental pillars of development.

Japan, Söderberg explains, identifies peace building as a priority in its ODA Charter and Mid-Term Policy. However, Tokyo's gross bilateral disbursements to peace, conflict and security have remained low (less than 1–2 per cent of total ODA in the twelve years 1997–2008) and figures for humanitarian assistance represent an equally small portion. To a certain extent, however, the author explains, this is also a matter of how aid is classified. While Iraq e.g. has for many years been the top recipient of Japanese ODA, large parts of the reconstruction work in Iraq have been classified as economic infrastructure and not peace-building.

Michito Tsuruoka (Senior Research Fellow at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) in Tokyo) argues in his paper titled Potential for EU-Japan Security Cooperation: A Japanese Perspective that there are good reasons for the EU and Japan to strengthen political and security cooperation in today's global security environment. When analysing the current state of and prospects for EU-Japan political and security cooperation in his paper he concludes that EU-Japan cooperation in the area of security is an imperative. Tsuruoka points out, that it is appropriate to argue that the 'untapped potential' of the 2001 Action Plan remains untapped ten years after the adoption of the plan which

was the basis for EU-Japan cooperation in the area of security. The shortcomings of the action plan notwithstanding, actual EU-Japan security and defence cooperation, Tsuruoka writes, has been taking place.

The EU and Japan, Tsuruoka maintains, are not necessarily partners of first choice with each other in addressing various international challenges, at least for the foreseeable future. Both for the Europe and for Japan, the US is main reference as regards national and international security. However, strong security ties with Washington, Tsuruoka writes, do not necessarily stand in the way of EU-Japan security cooperation, not least because Washington is not always unconditionally available as a partner in regional and global security, Tsuruoka explains. In fact, functional areas where Japan should cooperate with the EU and not with the US are increasing, the author points out. These areas, he writes, include preventive diplomacy, crisis management, post-conflict reconstruction and development as well as capacity building in developing countries.

While Non-combat military cooperation between the EU and Japan has emerged as a new promising field in addition to other forms of political and security cooperation, EU-Japan joint combat operations continue to remain inconceivable. However, Tsuruoka explains, the role of military today has become more diverse and multifaceted, non-combat activities including crisis management and reconstruction assistance are becoming more common. Indeed, EU-Japan non-combat military cooperation has already taken place and it is likely that such cooperation will be expanded as one of the main pillars of bilateral security cooperation. Counter-piracy cooperation off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden is one example, the author explains.

Tokyo, Tsuruoka explains, has also expressed interest in participating in EU CSDP civilian missions. While such a Japanese contributions to CSDP missions have yet to materialise, it should not be seen as a one-sided contribution from Japan to the EU, Tsuruoka explains. From a Japanese perspective, the author explains, it rather means that Japan uses the EU as partner enabling it to expand its reach and develop experience

and expertise in civilian crisis management. In those areas where the EU has an established presence (and Japan has not), such as in Kosovo, cooperating with the EU would be in Japan's interest.

While the EU and Japan may not be partners of first choice, they should nonetheless acknowledge each other as available partners on a regular basis, Tsuruoka concludes on a somewhat positive note. To do that and in order to make EU-Japan security cooperation transparent, accountable and result-oriented, he suggests adopting a bilateral security agreement. Finally, the author suggests institutionalising Japanese participation in CSDP missions, an item already on the official EU-Japan agenda. Countries which want to participate in EU-led CSDP missions need to sign each time a participation agreement with the EU that stipulates legal and other arrangements regarding the participation.

Paul Midford (from the Norwegian University for Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim) writes in his paper entitled "Potential for EU-Japan Non-Combat Military Cooperation: Japanese Perspectives," that the EU and Japan are promising partners for cooperation in non-combat Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR), reconstruction and development assistance for several reasons. First, both the EU and Japan are committed supporters of multilateral security cooperation based on liberal values. Both sides, Midford points out, share what he calls a liberal optimism that economic and social development are the best ways to resolve conflicts and build peace and stability. In this context he cites Japan's December 2010 Defence Guidelines which call for using Official Development Assistance (ODA) "to resolve root causes of conflicts and terrorism." Second, both Brussels and Tokyo seek to use multilateralism to rectify what they see as a relative lack of global influence. This, the author explains, makes it relatively easy for the EU to play a neutral mediation role in local conflicts in places such as Aceh, Sri Lanka, or Mindanao. By comparison, the US is often excluded from peace-building because involved parties to the conflict at times consider Washington to be a non-neutral actor. Compatibility between the EU and Japan in these areas means that the EU is an especially promising security partner for helping Japan overcome the barriers it faces to playing a larger role in peace-building.



Given that the EU and Japan are about to begin negotiating on a binding political cooperation agreement as the successor to the 2001 EU-Japan Ten-Year Action Plan, the timing is good to consider expanding EU-Japan cooperation in the area of peace-building. The EU, Midford writes, can help Tokyo redefine SDF overseas peace-building deployments outside of a narrow alliance context, re-legitimizing them in the eyes of the public and policymaking elites. Japan's turn to the EU for greater cooperation in peace-building also fits into a recent trend in defence policy highlighted in Japan's December 2010 new defence guidelines: diversifying security cooperation beyond the US to other partners with shared liberal democratic values.

Japan's lack of any security dependence on the EU, Midford concludes, is an asset, allowing Tokyo to explore cooperation without fear of losing control of its involvement. One of the EU's greatest assets in Japan, the author elaborates is that it is 'boring' and therefore not polarizing domestically within Japan, whereas certain aspects of the US-Japan alliance (e.g. military cooperation overseas) are controversial.

Ryutaro Murotani, (a researcher at the JICA Research Institute) argues in his short paper (including remarks and analysis of Marie Söderberg paper) that a European and Japanese emphasis on civilian engagement, a shared commitment to universal values such as human rights and democracy, and a commitment to contribute to peace-building could facilitate the strengthening of the EU-Japan partnership. However, Murotani cautions, while envisioning intensified cooperation it is important to acknowledge the differences between Europe and Japan in the area of peace-building. Unlike European governments, Murotani maintains in this context, Japan does not apply the so-called 'whole-of-government' approach, and there are also different preferences on aid modalities in Japan and Europe. This, the author maintains, stands in the way of more and operationally smoother bilateral cooperation.

Only by taking commonalities and differences into account, Murotani concludes, can one identify ways to intensify EU-Japan cooperation in the area of peace-building. The author confirms Marie Söderberg's argument that official ODA statistics are somewhat misleading when

attributing a declining net ODA disbursement to Japan. In view of the fact that recipients of Japanese ODA are repaying their loans to Japan, he-like Marie Söderberg, concludes that Japanese gross ODA disbursement remains enormous despite the recent ODA budget cuts amounting to 10%.

The concept of human security, Murotani argues, is a concept, which should have been more at the centre-stage of EU-Japan cooperation in the context of joint peace-building policies. In the early 2000s, Japanese policymakers-in his view more than European counterparts-strongly supported the establishment of the UN Commission on Human Security, as well as the UN Trust Fund for Human Security and JICA is making an effort to operationalize the concept of human security in post-conflict environments such as Afghanistan. A strong Japanese emphasis on human security and a relative disinterest in amongst European policymakers in it, Murotani suggests, could stand in the way of the further intensification of joint EU-Japan peace-building policies.

The role and competencies of civil society and NGOs, Murotani goes on to argue, need to be taken into account when seeking to identify ways to increase EU-Japan cooperation. Civil society in Japan, Murotani argues, plays an active role in peace-building assistance through emergency humanitarian assistance and advocacy campaigns. It also plays a vital role in the debate over deepening collaboration between security actors (including military forces) and development actors. Japan, some European countries and many NGOs, Murotani maintains, are opposed to the idea of mobilizing military capacity to implement development assistance, indicating doing so could be an obstacle for more frequent and intensive EU-Japan security cooperation.

In order to achieve further possible collaboration EU-Japan cooperation in the area of peace-building, Murotani suggests applying a bottom-up approach. Doing that, he points out, could be more effective than a top-down approach to realize concrete EU-Japan collaboration on the ground. Finally, concrete EU-Japan on-the-ground-peace-building cooperation, Murotani cautions, is further rendered problematic by the fact that EU member states do not always pursue the same approaches

and priorities and are identical with those of the EU Commission. In other words: for Japanese policymakers it is difficult to identify one European or one EU approach towards peace-building on the ground, Murotani argues.

Axel Berkofsky (from the University of Pavia) analyses the current state and future of EU-Japan cooperation, including the prospects for further bilateral cooperation in the area of non-combat military (or alternative) security cooperation. His paper titled EU-Japan Relations from 2001-Today-Achievements, Failures and Prospects argues out that there is agreement in both Tokyo and Brussels that the initial project to cover and jointly deal with 100 areas of bilateral cooperation, ranging from joint peacekeeping and security cooperation to global and bilateral economic and trade cooperation (as listed in the 2001 EU-Japan Action Plan) was far too ambitious in view of the fairly limited resources in Tokyo and Brussels dedicated to EU-Japan relations in general and the implementation of the bilateral action plan in particular.

The limited resources and more often than not political will notwithstanding, the author explains, Brussels and Tokyo have over the last ten years established a framework for regular consultations and bilateral meetings, including regular consultations ahead of the annual session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. Furthermore, Brussels and Tokyo are jointly supporting international initiatives to achieve global nuclear disarmament and efforts to limit the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). To be sure, Axel Berkofsky maintains, selling EU-Japanese joint signatures under international disarmament and non-proliferation protocols as achievements of bilateral policies in the areas of international politics and security, Berkofsky maintains have no credibility if these signatures do not result in joint policies with a concrete and measurable impact on international security. That was only fairly rarely the case although currently ongoing and in the future envisioned EU-Japan civilian and non-military security cooperation in Afghanistan provide evidence that Brussels and Tokyo are nonetheless capable and willing to implement policies and joint missions of the kind formulated in the EU-Japan Action Plan back in 2001.

EU-Japan co-operation in the area of security, Berkofsky explains, focuses on non-military (or what is also referred to as 'alternative') security co-operation, i.e. security co-operation using financial and economic resources to contribute to peace and stability through Official Development Assistance (ODA) and other forms of development and financial aid. On this basis, parts of the Japanese funds assigned to Afghanistan will be spent on joint projects with the EU in the years ahead. With reference to the EU's October 2009 Action Plan for Afghanistan and Pakistan and Japan's November 2009 assistance package for Afghanistan, Brussels and Tokyo envision joint capacity-building activities for the Afghan police in the Afghan province of Ghor.

As regards EU-Japan counter-piracy cooperation off the coast of Somalia and the Gulf of Aden, 'Japan's Maritime Self-Defence Forces (MSDF)' and the 'EU Naval Force (NAVFOR) Somalia Operation Atalanta' have in 2010 and 2011 exchanged information and data on numerous occasions. However, Berkofsky argues, referring to EU-Japan data sharing as a 'joint EU-Japan mission' (as the EU and Japan do) is only accurate within limits as the data sharing takes place in the framework of a multinational and UN-sanctioned mission.

Concluding on a positive note, the author points out that the recent intensification of on- the-ground EU-Japan cooperation in Afghanistan and off the coast of Somalia are positive, standing for increased willingness in both Brussels and Tokyo to pool resources to achieve tangible and concrete cooperation in international security.

(Summarized and compiled by Axel Berkofsky)

# Summary of the Conference in Tokyo

## **The Nexus of Security and Development : Addressing Local Conflicts Before They Turn Global**

This paper is a summary of all papers presented in Tokyo in February 2012.

Paul Midford analyses the linkages of micro and macro security in the context of development and security, applying his conclusions to the scope and quality of Japanese aid as well as EU-Japan cooperation in the areas of peace-building and development cooperation in his paper titled "The Linkage Between Micro Security, Development, and Global Security: A Perspective from Europe."

The motivations for providing development assistance, Midford writes in his introduction, have traditionally had little to do with national or international security. Instead, providing economic assistance to meet the basic needs of people in poor and undeveloped countries out of humanitarian concern is the most common motivation for states to provide aid. When analysing the motivations of Japanese aid policies over the decades, Midford concludes that Japanese aid policies and the provision of economic and financial assistance were- arguably like Chinese and South Korea aid policies today-driven by and aimed at building up trading partners, benefitting Japanese companies investing in aid recipient countries.

While such a Japanese approach has often been criticised, Midford argues that such aid policies, which emphasized self-help and comprehensive economic development on the part of recipient, produced less long-term dependence and greater success in meeting the human needs of citizens in recipient countries in the long run: liberal developmentalism, based on the idea that economic development is the best way to promote peace and stability in the long-term, as Midford calls it.

The link between micro and macro security, Midford argues, has in

the past often been dismissed as irrelevant. However, in the era of globalization, the author points out, micro-conflicts now often do become macro conflicts with global implications. Drivers of this trend include the spread of global access to the Internet, air travel, and global production networks that rely on international express delivery and sea-borne freight.

Afghanistan, Midford explains, is the archetype case for the new linkage between micro and macro security. Following the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989, a micro-conflict raged in Afghanistan that attracted little interest from the international community. Although the 9-11 attacks created a never again obsession with Afghanistan as Midford calls it, resolving the micro-conflict in Afghanistan, and promoting human security and development in Afghanistan has over the last 10 years clearly become a macro security priority.

A second famous case, Midford explains, is Somalia: a micro security conflict has turned into a macro security conflict with regional and indeed global security implications. The fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991 led to anarchy in Somalia, micro-level insecurity with a comprehensive degradation of human security, with the eventual result being the emergence of Somali pirates who threatened vital global sea-lanes of communication.

Marie Söderberg (from the European Institute of Japanese Studies at Stockholm School of Economics), analyses Japanese and European development policies in South Sudan in her paper titled South Sudan – a trial ground for a “New Deal” for the engagement of fragile states? A New Deal for Fragile States, Söderberg explained, was developed by a number of aid donors and a group of countries affected by fragility, instability and the threat of violent conflicts-Sudan the author explains, is such a state. The Busan agreement acknowledges that aid to fragile states needs to be delivered differently with a strong focus on peace-building and state- building. It was endorsed by a number of countries (including Japan and the EU) at the Fourth High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, Söderberg writes.

Japan provides ODA assistance in South Sudan since 2005. Japanese humanitarian assistance, the author explains, has mostly been channelled through UN agencies. Japanese bilateral aid to South Sudan on the other hand is being administered by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Japan also contributes to the pacification of South Sudan through the deployment of roughly to 350 Self-Defence Forces (SDF) (mainly engineering troops). Japanese armed forces, Söderberg writes, are operating under UN command and are engaged in re-building infrastructure such as roads, bridges and water facilities. Japan's armed forces will be working closely together with civilian organizations and NGOs in South Sudan. Reconstruction and nation building overlapping with development and military-civil cooperation are essential in the case of South Sudan, Söderberg concludes.

As regards European engagement in South Sudan, the EU in May 2011 pledged to provide South Sudan with 200 million euros in assistance to rural development, health, education, governance and rule of law. At the end of 2011, the author explained, it was announced that 80 of the total 200 million Euros will amongst others be allocated to improving rural infrastructure, boosting productivity by providing easier access to services and land. By helping to developing the South Sudanese agriculture sector, the author explains, Brussels contribute to the diversification of South Sudan's heavily oil-dependent economy.

The EU has also adopted a common single country strategy for South Sudan. This strategy, the author explains, aims at coordinating EU and member states' South Sudan policies. Furthermore, Brussels is also preparing the deployment of an EU CSDP (Common Security and Defence Policy) mission to protect aviation security in South Sudan. As regards joint EU-Japan cooperation in South Sudan, Marie Söderberg points out that EU and Japan both signed the New Deal in Busan and now need to live up to the commitments they signed up to, individually but also jointly. Japan, the author suggests could for example cooperate with the EU in the natural resources sector and the EU could join Japan in infrastructure-related projects. Furthermore, the author proposes, Japan could join the EU in the implementation of its so-called quick-impact peace dividend project with a basket fund to support cross-

border dialogue. Finally, the EU should consider cooperating with the Japanese Self-Defence Forces for any projects in the Juba area where road building or similar infrastructure is needed in connection with other development projects.

Michito Tsuruoka (from the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS)) in Tokyo analyses Japan's approaches towards dealing with global micro security conflicts in his paper titled Addressing Local Conflicts before They Turn Global: A Perspective from Japan.

Japan, Tsuruoka concludes at the beginning of his paper, has yet to develop a coherent and sustainable strategy on how to address local and micro conflicts. While Tokyo typically advocates a civilian and prevention approach addressing the root causes conflicts through long-term economic assistance, such approach, the author maintains, has yet to translate into a coherent strategy the government can refer to and apply in the area or micro security conflicts.

While it is 'easy' as the author put it to argue that Japan's civilian or 'soft' approach towards international security is based on the country's comparative advantage in development cooperation and other civilian fields, it needs to be taken into account that Japan does not have the military tools (together with a constitution with the war-renouncing Article 9) to adopt anything else but a 'soft power' approach towards conflicts. Second, Tsuruoka explains, there is a low level of awareness in Japan that national security in Japan is connected to local conflicts in other regions. The country's political leaders, the author argues, need to understand and acknowledge that the country's overall security is linked to the security situations in countries far away from Japan.

As regards EU-Japan cooperation of addressing and solving local conflicts, the author argues, Japan and the EU both emphasizing civilian approaches towards local conflicts is not a guarantee for EU-Japan cooperation on the ground. In fact, Brussels and Tokyo, the author maintains, may end up being competitors when contributing to the resolution of the same conflicts. The record of EU-Japan development cooperation, he concludes, is less than impressive and there have not



been many concrete examples of development cooperation.

Beyond cooperation development, more promising areas for Japan-EU cooperation, the author concludes, are areas located between security and development such as e.g. security sector reform (SSR) and capacity-building. This sort of cooperation, the author maintains, is above all possible in Africa. As demonstrated by the counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and the Gulf of Aden and Tokyo's decision to deploy Japan's armed forces to the UN mission in South Sudan (UNMIS), the author explains, Japan is committed to strengthening its engagement in peace and security including SSR in Africa, an area the Europeans have long been involved in.

Mari Katayanagi (Research Fellow at the JICA Research Institute in Tokyo) presents the results of the JICA project Prevention of Violent Conflicts in Africa: the Role of Development Assistance in her paper titled "Addressing Structural Problems at Local Levels: Horizontal Inequalities in Africa." The JICA research project's overall goal, the author explains, is to identify policies and instruments to prevent violent conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. This, Katayanagi explains, is accompanied by the analysis of the factors and circumstances that lead to social and political instability in that region. The JICA approach introduces perspectives in this context: horizontal inequalities (HIs), political institutions, and perceptions of identity and inequality. HIs refer to the inequality among culturally defined groups. They have multiple dimensions – political, socio-economic, and cultural – and can be structural causes of violent conflicts, the author explains. Among multi-dimensional HIs, the JICA research project focused on the political dimension and looked into political institutions. The project classified 49 sub-Saharan countries into power-dispersing (PD) and power-concentrating (PC) categories.

The African countries analysed in the research project, the author explains, address and deal with horizontal inequalities (HIs) differently. The JICA study covers analysis in countries such as Burundi, South Africa, and Nigeria. In Nigeria e.g., the author explains, the different dimensions of HIs play a balancing function. In Nigeria,

the representation of the north in political and military institutions is stronger, while economically the south is better off. In order to address imbalances, the author explains, the Nigerian government has introduced the so-called Federal Character Principle, aimed at ensuring an ethnic balance in government organs and institutions. When assessing the role of development actors in conflict prevention in the countries covered by the JICA study, taking into account HIs in countries subject to development and conflict prevention, the author concludes, is essential for the implementation of successful development aid and donor policies.

Jun Honna (Research Fellow at the JICA Research Institute in Tokyo), analyses maritime crimes in Southeast Asia in his paper titled *Maritime Crimes in Southeast Asia: Human Securitized Policy Paradigm*. Southeast Asia, he writes, is the theatre of cross-border crimes, ranging from illegal-unreported fishing, unlawful dumping, drug smuggling, human trafficking, timber smuggling, illegal arms trading, to armed robbery. When analyzing the nature and quality of maritime crimes in Southeast Asia, the author identifies the need for promoting a new paradigm of maritime security cooperation suitable in the age of transnational crime. In this context, he argues, the human security doctrine should be mainstreamed in a way to envisage the security-development nexus.

The author first deals with the issue of piracy and armed robberies, which in recent years have made it to the very top of the policy agenda of ASEAN and his dialogue partners, including Japan-not least as 80 per cent of Japan's oil imports pass through the Straits of Malacca, theatre of roughly 30% of the reported global piracy and armed robbery cases. Some of them are hostage-taking seajacks of tankers, but many cases involve petty robbery targeting cargos of tugboats and small fishing boats. Consequently, piracy and armed robberies have posed a common threat for those involving maritime business and local fishery sector in Southeast Asia.

Southeast Asia, the author writes, has over the past decade seen a strong increase of reported cases of trafficking in persons (TIP). In fact,

no region reports more TIP cases than Southeast Asia, Honna writes. Victims of this sort of transnational crimes are both adults and children, forced into labour and prostitution. Trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in particular, Honna writes, has become an issue for many governments in Southeast Asia since the early 1980s and the boom of sex tourism in Southeast Asia. The global campaign for gender equality, the spread of HIV/AIDS, the feminization of migrant workers, and the economic crisis in the 1990s made sure that the issue of human trafficking remains on the policy agenda of many Southeast Asian countries today, the author writes.

Illegal logging and wood smuggling too, Honna writes, are transnational crimes in Southeast Asia, which need to be addressed. Forest destruction in Southeast Asia, he writes, is so rapid that the region's tropical forests could vanish within ten years. Illegal logging, the author warns, will continue to accelerate environmental degradation. Loss of wildlife habitat will endanger many species. Mountainsides will become prone to landslides and floods every year in Southeast Asia, swallowing villages and people who live there. Floods pose a danger to local fishing communities near the river and results in the flow of migrant workers into urban slums. Illegal logging has furthermore contributed to the decrease of the water-holding capacity of mountains, meaning less water flowing to dams and thus shortages of water. In sum, illegal logging poses a threat to human security in Southeast Asia, the author concludes.

Drug production and smuggling in Southeast Asia in general and Burma in particular, the author elaborates, continue to be profitable business. Government policies and responses to drug smuggling in Southeast, the author writes, have so far been insufficient: Southeast Asia is-after Afghanistan-the world's second biggest producer of opium.

In order to tackle the issues of maritime piracy, TIP, illegal woods trading, and illicit drugs production and smuggling, the author concludes, a new and drastically improved region-wide response and strategy is necessary. So far, however, Honno points out, political rhetoric on region-wide policy coordination, has not been followed-up

by actual policies. As regards maritime crimes, the author suggests to charge the region's coast guard forces and not the navies to deal with piracy and maritime terrorism. Navies, he points out, are above all charged with the task of protecting and defending national territories and are not necessarily equipped with the mandate and instruments to cooperate with each other. Such cooperation is due to the reasons mentioned above-of particular relevance in the Straits of Malacca.

(Summarized and compiled by Axel Berkofsky)

# Participants of the Project

## **Ashizawa, Kuniko**



Dr. Kuniko Ashizawa holds a PhD in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University. After lecturing in the department of political science at the University of Pristina in Kosovo, she has been teaching, as a senior lecturer, at Oxford Brookes University in the UK. Dr. Ashizawa is currently on research leave, and is based at the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies, Johns Hopkins University in Washington DC, to carry out research on US and Japanese assistance in Afghanistan. She has researched on Japanese and U.S. policy toward multilateral institution-building in post-Cold War Asia.

## **Berkofsky, Axel**



Axel Berkofsky is Professor and former Gianni Mazzocchi Fellow at University of Pavia, Italy, and Senior Associate Research Fellow at the Institute for International Political Studies, Milan (ISPI). He is also a member of the EJARN executive committee. Prof. Berkofsky has extensively published on Japanese foreign and security policies, China and EU-Asia relations and is a regular contributor to journals, magazines, newspapers and online publications.

## **Blechinger-Talcott, Verena**



Dr. Verena Blechinger-Talcott holds a PhD in Political Sciences from Munich University (Faculty of Social Sciences). Since July 2009 Dr. Blechinger-Talcott is Director at the Center for Area Studies at the Berlin Free University. She is a Professor of Japanese Politics and Political Economy at Berlin Free University. Formerly she worked as an Advanced Research Fellow in the Program on US-Japan Relations at Harvard University, and as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Government at Hamilton

College. Her current research focuses on Japan's foreign policy and comparative politics in East Asia.

### **Brok, Elmar**



Elmar Brok became a Member of the European Parliament in 1980. He participated at the intergovernmental conferences on the Treaties of Amsterdam, Nice, Lisbon and the EU Constitutional Treaty. He was involved in the negotiations on the Fiscal Union and the European Stability Mechanism and currently is EP representative at the negotiations on the report 'Towards a Genuine Economic and Monetary Union. Elmar Brok holds a number of important political positions, such as Chairman of the EPP Committee on Foreign Affairs, EPP-Spokesman on Foreign Affairs and Coordinator of the foreign ministers of the EPP. He is Chairman of the CDU Federal Committee on Foreign, Security, and European Policy.

### **Friedrich, Stefan**



Dr. Friedrich holds a MA and PhD of the University of Heidelberg. As part of his studies on Modern Sinology and Political Sciences he also researched at Fudan University, Shanghai, the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences, Paris (EHESS) and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (SOAS). He co-edited the Encyclopaedia on China and was a scientific member of the Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg for several years before joining the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) in 2001 as founder and first director of the Shanghai office. Dr. Friedrich has been Director of KAS' Department Asia and the Pacific in Berlin and responsible for the foundation's activities in the Asian and Pacific region until 2012. He is now Head of Team Political Dialogue and Analysis at KAS headquarters in Berlin.

### **Fukushima, Akiko**



Dr. Akiko Fukushima is a Research Fellow at Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo. She has also been Adjunct Professor of the Law School at Keio University, Director of Policy Studies at the National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), Senior Fellow at the Japan Foundation and Visiting Professor at the University of British Columbia Canada. She holds a M.A. in International Economy and International Relations from Johns Hopkins University and a PhD in International Public Policy from Osaka University.

### **Hagström, Linus**



After earning a PhD in Political Science and a MA in Japanese Studies from Stockholm University, Dr. Hagström joined the Swedish Institute of International Affairs as Research Fellow and East Asia Program Chair. Since 2009 he is also Associate Professor of Political Science at Stockholm University and holds various teaching positions. Dr. Hagström's research and analysis cover Japanese foreign and security policy, Japan–China relations, the North Korean nuclear issue and Japanese domestic politics.

### **Hatwell, Jonathan**

Jonathan Hatwell joined the European Commission in 1994. He is Head of Division - Japan, Korea, Australia and New Zealand; European External Action Service (EEAS). Before he held different posts such as Head of - Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand; Directorate-General for External Relations, Desk-officer for Afghanistan, Directorate-General for External Relations and Head of Section (Political and Public Affairs), European Commission Delegation to Canada. He holds a B.A. from School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London.

### **Hilpert, Hanns Günther**



Dr. Hanns Günther Hilpert is Senior Associate in the Research Unit Asia at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs. Formerly he worked for the German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ) in Tokyo and the Ifo Institute for Economic Research, Munich. His current research focuses on various policy-oriented economic issues of East Asia, East Asian cooperation and integration, trade policy and Asian-European relations.

### **Honna, Jun**



Holding a MA in Public Administration and a PhD in Political Science from the Australian National University, Prof. Honna has been teaching in the Faculty of International Relations at Ritsumeikan University since 2000. He also serves as an Adjunct Professor in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, University of Indonesia, and as a Visiting Fellow at the Japan International Cooperation Agency Research Institute (JICA-RI). His research focuses mainly on politics and security in Southeast Asia, especially concerning civil-military relations, democratization, non-traditional security, and transnational crime.

### **Hosono, Akio**



Director Hosono, who holds a PhD in Economics of the University of Tokyo, has served as Dean of the College of International Studies and of the Graduate School of Tsukuba University, as well as Vice-Chancellor of the university. After 2000, he had been professor for Economics and Business Administration at Kobe University. Prof. Hosono is an expert on Latin American issues, having served as Japan's ambassador to El Salvador in 2002 and being a member of the Permanent Chile-Japan Forum. After 2008 Director Hosono had been a professor at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies. He is the current Director of the JICA Research Institute.



### **Inoguchi, Kuniko**



Kuniko Inoguchi, PhD is a LDP-Member of the House of Councillors (upper house of the legislature) of Japan, and member of the Science Council of Japan. She was first elected to the House of Representatives in 2005, and served as Minister of State for Gender Equality and Social Affairs from 2005 to 2006. Prior to her political appointments, she served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and Head of the Delegation of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, Switzerland (2002 to 2004). Prior to her diplomatic appointments, she taught first as Associate Professor, then Professor of Political Science in the Faculty of Law at Sophia University, Tokyo (1981 to 2002).

### **Ionete, Denisa**



Denisa-Elena Ionete was born in Romania. After graduating from the Medical University in Bucharest she worked as a researcher in Bucharest. From 1996 to 2006 she was posted in management and advisory positions with UN in Gabon, Niger, Afghanistan and the Palestinian territories. From 2006 to 2011 she worked as Staff Officer in the Civil-Military Planning and Support Section at NATO headquarters, before in October 2011 she was appointed as Head of Unit, Fragility and Crisis Management, in the Directorate General for Development and Cooperation – EuropeAid – of the European Commission.

### **Joëlle, Jenny**

Joëlle Jenny joined the European External Action Service as Head of Division for Conflict Prevention, Peace building and Mediation in 2011. Prior to that she had worked as a Swiss and British official on international security, conflict prevention and peace building. As a diplomat she was posted twice in New York to cover UN affairs. She held various management responsibilities, including as Deputy Head of the Conflict, Humanitarian Affairs and Security Department at the UK's Department for International Development and worked

extensively in Iraq, Yemen and the Palestinian Territories as well as for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Angola, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, Rwanda and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. She was also a research assistant at NATO.

### **Kataoka, Sadaharu**



Prof. Kataoka graduated from Waseda University, Tokyo, and earned a PhD in Political Science from the University of Paris. After working at the Japanese Embassy in Paris, where he was responsible for African affairs and the peace process in the Middle East, and at the Japan Institute for International Affairs (JIIA), he was appointed director of the Institute of International Strategy at Waseda University in April 2006. He specializes in international relations and African studies.

### **Katayanagi, Mari**



Dr. Katayanagi holds a MA in International Studies from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, a LLM in International Human Rights Law from Essex University and a PhD in Law from Warwick University. She has been active in the fields of international politics, human rights, peacekeeping and peacebuilding ever since, serving for UNTAES, the Japanese Embassy in Sarajevo and the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Currently, she is active in the Japan Society for International Development, the Japan Association of International Relations, the International Human Rights Law Association and the Japanese Society of International Law, and is a Research Fellow at the JICA Research Institute.

### **Maruyama, Norio**

Norio Maruyama joined the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) in 1983 and spent two years of preparation at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration in France before he was posted to the Japanese Embassy in Paris. He served in Tokyo and lead the General Consulate in Hong Kong before he returned to Paris to become the Counselor and Head of the Political Section. Ambassador Maruyama served as the Director of the First African Section and the European Policy Division at MOFA in Tokyo and Deputy Chief of the Japanese Mission in Cambodia, before he became Minister and Head of the Political Section, Ambassador of Political Affairs and Deputy Chief of the Japanese Mission to the EU.

### **McLachlan, Alexander**



Alexander McLachlan joined the European institutions from the UK Cabinet Office. He worked on Central Asia and the Caucasus before joining the EU's Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management Unit. He was responsible for first the Rapid Reaction Mechanism and then the Stability Instrument, two funding instruments to prevent, or deal with violent conflict and complex emergencies. He participated in the preparation of a number of EU ESDP operations, including the Aceh Monitoring Mission and rule of law operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Kosovo. From 2007-2011 he served as Political Counsellor in Beijing, and now heads the Political and Economic Section of the EU Delegation to Japan.

### **Midford, Paul**



Paul Midford holds a PhD in Political Science from Columbia University. He worked for the Research Institute for Peace and Security in Japan, edited a British journal on Japanese studies, and taught at several universities in Japan and overseas. Since 2005 he has worked at the Norwegian University for Science and Technology, where he is Professor and Director of the Japan Program. Dr. Midford's recent research focuses on the

influence of Japanese public opinion and political parties on Japan's evolving security strategy as well as Japan's policy toward regional security multilateralism.

### **Murotani, Ryutaro**



Ryutaro Murotani, Research Associate at the JICA Research Institute, holds the Master in Public Policy from the Harvard Kennedy School, and the Bachelor's degree in Policy Studies from Kwansei Gakuin University. After he joined the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), he worked as project officer of JICA, as well as secretary for economic cooperation at the Embassy of Japan in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having operational experiences in post-conflict situations including Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aceh and Iraq, he is now working as a researcher on peace-building, and development assistance in post-conflict and/or fragile situations.

### **Nishida, Ippeita**



Ippeita Nishida is a Research Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation. His research focuses are foreign/security issues. He received his master's degree in development studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science. After working for private-sector consultancies, he joined Medecins Sans Frontieres (French Section) as a nonmedical volunteer and participated in JICA's three weeks long development specialist course at Tokyo, Timor-Leste and Cambodia. He also serves as a program advisor in the Cabinet Office's PKO bureau.

### **Ogata, Sadako**



President Ogata graduated from Georgetown University in Washington D.C with a M.A. in International Relations and a PhD in Political Science from University of California in Berkeley in 1963. Subsequently, she taught International Relations at the International Christian and Sacred Heart Universities in Tokyo until 1976, when she joined the United Nations in New York. Dr. Ogata served as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees from 1991 to 2000. From 2005 until 2012, she has been the President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency.

### **Oswald, Stefan**



Dr. Stefan Oswald is Head of Division "Afghanistan and Pakistan" in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) since July 2011. Beforehand he was Head of Division "OECD/DAC, G7/G8/G20, cooperation with other donors". In his 28 years of working in the field of development cooperation Dr. Oswald held various national and international positions, such as Senior Advisor on development policy to the German Parliament from 2004 to 2010. Dr. Oswald studied Agricultural Sciences in Göttingen and holds a doctorate from Gießen University.

### **Priess, Frank**



Frank Priess was born on 7 May 1957 in Wolfsburg, Germany. During his time at the Johannes-Gutenberg University in Mainz, he received a scholarship from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and graduated with a M.A. in Political Science, Philosophy and Communications in 1985. Mr. Priess worked as a journalist before becoming the KAS representative in Columbia and Peru in 1987. Subsequently he was responsible for the KAS international recruiting and press and public relations, was sent to Argentina and Mexico and lead the Asia and the Political Communications Departments. In May 2012 he became the Deputy Head of the KAS Department for European

and International Cooperation in Berlin.

### **Schweisgut, Hans Dietmar**



Ambassador Schweisgut is a Doctor of Law from the University of Innsbruck and a Master of Comparative Law from Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. He joined the Austrian diplomatic service in 1977 and served at the UN in New York from 1979 to 1983, followed by several appointments as Austrian minister and advisor in Austria and Japan. He was appointed ambassador, first to Japan in 1999, then to China in 2003. HE Schweisgut was representative of Austria to the European Union in Brussels, before becoming Ambassador of the Delegation of the EU to Japan in January 2011.

### **Söderberg, Marie**



Before receiving her PhD at the Institute of Oriental Languages at Stockholm University, Prof. Söderberg worked as an international correspondent for newspapers. Since 1987, she has been first at Stockholm University and then at the European Institute of Japanese Studies at Stockholm School of Economics. Since 2008, she has been a professor at Stockholm University and since 2009 also the Director of the European Institute of Japanese Studies. She is a member of the Stockholm Asia Security Group, a joint research group of several Stockholm Institutes. Prof. Söderberg is the chairperson of the executive committee of EJARN.

### **Soeya, Yoshihide**



Prof. Soeya finished his studies at Sophia University, Tokyo, with a Master of International Studies, followed by a PhD in Political Science in 1987 from the University of Michigan. After teaching at Sophia University for a few years, he joined the Faculty of Law of Keio University in Tokyo in 1988, and was promoted to Professor of Political Science in 1995. Between

2001 and 2004 he was also Faculty Fellow at the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry, and in 2006 he taught at the Graduate School of International Studies of Seoul National University. His special interests lie in politics and security in the Asia-Pacific Region, and Japan's external relations and diplomacy.

### **Swenson-Wright, John**



Dr. Swenson-Wright was a Monbusho visiting researcher at Kyoto University, followed by a MA in International Relations, concentrating on East Asian studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, DC. After finishing his dissertation, he became Senior Lecturer in Modern Japanese Politics and International Relations at Cambridge University's Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies and a fellow of Darwin College, Cambridge. His research has always been focused on the Cold War relationship between the US and Northeast Asia, particularly Japan and Korea. Recently, contemporary regional security issues and political change have been added to his agenda.

### **Tsuruoka, Michito**



After studying at Keio University, Georgetown University and King's College London, Michito Tsuruoka served as a Special Adviser for NATO at the Embassy of Japan in Belgium from 2005 to 2008 and a Resident Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). He is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Ministry of Defense, Japan. Since January 2011, he is also a Research Fellow (part-time) at the Tokyo Foundation. He has published extensively on NATO, Europe-Japan/Asia relations, Japan's foreign, security and defense policy, nuclear weapons and the Cold War among other topics.

### **Wolff, Jörg**



Jörg Wolff is Resident Representative of Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Japan and Regional Representative for Economic Policy. Before joining KAS he served several years in the public service in Germany. He represented the foundation in six countries (Sri Lanka, Thailand, South Korea, China, India, France) and got in between a secondment as Economic Advisor/Economic Councillor to the EU-Delegation/Embassy in Islamabad/Pakistan.

### **Yamamoto, Aiichiro**



Aiichiro Yamamoto is Senior Assistant Director of the Operation Strategy Department at JICA. Since joining JICA in 1979, he has held numerous posts both in Tokyo and overseas. For example, he served as Senior Assistant to Director-General of the Africa Department of JICA, as Resident Representative of the JICA United Kingdom Office and as Head of the Economic Planning and Project Assessment Unit in Dili, East Timor, on secondment to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. He graduated with a BA in English Literature from the University of Foreign Studies, Tokyo, and a MA in Public Administration from Columbia University, New York.

### **Yasui, Misako**



Misako Yasui is a member of the House of Councillors of Japan and Vice Director-General of the International Department at the Democratic Party of Japan. Before she was first elected to the House of Councillors in 2010, she served as a consultant in the private sector and a research fellow at the Tokyo Foundation. She graduated from New York University and holds a M.A. in International and Public Policy from Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo.



# Annex

# Program of the Workshop in Berlin

## **The Nexus of Security and Development : Opportunities and Prospects for Europe-Japan Cooperation**

In cooperation with European Japan Advanced Research Network  
(EJARN)

**Date:** Monday, 12 September 2011, 09.00 hrs

**Venue:** Akademie der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung  
Tiergartenstr. 35  
10785 Berlin

### **Monday, 12 September 2011**

09.00 **Opening Remarks**

Dr. Stefan Friedrich, Head of Team Asia and the Pacific,  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Berlin

Prof. Dr. Marie Söderberg, Stockholm University of Economics

09.15 **Session 1**

***So far so good but could do much better***

Is Japan a relevant partner for EU in the nexus of security  
and development?

Prof. Dr. Axel Berkofsky, University of Pavia

Chair: Dr. Paul Midford, Norwegian University for  
Science and Technology

Discussant: Prof. Dr. Verena Blechinger-Talcott, FU Berlin

Q&A

11.15 **Session 2**

***Potential for EU-Japan security cooperation (especially  
in post-conflict reconstruction?)***

Japanese perspectives

Dr. Michito Tsuruoka, National Institute for Defense Studies

Chair: Prof. Dr. Verena Blechinger-Talcott, FU Berlin

Discussant: Dr. Paul Midford, Norwegian University for  
Science and Technology

Q&A

14.00

**Session 3**

***Promoting peace-building through EU-Japan  
Cooperation in ODA***

Prof. Dr. Marie Söderberg, Stockholm University of Economics

**Discussants**

Prof. Dr. Sadaharu Kataoka, Waseda University

Dr. Linus Hagström, Swedish Institute for International Affairs

Chair: Dr. Hanns Günther Hilpert, Stiftung  
Wissenschaft und Politik

Discussant: Ryutaro Murotani, JICA

Q&A

16.00

**Session 4**

***Assisting Afghanistan (and the US)***

Japan, the EU, and new donor cooperation in Afghanistan

Dr. Kuniko Ashizawa, Oxford Brookes University

Chair: Dr. Paul Midford, Norwegian University for  
Science and Technology

Discussant: Dr. Stefan Oswald, Head of Division for  
Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh,  
Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and  
Development (BMZ)

Q&A

17.45

**Closing Remarks**

# Program of the Conference in Tokyo

## **The Nexus of Security and Development : Addressing Local Conflicts Before They Turn Global**

In cooperation with European Japan Advanced Research Network (EJARN) and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

**Date:** Tuesday, 21 February 2012, 10.00 hrs

**Venue:** JICA Research Institute, International Conference Hall  
10-5 Ichigaya Honmuracho, Shinjuku-ku  
Tokyo 162-8433

### **Tuesday, 21 February 2012**

10.00 **Welcome Remarks**

Akio Hosono, Director of JICA Research Institute (JICA-RI)

10.10 **Opening Remarks**

Madame Sadako Ogata, President of JICA

HE Hans Dietmar Schweisgut, Ambassador of the European Union to Japan

10.30 **Session 1**

***The Linkage between Micro Security and Development and Global Stability***

**A Perspective from Europe**

Dr. Paul Midford, Norwegian University for Science and Technology

**A Perspective from Japan**

Dr. Michito Tsuruoka, National Institute for Defense Studies

**Discussants**

Dr. John Swenson-Wright, Cambridge University

Dr. Kuniko Ashizawa, Oxford Brookes University

12.45 **Session 2**

***Experiences in Asia***

**Peace building exercises in Southeast Asia: From Aceh to Mindanao**

Prof. Dr. Axel Berkofsky, University of Pavia

**Cross-boarder threats to security: Mainstreaming Human Security in AEAN**

Prof. Dr. Jun Honna, Ritsumeikan University and JICA-RI

**Discussants**

Prof. Dr. Yoshihide Soeya, Keio University

Prof. Dr. Timo Kivimäki, Calx Proclivia

14.30

**Session 3**

***Experiences in Africa***

**Addressing structural problems at local levels:**

**Horizontal Inequalities in Africa**

Dr. Mari Katayanagi, JICA-RI

**Southern Sudan – Development and Security**

Prof. Dr. Marie Söderberg, Stockholm University of Economics

**Discussants**

Prof. Dr. Sadaharu Kataoka, Waseda University

Dr. Linus Hagström, Swedish Institute for International Affairs

16.15

***Panel Discussion***

**Exploring opportunities for and EU-Japan contribution to Global Security, Stability and Development**

Chair: Dr. John Swenson-Wright, Cambridge University

Discussants: Prof. Dr. Axel Berkofsky, University of Pavia

Alexander McLachlan, Head of Political and Economic Section, EU Delegation to Japan

Prof. Dr. Yoshihide Soeya, Keio University

Ryutaro Murotani, JICA

Dr. Michito Tsuruoka, National Institute for Defense Studies

17.15

**Closing Remarks**

Prof. Dr. Marie Söderberg, EJARN

Jörg Wolff, KAS

# Program of the Conference in Brussels

## **The Nexus of Security and Development : Prospects for EU–Japan Cooperation**

In cooperation with European Japan Advanced Research Network (EJARN)

**Date:** Thursday, 31 May 2012

**Venue:** NH Hotel du Grand Sablon  
rue Bodenbroek 2/4  
B-1000 Bruxelles

### **Thursday, 31 May 2012**

#### **10.00 Welcome Remarks**

Frank Priess, Deputy Head of the Department for European and International Cooperation (EIZ), KAS Berlin

Prof. Dr. Marie Söderberg, EJARN Chairperson, Stockholm School of Economics

#### **10.30 Opening Remarks**

Elmar Brok, MEP, Chairman of the EP Committee on Foreign Affairs

#### **11.30 Where do we stand on the binding agreement covering political, global and sectorial cooperation?**

Chair: Prof. Dr. Axel Berkofsky, University of Pavia

H.E. Norio Maruyama, Ambassador, Political Affairs, Mission of Japan to the European Union

Jonathan Hatwell, Head of Division, External Action Service, European Commission

Kuniko Inoguchi, Member of the House of Councillors, former Minister of State, former Ambassador of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament, Liberal Democratic Party of Japan

Open Discussion

14.00 **A Proposal for a Way Forward on EU-Japan Cooperation  
at the Nexus of Security and Development**

Chair: Jörg Wolff, Resident Representative Japan, KAS Tokyo

Prof. Dr. Marie Söderberg, EJARN Chairperson, Stockholm  
School of Economics

Prof. Dr. Axel Berkofsky, University of Pavia

Prof. Dr. Paul Midford, Norwegian University for Science and  
Technology

Dr. Kuniko Ashizawa, Oxford Brookes University

Commentators:

Ryutaro Murotani, Japan International Cooperation Agency  
(JICA) Research Institute

Ippeita Nishida, Tokyo Foundation

15.00 **The Way Ahead: Reactions and Comments from Japan  
and Europe**

Chair: Prof. Dr. Paul Midford, Norwegian University for Science  
and Technology

Discussants:

Aiichiro Yamamoto, Senior Assistant Director, Operation  
Strategy Department, JICA

Jenny Joelle, Head of Division VI.6.C 1 (Peace building,  
conflict prevention, mediation), External Action Service

Dr. Akiko Fukushima, Aoyama Gakuin University

Denisa Ionete, Head of Unit, Fragility and Crisis Management,  
Development Policy, DG Development, European Commission

Misako Yasui, MP, House of Councillors, Vice Director-General,  
International Department, Democratic Party of Japan

Open Discussion

## **17.00     Closing Remarks**

Prof. Dr. Marie Söderberg, EJARN Chairperson, Stockholm  
School of Economics

Dr. Stefan Friedrich, Director Team Asia and the Pacific,  
Department for European and International Cooperation (EIZ),  
KAS Berlin



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