

Conference

The geopolitics and economics of technology in the Indo-Pacific: Security, prosperity and values

21 - 22 March 2022

Online

Scientific organisers:

Giulio Pugliese | European University Institute and University of Oxford

Tai Ming Cheung | Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), UC San Diego

Introduction

This conference examines the ramifications and implications of the confluence of major trends and dynamics centered in the Indo-Pacific, fundamentally impacting on global order. Two trends will be the focus of discussion. First is the growing primacy of the Indo-Pacific in driving the global transformation in technological and industrial affairs. Second is the intensifying geo-political, geo-strategic, and geo-economic volatility and rivalry taking place among major states in the Indo-Pacific, foremost of which is the strategic competition between the U.S. and China. Techno-strategic, techno-economic, techno-nationalist, and other techno-centric oriented considerations now exert growing influence in the workings of the international system.

The combative approach against China being pursued by the U.S. since the mid-2010s rests on the judgement that China's catch-up in high-tech sectors such as semiconductors is still heavily dependent on market access and technology cooperation with Western nations -such as the EU and its member states- and American allies like Japan. To slow China's technological rise, the U.S. has sought to drastically throttle these technology and innovation flows to China. In response, China is emphasising the importance of technological self-reliance and economic securitisation, which has led to major efforts to overhaul its economy and innovation system to protect against external threats.

For its part, the Abe administration had started moving before 2020 to defend Japan's technological base through tighter export controls and foreign investment screening mechanisms. In 2020, Tokyo strengthened the surveillance of university laboratories to prevent outflows of advanced technologies. Following the pandemic, the Japanese government also established funding mechanisms to persuade Japanese companies to diversify away from China, and sought to mitigate the economic consequences of China establishing a sphere of influence through its own connectivity initiatives by promoting Japan's own 'high quality' infrastructure initiatives. The EU and NATO are also in the process of launching similar initiatives, as evidenced by tighter investment screening mechanisms, export controls and connectivity initiatives in the digital sphere.

While geopolitics and security considerations loom large, the ultimate end-state from recent supply-chain diversification initiatives and from the United States' trade and tech war with China is still unclear. China's position in global value chains is, after all, mostly dependent on regional demand, rather than American demand, and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into China actually grew in 2020, making China the largest recipient of global FDI. At the same time, one commercial domain where Japanese government and corporate manoeuvring is likely to profoundly affect strategic diversification is telecommunications, emerging technologies and strategic industries of the future. Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the drastic global strategic and economic consequences adds to the uncertainty of what the future holds, although the prospects for heightened frictions, deglobalisation, and militarisation are ominous.

This conference brings together leading academic and policy experts from Europe, the U.S. and the Indo-Pacific to discuss where the geopolitical, geo-economic, and techno-strategic fault lines lie in the Indo-Pacific, as development of -and competition over- new and emerging technological innovation and industrialisation heats up. Moreover, it aims to provide insight into how we can square the circle in search of regional security, prosperity, and pluralistic values.

N.B. All times listed in this programme are CET.

Programme

Welcome and keynotes

11.00 - 11.45 Chair: **Erik Jones** | European University Institute

Thierry Breton | European Commissioner for Internal Market

Tadashi Maeda | Governor of Japan Bank for International Cooperation

Hiroshi Oe | Japanese Ambassador to Italy, Malta and San Marino

Marie Söderberg | The European Institute of Japanese Studies

Panel 1 - Geopolitics & economics of digital technology

12.00 - 13.30 Chair: **Giulio Pugliese** | European University Institute and University of Oxford

China's digital silk road & the Indo-Pacific

Dai Mochinaga | Keio University

The EU's digital connectivity agenda in Southeast Asia

Maaïke Okano-Heijmans | Clingendael Institute

Japan's "Smart Cities" push abroad: National security & tech development

Corey Wallace | Kanagawa University

Discussant: **Alice Pannier** | French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)

Panel 2 - Geo-strategic and geo-economic dynamics of national security, innovation, and economics in an era of great power rivalry and technological revolutions I

14.00 - 15.30 Chair: **Ken Endo** | European University Institute

Great power techno-security competition in the 21st Century: Comparing the Chinese and U.S. systems

Tai Ming Cheung | Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), UC San Diego

Chinese perspectives

William Norris | Texas A&M

New economic statecraft: The U.S. approach

Vinod Aggarwal | UC Berkeley

Andrew Reddie | UC Berkeley

Discussant: **Kristi Govella** | The German Marshall Fund of the United States

Panel 3 - Geo-strategic and geo-economic dynamics of national security, innovation, and economics in an era of great power rivalry and technological revolutions II

16.00 - 17.30 Chair: **Tai Ming Cheung** | Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC), UC San Diego

European perspectives

Sophie Meunier | Princeton University

Perspectives on Japan

Nikolay Murashkin | JICA Ogata Research Institute

Geopolitics of energy and the Russo-Ukrainian war: implications for the Indo-Pacific

Marc Ozawa | NATO Defense College

Discussant: **Yoko Iwama** | National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS)

22 March **Panel 4 - 5G & data, the backbone of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and of geopolitical tensions: 5G, ORAN & data regulation**

12.00 - 13.30 Chair: **Maarja Saluste** | European University Institute

The geopolitics of cross-border data policies

Martina Ferracane | European University Institute

US - Japan cooperation on 5G/ORAN policy

Rika Kamijima-Tsunoda | Government of Japan, Digital Agency

Digital economy agreements: Necessities and uncertainties

Simon Tay | Singapore Institute of International Affairs

Discussants:

Mihoko Matsubara | NTT Corporation

Maarja Saluste | European University Institute

Panel 5 - The economy-security nexus: Rare minerals & semiconductors

14.00 - 15.30 Chair: **Ken Endo** | European University Institute

Japan-Taiwan cooperation in the area of economic security

Madoka Fukuda | Hosei University

Rare Earths

Eugene Gholz | University of Notre Dame

U.S., China, and Taiwan and global semi-conductor competition

Chien-Huei Wu | Academia Sinica

Discussant: **TJ Pempel** | UC Berkeley

Panel 6 - Supply chain resiliency, export-controls, and human rights

16.00 - 17.50 Chair: **Giulio Pugliese** | European University Institute and University of Oxford

National security, supply chains, and U.S.-China competition

Glen S. Fukushima | Centre for American Progress

Supply chain, international trade and human rights

Taku Nemoto | Nishimura & Asahi

The economy-security nexus: the U.S., Japan, Korea and Taiwan

Yukiko Fukagawa | Waseda University

Global supply chains: Responses to geopolitical and Covid-19 shocks in the Asia-Pacific

Etel Solingen | UC Irvine and Richard Holbrooke Berlin Prize at the American Academy in Berlin, Distinguished Professor and Thomas T. and Elizabeth C. Tierney Chair in Peace and Conflict Studies, University of California Irvine

Discussant: **Bernard Hoekman** | European University Institute